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CHAGA CHILDHOOD

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A DESCRIPTION OF INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN AN EAST AFRICAN TRIBE

by

O. F. RAUM, Ph.D.

With an Introduction by

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Published for the

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES & CULTURES

by the OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON NEW YORK TORONTO

1940

This book is, so far as the author knows, the only existing account of the 'theory' of native education. It is divided into three parts. The first consists of an historical survey of existing literature on the subject in English, French, and German: the second describes the process of education among the Chaga, a Bantu tribe living in Tanganyika Territory, and is based upon the author's own detailed observations and on the critical examination of accounts of the tribe from the pens of C. C. F. Dundas, Bruno Gutmann, and other authorities. An attempt is made to describe the self-educative processes of the child and the later formal instruction given within the tribe. A number of problems, psychological, anthropological, linguistic and pedagogic, are discussed. In the third part of the book a number of practical conclusions are drawn from this study of indigenous education, with particular reference to educational policy, teaching methods, and school organization of tropical Africa.

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INTRODUCTION

IT may be a truism, but certainly it is one too often forgotten, that the various educational influences and organizations of a people are designed, consciously or unconsciously, to prepare its children for life in that particular community. Thus, in Britain, training in the home, together with the parallel influence of school during childhood and early adolescence, and finally the environment of British society during later adolescence, all have their place in a scheme designed to prepare British youth for life in a British community. The various parts played by home, school and society have, of course, been continuously modified and adapted throughout the centuries to meet changing conditions. A similar integration could have been seen in African life before the advent of the European, though perhaps 'formalized instruction' rather than school should be used to describe the preparation for initiation. Of recent years, however, conditions in Africa have altered. In the first place, African society has itself suffered change because of contact with the outer world. Secondly, as part of that contact, schools modelled upon European lines have been thrust amongst the indigenous educational influences which are training African youth. That the results have not been completely chaotic is probably due to the fortunate capacity of human beings to absorb, on the whole, only those new ideas and patterns of behaviour which they can adapt and adopt for their own ends.

All those who are responsible for education in Africa, whether missionaries or government officials, should study the native educational system in its widest sense in order to assess what place there is in that system for the 'alien' contribution of European schools. To show that this is not merely an academic problem let me quote two examples from experience. At one of the boarding schools in Africa of which I was headmaster for some years, I was continually being asked, first by one boy and then by another, for leave of absence in order to attend his father's funeral. Sometimes the same boy would apply for leave for that reason on two or three consecutive occasions. This is, of course, disturbing to the continuity of school teaching. Knowledge of the family

organization of any African group explains the conception that the term 'father' includes the brothers of the boy's physiological father. Therefore, should his actual father die, one of the deceased parent's brothers would take the father's place. I had also learned that funeral ceremonies play an important part in making the child feel that he is a member of a large community; participation in them helps to mould his character, building up a team spirit and respect for tradition. On the basis of these facts of tribal society it was just as important for a boy to be allowed to attend the funeral of his father's brother as to attend that of his physiological parent. Moral aspects of the educational influences of a school must be moulded so as to fall in line with, and be complementary to, home and tribal educational influences. What, therefore, would be the use of trying to inculcate the 'team spirit' in school games, for example, if at the same time the boy were refused permission to put into practice the tribal parallel of that spirit such as attendance at the funeral ceremonies of his physiological or sociological father?

Another example of the necessity for those in charge of European schools to understand indigenous educational programmes is suggested by Dr. Raum. Africans, he points out, have often been said, quite unjustly, to have no aptitude for mathematics, purely because they are unsuccessful in calculating the answers to such problems as, 'How long does it take to fill a cistern from a tap from which water flows at so many gallons per minute if that cistern has a leak through which water escapes at another number of gallons per minute?' If, however, African children are asked to solve problems based, for example, on the rate of increase of a herd of cattle, taking into account a certain birth-rate and a certain mortality, they will readily understand them and work out the answers. It is essential that all classroom subject matter should be based upon known concepts and that it should bear relation, at any rate in early teaching, to matters of common interest to the child. It may be said, without exaggeration, that if such a rule is followed there is no more difficulty in teaching young Africans an elementary knowledge of algebra, trigonometry or the calculus, or any other branch of mathematics, than there is in teaching these subjects to European children.

This book is a detailed account of the indigenous educational

influences from birth to marriage in one tribe. It is, of course, as wrong to generalize about Africans as it is about Europeans. This picture of life in one tribe, however, will contribute to an understanding of the spirit and basis of African society and will guide others who may wish to make a similar study of the people amongst whom they are working. All those who play a responsible part in African development will find this book illuminating. Most Europeans who see Africans only in their work or in the classroom see only half their lives and, because they do not really understand them, they may fail them in their time of need.

One further point. When studying accounts of life and customs different from our own it is a wise plan to try to imagine how one of the people you are studying would write an account of your life and of the customs of your own people. For example, Dr. Raum writes, in reference to initiation and other ceremonies, that 'a series of ritual shocks accentuates the child's passage from infancy to adolescence'; and the same description could be given of the development of British children. For British children there is a shock in the sudden change from nursery to school, or from elementary school to the strange environment of industrial employment or from a preparatory to a 'public' school, and each stage has its 'hardening' influences. The shocks which accentuate the stages of development of children of other races differ in detail rather than in principle from the shocks which accentuate the development of children of our own race.

I should like to conclude by expressing the hope that this book will be taken as a model by some African writers who will themselves prepare accounts of their own educational and cultural background. Dr. Raum, who was born and brought up amongst Africans, and who in his later life has spent many years as a teacher and inspector in African schools, is obviously able to write capably and sympathetically about the African people amongst whom he has passed so large a part of his life. Yet Dr. Raum is, after all, a stranger in Africa like all other Europeans, and he cannot look at its life and culture through the eyes of Africans. His account of their actions and motives must inevitably be coloured by his own experiences, habits of mind and cultural background. It must be added, however, that the strongest commendation of his book is, perhaps, the astonishing fact that the reader soon

forgets that the writer is a European, for one seems to be listening to a Chaga commentator talking to his own people about his own experiences.

W. BRYANT MUMFORD.

London,
June, 1940.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is dedicated to the memory of my father, who for almost forty years was a missionary among the Chaga. He inspired me to study the life of African children but died before this work was completed. The writing of this book would have been impossible without two studentships received from the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures; a generous grant from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, secured for me by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, which enabled me to study for a third year, and financial support from the May Esther Bedford Fund. I am indebted to Professor Clarke for advice and assistance in connexion with obtaining the necessary financial support. I wish to take this opportunity of thanking Professor B. Malinowski for the stimulus of his teaching. I owe a similar debt to Dr. R. Firth, Dr. W. B. Mumford and to Miss A. I. Richards. From among the innumerable Chaga informants I should like to single out Mr. Stefano Moshi, who indefatigably answered in a manner both painstaking and profound the many questions I put to him. I also have to thank my aunt, Sister E. Wärthl, for help in collecting customs concerning pregnancy, birth, and the rearing of infants, and my wife for her assistance in correcting the manuscript and proofs. I am indebted to Mr. G. S. Hall for his careful reading of the proofs and to Miss D. Marshall for the preparation of the Index.

This work has been accepted as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. (Education) in the University of London. Its publication has been aided by a grant from the Publication Fund of the University of London.

O. F. RAUM.

Umpumulo,
April, 1940.

PART I

(*A*) HISTORY OF THE SUBJECT

1. *Travellers' Tales*

'WAS a more horrid deed ever perpetrated, than that witnessed on the west coast by Byron, who saw a wretched mother pick up her bleeding dying infant boy, whom her husband had mercilessly dashed on the stone for dropping a basket of sea-eggs!' This observation is recorded by Darwin[1] who infers from it that the Fuegians, of whom the story is told, 'cannot know the feeling of having a home, and still less that of domestic affection, for the husband is to the wife a brutal master to a laborious slave'. The difficulties of our subject are well illustrated by the fact that Darwin rushed into a generalization regarding the parental sentiment of a native people on the strength of a single fact. The man who in his own study took the step to a positive rule only after a painstaking examination of its negative instances took little trouble to analyse into its various antecedents a fact of educational importance. He accepted hearsay as truth.

Darwin's fallacy can be paralleled by quotations from other travellers which show that, in the sciences concerned with human behaviour, it is more difficult, because less customary, to assume a detached attitude, to rest content with observations of limited generality, and to avoid drawing inferences except after applying a method of analysis into the nature and aetiology of behaviour. Thus Schurtz[2] tells us that the Chaga, in choosing to lead a life of robbery, permitted their natural kinship bonds to disintegrate, preferring to kill the children borne by their wives rather than rear them, and replenishing their ranks by the wholesale adoption of boys and girls of conquered tribes. Or consider the custom of *couvade* of which so much has been made by ethnographers, though quite obviously it is only a minor incident in the life of a primitive child.[3] But whereas over-emphasis on ceremonial is

[1] Darwin, C., *Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries visited during the Voyage of H.M.S.* Beagle *round the World* (London, 1866), p. 26.

[2] Schurtz, K., *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* (Berlin, 1902), p. 62. Similar facts are reported from elsewhere, e.g. from St. Christoval, one of the Solomon Islands, by F. Elton, *J.R.A.I.*, xvii, p. 93.

[3] Cain, J., *The Indian Antiquary* (London, 1874), iii, p. 151.

perhaps a justifiable error of early explorers, it is doubtful whether the same can be said of the idea of mental stagnation at puberty among native peoples. Ever since it was mentioned by Leonard[1] in 1839, it has remained an essential part of the stock-in-trade of observers of savage childhood, who, more often than not, have described it as an absolute and unchangeable quality of the native mind. But while this observation implies the other one that natives are active, educable, and enterprising as long as they are children, quite a number of observers discredit the value of their own evidence by asserting, to our astonishment, that primitive children are loath to engage in play, that they pass much of their time dreamily sitting about, and that they have hardly any toys.[2]

The bias for the abnormal and extraordinary in ritual, and the elaboration for effect of accidental observations can rightly be criticized in these travellers' tales. Yet without the occasional glance they took at the child in primitive society, our knowledge of the educational process in native tribes would be even scantier. For the study of this process from an educational point of view has been neglected. To the pedagogue grappling with the pressing problems of school administration and organization, to the teacher coping with the difficult task of adjusting his method to the mentality of the pupil, the educational effects of the human environment in his own society remain undefined. Only the theorist and the historian of educational thought has turned his attention to the evidence which contemporaneous society affords for reconstructing the educational process in a 'natural' setting, or for envisaging the distant rudiments of our system of schooling. But in doing so, he has to rely on material collected without reference to educational categories, by observers who had no pedagogical training. His conclusions are therefore apt to be coloured by the presuppositions of these informants.

Yet the fact that child life among primitive peoples has been a study to which many sciences have contributed, secures for it a unique place in educational thought. The reference to the cultural life of the society as the matrix into which the educational process

[1] Leonard, *Records of a Voyage to the West Coast of Africa* (Edinburgh, 1839), p. 59.

[2] Livingstone, D., quoted in *Globus*, vol. 29, p. 179 ('Last Journey in Central Africa'). Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People* (*Akikuyu*) (London), p. 124. Pechuel-Lösche, *Volkskunde von Loango*, p. 88.

is set, a reference which in many a pedagogical system is only an afterthought, must here of necessity be made a starting-point in research. The various contributions to the subject made by Social Anthropology, Comparative Psychology, Eugenics, with its wider biological background, and Physical Anthropology, with its deeper implications, the History of Culture and Genetic Psychology should therefore act as a challenge to the educational thinker, into whose province the subject must be ultimately assigned. The import of the challenge is that it behoves him to supply the interpretation of the data collected, and that only he can do it in a comprehensive and satisfactory manner. In reviewing the more important contributions in their historical sequence, I believe I am attempting something never done before. I think that the mistakes and exaggerations of past authors can to a large extent be avoided by my method of approach. On the other hand, they accumulated a vast and not necessarily useless store of material, and the review will give me an opportunity of acknowledging the valuable side of their studies, which I would be the last to ignore.

2. *First Interpretation under the Influence of Idealistic Evolutionism*

The nineteenth century saw the fruition of modern evolutionism. The search in the preceding century for the origin and the nature of human institutions crystallized then into great thought systems. In these the history of mankind was conceived as the process of the realization of a spiritual force overcoming the conditions of existence by a struggle for freedom. Hegel conceived this process as the development of self-consciousness of the Absolute Reason; Comte as that of self-direction of Humanity. Concurrently with this tendency, a wave of romanticism had aroused an intense interest, not only in popular poetry, but also in the customs of the peoples of the earth. The romanticists collected the cultural creations of simple nations, the evolutionists employed them in the schemes they drew up to show the gradualness of the emancipation of the spirit.

We are not mistaken if we surmise that one of the first attempts at interpreting primitive educational methods should have been made by one of the followers of Hegel. In his remarkable *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, K. Schmid undertook this task.[1]

[1] Schmid, K., *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, Third Edition (1873), p. 59–68.

Following his master, he coupled his philosophical idealism with a metaphysically postulated evolutionism. The world of reality was to him a revelation of the Immanent Idea, the Absolute Reason. Each ethnic unit embodied the Absolute in the form of an inner principle of development which determined its own history and its position in the history of mankind. The psychological assumption underlying these beliefs was that mental development is uniform and continuous.

Starting from such premises, Schmid discussed non-historic peoples in the first section of the first book of his *History*, which deals with the Epoch of National Education 'Before Christ'. He asserted that only those peoples can have a history whose life expresses the development of an idea, which, on the one hand, can reflect itself in individuals, and, on the other, can be connected with the evolution of the idea in other nations. Accordingly, as the life of non-historic peoples is controlled by lower instincts there are no spiritual ends towards which a child could be educated. In other words, there cannot be any education. But the struggle for the freedom of the spirit shows itself in three facts of pedagogical significance: the conscientious transmission of tribal ideas, the preparation for sacrificing one's life for the community, and the inuring of the child to hardships. After all, then, non-historic peoples seem to have an 'education'. But, looking into it more closely, we would rather call it 'counter-education', as it aims at the distortion of the child's physical and moral development. Here for the first time examples are given, and in scanning them we realize that Schmid was one of the first to be deceived by travellers' tales. Twisting of the child's moral nature is proved by cases in which childish insubordination is approved by the parents as a sign of courage and independence. Physical distortion is seen in the customs of mutilation and deformation to which it has to submit. But the facts reported force Schmid, against his will, even beyond his second position of only admitting 'counter-education'. He interprets the parental efforts to protect the savage child against witchcraft as the first elements of negative education, and the methods of hardening the child and making him brave as the beginnings of positive education. Again, he admits a fostering of the emotions through the dances and music of primitive peoples. But he has hardly reached this point in the argument when, with a *volte-face*, he returns to his fundamental assumption,

and begins to expatiate on the reasons for the absence of education among savages.

3. *Classical School of Anthropology*

It was only in the latter half of the century that the biological sciences carried the evolutionary approach beyond the limits of human history, stripping it at the same time of its idealistic cloak. The success attending the new method led to many attempts at re-applying it to human development, which now came to be conceived as the crowning stage in the evolution of the animal kingdom. But, curiously enough, in so doing, the inductive ascertainment of facts went by the board and was replaced by a deductive tendency which was content with constructing evolutionary schemes for various aspects of human culture on a scanty basis of facts.

Throughout this period, the theoretical elaboration of the reports coming in from travellers, explorers, missionaries, and colonial administrators concerning the customs of native peoples led to the creation of the new science of Ethnology, or Social Anthropology.

The main interest of the early anthropologists centred round the nature and evolution of the family. The traditional view, as expressed in Christian dogma based on Biblical mythology, and in customary privileges derived from the legal and constitutional system of ancient Rome, only knew of the preponderance of the rights of the father. Certain discoveries made by ethnographers discredited the priority of this principle in the history of social organization. For instance, among primitive peoples descent or succession, or both, might be counted through the mother's line; the mother's brother had often authority over his sister's children; and among some tribes physiological paternity was unknown altogether. Facts like these were believed to prove that the patriarchal organization of the family was preceded by two stages; that of promiscuity, or sexual and parental communism; and that of mother-right, the legal ascendancy of the mother's people, following as a reaction upon the degradation of women in the period of promiscuity. This stage, however, by acknowledging the individual relationship between mother and child, made possible the strengthening of the father's position in reference to it, and thus the first step was made towards the emergence of patriarchy.

As was shown later, notably by Westermarck,[1] not only did Darwin's principle of selective mating make it highly improbable that group marriage was ever practised, but in all primitive societies it was found by observation that the father dominated in the family, whatever the legal basis of succession, inheritance, and descent. Again, significant hints thrown out by Darwin with reference to our problem remained unheeded. In *The Expressions of Emotions in Man and Animals* he had shown the importance of expressions of emotions in personal growth by classifying them as hereditary or acquired through learning. He pointed out that meaning accrues to them when functioning as means of control and communication within the biological family, and exemplified this principle by describing the role of facial expressions of emotions in the relation between mother and infant.[2] Above all, it was not realized for almost a generation that the principle of natural selection could be applied to the problem of indigenous education. Darwin had suggested in *The Descent of Man* that group cohesion was of paramount importance in the struggle for existence, that it was the product of sympathy expressing itself in mutual fidelity and unselfish courage. These factors were conceived by him to have developed from sensitiveness to praise and blame,[3] in other words, their emergence presupposed some sort of educative effort. These ideas might have been made use of as guiding lines in the observation of indigenous educational processes. Instead, attention remained fixed on the ceremonies accentuating the life of the child, or on attempts to describe the stages by which the *patria potestas* had risen from the original matriarchal family organization.

A good example of the former tendency is Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*.[4] The author presented in it a copious collection of miscellaneous facts concerning child life, under such headings as the bathing, covering, carrying and rocking of the child, the desire for procreation, care of the infant, acceptance of the child at its birth, natural and artificial feeding, infanticide, Christian and heathen 'baptism', popular medicine, magic and

[1] Westermarck, E., *History of Human Marriage* (London, 1894).

[2] Darwin, C., *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, ed. C. M. Beadnall (Thinker's Library, No. 47; London, 1934), pp. 167–8.

[3] Giddings, F. H., *Studies in the Theory of Human Society* (New York, 1922), p. 45.

[4] Ploss, H., *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*. First Edition, *ca.* 1880; Third enlarged Edition, by B. Renz (Leipzig, 1911).

sorcery with reference to infantile diseases, education and instruction, circumcision, puberty, death and funeral of the child, and so on. The material culled from a wide range of ethnographical works was arranged geographically. This alone, apart from the fact that little attention was paid to the psychological concomitants of the rites described, made it impossible for Ploss to see the working of those educational factors whose function is to supplement the momentary impressiveness of ceremonial by the more effective, but less conspicuous, continuity of personal relationships. In consequence, the mechanisms for affecting the child's behaviour were neglected, except for such spectacular ones as corporal punishment. Hence the value of the book for educational science has remained small.

Hartland, in a book entitled *Primitive Paternity*,[1] dealt with the historical aspect of the human family, and incidentally touched upon the relationship of parent and child from the point of view of classical anthropology. In the stage of mother-right,[2] which he assumes to have been universal once, the belief in blood kinship unites members of the matrilineal clan only. The father is not recognized as the kin of his children; in case of a quarrel between the clans, father and sons would be found fighting each other. The mother's brother's authority over the children is greater than the father's, and blood revenge for mother and child devolves on him rather than on the father. The rise of father-right is the result of social and economic conditions which make it possible for the husband first to reside in the locality of his wife's people, and then to take her to his own home. This profoundly affects his relations to his sons, for the solidarity growing up among the males of one locality works now in his favour. The tendency of the sons to identify their interests with those of the father also modifies the rules of inheritance. Whereas in mother-right a child has no claim to his father's property, in patriarchal societies the son naturally succeeds to his possessions and thereby meets his sire's wish to have his hearth perpetuated. Hartland's view that the

[1] Hartland, E. S., *Primitive Paternity* (London, 1910–11), 2 vols.

[2] Mother-right is the erroneous 'translation-loan' of the German *Mutterrecht*, a term coined by Bachofen. In German the word *Recht* includes the connotations of both the terms 'law' and 'right' in English. *Mutterrecht* therefore may mean only the legal principles determining succession, inheritance, and descent in the mother's line. 'Mother-right' excludes this legal reference, however, and has, in consequence, become associated with ideas of matriarchy, a condition which has never been observed.

relationship between parent and child varies according to mother-right or father-right was connected by him with the primitive theories of procreation as expressed in myths of supernatural birth and in magical practices to obtain children. Both these facts he interpreted as symptomatic of a social organization which did not necessitate the concentration of thought on the problem of paternity and the physiology of conception. This would be the case in mother-right grown out of promiscuity. When Hartland published his work, the sociological school of anthropology had grown so large that his ideas were immediately and vigorously denounced.[1] It was maintained by his opponents that there was no evidence in favour of a connexion between beliefs concerning asexual impregnation and any type of social organization, nor could the former universality of mother-right or its priority to father-right be substantiated. Moreover, the principles underlying descent and inheritance need not undergo a parallel development in a particular tribe; they sometimes clash, one being patrilineal and the other matrilineal. From the educationist's point of view, the book is likewise disappointing, as the educational motive in the formation of the family is completely ignored, although, obviously, it accounts as much as the sexual and economic relationships between husband and wife for the existence and stability of the family.

4. *First Educational Interpretations*

It was largely under the influence of Spencer's life-work that education came to be described in terms of biological evolution. Spencer's aim was to prove that the process of evolution was universal and continuous throughout the inorganic, organic, and super-organic world, the general developmental tendency being from the undifferentiated to the differentiated, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from the incoherent to the coherent. He was accordingly obliged to trace the same individualizing tendency in mental and social evolution. To do this he made psychology a part of organic evolution and conceived sociology on his 'organic analogy' as the super-organic. At the transition from a study of organic evolution dealing with the biological and psychological maturation of the individual to that of super-organic

[1] Goldenweiser, A. A., review of Hartland in *American Anthropologist*, 1911, p. 598.

evolution, Spencer points at parental co-operation in the rearing of offspring as the germ of a new order of phenomena which when completely separated from the organic can be marked off as the co-ordinated actions of many individuals.[1]

Although he was less profound than Darwin, Spencer's ideas stimulated many investigators to find corroboration of his general views in some specialized subject, and this is particularly true of Education. In 1898 Letourneau published *L'Évolution de l'Éducation dans les Diverses Races Humaines*.[2] Humanity, according to him, has been submitted to two educational influences, those of Nature and society. Though blind of purpose and incoherent in method, they succeeded in bringing about a gradual development in man's physical and mental qualities. In order to make social education more consistent, a true science of education is necessary. It should be based on the numerous educational experiences registered by the various human societies. The educational origins go back to the animal world and prehistoric times and from them onwards the success and failure of different types of education can be gauged from their results. The most primitive education is found on the lowest stage of social organization. It makes use of dubious methods in training the child. Its chief characteristic is that of leniency which must be a result of the long suckling period customary among primitive tribes. The practical training for domestic work, hunting and fishing is more complex, and achieves its end in preparing the child for a profession. But it is negative in method, making it necessary for the child to learn by his own experiences and at his own risk. Intellectual training is not neglected; it consists in a severe rite of initiation. Yet it is only among more advanced people that we find a definite training towards an ideal, and it is here that racial differences become apparent: the 'Redskins' train their children to stoical endurance, the Tahitians, on the other hand, prepare their offspring for a life of effeminate aestheticism and erotic satisfaction. Letourneau's survey of facts is sober, comprehensive, and free from bias, except where, in the evaluation of the mental capacity of native peoples, he relies on the devastating experiences of missionary teachers drilling the three Rs into their converts' heads. Yet,

[1] Spencer, H., *Principles of Sociology* (New York, 1882). i, p. 3.

[2] Letourneau, C., *L'Évolution de l'Éducation dans les Diverses Races Humaines* (Paris, 1898).

when he makes the complaint that on the lowest level parents limit their educational activities to a preparation of the child for the simple life which awaits it—a criticism suggested by Spencer's strictures[1]—his criterion for grading the stages in pedagogical evolution seems to be faulty. Educational inefficiency seems to have as little to do with a simple or mainly practical life as educational efficiency has with complexity of culture and the possibility of a training for non-practical pursuits.

Letourneau based his study on a careful selection of reports by travellers and ethnographers. One year later an important book appeared: it was among the 'Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy, Psychology, and Education', and entitled *Education of the Pueblo Child*.[2] F. C. Spencer, its author, gives the first account of primitive child life relying upon systematic observations in the field. The sub-title described the essay as a study in arrested development. In explaining the fact of cultural retardation of those human societies which had not participated in the general march of human evolution, F. C. Spencer looked for a deficient education as the cause. In the industrial training of the *pueblo* child, the spontaneous imitation of the earlier years is felt by his elders to be insufficient in transmitting the ancient culture. It is therefore supplemented by constrained imitation in a sort of apprenticeship. The method used makes the child learn by participating in work, with little assistance from adults, and less explanation, the only desideratum being a performance equal to the traditional one. The parental reluctance to permit innovations is partly due to mental deficiencies, partly to 'superstitions'—that is, supernatural sanctions for the traditional form of work. This has its obvious advantages, in as much as it makes the preservation of the cultural heritage easy and keeps society free from revolutionary inventions. A complementary tendency can be observed in moral training. The Zuni insist on implicit obedience and inculcate it, not so much through punishment as through the frequent telling of stories with a moral, and the arousing of superstitious fears in the child by means of adults masquerading

[1] Spencer, H., *Education* (New York), p. 308.

[2] Spencer, F. C., *Education of the Pueblo Child. A Study in Arrested Development.* ('Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy, Psychology, and Education,' New York, 1899). My account is based on an extract contained in J. King, *The Social Aspects of Education* (New York, 1912), pp. 6–15, as the original is not in the British Museum Library.

as demons. The religious training aims at the acquisition of formulary observances to be used by the child in its every activity. In addition, the initiation into the *Ka-ka*[1] takes place in childhood. It consists of trials of endurance and courage, and the boy's godfather makes vows on behalf of his ward. In adolescence, the boy acknowledges these vows and prepares himself through an elaborate ceremonial of dancing, prayers, and self-mortification for entry into the order of priesthood. In the training preparatory to full initiation, the exclusive aim is to transmit to the rising generation the rime and rhythm of the ancient rites without alteration, as well as the body of traditional lore in its entirety. At this stage, however, the purpose of the apprentice method is more easily realized as both 'the teacher's and the pupil's attention is fixed immediately on the object of fear'. Insistence on imitation in the industrial, moral, and religious training of the *pueblo* child is therefore at the bottom of the arrested development of Zuni culture.

F. C. Spencer's thesis, to all appearance plausible and logical, yet suffers from an inconsistency. If in all the walks of life the elders are anxious to keep to the old ways, there must be present in the younger generation an urge for change and inventiveness which Spencer fails to describe or show as being in conflict with the method of constrained imitation. If, on the other hand, the *pueblo* child is as passive and submissive to adult guidance as he makes out to be the case, there is obviously no purpose in the insistence on tradition. He did not see the contradictions inherent in his position, because he was being carried away by the current opinion of his time that primitive man is 'on the average less than man as we know him'.[2] In assuming that imitation was the fundamental psychological process of society, F. C. Spencer followed Tarde, who even declared invention to be a function of imitation supplying it, as it were, with the necessary material.[3] Tarde had been anticipated in some of his assumptions by Bagehot,[4] who more particularly characterized the first stage in the evolution of co-operative groups as imitative. As progress is

[1] Stevenson, M. E., 'The Religious Life of the Zuni Child,' *5th Annual Report of the American Bureau of Ethnology* (New York, 1897).

[2] Spencer, H., *Principles of Sociology*, i, p. 53.

[3] Tarde, G., *Social Laws* (New York, 1899), pp. 133 *seq.*

[4] Bagehot, W., *Physics and Politics, or Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of Natural Selection and Inheritance to Political Society* (London, 1867).

impossible except in such groups, the uniformity of feeling and action required in them must be enforced by customary law. The preliminary age is therefore occupied with the creation of 'cakes of custom', spreading behaviour which by chance has become predominant through imitation. Any digression from tradition is dangerous to the group, weakening it in the struggle for existence. It must at all costs suppress the natural tendency toward variability, and hence social stagnation results, or, as F. C. Spencer would have said, arrested development. It is only in the second, the nation-making age, that 'mummy-like imitation' is broken up by competition and selection. Undoubtedly, F. C. Spencer fitted his observations into such a scheme as this without considering facts which might have contradicted it.

This tendency towards deductive selection of facts in support of a preconceived evolutionary arrangement became increasingly marked in those studies of our subject which were written in professorial arm-chairs. In three histories of education by Monroe, Davidson, and Groves[1] education is looked upon as the highest form of evolution characterized by the presence of consciousness. The immanent purpose towards which evolution moves is the realization of free individuals, of moral personalities. This involves the corollary that at the beginning such individualism is absent. Through the successive stages of savagery, barbarism, and civilization, the three authors trace, with great conviction, the rise of intelligence out of the original incapacity for abstract thought, the decay of custom through a gradual diminution of imitation, and the growth of schooling which replaces the trial-and-error method of learning. In spite of these assumptions, which imply the absence of any genuine ideals among savages, the three authors, again in unison, admit the necessity, even on the lowest social level, of training in two directions: practical, to satisfy the wants of the body; and 'theoretical', to learn how to propitiate the spiritual powers believed in by savages, which can often be done just by following the methods of work and worship prescribed by tradition. The only educational institution in savagery is the family, and the method used is imitation without reference to the why of

[1] Monroe, P., *A Text-Book in the History of Education* (New York, 1906); Davidson, T., *A History of Education* (London, 1909); Groves, F. P., *A History of Education*, Part I: 'Before the Middle Ages' (New York, 1909).

customary behaviour. On the whole, then, savage education can be described as hardly conscious. It is the increasing differentiation of society through division of labour which leads to formation of castes and within them to that of schools and special techniques of instruction.

Whatever the merit in other directions of the works mentioned, their views seem hardly an advance on the insight into the function of primitive education gained by Letourneau and F. C. Spencer a decade before. The distortion introduced by the three professors became accentuated as time passed, and, about five years later, another American professor, Todd,[1] presented his eccentric findings on the subject. After three preliminary chapters on marital relations and kinship among primitive peoples, which make up almost half of the book, he begins to discuss their parental and filial relations.

Primitive parental affection, he maintains, is not rational, but animal-like—that is, over-indulgent. On the other hand, it is not 'pure', being tinged with considerations regarding the economic value of the child. Just as the parental sentiment is not instinctive, but the outcome of 'sociologic' contact pleasure, so filial sentiment is not innate but only the result of the child's insufficiency. Parricide is therefore a social institution. Fortunately, biological selection eliminates the unfilial son (how, we are not told), and ancestor worship, too, does its best to develop filial submission. Gathering up his argument concerning the primitive family, he pronounces it to be economic and biological rather than educational in function. This he supports by a proof of a psychological nature. The feeble memory, the obtuseness in sensibilities, the lack of forethought and the absence of the sense of sin which characterize native mentality make the bond between parent and child loose and account for their deficient sympathy for each other. The family ties, accordingly, are temporary: real childhood is unknown, the suckling period passes directly into adolescence! Parental indifference expresses itself in cruelty, but more often in negligence, in exploiting the child economically, in ignorance of child hygiene, which results in a high infant mortality rate, in infanticide for economic, religious or psychological reasons, and finally, most monstrous of all, in anthropophagy: the parents eat the children's flesh as a medical remedy.

[1] Todd, A. J., *The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency* (New York, 1913).

In the next chapter Todd discusses the aims and contents of primitive education. To do this satisfactorily he introduces a classification of 'pedagogies'. In a previous excursion, he introduced us to an author[1] capable of deducing traits of prehistoric education from the physiological and mental characteristics of the infant of to-day. The most amusing of these deductions is that crying helped to remind the prehistoric parent that he had a child, which he might otherwise have forgotten, considering the weakness of his memory! Nowadays, to be consistent, crying need no longer perform such a function; it has become meaningless, a mere survival! In addition, two further types of education are distinguished by Todd with reference to the primitive peoples of to-day. The first type of 'soft' pedagogy is characterized by the absence of discipline and of conscious training. Here Todd makes the sound point that it is an error to say that corporal punishment is a survival from savagery. There are many native peoples who apparently do not punish their children, who foster aggressiveness in boys, and protect them against disciplinary measures from outsiders. The second type is described as that of limited pedagogy, its chief feature being lack of balance between instruction and discipline. Its vocational training is imitative and takes place in the family. Its physical training leads to early command of types of locomotion, such as swimming and riding. It also inures the child to hardships and helps it to overcome the horror of cruel customs, e.g. head-hunting. In moral education, the group overshadows the family and insists on an unreasoning acquiescence in the prevailing code, and thus it comes about that tradition can make revolting facts appear right.

In a final chapter we are introduced to the methods and organization of primitive education. Among what may be called the psychological factors underlying the methods, memory and imitation are again stressed, as well as superstitious fears. Among particular didactic measures are mentioned drill in habits, exhortative stories, initiation, and dancing. Play, too, is discussed in this connexion. The group, in clan or tribe, is the silent disciplinarian round which the organization of primitive education revolves. As special agencies of education, priesthood and secret societies arise and the educational division of labour is continued in higher stages of cultural history with the formation of systems of fosterage.

[1] Robinson, L., *North American Review*, clix, pp. 467 *seq.*

In evaluating Todd's contribution to our subject, the three chapters outlined above should be kept distinct. The first starts by assuming that the mental deficiencies of primitive peoples make normal relations between parent and child impossible, which is absurd, yet Todd 'proves' it by adducing all the prejudicial evidence *en bloc*. After having pieced this evidence together, he discovers that there is plenty of material left to write two more chapters. In grouping it round such categories as aims and contents, method and organization—notions developed in connexion with modern school pedagogy—he misses the chance of penetrating the essential meaning of primitive education. Again, his two types of education do not seem to me to be exclusive. The process of sobering down by facts is continued in the last chapter, which is really nothing more than a stringing together of excerpts under convenient headings. The concluding assertion that the wider social group controls education clashes with all that has gone before, and we are left to imagine what the inter-relationship of group education and parental education is. With Todd the direct influence of Spencer upon discussions on primitive education has spent itself. It must be admitted that it was responsible for a widespread quickening of interest in the subject. Yet the wish to trace a development from lower to higher forms of education led to the fundamental mistake of contrasting the inconsistent everyday education of the primitive family with the organized pedagogical ideals of our scholastic system.

5. *Recapitulation Theory and Primitive Childhood*

In turning from the individual to society as the carrier of progress, and from the biological to a psychological method in accounting for cultural evolution, F. C. Spencer had moved away from the principles of his great English namesake. Yet their implications had not been fully unravelled, and the biological approach was to play as significant a role in the history of our subject as the socio-psychological one, especially under the influence of Haeckel's biogenetic axiom that ontogenesis repeats phylogenesis. This idea of recapitulation was introduced into modern educational thought by Stanley Hall. He maintained that biological (i.e. genetic) psychology could show that the mental and temperamental qualities of infancy and childhood were 'phyletically vastly older than all the neoatavistic traits of body and soul'

superimposed later as the distinctly human attributes of the grown-up.[1] From this 'archeology of the mind' he proceeded to argue the necessity, especially for industrial education, of a culture epoch curriculum, supporting his proposals by pointing out that child play is the rehearsal in the midst of our own life of very ancient paleopsychic activities.[2] It is not necessary here to go into the improbabilities of the theory as thus formulated. While it is obviously necessary to provide an explanation of the historical basis of individual development, yet in the process of acquiring cultural techniques this development is quite definitely modified by the environment of the child.

In the form in which it was proposed by Hall, the recapitulation theory found few friends, but it stimulated the comparative examination of childhood in various races. One of Hall's colleagues in Clark University, A. F. Chamberlain, complemented the observational child-studies promoted by his 'President' from the anthropological point of view. In his book, *The Child and Childhood in Folkthought*, he gave a survey of educationally significant facts, and in *The Child: A Study in the Evolution of Man*[3] offered his interpretation of these facts. Chamberlain's method was the linguistic one then in vogue. As Morgan deduced from a vast collection of primitive kinship terms the evolutionary scheme of the human family from promiscuity to monogamy, so Chamberlain, from an examination of words, phrases and proverbs concerning child-life, motherhood and paternity, came to the conclusion that the influence of the child on culture and the march of civilization had been important both directly through childish creativeness, and indirectly through motherhood and fatherhood which the child occasions. For instance, he showed that the mother idea enters folk-thought at every stage of civilization and is used to illustrate many cultural facts. Thus celestial phenomena are connected with maternal resourcefulness (mother-night, mother-dawn, mother-days, mother-sun, mother-moon); the hope of fertile crops is linked with human regeneration (mother-fire, mother-water, mother-river, mother-plant, mother-nature);

[1] Hall, G. S., *Adolescence* (New York, 1904), p. ix.

[2] Hall, G. S., *Educational Problems*, i, p. 620.

[3] Chamberlain, A. F., *The Child and Childhood in Folkthought* (New York, 1896). Chamberlain, A. F., *The Child: A Study in the Evolution of Man* (London, 1900). Chamberlain also contributed to Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* the article on 'Children (American Indian)' and on 'Education (American)'.

and again the origin of things is attributed to a motherly principle (mother-god, all-mother, mother-earth, *alma mater*). Using such a method, he arrived at most striking conclusions as regards the primitive child, especially if they are contrasted with the stress laid on its passivity and imitativeness by most of the authors dealing with our subject from other standpoints.

The first point which Chamberlain made was that the great amount of lore and ritual of which the child is the centre on the primitive level shows that it must be equal if not superior to our children in intellectual capacity. He emphasized in this connexion that the primitive child is measured and tested physically and mentally by his elders, as is the case in our refined educational system. The second point was that the race has profited by the child's unwitting wisdom: in language many peculiarities are due to childish innovations; in religion the child may minister rites and embody beliefs; and in society it may dictate policies and lead cultural movements! From these facts, Chamberlain took the bold step to a philosophy of history based on the child idea, under the motto '*Maxima debetur pueris reverentia*', from Juvenal. The significance of childish helplessness is interpreted as Nature's device to ensure the sociality of the race. To this sociality is due the softening of the physical and psychical characteristics of man, in which, in contrast to our simian ancestors, all races share alike. Evolution, therefore, advances with a view to prolonging infancy, in order to secure for all the highest possible intellectual plasticity which is at present reserved to genius only. This veritable apotheosis of childhood turns the efficient cause of individual development which Hall sought in racial evolution into a final cause, a position which involved Chamberlain in difficulties when he returned to examine, in the light of his discoveries, the assumption from which he started, viz., that 'the child is a little compressed synthetic picture of all the stages of man's evolution'. The parallel between savage and child broke down when he considered their differences, yet to him there remained many resemblances, such as the arrest of mental development at puberty, and the criminal tendencies of the child, explicable only if it is taken for granted that the child must repeat racial history!

We may feel somewhat doubtful of Chamberlain's dithyrambic praise of the child's contribution to culture. This caution is justified in view of the linguistic method employed, because it

precludes verification through an empirical approach. Again, Chamberlain's sentimental horror of manliness stamps his philosophy as degenerate. Yet in reading his books one cannot but rejoice at the breaking down of so many prejudices concerning the savage child. The lasting value of his studies lies in his having suggested that in primitive society, too, the child is an active agent. It remains to examine this proposition empirically.

The recapitulation theory was applied by Francke, independently of Chamberlain, to the problem of the mental growth of the primitive child. Francke, a teacher in Leipzig, was stimulated by Weule, on the one hand, and by the historian Lamprecht, on the other. The latter[1] propounded a method for the study of culture history based on the analogy between mental development of the individual and of the race. Assuming that all historical development was at bottom psychic in nature, he inferred that the 'biogenetic law' was applicable to the mind. By studying the mental growth of the child, therefore, he hoped to obtain a key for the non-documented prehistorical stages of cultural development. But, not quite trusting the psychologists, he demanded from them the submission of 'documentary evidence'. He decided that in this comparative study spontaneous drawings could be put to the same use as monuments, deeds and eye-witness accounts in historical studies. Kretzschmar, examining in *Entwicklungspsychologie und Erziehungswissenschaft*[2] the results of international comparative studies of children's drawings, showed that the stages passed resembled one another: first scrawls, then schemata, and finally phenomenal representations. Yet the drawings of native children did not advance beyond the second stage. This difference was culturally determined. The autonomous development of mental dispositions as stimulated by the environment in general had to be distinguished from the acquisition of cultural possessions in which the variation in national equipment would produce different individual developments; they in turn would probably be accentuated by special hereditary influences. All these circumstances made recapitulation improbable. With regard to mental growth, adaptation to the environment as a whole,

[1] Lamprecht, K., *Die kulturhistorische Methode* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 27 *seq.*

[2] Kretzschmar, J., *Entwicklungspsychologie und Erziehungswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1912), ch. i. (account based on Francke, cf. footnote 1 (*c*), p. 19).

including the cultural one, was a 'natural' process and not an unessential interference, as Haeckel assumed.

Francke set out to search in ethnographic and missionary literature for support of Kretzschmar's contention. In studying the relationship existing between ontogenesis and phylogenesis of native peoples, he hoped to be able to explain cultural retardation. Only after his book had been published[1] did he find out that, fifteen years before, F. C. Spencer had tried to find the cause of cultural arrest in primitive educational methods. Francke did not lay emphasis so much on education as on mental growth, and whatever his attitude towards Lamprecht, he too started off with a discourse on drawings. The greater part of his material was obtained through a missionary, Fuchs, working in North Pare, a district populated by an offshoot of the Chaga and various admixtures. Francke found that the 'raw' native child reaches at an early age (four to seven years) the stage of pictorial representation which is prevalent among the adults. Finding in his own culture no stimulus to proceed beyond schematic drawings, he must presumably do without those intellectual processes which disclose that the logical norm of a representation lies in its approximation to the object as seen. Those individuals, however, who come into contact with European culture advance even without special training to higher forms of drawing, such as enriching the contents of the schema, or even rudimentary phenomenal representation, whereas perspective is not mastered without instruction. In this spontaneous adjustment, younger natives excel older ones, who have grown so accustomed to the conventional pattern that they are less susceptible to new influences. All this, so Francke believed, bore out Kretzschmar's assertion that the phylogenetic stage a people occupies is nothing but the expression of the ontogenetic development retarded at a certain point.

This inference is then generalized with regard to mental growth. As in the development of drawing, we find here an early approach to the adult level. Francke presented a vast array of

[1] Francke, E. (*a*) *Die geistige Entwicklung der Negerkinder. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach den Hemmungen der Kulturentwicklung* (Leipzig, 1915). (*b*) *Neuere Forschungen über die Erziehung und die Entwicklung des Kindes bei den Naturvölkern*, cf. Reche: *In Memoriam Karl Weule* (Leipzig, 1929). (*c*) 'Die geistige Entwicklung und die Erziehung bei Negerkindern', *Festschrift der 2. Realschule zu Leipzig*, 1926.

references to what he calls the precocity of the native child. Premature economic independence, insubordination and early fulfilment of family responsibilities are symptoms of this phenomenon, which is also illustrated from the Chaga.[1] In addition, he collected as many quotations from explorers and travellers to the effect that at puberty a general stagnation of psychic development takes place. Here, too, Chaga evidence is offered, but it is unconvincing, being based on the two exceptional observations that Chaga youth was more accessible to missionary teaching than the older generation, and that the children, after leaving school, soon reverted to their indigenous non-intellectual pursuits. As we know now, these conditions were symptomatic of the pioneer days; they are also reported of the Kafirs by Kidd.[2] They were overcome among the Chaga when missionaries learned in their preaching to take account of the interests of the adults, and, when it was possible, to provide for the educated among them posts where they could apply their training.

Francke came to a negative conclusion on examining the physical development of native children as a possible cause of stagnation. The growth of the Bantu skull and brain does not cease at puberty. It cannot be shown that among non-European races the sutures of the skull close earlier than with us. The development of the brain may be determined by racial factors, but then, too, it depends on mental activity, and this, in its turn, links up with educational influences. The only other physical agent, the emergence of sexuality, is clearly also regulated by the culture of a people!

In another part of his book, Francke considers the development of particular psychic faculties. As is to be expected, he can but repeat what others have noted before him, viz. the excessive importance of memory and imitation, early 'practical' skill, lack of the instinct of curiosity and speculation, and, as a result, defective logical norms. Kidd's observations, in Francke's opinion, are supported by Levy-Bruhl's[3] contention that the consciousness of self among primitive peoples is modified by the

[1] Francke, E., *Die geistige Entwicklung der Negerkinder. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach den Hemmungen der Kulturentwicklung*, p. 138.

[2] Kidd, D., *Kafir Socialism and the Dawn of Individualism* (London, 1908), pp. 176, 240. Cf. Francke, E., ibid., pp. 145–6.

[3] Actually, there is no reference to Levy-Bruhl in Francke, footnote 1 (*a*), p. 19; but in his later article (footnote 1 (*c*), p. 19) the German translation of *La Mentalité Primitive* is referred to.

law of participation between the whole and its parts, and by the absence of the law of contradiction in their thinking, which is thereby seen to be prelogical or mystical. Again, Francke surmises that primitive 'configurations' differ from ours. He makes reference to Jaensch's eidetic images, supposed to be more frequent in native than in civilized races, and attempts in a subsequent essay (footnote 1 (*c*), p. 19) to connect the findings of the *Denkpsychologie* with his discoveries in native drawings. The child (and primitive people) do not abstract from the 'intentional reference' which adds to their perception of an object qualities *known* to be possessed by it, and it is for this reason that they remain satisfied with pictorial schemata.

The child's imitativeness and early practical independence are therefore due to racial, environmental (geographical) and cultural elements, but they are also more or less consciously promoted by the native system of education. The affection between parent and children is great. The physical and spiritual care of the child is incumbent on the mother. The former is deficient on account of superstitions; the latter, by acquainting the child with spirits and magical practices, supplies a useful disciplinary instrument. Besides, the primitive parent employs prohibitions, exhortations and corporal punishment, though the latter is rare. It resembles an ebullition of anger rather than a pedagogical measure. Play and work are inseparable. Through play the child learns the major occupations of his parents, and this facilitates their aim to let their offspring fend for themselves as early as possible. At the age of seven, primitive childhood comes to an end. There exists an informal kind of instruction in tribal traditions through legends, riddles, and proverbs. This is supplemented at puberty by formal teaching preparatory to initiation. It stresses the importance of sex life and introduces the youth to the customs of the tribe. This process of integration is greatly aided by age-groups and secret societies.

Francke's conclusions allowed him to be optimistic about the educability of the native. Yet the steps by which he arrived at them are not free from inconsistencies. He promised at the beginning to amend the current theories explaining cultural backwardness by reference to race, climate or environment. His ontogenetic approach led him to a lucid exposition of all the facts then known about primitive childhood. Yet his inference that

phylogenetic stages represent ontogenetic stages, universally arrested throughout the range of a particular culture, is a vicious circle, viz. the individual's development does not advance beyond the standard set by his culture because a culture represents the highest stage reached in individual growth.

Another difficulty arises when we contrast the generalization that the native child is precocious with the one that its mental advance is cut short at puberty. If at a tender age it is an adult in practically every respect except physical size, what sort of development is it that can be discontinued so abruptly at puberty as henceforth to give the impression of stagnation? As already suggested, Francke did not realize that in talking of precocity and stagnation he was discussing two 'processes' which might not have any foundation in fact. Apparent precocity may be observed with regard to cultural possessions which do not involve elaborate technological operations, and in which the autonomous learning process of the child makes it soon reach a level which for a superficial observer, and indeed, for all practical purposes, appears to be as high as the adult's. Closer examination might, however, reveal important differences.

Observations apparently bearing out the phenomenon of stagnation at puberty are due to a misinterpretation of the fact that after leaving the European school an African has to attend to a number of private affairs, not open to inspection by a stranger, and that marriage, following in native cultures on puberty, increases the urgency of utilitarian activities. Natives who emerge into our schools with an alertness not expected from them are at puberty perforce submerged again into their own pursuits, which to an unconcerned outsider may appear gross and dull. Yet, as modern research has shown, they are so instinct with spiritual and ritualistic notions that to perform them properly the native devotees must be completely absorbed in them. This explanation of 'stagnation' is confirmed by the analogous interpretation of the apparent cessation of the development of intelligence at the age of sixteen, advanced by Professor J. A. Green. According to him, intelligence, such as we can measure through tests, and environment are closely related. Before sixteen it is possible to measure the growth and differences of intelligence, because of the relative 'uniformity of the environment, i.e. a combination of school and home, in the majority of cases. But after the age of sixteen the

types of environment in which further development might presumably take place are so varied that we are no longer faced with only one variable, i.e. the innate capacity, but in addition with the variable of environment, and thus we are at a loss to interpret such differences as may occur, and indeed we have no possible common standard of measurement'.[1]

A third point that might be raised with reference to Francke's theories is the obvious contradiction in the two assertions that the child's imitativeness leads to an early adjustment to the adult pattern of behaviour, and that the result of initiation is a similar integration of the adolescent native into the traditions of the tribe. If the former process, almost in infancy, achieves what initiation is made to accomplish ten years later, how much truth is in the first proposition, and what facts are covered by the second? Are we here dealing with two altogether different processes, and if so, what is their meaning?

On the whole, Francke felt that his results were inconclusive. He regretted that much of the evidence was of doubtful value and that in the field of psychology little actual observation had been carried out. He modestly called his book not a solution of, but a contribution to the elucidation of the problems involved. Because he so clearly realized the tentative nature of his findings, he was the more prepared to learn from others, and thus he became the first scholar to present a historical survey of works dealing with the subject (cf. footnote 1 (*c*), p. 19). In this he gave short résumés of the books discussed, but did not attempt a critical evaluation or an analysis into the main underlying assumptions.

6. *Improvements in Methods of Study*

Before the Great War, the interest aroused in the nature of primitive education led to a many-sided advance in the methods of studying the problem. This advance followed along several routes. First, the extravagant stories of earlier travellers were gradually being replaced by tribal monographs. These put the life of the child into the wider setting of the activities of the group, and thus its more capricious features were seen to be but proportionate to the general difference between primitive and civilized peoples. The emphasis was still too much on ceremonial and on the critical phases of childhood, yet the biographical arrangement of the

[1] Kennedy-Fraser, D., *The Psychology of Education* (London, 1935), p. 21.

material, and the utilization of observations over prolonged periods exercised a moderating influence.

The first landmark in this process was Spencer and Gillen's descriptive account of *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*,[1] which became famous for its intimate account of initiation. Spieth's *Die Ewe-stämme*,[2] a work published seven years later, recorded in a most painstaking manner, the games of the children of a West African tribe, and showed that many legal conceptions were modified by consideration for the child. It was followed in 1912 by the classical pre-war tribal monograph, Junod's *The Life of a South African Tribe*.[3] In it, the biographical arrangement reached a very high level. In well-documented manner Junod accompanies the infant from birth through the first week and the nursing period (which culminates in two or three rites signifying the entry of the child into a new phase of existence) to the moment when to facilitate weaning the child is transferred to his grandparents. Junod enables us to watch the Thonga-to-be during childhood, herding goats, and learning how to pass his time by playing and how to subsist by stealing. Finally, in the section dealing with puberty, the adolescent tribesman is first separated by numerous rites from the company of uncircumcized boys, has then to spend a 'marginal period' in isolation from society, and is at last aggregated in a pompous ceremony to his adult fellow countrymen.[4]

The usefulness of the biographical method was greatly enhanced where it was used by natives themselves. Those among them who had spent their childhood in wigwam or kraal and had then been educated in European schools were now in a position to describe the indigenous educational process from the inside. Among such autobiographies, Eastman's *Indian Boyhood*[5] is perhaps the most valuable. In it the author pours out his heart in sad memory of a great and unique culture now irretrievably doomed. The recollections of his thrilling, wild life were written for his little son, who

[1] Spencer, B., and Gillen, F. J., *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899).

[2] Spieth, J., *Die Ewe-stämme* (Berlin, 1906).

[3] Junod, H. A., *The Life of a South African Tribe* (London, 1912), 2 vols.

[4] The differentiation of a sequence of rites into those of separation, transition (margin), and aggregation was taken over by Junod from A. van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage* (Paris, 1909).

[5] Eastman, C., *Indian Boyhood* (New York, 1914). Cf. also Jenks, A. E., *Childhood of Jishib, the Ojibwa* (Chicago, 1901).

came too late to behold for himself. As we would expect, the Sioux boy enjoyed such a life as boys dream of. Yet it did not exhaust itself in wild sports and games, in hunting expeditions and fierce lacrosse battles. The parents bent all their efforts to giving the child the best traditions of both their ancestries. By relating the history of the family and questioning the boy with regard to it, they aroused his interest. Later a professional teacher told him of the brave deeds of the family heroes. The boy's opportunities in his free life in Nature were not wasted. Almost every evening his observations were checked and names supplied for those objects which were new to him. The parents enlightened him regarding the forces of Nature. Their advice on hunting was: Take into account the habits and temperament of the prey, and consider the consequences of the wanton destruction of animal life. By such methods his desire to become a skilful hunter was turned into an irresistible force. To ensure the achievement of this ambition, the boy must sacrifice his beloved dog-companion. He was not ordered to do so, but by a skilful rousing of his sense of devotion to the 'Great Mystery' his willingness was ensured, and then strengthened by the presence of admiring onlookers. Neither was he made to look on when his dog-companion died, yet he was allowed to see that even his tutor wavered in taking the irretrievable step. At last the turmoil in the boy's heart was hushed as he approached the 'Great Mystery' with his offering.

Without considering the experiences of parent and child, of tutor and pupil themselves, it will be impossible to give a fair estimate of indigenous education. This is the lesson to be learnt from autobiographies of natives. For what foreign observer could have felt himself into the emotions stirring in the hearts of the actors in this drama, or fathomed the tenderness which made the tutor hesitate, and the sense of consecration which moved the boy to part willingly with his dearest companion? But in this interplay of emotions, and in the mutual adjustments to them, is exemplified one of the educational factors of life.

African autobiographies emphasizing education in the manner of Eastman have not yet appeared,[1] yet many a good book on tribal

[1] *Tau, the Chieftain's Son*, by G. H. Franz (Dundee, Natal, 1929), describes with insight the childhood and education of a Suto. The author is a missionary's son.

life incorporates the reminiscences of old people, and, in the quickly growing indigenous literature of the Bantu, childhood recollections make their appearance. In the biography of Shaka, the demoniac Zulu chief, written by a South African native, we are given a glimpse of the youth of an African hero. Dr. Aggrey planned to describe the educational system of some of his own, peoples, viz. the Poro and Bundo, and if he had been able to complete the task, his interpretation would probably have stressed aspects which are inaccessible to a Western mind.[1]

The third line of advance in methodology was the perfection of the observational technique. In this respect, Kidd's *Savage Childhood*,[2] embodying a vast array of detailed notes on the life of Kafir children, must be considered as the most successful achievement. Pleasantly free from theoretical discussions, it owes its charm to the author's congeniality with childish ways and thought and to the omission of a record covering the time of puberty. For it is difficult to give sympathetic treatment to this critical phase of life with its fantastic initiation rites and still stranger period of seclusion. By limiting his observations to the period of infancy and childhood, Kidd opened up a most valuable approach, which led away from the spectacular to the silent and continuous forces moulding the savage child, yet did not ignore the sturdy independence of the growing African. Without omitting the irksome ritual to which a child is submitted, Kidd gave delightful close-ups of its life. We listen to the native mother singing lullabies to her baby, and mentioning its name oftener and oftener as the song fades away. The gradual dawn of self-consciousness is traced, leading up to such questions of the children about themselves as: 'Is this body my real me?' 'Have we changed from yesterday?' 'What is it in me that does the thinking?' Another scene depicts some dust-covered boys idling in the fields. They are embarrassed as their father approaches. Rolling eyes betray their sense of guilt; on being scolded, one pouts his lips, the other pokes with a stick in the earth, a third twirls a piece of grass. There is nothing to be surprised about in the account of the disciplinary relationship between parent and child. The children

[1] Mofolo, *Chaka* (London, 1931). Smith, E. W., *Aggrey of Africa* (London, 1929), p. 108.
[2] Kidd, D., *Savage Childhood* (London, 1906).

show respect for old men, but boys may annoy or neglect their mothers. Parents are fond of their children, though they do not demonstrate their affection; they do not fuss about trifles, but keep their offspring well in order. The growing boy's ambition is to become rich in cattle, wives and children, and to prove his courage on the day of circumcision, or in village brawls and tribal wars. He also dreams of days of leisure to come, of beer carousals, of deferential treatment from youngsters. Boys and girls make their own dolls, each sex being careful to play only with dolls which represent the external characteristics of their owners. Small boys, when not observed, do play with their sister's dolls, but if discovered they are laughed at. For these dolls, the Kafir children build miniature huts with all the details true to life. Among the herds-boys fagging is rampant. The leader among them sends boys away to steal food and drink for him. If successful in their expeditions, they are rewarded with a diminutive share; if caught, the fag-master gives them a thrashing. Teasing and bullying is the prerogative of the older boys; the sensitive youngsters are punished for their tears. The book ends with an account of a children's evening party, the boys enjoying rollicking games round a fire on a hill, the girls gossiping and listening to the tales of the kraal's grandmother. There is a touch of poetic truthfulness about Kidd's book which makes it valuable for all time. From page to page, one grows fonder of the little brown rascals he so deftly describes at their pursuits. If a doubt arises, it is with regard to the chapter on the dawn of self-consciousness. Here, Kidd is obviously far too anxious to show in the mental development of the Kafir child the emergence of those logical confusions between the self and its environment which formed part of the then prevailing theory of animism. He was also influenced by Baldwin's[1] theories of the growth of 'self-hood' in three stages, the projective (*alter*), the subjective (*ego*) and ejective (*socius*). Correspondingly, Kidd over-emphasizes to some extent the egoism of the Kafir ('humility is unknown'), and those cases in which a person's possession or action is apparently identified with him, and others in which the individual seems to be submerged into the corporate union of the clan.

Another enthusiastic observer of child life was Weule, who in a

[1] Baldwin, J. M., *Mental Development in the Child and the Race* (New York, 1900), pp. ix, 118, and 334–9.

great number of short articles[1] discussed its various aspects and conveyed a similar zeal to his many students,[2] most notable among whom was Francke. Weule pointed out the remarkable elusiveness of the native child: he might explore the country for months without seeing a toy or instrument used by children, yet on pressing the natives to offer him such objects for sale he would be overwhelmed with them.

Another advance in method due to two publications from the pen of Steinmetz[3] has unfortunately remained unheeded for a generation. He proved the value of a comparative approach as providing working hypotheses for observational field work. *Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe* contains the novel idea that parental punishment, as evolved in the human family, is the prototype of the penal authority of governments. To prove this assumption, it becomes necessary to study discipline in the primitive family. Concerning it, two schools of thought exist: one following Maine[4] asserts the absolute subjection of the child under its father's authority, since the social organization is patriarchal. The opposite is maintained by Spencer,[5] who relies on observers that report a mild treatment of the primitive child. Steinmetz, introducing the method of frequency counts for the various possibilities, found a preponderance of cases of indulgence or non-education. Less numerous are the instances in which slight corporal punishment is reported, and in only one case out of nine is strict discipline enforced. But though this comparison seems to uphold Spencer's contention, his inference that indulgence coincides with matriarchal conditions is wrong, because it is also reported in patriarchal tribes: the primitive father is not less

[1] Weule, K., 'Babies in Afrika', *Vossische Zeitung* (1898). 'Knabenspiele im dunklen Welteil', *Kölnische Volkszeitung* (1898). 'Afrikanisches Kinderspielzeug', *Ethnologisches Notizblatt*, ii, Heft 1. 'Aus dem afrikanischen Kinderleben', *Westermann's Illustrierte Monatshefte* (1899). 'Negerpädagogik', *Jahrbuch des städtischen Museums für Volkerkunde zu Leipzig* (1928). *Negerleben in Ostafrika* (Leipzig, 1908).

[2] Cf. Reche, *In Memoriam Karl Weule* (Leipzig, 1929), containing the following articles: Francke, E., 'Neuere Forschungen über die Erziehung und die Entwicklung des Kindes bei den Naturvölkern'; Germann, P., 'Afrikanische Puppen', ibid., pp. 123–48 (bibliography); Damm, H., 'Kreiselspiele bei den Indonesiern und Südseevölkern', ibid., pp. 288–334.

[3] Steinmetz, S. R. (*a*) *Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe* (Leiden, 1894), 2 vols. (vol. ii, section 6). (*b*) 'Das Verhältnis zwischen Eltern und Kindern bei den Naturvölkern', *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*, I (1889), pp. 607 *seq.*

[4] Maine, H. S., *Ancient Law*, p. 145; quoted by Steinmetz.

[5] Spencer, H., *Principles of Sociology*, i, p. 714; quoted by Steinmetz.

lenient than the mother, and the mother's brother may be a disciplinarian. It seems that only a theory admitting multiple causation can be satisfactory: exogamy placing the child between two families which cancel each other in their educational effect; polygamy diverting the father's attention; the long suckling period extending the mother's gentleness; the simplicity of life making early economic independence possible for the child; the lack of moral norms, the desire for martial distinction, the father's, or mother's brother's fear of his son or nephew who is to replace him —all these are factors accounting for the lack of discipline and therewith of education in the simplest societies. Neither patriarchy, nor a warlike tendency of the tribe, nor both together explain the presence of discipline; there is no evolution from original rudeness to later gentleness; the historical development reveals the same state of affairs as a sociological cross-section: in the lowest stage or class, indulgence or neglect; in the middle stages or classes, strictness; only in the highest form of nation or class does the child receive its due consideration!

Apart from the rather sweeping identification of discipline and education, and the over-frequent recourse to biological analogies, both Steinmetz's method and conclusion were sound. The frequency count over the whole range of possibilities was to be skilfully used by Westermarck and Hobhouse. His insistence on multiple causation to explain puzzling ethnological phenomena might with advantage have been appreciated sooner in our subject. It might have checked the wide acceptance of the view that parental love is a variable function of the social organization. By a clever juxtaposition of comparative material, and contradictory evidence, he was able to lift the problem he studied out of a quagmire of prejudice and preconceived ideas.

The comparative approach to educational facts among primitive people was taken up again only after the Great War, thirty years later. Krieck, to whom we owe the reintroduction of this fruitful method, made the ambitious attempt to compare, not only an isolated educational device, such as punishment, or an emotional attitude in the relationship between parents and children, but also larger educational complexes by introducing his conception of human types.[1] In Krieck's opinion, human types such as emerge in the history of mankind are the subject matter of

[1] Krieck, E., *Menschenformung* (Leipzig, 1925).

comparative education. By a type he understands the special 'form' which individuals assume when striving towards a common ideal. The instruments inducing such human types to come into existence are the social groupings. The most fundamental of these are the territorial groups, such as household and village. In them common production and consumption of economic goods lead to technical differentiation, co-operation and a common outlook on life. Religious sanctions secure conformity and confidence, while the natural environment determines the kind of activities and their extent. Of similar basic importance are those groupings which are derived from the fact of sex. Prenuptial intercourse is merely sexual. In order to fulfil the procreative function of sex relations, the institution of marriage is necessary and families must be founded. The family secures the social position of the individual, and by subordinating the son to the father lays the basis of piety and authority. The special formative force of kinship is the solidarity of its members on the basis of vicarious responsibility. Another advantage of the kinship groupings for education lies in their being self-contained. But their limited range must be obviated by supplementary groupings. As such are listed age-classes and age-grades. The former are an axis round which revolve all non-kinship forces. They are thus of political importance, and may become the nuclei of states. Hence membership in them depends on selection, and only strict discipline can safeguard common action. Age-grades are based on natural age-periods, and usually comprise four stages into which an individual is introduced through successive initiations. Social and psychic functions are the same all over the world, yet each social organism emphasises one aspect more than another by elaborating an ideal and forming a suitable type of man in accordance with it. This process does not result in stunting the other social and psychic possibilities, for the individual may belong to many social organisms, such as a profession, a party, a community, a family, a nation, and so forth, each shaping one side of his make-up. The human urge for advancement in any one of these spheres gives scope to educational efforts. Training is facilitated if it grows out of a tradition which represents the typified achievements of past generations.

The particular methods employed by primitive social organisms in creating suitable human types are 'charismatic' training,

instruction, and apprenticeship.[1] The first aims not at the learning of knowledge or skill, but at the acquisition of a special gift conferring supernatural powers. This may be accomplished in three different ways: there are intellectual-mystical preparation in a special procedure of salvation, ethical-aesthetic training in the ethos of a profession, and magical-ecstatic excitation of a crisis in the novice to induce new attitudes. The second method, that of instruction, combines two elements, mythology and morality. Both are interconnected, as the code of behaviour is justified by a mythological charter. Here we have the beginnings of schooling. In apprenticeship, the prevailing social organization clearly determines the kind of training. In undifferentiated societies imitative play is sufficient. In differentiated societies vocational training becomes systematic and makes possible the advance from a magical outlook on life to a rational one. In this process the 'speaking' professions take the lead.

Magic and rationality are complementary. Magic is based on communal consciousness, and is essentially pessimistic. It helps to explain life and to face its crises by a continuous recreation of the 'charisma' in dances, rites, and festivals. Rationality arises in the individual, its basis is optimism, hence it can replace 'charismatic' preparation by schooling. Comparative education, to be of real value, must therefore view the pedagogical process from as many angles as possible, and lead out from a narrow professional concept of education to one which includes the width of educational experience. Education is then seen to be a common human possession, a universal aspect of humanity.

Some of Krieck's distinctions seem to be unwarranted. The acquisition of a special gift always involves some sort of instruction, and apprenticeship is impossible without a call, a vocation. His restriction of the discussion to formal processes of training excludes all that educational experience which might be called the 'unconscious integration' of the child with society. But the fundamental criticism of Krieck's profound schemes is that they are built on second-hand theoretical elaborations, as those of Schurtz.[2]

A more immediate use of the field reports of reliable observers was made by Anneliese Eilers in her dissertation, *Die sozialen Beziehungen des Kindes bei den Bantunegern*.[3] Though not

[1] Krieck, E., *Bildungssysteme der Kulturvölker* (Leipzig, 1927).
[2] Schurtz, K., *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* (Berlin, 1902).
[3] Eilers, A., *Die sozialen Beziehungen des Kindes bei den Bantunegern* (Hamburg, 1927).

directly dealing with the problem of education, her study incorporates a well-balanced evaluation of the social relations of the Bantu child to the various members of its family, kinship group, ancestry, clan, and tribe. Her conclusion is that the social organization hardly affects the parent-child relation. The low position of the woman does not reflect itself in a lowered degree of maternal or filial affection. Where alienation between mother and son is reported (as among the Chaga and Kafirs) it is the result of other factors, such as a predominating clan solidarity, or a cultural emphasis on military qualities. Similarly, polygamy cannot be said to worsen the child's lot: the quarrelsomeness of the mothers does not worry their children. Under conditions of mother-right, a family life in our sense is impossible. It is replaced by life in the kinship group[1] where the child is as happy, protected by the mother's brother, as in father-right by its father. When the latter is combined with polygamy, jealousy among wives centres round questions of inheritance, for they all wish to secure shares for their children. However, customary law checks excesses in exploiting their common husband's favours. When the child loses its mother, it may get into difficulties, for the protection of the mother's kin is not extended to a child living under father-right. However, the distinction between father-right and mother-right is too arbitrary to be really helpful. When Torday called the Congo tribes matriarchal, he neglected those cases in which the father pawned, sold, and married his children—in other words, was exercising his legal rights of ownership over them. Likewise matriliny does not always extend over the whole range of culture. In cases where inheritance and descent are matrilineal, succession in professions may be patrilineal. Likewise the transmission of hereditary qualities, such as the prophetic gift or medical skill, may be patrilineal. A study of the sociological position of the Bantu child teaches, therefore, that one should be careful to distinguish between the many aspects in which either patrilineal or matrilineal

[1] The German term, *Sippe*, for which throughout I shall use the term 'kinship' and its derivatives, has led to many confusions of theory and thought. It may be identified with 'clan', which in accepted usage means a kinship group determined in its composition by unilateral descent, following either the mother or father. Or *Sippe* may mean a group which is bilateral, including relatives both in the female and male line, and thus connotes the same as kindred. Some German authors have kept the two meanings distinct by introducing into German the English term 'clan'; others, among them Eilers, have not been able to keep the two connotations apart.

ideas may predominate, and that little is gained by dubbing a whole culture by the term mother-right or father-right.

This useful survey was supplemented a few years later by an article which dealt expressly with the education of primitive children: 'Wesen und Aufbau der Erziehung primitiver Völker'.[1] Hilde Hedenus was, like Anneliese Eilers, a representative of the Hamburg school of ethnology, which under the leadership of men like Thilenius and Meinhof has remained aloof from fitting fact into a preconceived scheme, be it historical or sociological in nature. If her article is less satisfactory than Eilers's dissertation the reason lies in the inadequacy of the material at her disposal. In surveying the problems of methodology arising in our subject, she points out that our definition of education must be widened to include rearing and the discontinuous and unplanned efforts of the parents. In another section she deals with the difficulties of distinguishing historical stages of primitive education, proposing as one of her criteria the 'dialectical' process between educator and pupil. On the whole, she thinks Steinmetz's classification satisfactory, but feels that a reference to biological, sociological, and religious factors as conditions for such an evolution is necessary. She then proceeds to discuss the problem of the native's educability, and quite clearly introduces a subject which has not necessarily anything to do with our problem. For to her educability is defined by the psychical differences between native and European, and thus must be interpreted as implying the native's capacity for acquiring *our*, not his own, cultural possessions. Her discussion of primitive pedagogical techniques is conventional, but in the next section she deals with the educators, among whom she differentiates between private and public ones, the former being parents, contemporaries, kindred, as, for instance, grandparents, and the latter including tribal elders, priests and recently initiated tribesmen. She stresses the self-educational function of play, and contradicts assertions made as to the lack of originality of the native child. Training for work is, according to her, incidental except where magical formulae and ritual are required to make physical exertions successful. Summing up, she asserts that in primitive education the tension between individual and society is successfully dissolved, but in a manner peculiar to indigenous

[1]Hedenus, H., 'Wesen und Aufbau der Erziehung primitiver Völker', *Baessler-Archiv*, 1932, pp. 105–63.

culture, which we should try to appreciate as a structural entity rather than criticize by reference to standards to which we have become accustomed. Hence she believes that primitive culture is passive, aiming at adapting itself to external conditions, rather than active. This is the quality by means of which our civilization has succeeded in fashioning Nature to its own liking. Primitive passive adaptiveness accounts thus for the lack of obedience, the exaggerated role of imitation and the precocious occupation with matters of sex, the three facts that nullify many acceptable tendencies of primitive education.

7. *Schools of Culture History*

The outbreak of the Great War rudely checked for about a decade improvements in method as well as the extension and intensification of observation of native children. It also accounted for the oblivion into which the meritorious studies of Francke fell. How valuable Francke's historical survey might have been—had it been used by later students of the subject—may be gauged from the fact that, except for Todd, who acknowledges his indebtedness to F. C. Spencer and Steinmetz, many of the pre-war and most of the post-war authors thought themselves to be starting from scratch! Thus it is possible for an anthropologist, in talking of indigenous education in Africa, recently to assert that 'the problem, has indeed, never been precisely formulated'.[1] It is no wonder, then, that colonial educators, who have more or less to rely on the researches of anthropologists, complain that 'the question whether the native of Africa had, before his contact with the European, anything approaching a conception or practice of education is one that has not yet been adequately discussed by educationists, much less by anthropologists'.[2] As our historical survey proves, it is due only to lack of mutual appreciation among investigators into indigenous education that the advance made in the subject has so far not borne fruit. Kidd knew nothing of Chamberlain, Steinmetz and F. C. Spencer. His complaint that literature on the subject was scarce may be excused, because,

[1] Fortes, M., 'Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland', Supplement to *Africa*, vol. xi, No. 4, 1938, p. 6.

[2] Scott, H. S., 'The Development of the Education of the African in Relation to Western Contact', *The Year Book of Education*, 1938; quoted from the *Colonial Review*, February, 1939, p. 2.

being a missionary in South Africa, he did not have access to all sources of information.

But such an excuse cannot be advanced for Hambley, who, in a superficial and desultory manner and by a badly disguised application of the scissors-and-paste method, proposed to solve the riddle of the origins of education among primitive peoples.[1] Hambley, who was anthropologist for the Wellcome Mission to the Sudan, had become infatuated by the 'pan-Egyptianism' of Professor Elliot Smith and Dr. W. J. Perry.[2] These scholars had elaborated a theory which placed the home of civilization in Egypt. Thence, they argued, this 'archaic culture' had been spread by a series of migrations of the 'Children of the Sun' into all parts of the world, where its main features are still discernible, though obviously modified. Hambley believed that also for education 'the hypothesis of a genesis in the archaic civilization of Egypt, as opposed to that of repeated independent evolution, provides in some measure a satisfactory explanation of many otherwise inexplicable identities in many widely separated societies'. In consequence, he is inclined to find in many native analogies to Egyptian usages proof of their common origin. He maintains especially that seven characteristics of initiation recur so constantly that the 'suggestion of a psychic unity (of mankind) giving rise to independent origins' must be discarded. These seven factors are purification, circumcision, endurance tests, moral instruction, magical transfer of power from elders to novices, isolation and training in magic. In a subsequent chapter he adds that the moral requirements of the 'Negative Confession' in the famous *Book of the Dead* are similar to those taught during primitive puberty rites.[3]

Unknown to Hambley, the resemblance between Egyptian and savage educational facts had already been noticed by Letourneau. In the section dealing with the 'Negroes of Superior Race',[4] he mentioned that the formation of the Kafir age-class by uniting

[1] Hambley, W. D., *Origins of Education among Primitive Peoples. A Comparative Study in Racial Development* (London, 1926). In the bibliography of his book, such standard works on primitive education as F. C. Spencer, Todd, Francke, Steinmetz, Letourneau, Chamberlain and Eastman are missing.

[2] Smith, G. E., *The Migrations of Early Culture* (London, 1911). Perry, W. J., (*a*) *The Children of the Sun* (London, 1923). (*b*) *The Growth of Civilization* (London, Second Edition, 1926).

[3] Hambley, W. D., ibid., pp. 128–9, 338.

[4] Letourneau, loc. cit., pp. 88 *seq.*

the youth of the tribe to a son or the heir of the chief, resembled the raising of a bodyguard for Sesostris, the son of Sesoostis, King of ancient Egypt, from the able-bodied males born on the same day as the heir. It is of course possible that in this particular case there was an historical connexion. But the mere discovery of an analogy suggestive of contact between nations in the past supplies only a working hypothesis, which to be verified would need an elaborate proof in at least two directions: first, that the analogies when seen at work in their respective cultures actually function in a similar way, and secondly, that the method of transference can be ascertained and made to account for any modifications in the original. But in these two respects Hambley fails us altogether; he does not even see the necessity for giving such proof.[1] Yet his master, Dr. Perry, attempted to explain cruel methods of education by assuming that they only occurred in communities that had adopted violent modes of behaviour as the result of the migration of warrior aristocracies and the diffusion of *the* archaic military organization throughout the world.[2] While I cannot admit that Hambley has proved his main thesis, it may be granted that among Englishmen he was one of the first to draw attention to the practical importance of a knowledge of primitive education and childlife, and that his sympathetic attitude towards the native does credit to his work.

As the principal weakness of Hambley's book lies in the vagueness of his historical conjectures, one turns with great expectations to a school of thought which claims to be able to estimate the age of the cultures. Pater W. Schmidt, following the lead of Graebner and Anckermann,[3] proposed to do this by a classification of cultures, using sociological, economic and religious criteria to evaluate their succession. But perhaps the main feature of the 'culture history' school is its insistence not so much on origins, but on the

[1] Even among those who hold that the problem of the origins of institutions is a geographical rather than a psychological problem, there is no agreement. Thus Rivers held in his *Social Organization* that the cultural centre, from which the secret societies—and thus initiation into them—of both Melanesia and West Africa had been derived, could be located in Western Asia.

[2] Perry, W. J., (*a*) *The Children of the Sun*, p. 493; (*b*) *The Growth of Civilization* p. 207. The juxtaposition made by Dr. Perry of military nations with strict education and agriculturalists-traders with an indulgent education had already been mooted by Spencer, H., *Principles of Ethics*, vol. i, p. 376.

[3] Schmidt, W., and Koppers, W., *Völker und Kulturen*, Part I: *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft der Völker* (Regensburg, 1924). Schmidt, W. also gives an account of Australian initiation in *Die geheime Jugendweihe eines australischen Urstammes* (Paderborn, 1923).

borrowing of technological phenomena and social institutions. By resorting to hypothetical migrations of such features, it is enabled to explain away inconsistencies discovered in the actual culture of a tribe when compared with the historical scheme. For certain reasons, the Vienna section of the school has been greatly interested in education on the primitive level.[1] As initiation is a most obvious pedagogical institution, the attempt was made to characterise the cultures distinguished by the additional criterion of the presence or absence of girls' or boys' initiation. Thus Gusinde[2] maintained that the primordial cultures could be divided into three groups; the central group embracing the pygmies and pygmoids has an initiation in original purity and beauty, both sexes being taught in religious, ethical and social obligations; the southern group (Fuegians, Tasmanians, and Australians) separates girls and boys during initiation, and the northern group (Eskimo) retains only traces of these rites. In the primary cultures, again, three subdivisions appear, the matriarchal agriculturalists with female initiation only, the totemic hunters with boys' initiation now enriched by circumcision, and the nomadic cattle breeders among whom initiation disappears. The higher secondary cultures represent a mixture of totemic and matriarchal features, initiation is separate for boys and girls, and coupled with circumcision. This imaginary construction was by implication refuted by another member of this school, Walk,[3] who admits that in order to be able to describe primitive education as historically and culturally graded, the pedagogical type of each stage and culture area will have to be worked out. With the material available at present even this preliminary study is hardly possible.

But Walk, too, believed that culture and education stand in a relationship of correspondence, the two factors most important for determining the type of education being the organization of the family and the political structure of the society. The family is the natural educational agency. Where it is not subjected to political

[1] Oehl, 'Erziehung und Unterricht bei Naturvölkern', *Vierteljahrschrift für wissenschaftliche Pädagogik* (1925).

[2] Gusinde, 'Erziehung und Unterricht bei Naturvölkern', *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft* (Wien, 1927), pp. 163–70.

[3] Walk, L. (*a*) 'Die ersten Lebensjahre des Kindes in Südafrika', *Anthropos* (1928), pp. 38–109. (*b*) 'Initiationszeremonien und Pubertätsriten der südafrikanischen Stämme', *Anthropos* (1928), pp. 860–95. (*c*) 'Die Erziehung bei den Naturvölkern', in Schrötteler, J., *Handbuch der Erziehungswissenschaft* (München, 1934), vi.

control, as on the primordial level, it is also monogamous, due honour being given to the wife and mother, and it appears to be ideal for a balanced and many-sided training of the child. Further development results in a deterioration. In father-right boys are united into anti-familial age-classes; in mother-right the father's authority is curtailed, totemism strengthens the hold of the State on the individual, and the authoritarian political organization of males exclusively claims the education of the boys. In consequence, tribal education becomes opposed to family education, although its proper function is complementary. It attempts in many ways to integrate the adolescent with society. Traditional knowledge and religion are passed on to him. With the latter is intimately linked a training in social duties inculcating acceptance of parental authority, altruism, seriousness of mind, self-control, and sexual morality. He receives a practical professional training which disciplines the will and forms the character. In an ascetic part this character training is lifted to an unimpeachable height: suffering of pain without complaint, fasting, silence, mortification and humiliation help to create the ideal character. A ritual part unites the new member of the tribe with the supernatural world; its ceremonies make a new man of him.

There are some obvious contradictions in the theories of Walk. If the State, which remains an undefined monster, really causes the deterioration of primitive education, why is it that initiation, the tribal pedagogical institution *par excellence*, is characterized by practices of whose educational value Walk is obviously convinced? Again, when familial education on the primordial level is praised because it considers the individual, this sounds unconvincing as later the unconditional respect for authority is said to be the basis of society, morality and religion, and such desirable submissiveness to the leadership of old age is shown to be produced through initiation! The assertion that the 'culture history' school made any ethnological evolutionism impossible is presumptuous, considering the ease with which Walk, Gusinde, and others introduce arbitrary educational criteria of progress and retrogression. Yet the school supplies us with some further assumptions about the nature of primitive education, which will have to be tested in the light of experience.

So far we have been dealing with authors who claimed modifications in education in agreement with changes in the nature of the

family or the general culture. It may be expected that under the influence of socialistic theories the attempt has been made to show its dependence on the economic system. Barth, in *Die Geschichte der Erziehung in soziologischer und geisteswissenschaftlicher Bedeutung*,[1] maintained that the three pedagogical stages, distinguished by Steinmetz twenty years before, were explicable on the assumption that the economic activities of a people, by exercising the will of the parents and elders, also influenced the training of the young. Thus indulgence was most prevalent among fishers and hunters, whose skill and morality could be assimilated by mere imitation. Among cattle-breeders some training was obviously necessary; here, then, we must look for the origins of discipline. Strict discipline should be found combined with agriculture, which requires the co-operation of many under patriarchal leadership. As Spencer and Perry combine strictness with a military régime, and consider peasants and traders to be mild parents, it is obvious that sweeping correlations between types of economics and systems of education must be received with caution. Steinmetz's multiple causation theory is much more plausible.

As far as I know, the Marxian doctrine has never since Barth been applied to primitive education in such a crude form. Eiselen,[2] it is true, argued in a painstaking manner that where tribal economy was based on hunting, a male occupation, the uncertainty of success led first to the development of magic, and in consequence to the elaboration of rites through which young men were admitted to the circle of fully initiated hunters. When hoe-culture was introduced, women performed the tasks of economic importance. But this did not, as one might expect, lead everywhere to the formation of female secret societies and initiation. The reason was that agriculture, on account of its greater reliability, was less bound up with magic than the chase. Moreover, where hoe-culture prevailed, men had so much time to spare for social pursuits that a number of diverse male associations could spring up. With the introduction of cattle-breeding, the position was reversed. Marriage became patrilocal again, and the labour of men was once more the tribal business. The chief occupation of youths being to protect and steal cattle, initiation lost its magical aspects and served

[1] Barth, P., *Die Geschichte der Erziehung in soziologischer und geisteswissenschaftlicher Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1913).
[2] Eiselen, W., *Stamskole in Suid-afrika* (Pretoria, 1929).

chiefly military ends. Where, as among most Bantu peoples, tribal economy was based on a combination of cattle-breeding and hoe-farming, initiation could either be abandoned or develop into a school in tribal customs and religion. Eiselen's explanation suffers by the fact that he must admit two important exceptions. If a definite economic method, such as hunting, necessitates an education for it, there is no reason to suppose that an economic method based on the work of the other sex can do without such an education. Again, if the origin of secret male associations is due to a specific economic method, it is contradictory to assume that the absence of any economic activity similarly leads to the formation of exclusive associations.

What remains, therefore, of Eiselen's argument is the suggestion that initiation originated from a magical or religious interest. This had already been asserted in a particular form by Webster.[1] According to him, the core of initiation rites consists in the imparting of totemic cults. Consequently, the origins of education must go back to those times in which human groups were joined under the symbol of a totem whose care and worship were considered essential in procuring prosperity. This happened when the prevailing human organization was as yet the totemic clan and not the tribe. Against this theory, Rivers remarked that it was inadmissible to derive one complex social institution, such as secret societies, from another highly organized grouping, such as the totemic clan.

Another objection to Webster's theory is that, in view of the weakness of the totemic beliefs of the present day, he cannot explain the continuous emergence of new secret societies. Schurtz, apparently, is much nearer the truth when he assumes two sociological tendencies at work in the formation of human associations, and the educational institution of the age-class.[2] The one tendency, based on the distinction of sex, results in the division of the tribe into the inherently sociable men and the essentially unsociable women; the other, proceeding on the principle of age, evolves a tripartite division of society into children, unmarried adolescents and married adults. The operation of these tendencies under varying historical circumstances accounts for the different

[1] Webster, H., *Primitive Secret Societies* (New York, 1908).

[2] Schurtz, K., op. cit. Schurtz's arguments are chiefly based on accounts of the Masai social organization, which more than half a century ago the Chaga were inclined to assimilate.

kinds of associations with their peculiar systems of training and initiation. Among them, those of a political nature are, in Schurtz's opinion, the most important for social history. Schurtz's distinction between sociable males and asocial females seems out of place, as is also his apparent neglect of female secret societies and initiation. On the other hand, the principles of age and sex are important differentiating factors in all human societies, and an attempt will be made to describe their educational implications among the Chaga.

8. *American School of Anthropology*

The assumption that native culture should be conceived as a whole whose underlying characteristic determines its various aspects, and among them education, was one of the *leit-motifs* in our historical survey. K. Schmid talked of the immanent principle active in each ethnic unit. Francke's inter-relating of ontogenetic and phylogenetic development led Vierkandt to emphasize that cultural arrest could not be explained by reference to an original psychological urge for development, but only by seeing in each culture a structural whole. The culture history school, too, tended towards a similar view, but, being more interested in specific culture traits, such as initiation, both characterized a whole culture complex by a particular trait and traced its passage from one culture to another. Similar problems exercised the minds of American anthropologists when they attempted to correlate the vast amount of material accumulated for their continent. Under the leadership of Boas, it was mapped out into culture-areas each with a distinct material culture, the traits of which are assumed to be exchangeable under certain psychological conditions.

Culture, according to this school, occurs in 'patterns', which influence the life of every individual belonging to a particular configuration. To understand the working of a culture, it becomes necessary to fathom the spirit or genius of it. But the specific quality of each culture cannot be defined in terms of cultural contents alone. It must be approached from a subjective yet empirical point of view. The soundness of the method depends on whether all significant aspects of a culture can be subsumed under one attitude or interrelated attitudes constituting its genius.[1]

[1] For a popular treatment of three well-known tribes cf. R. Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1934).

If this configurationist view of culture is true, it must, of course, be readily discoverable in education. For as the school also holds that differences in patterns are not a matter of racial heredity, observation should be able to mark the process by which an individual is made to fit into the cultural forms. Margaret Mead, in her field work in Oceania, which she described in three books and several important articles,[1] worked along such theoretical lines. She attempted to combine the subjective approach with a statistical method, and studied individual cases intensively. Nevertheless, her reports remained impressionistic, and the wealth of detail which she collected of the life of children and girls of Samoa, Manus, and New Guinea could not be shown to be interconnected in 'forms' such as theory demands.

In her first work, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, the problem she set herself to answer was, whether the increase in emotionality at adolescence—always a popular belief, and since Hall a psychological dogma[2]—was an inevitable phenomenon or a function of the cultural pattern. Her observations convinced her that at that period in life Samoan girls are not torn by mental conflicts, that the bodily changes do not coincide with disturbances in other spheres and that shallowness of personal relationships accounts for the ease with which girls pass out of their family into the arms of lovers and husbands. It appears as if Margaret Mead had undertaken her observations without an adequate analysis of the possible meanings of the term conflict. Apart from Hall's palaeo-psychic theory of recapitulation at adolescence of critical stages in the evolution of prehistoric man, the term conflict may simply stand for such facts as the intensification of old or the emergence of new psychic 'elements', or be used to connote the adaptations in the relations between parent and offspring which, sociological in nature, are legally recognized in coming-of-age ceremonies. Apparently, Margaret Mead's denial applies neither to the

[1] Mead, M. (*a*) *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1928). (*b*) *Growing up in New Guinea* (New York, 1930). (*c*) *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (New York, 1934). (*d*) 'An Investigation of the Thought of Primitive Children, with special Reference to Animism', *JRAI* (1932), p. 173.

[2] Wheeler, O. A., 'Variations in the Emotional Development of Normal Adolescents', *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol. i, pp. 1–12, says that G. S. Hall, L. S. Hollingworth, and herself agree that adolescence shows three tendencies: an increased feeling for self, an intensification of sex emotions, and the development of social, aesthetic and religious emotions. Margaret Mead's evidence does not contradict the emergence of similar psychic phenomena in the Samoan girl.

biological nor the psychological meaning of conflict, and to its sociological counterpart only in so far as the multiple choice of careers lying before a Western girl involves more possibilities of trouble with parents than in Samoa, where a girl has nothing to look forward to but marriage and motherhood.

In *Growing up in New Guinea*, Margaret Mead's gift of vivid description again hardly compensates for the disappointment with which the educationist reads the book. She succeeds in sketching the incidental education which leads, on the one hand, to an early mastery by the child of his body, e.g. in learning the methods of locomotion, such as swimming, and paddling, and on the other hand to a complete absence of routine and discipline. The resulting lack of contact of children with the life of their elders is made worse by a listlessness in imitation which is blamed for the cultural poverty of the Manus people. All this is due to the lack of a proper family life, for, strange to say, the Manus mother develops into a shrew as soon as the child is capable of negotiating the lagoons for himself. The child, fortunately, finds in its father an ever-pleasant and amusing playmate, who reserves cruelty and repression for his wife. As play-life is desultory, play-groups exercise little influence on the children, who come to accept their fathers' attitudes rather than their comrades'. By a round-about way, Margaret Mead has thus reached a position which strangely contrasts with her previous assertion that children do not participate in adult life, not even by imitation. Of such obvious contradictions the book contains many more examples, and they throw serious doubts on the interpretation of the evidence.

Margaret Mead's third book, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* contrasts three New Guinea tribes in their sexual conduct. The assumed but not explicitly stated definition of education underlying her work is that the physiological sex drives can be canalized by the general tendency of a culture into behaviour consonant with it. Thus the temperamental differences in sex attitudes are not innate, but function as elements in a variable cultural constellation. The power of education accordingly must be conceived as almost irresistible. Among the gentle Arapesh, training makes both sexes alike mild, co-operative and submissive to one and the same kind of sexual morality. Among the Mundugumor the cultural ideal is aggressiveness, violence, and indifference to the tender emotions. But, as among the Arapesh,

similar behaviour is enjoined upon both girl and boy! The Tchambuli fortunately obliged Margaret Mead by having a type of education which imposes different temperaments on the two sexes, men squandering their lives in recriminations, and women lording it over them, thanks to their domination of economic matters.

As before, one feels that Margaret Mead, by asserting the cultural relativity of temperament, introduces into its connotation a factor alien to it. It may, of course, be true that some of those effects on our mental activities, which we have so far believed to be caused by chemical changes in our bodies, can be shown to be the result of external influences. Yet nothing is gained by asserting that all temperamental differences are but distinct habits, and by fusing an individual characteristic into a social one. Cultural determinism, even if tempered by an empirical method, must of necessity deny the similarity of human needs and the uniformity in the methods of their satisfaction, which are facts of everyday experience. It must also, *ex hypothesi*, presuppose a degree of plasticity of the human make-up which is tantamount to disbelief in spontaneity. But such disbelief is contradicted, not only by the very first axiom of the science of education, but by the observation of every parent.

9. *The Functional School of Anthropology*

The salient feature in Margaret Mead's and Ruth Benedict's method was that native cultures were described as expressions of one mental quality. But their subjective approach led to a subjective concept of culture which accordingly had to be redefined for each people. It was precisely this danger which had prompted other thinkers to define culture in an objective and universally applicable manner, without abandoning the idea that each culture formed a structural whole, whose various institutions functioned interdependently. Stimulated by the dominating instinct psychology, Professor Malinowski,[1] had suggested that all cultural activities were modes of satisfying fundamental physiological needs, such as nutrition, mating and propagation, defence and comfort. Upon these had become super-imposed certain secondary needs, leading to the elaboration of knowledge, magic, religion, play, pastimes, and art. These secondary activities stand

[1] Malinowski, B., 'Culture': article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Fourteenth Edition.

essentially in the relation of means to an end to the primary needs. They are the social conditions for the continuity of community and culture, whereas the individual motives are culturally shaped appetites. The modification of such appetites to suit cultural norms is, of course, an educational phenomenon. Since Rousseau the antinomy nature versus culture has been a moot point.

But, apart from introducing this fruitful psychological approach into anthropology, Malinowski also contributed to a clarification of the views on the primitive family. This he did by linking anthropology with sociology. Believing that sociological principles and not chaotic absurdities underlie native community life, he suggested that the theoretical dualism between primitive family and clan might be overcome by showing in biographical studies of native children how from the initial situation in the family they grow into members of other groupings such as the kindred and the clan. Here he was influenced by psycho-analytical theory concerning the extension of behaviour, learned in the family, to extra-familial relations.

Malinowski's interest in primitive child-life is of long standing. In his doctorate thesis he had examined forty-four authors as to their opinions on the family among the Australian aborigines.[1] In the chapter on parents and children, he infers from the authors examined that the physiological relationship between mother and child forms the basis of their individual relationship during infancy. Parental affection is strong in general, and in particular leads to leniency and a *patria potestas* limited as to range and time. Boys are early removed from the father's camp to be placed in independent groups, trained by tribal elders. The break-up of the family does not, however, imply the discontinuance of the sentiments. In this essay are thus foreshadowed some of Malinowski's later views, but his reliance on second-hand information precluded any independent discoveries.

Of fundamental importance is 'Parenthood—the Basis of Social Structure'.[2] It forms a sort of theoretical summary of a number of detailed descriptive accounts published previously, but at the same time contains some profound suggestions for further investigation. Both the family and the clan co-exist and are complementary in

[1] Malinowski, B., *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* (London, 1913).
[2] Malinowski, B., 'Parenthood—the Basis of Social Structure', in *The New Generation*, ed. Calverton and Schmalhausen (New York, 1930), pp. 113–68.

the tribal organization; they are not stages in evolution. The family, as the only procreative unit, is by the physiological services it renders more fundamental. It represents 'the initial situation' in which biological factors are trained into social forces, for all physiological relations are culturally modified. Thus maternity, which in itself is individual, is reinforced in this character by the customs centring round conception, pregnancy, and birth. In infancy this individual relationship is not allowed to vanish; the lactation period and the seclusion of mother and child are traditionally enforced; in cases of adoption cultural parenthood even overrides its biological prototype. A similar emphasis on individualization can be observed in paternity. Although the father's biological role is not continuous as is the mother's, he is culturally indispensable for the legal recognition, not only of the parental unit, but also for the guardianship and protection of its children. The principle of legitimacy embodied in the father gives social status to both mother and child. Individual paternity is established culturally by fulfilling magical and ritual obligations for the welfare of wife and offspring. For both mother and father, then, this cultural anticipation of parenthood corresponds to their anticipatory subjective attitudes.

But the family is the pattern for most social relations. Parenthood not only controls the upbringing of the child, it also secures this process by substitution. Substitutes are not selected at random, but the parents' kindred have to act as such, being joined to the parents in a system of vicarious responsibilities. During initiation, the 'parent-child' bond is reconstructed. Initiation aims at preparing the adolescent offspring for a new unit of marriage, yet the old relation to his parents is not abandoned but adapted to the changed situation. A third educational process makes the son ready for continuing the social identity of the parent. In matriliny this brings about a serious distortion of the original family relations, as 'social continuity' runs in the mother's line.

With the reaffirmation of the bilateral family pattern goes thus a unilateral emphasis of either the maternal or paternal connexion for certain aspects of culture. In religious and legal co-operation, in myths of common descent, in the observation of avoidances, the extension of parenthood is carried out one-sidedly. The individual's social status is determined by his membership in groupings of such nature, as, for instance, the clan. But, being

non-reproductive, it is never a self-contained unit, and is correlated with other clans into a tribe. In this one-sided extension of parenthood, the fact of sex plays a guiding role. Within the family the precautions taken against infantile sexuality lead to incest rules, and their unilateral projection in the life history of the individual accounts for the legal non-recognition of marriages between members of one and the same clan, in a word, to exogamy. In an analogous manner, classificatory terminology, which in the bilateral kindred group documented the obligations of secondary parenthood, may be unilaterally extended beyond this social nucleus. The fictitious identities thus created indicate potential similarity of function towards the child. But, as Malinowski pointed out elsewhere, the intensity of behaviour and emotions decreases with the remoteness of the actual relationship.

In *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, Malinowski attempted to show one phase of conduct under the influence of this split extension of kinship. In this connexion[1] he took up the old controversy as to differences in the 'parent-child' relation according to whether the society is matrilineal or patrilineal. Using the method of psycho-analysis, he showed that the ambivalence, which characterizes the son's emotional attitude towards his father in patriarchal societies, undergoes in matriliny the process of 'decomposition', by dissociating into love towards the real father and hate coupled with respect towards the mother's brother. This is what we would expect, seeing that the father has to share his authority with the mother's brother. Another problem dealt with is profounder. The origins of culture, he argued, must be discoverable in the relationship between human parents and their children. For, although in certain respects the human family shows analogies with the higher animals, the instincts which regulate family life on both levels become transformed into cultural behaviour only among human beings. The cultural bonds of social organization are something which did not exist before man. They are based on a system of sentiments which replaces the instincts. The growth of these sentiments takes place in the family, and only their extension into wider social groupings makes culture possible. To ensure this prolongation, certain inhibitions are necessary

[1] Malinowski, B., *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (London, 1927). That the principle of succession or descent modifies the treatment of the children has been asserted by H. Spencer, Hartland, &c.; cf. *supra*.

which lead to the formation of psychic complexes in the individual, such as the dissociated Oedipus complex in mother-right.

Whereas Malinowski showed the modifying influence of culture on the 'instinct' of sex, whose expression becomes regulated through the institution of marriage with all its legal, economic, magical and religious implications, Dr. Richards, one of Malinowski's pupils, revealed that a similar cultural elaboration exists in the satisfaction of the physiological need for nutrition.[1] Nutrition is not a biological process alone. In gratifying his appetite for food, the individual is pressed into a sociological, or rather cultural process, which profoundly affects his behaviour. Tradition regulates the way in which a child is fed; the types of food, the method of preparation, the manner of eating are prescribed by custom. The nutritive ties, formed within the family by the growth of sentiments in children towards their parents as the controllers and distributors of food, are a basic pattern which can be extended throughout society. The first extension links the child by nutritive ties with the kinship group. Economic collaboration is enforced with either the maternal or paternal side of the family, whereas the sharing of food is mostly on bilateral lines. In his economic ambitions a child identifies his interests with his father's or mother's people, hence his resistance to the authority exercised over him in these pursuits is one-sided. This results in ambivalence of emotions towards those with whom legally he must co-operate, and in indulgence and tenderness in the relations between him and his kin of lesser right. In adolescence a secondary extension of nutritive ties takes place, attaching the individual to clan and tribe through common economic activities and participation in religious rites under the leadership of the chief. The latter's magical mediation propitiates the ancestors whose goodwill secures success in chase and farming. In the consumption of food the 'rite of primogeniture' is observed; without the chief's example, the eating of the new crops is tabooed. As provider of valuable kinds of food and as recipient of tribute in kind, the chief has his political authority implemented continuously, and tribal solidarity is strengthened. The conclusion is therefore justified that, as the reproductive system shapes the fundamental drive of sex by codes and institutions, likewise the nutritional system shapes a physiological drive, often through the same institutions.

[1] Richards, A. I., *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe* (London, 1932).

The juxtaposition of instinct and sentiment reduces the antinomy nature and culture to modern psychological terms. Malinowski's point of view here approaches that of certain educational thinkers, like Hocking,[1] who examine the possibilities of a social modelling of human nature, as complementary to individual experience and organic evolution. Social modelling facilitates these two processes by abbreviating and economizing the individual learning process, by prolonging the vestibule of satisfaction, that is by elaborating the preliminaries to satisfaction, by extending the sphere of action of an instinct and by a greater discrimination of the objects dealt with. Education assists in this by exposing all the instincts to their appropriate stimuli, calling forth the will to power.

However, in Malinowski's assumptions the relation between physiological needs and cultural needs remains unsatisfactory. Though a physiological explanation of instincts is not necessarily inadequate, the hypothesis that they are exchangeable for sentiments disregards the continuity of physiological factors throughout the individual life history, and involves the unwarranted assumption that the secondary sentiments can support the whole cultural superstructure. Such a psychological dualism is unnecessary. Again, it appears to me a mistake to assert in one place that the classification of primitive peoples as patrilineal and matrilineal is misleading, since a full description of the legal, sociological, and psychological factors will in most cases show a balance between the two principles, and then to proceed to say that the method of succession distorts the whole mental life of a child in one direction.[2]

[1] Hocking, W. E., *Human Nature and its Remaking*, Second Edition (New Haven, 1923).

[2] Richards, A. I., 'Mother-Right among the Central Bantu', in *Essays presented to C. G. Seligman* (London, 1934), pp. 267 *seq.* The balancing between legal claims on one side and psychological factors on the other is well brought out by Malinowski in *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London, 1926), ch. xvi, where he shows that among the Trobrianders mother-right legally excludes the validity of filiation between father and child. Yet paternal love exists and is given recognition in several customs, chief of which is cross-cousin marriage, through which the son becomes brother-in-law of the sister's son, who is the legal heir. In this way, the principle that a brother must be helpmate in his sister's family (also characteristic of matrilineal societies) is made to work in favour of the father's son. It is therefore to be wondered at that Malinowski asserts in another context that the psychological effect of mother-right among the same people is that the repression of sexual and aggressive tendencies refers to sister and mother's brother respectively, and not, as in patrilineal society, to mother and father. This *automatic* psychological law contrasts strangely with the father's reaction mentioned before, which varies according to the individual, both in intensity and in the methods used to express paternal affection.

At the bottom of these strictures lies the difficulty of attempting to answer the problems of social psychology with the terminology developed by an individualizing psychology. Psycho-analysis, instinct psychology and characterology (as represented by Shand) are as yet inadequate to explain even in bold combinations the meaning of sociological phenomena.

10. *Subsidiary Approaches to the Child in Native Society*

Malinowski's suggestion that the general anthropoid behaviour becomes specialized in man through the development of culture is of importance for a comparative study of education. If one assumes that education not only connotes the transmission of 'culture' to the younger generation, but also that of behaviour, especially if acquired, it becomes impossible to exclude animals from such a study. Letourneau already hinted that an evolutionary scheme of education would have to show its emergence in the animal world. Groos developed his famous play theory in the first instance through observing animals. The greater insight gained in recent years into their psychology has made possible comparative studies in the rate of maturation of the human child and apes. Observations of birds have shown that they can even learn from other species: thus, crows living along the banks of the River Thames took over from sea-gulls the habit of swooping down to the surface of the water to pick up bread. Zuckermann noted that filial submissiveness among monkeys and apes is a function of nutritive dependence and physical inferiority. Finally, the evidence concerning animal family life, which is slowly accumulating, bears out the assumption that animal parents definitely 'educate' their offspring. Lion mothers cuff their naughty cubs, cats revert to playful antics when looking after kittens, the wolves at Whipsnade are said to push young animals into special positions when gathering for an attack. All this points to the necessity of comparing the educational effects of the common life of parents and offspring under conditions of the closest possible contact, at both the human and animal level.[1]

[1] Groos, K., *Die Spiele der Tiere* (Jena, 1896). Mitchell, P. Ch., *The Childhood of Animals* (New York, 1912). Pycraft, W. P., *The Infancy of Animals* (New York, 1913). Köhler, W., *The Mentality of Apes* (London, 1925). Gesell, A., *Infancy and Human Growth* (London, 1928). Zuckermann, S., *The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes* (London, 1932). Alverdes, F., 'Ehe, Familie und Gesellschaft bei Tieren und Menschen', *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, vol. 13.

But human education will always involve more. The anthropoids may have an advantage over the infant in the learning of the motor-mechanisms, yet the latter soon surpasses them in such typically human activities as thinking, remembering, and speaking. Their emergence supplies parents with powerful instruments in the control of their children. Without at least sketching the mental growth of a primitive people, a discussion of their pedagogy would therefore remain without background. Piaget[1] once attempted to identify the European child's thinking with that of primitive man. Up to two, he said, infantile thought is determined by wishes and fancies. It is the autistic stage, during which thought is alogical—that is, not disciplined by reference to facts. From two to seven follows the egocentric stage, when thought is prelogical. Its two main errors are the connexion of unrelated phenomena as if they stood in the relation of cause and effect, and the drawing of inferences from particular instances without an examination of the grounds. In these two respects infantile thought is limited like primitive thought, as maintained by Levy-Bruhl.[2] Piaget goes on to say that such limitations are a matter of biological maturation rather than education. Except for this, his position resembles in its results that of Francke. If native thought stands still at the autistic or egocentric stage, this should affect educational practice in a marked degree. It is therefore advisable to examine, at least in passing, the mental development of native children.

Unfortunately, this second subsidiary approach, being that of Comparative Genetic Psychology, has been very little developed. Largely owing to the influence of psycho-analysis, the reactions of the normal child have been identified with those of the neurotic, the adult dreamer and the savage. Yet, not only does the Freudian school construct quite an imaginary 'savage', but it also excludes the native child from its survey. Such procedure is almost inevitable as long as little is known about the mental life of the native child. But this is not satisfactory, for the differences between primitive child and primitive adult are great. In the one case, we are dealing with a growing, unformed organism, about to fit itself into the adult world and with a social experience that is restricted. In the other case the organism is fully grown, active in

[1] Piaget, J., *The Child's Conception of the World* (London, 1929).
[2] Levy-Bruhl, *La Mentalité Primitive* (Paris, 1922). *L'Âme Primitive* (Paris, 1927).

compatible surroundings, and with social relations developed in many directions. The only value genetic parallels between individual and race can have in these circumstances is methodological—that is, by supplying working hypotheses as to possible resemblances *and* differences.[1]

The study of the mental development of children cannot be carried out without reference to their physical growth phenomena. Being more easily measurable, it is not surprising that some data are available. Francke has already reviewed the studies of Boas, Reche, Fischer, Schwerz[2], and others concerning the growth of the skull and brain, the increase in bodily length and the emergence of puberty in native races. He concludes tentatively that among Negroes bodily development continues beyond puberty as among Europeans, but among Melanesians, Pygmies and the Rehoboth Bastards growth after puberty is abruptly cut short. With regard to the skull and brain, the closure of the sutures does not follow the same plan as with us, and this accounts for prognathism, but there is no proof of an arrest in development at puberty. On the whole, the conclusions arrived at by these earlier anthropologists have been confirmed in recent years by Schebesta[3] and others. Physical developmental peculiarities are not determined by culture or environment, but by heredity; they accordingly make their appearance at an early date.

This excursus into physical anthropology has shown the necessity of keeping distinct the biological, environmental, and sociological influences on the growing child. However, this separation in thought does not correspond to the experience of the child or its observer. It must therefore be supplemented at all stages distinguished by an interconnecting summary.

Some of the theoretical tendencies and practical necessities of modern education lead up to a greater interest in the rudimentary

[1] Werner, H., *Einführung in die Entwicklungspsychologie*, Second Edition (Leipzig, 1933), p. 24, though warning against too sweeping analogies between child and primitive peoples, disregards the warning himself, and exclusively establishes similarities in the mental life of primitive peoples, European children, and neurotics.

[2] Boas, F., *Changes in Bodily Form* (Washington, 1912). Schwerz, F., 'Untersuchungen über das Wachstum des Menschen', *Archiv für Anthropologie* (1911). Fischer, E., *Die Rehobother Bastards* (Jena, 1913).

[3] Schebesta, P., and Matiegka, J., 'Anthropologie des Kindes bei den zentralafrikanischen Pygmäen', *Anthropologie*, vol. 13, pp. 3–36. Hauschild, R., 'Rassenunterschiede zwischen negriden und europiden Primordial-cranien des 3. Fetalmonats. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Schädelform', *Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie*, 36, pp. 215–80. Illus.

pedagogy of primitive peoples. The difficulties in the training of 'backward' races are increased by our ignorance about those processes and forces which are directed towards and emanate from their younger generation. If they were known, the beneficial could be enlisted to serve in the adaptation of whole tribes to new conditions, while others might be reformed and then experimented with. Interest in a scientific conception of education is growing. It is felt that the empirical approach, experiment and test, statistics and analysis of facts, can at the present moment be of greater utility than all wrangling over the epistemological foundations of pedagogics and its possible ethical standards. This inclination towards making education an inductive science is related to those hypotheses which assert the creativeness of the child, and in consequence demand a restrained type of education with only an ancillary function in supporting the child's autonomous and self-sufficient growth. Like Rousseau's negative education, this pedagogy of non-interference leads more easily to observation than where the initiative lies exclusively with the parent or teacher.

Some of these problems are cursorily touched upon in Miller's well-known book, *The Child in Primitive Society*.[1] This praiseworthy attempt by a Professor at the New York Carnegie Institute of Technology is probably the most satisfactory account of primitive education of more recent date. If his views are coloured by the theories of classical anthropology, the state of the science regarding primitive man is to be blamed as much as the author himself. Undue emphasis seems also to have been placed on the problems of infanticide and on the period from pregnancy to the name-giving ceremony as a whole, which are dealt with in the first third of the book. Again, gaps and inconsistencies may be pointed out which are due to the multiplicity of sources used, to the great number of tribes to which reference is made, and to the author's evident ignorance of anthropological field work. On the other hand, its comprehensiveness, the thorough documentation of many, not only African tribes, and the variety of problems discussed make it a useful reference work representing the traditional view of primitive education.

[1] Miller, N., *The Child in Primitive Society* (London, 1928).

(*B*) METHODOLOGY

1. *Possibility and Necessity of an Empirical Treatment of Education*

'Education aims at forming character, at fitting the individual into society, at the harmonization of conduct with insight!' Equipped with such definitions, I found myself nonplussed when attempting to find out how the Chaga educate their children.

It soon became evident that if I wanted to grasp Chaga education I had to discard all thought of catching it within the meshes of a theory presupposing a universal aim. What I had to do was to observe a function of native social life at work, and the fewer assumptions I made about it, the more readily would it disclose its secret to me.

Nevertheless, some guiding principles for such an empirical study can be derived from certain tendencies in modern education that turn their back on its metaphysical foundation. Biology, psychology and sociology, all tackle educational problems from an experiential point of view.

A comparison of the mental growth phenomena of native children with ours makes a biological explanation extremely plausible. Psychological observations had to be carried out to show the learning process of the Chaga child, and to test Chamberlain's hypothesis of the primitive child's creativeness. To arrive at conclusive evidence in this respect, the child's relation to his parents had to be examined. As sociology is the science of human relations, it appeared most feasible to approach the situations which involved both parent and child from the standpoint of social anthropology taken by Rivers and Malinowski.

For the study of primitive kinship, a variety of methods have been evolved which are of immediate applicability to the parent and child relation.[1] The residential approach proceeds from an examination of the relationships existing between members of one household, which may comprise an incomplete family as in polygamous tribes, a normal or 'biological' family as is the rule with us, or several families joined through kinship bonds. From the household, the method is extended to the village community, the *kraal* or *pueblo*, where the inter-relationship between the

[1] For a recent exposition of these methods, cf. Firth, R., *We, the Tikopia* (London, 1937), pp. 117 *seq.*

composing members may often be 'patriarchal', the father's authority over his grown-up sons assuming a political meaning. This method resembles Rivers's genealogical method which aims at 'recording exhaustive genealogies from a limited area' (Haddon).

Another approach is the commensal one. It is concerned with the kinship relations between persons eating together and their behaviour towards one another. Primitive people do not sit down to meals promiscuously. Often the two sexes or different age-groups take their meals separately. Children usually eat with their mothers. At meal-times a great deal of the moral code of a tribe may be imparted. In other cases complete silence is enforced. But the prohibitions imposed may sometimes be relaxed. Among the Chaga the newly married eat their food together, and the youngest child is allowed to be present when his father is being served. Facts like these throw a better light on the nature of 'primitive' parental affection than isolated cases of observed cruelty.

The linguistic approach dominated anthropological technique for a long time. Morgan, who developed it systematically,[1] started from the fact that kinship terminology tended to be 'classificatory'. Thus in many tribes the category of father includes also the father's brothers, the father's male cousins, the mother's sisters' husbands, the mother's cousins' husbands, &c. The classificatory system has been the hotbed of many hypotheses asserting the communistic nature of the human 'family' in its early stages. Whatever its value as an historical clue, it certainly presents interesting psychological and sociological problems concerning the native child.

If the anthropologist had time to watch carefully the steps by which the child learns to extend the kinship terms taught in the family orbit to ever-widening circles, and what effect this process has on its behaviour, he would be using the biographical approach. Actually, few anthropologists have ever done so, being satisfied with piecing together cross-sections made at the critical periods of life. But such a procedure is liable to ignore the finer and less glaring strands in the texture of family loyalties whose combined effect is presumably of great educational significance.

To the teacher or missionary, working for long periods among

[1] Morgan, L. H. (*a*) *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge (1871). (*b*) *Ancient Society* (London, 1877).

natives, and coming into touch with a particular family continually and at short intervals, the biographical method is of value. But he is hampered by other difficulties. Not only does the vividness of first impressions wear thin, but the authoritative proclamation of new ways of life closes many hearts against him, and even the converts maintain a conspiracy of silence about their continued connexion with native life, which many of them believe to be disapproved of in its entirety. These factors become intensified when dealing with children. Childish shyness is not unknown in Africa. Moreover, the white man is represented as a bogy, and often, on the arrival of a European at a native homestead, the smaller children will scatter screaming. Bigger children are quite talkative and friendly, but their various occupations take them far afield. Chaga girls go with their mothers to the plains for grass or to the forest for firewood, and many boys spend most of their day herding.

A combination of methods becomes therefore a necessity. The biographical method of anthropology passes into the observational method of psychology. In the historical introduction, it was noted how the psychological aspect of primitive education had received more attention than the purely pedagogical one. It is hoped to avoid at all costs the arbitrariness of the early interpretations. The desire to prove native mentality to be different from or the same as ours is to be disregarded in favour of a descriptive report showing the continuous if unsymmetrical growth of the mind. My observations were carried out on five children, but only in the case of two were they continued over a number of years. The parents of the children were well-to-do and educated Chaga, except in one case, where they were poor, filthy, and unenlightened. It seems a pity that all the families were Christian, for the reason that the picture obtained is not representative of the 'raw native', if he should still exist. Yet this disadvantage was compensated for by the help which the fathers gave, especially in noting down the development of speech in their children.

In addition to this, the method of questionnaires and essays on specified subjects were extensively used. Informants were students of the Teachers' Training School, Marangu. They were naturally interested in certain aspects of indigenous education, and could be expected to show a professional curiosity in others. The questionnaires proved to be less satisfactory than the essays,

for the reason that, with a subject about which I knew little myself, the points raised had to be put in a manner too vague to elicit definite answers. Perhaps the chief drawback, however, was the exclusion of the personal factor. Essays revealed power of observation, aptitude for a particular problem, and keenness for further research, which could subsequently be utilized.

The reading of the papers led, therefore, to developments in two directions. Discussion of certain questions disclosed related problems, and also showed the necessity for mimic representation of dances, for taking records of songs,[1] for visits to special places, &c. One of the students, for instance, wished to convince himself of the truth of reports about customary exposure of abnormal children among the Pare. On his own initiative, he organized as pupil-teacher an 'expedition' to the rock on which the children were said to be laid. To his horror, he found not only the toys that had been placed beside the infants, but at the foot of the cliff the skulls of about sixty victims! The other line of advance made use of specialist knowledge by having 'experts' write on or discuss certain features of Chaga education. For instance, bee-keeping is a flourishing occupation in the Kahe chieftainship. It was therefore delightful to find an otherwise average pupil prepared to give an account of the practical training given in this trade.

Essays and questionnaires, however, soon showed that these young informants could say little about those parts of native education which had crumbled away under the impact of civilization. Only in exceptional cases, as in that of Stefano Moshi, whose superior intelligence was nurtured by a thorough training in tribal traditions, did the thought of the rising generation turn towards the past. Some of the students, feeling their limitations, themselves requested and obtained the help of aged relatives or teachers for the writing of the essays. Subsequently a number of grey-haired Chaga were asked to dictate or write their childhood reminiscences. Though greatly varying in value, these memoirs became indispensable as a picture of child life in those far-away days, when the threat of war hung constantly over mother and child, and the chief's authority overrode parental power.

[1] Some of these lullabies, ditties, songs and hymns were recorded in collaboration with Professor R. Thurnwald of Berlin University, others by myself. The records are now in the Phonogramm Archiv of Berlin University. In addition, I noted down a number of songs in staff notation.

Complementing observational material by reference to tradition involved, in many instances, a transition from educational actuality to native pedagogical theory. That such existed did not only become evident in proverbs, or stories with a moral, but also in the comment of parents on the actions of other parents. In accounts dealing with conditions of the past, this theorizing tendency expressed itself mainly in the frequent drawing-up of historical stages. For instance, in discussing the treatment of illegitimate mothers, present-day connivance was explained as a decay of custom which once rigidly demanded the death penalty for all three lives involved, then gradually softened into banishment —permanent or temporary—and finally disintegrated altogether.

While it became therefore of paramount importance to keep educational practice and theory distinct, an additional attempt had to be made to eliminate from the one sphere infiltrations derived from the other. The danger of rationalization exists also in Africa, and to remove it as far as possible special methods have to be devised. As the danger seems to increase where natives have accepted a foreign creed or become sophisticated through living in townships, field work should be carried out among pagans. In practice it seemed difficult to secure 'puristic' conditions, partly because in the larger Chaga chieftainships 30 to 50 per cent. of the inhabitants are at least nominally Christian, and partly because modernism seizes non-Christians too. Observation of native life in outlying districts could be achieved more easily, being based on a geographical rather than psychological distinction. In fact, most of the incidental observations of the activities of children were gathered on frequent walks across the pastures, along the canals and winding paths of the populated belt of Mt. Kilimanjaro.

Comparison of this material with that of other observers of Chaga child life was fruitful because the tribe has not only attracted attention from the very day of its discovery, but has also evoked a great number of sympathetic descriptions, among which the books of Dr. Gutmann are outstanding for their wealth of illustration and the wide range of problems touched, and Dundas's *The Kilimanjaro and its People* for its conciseness and comprehensiveness. Gutmann wrote a few articles on Chaga children,[1] but

[1] Gutmann, B., 'Kinderspiele bei den Wadschagga', *Globus* (1909), pp. 286 *seq.* *Dichten und Denken der Dschagganeger* (Leipzig, 1909), chapter on 'Kindererziehung auf einem Dschaggahofe', pp. 92–101. *Die Stammeslehren der Dschagga* (München, vol. i, 1932; vol. ii, 1935; vol. iii, 1938).

his most valuable contribution to this subject is *Die Stammeslehren der Dschagga*, a unique collection of the lessons taught to Chaga youth in preparation for circumcision, during initiation and prior to marriage. They testify to the profound educational wisdom of the tribe, and are unsurpassed in their representation of the actual teaching imparted during adolescence. The material here brought forward can only be a critical complement to this collection in the matter of teaching at puberty. It is hoped, however, to describe for the first time other aspects, such as the attitude of individuals towards these rites, and the substitutes which have replaced them in the fifty or more years during which they have been defunct.

Besides consulting printed contributions to our knowledge of the Chaga, I learned much through personal communication from my father, J. Raum, a missionary, and my aunt, E. Wärthl, a nurse.

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ABBREVIATIONS

G., *R.*, Gutmann, *Das Recht der Dschagga.*
G., *DDD.*, Gutmann, *Dichten und Denken der Dschagganeger.*
G., *L.*, i, ii or iii, Gutmann, *Die Stammeslehren der Dschagga.*

Of Gutmann's and J. Raum's books and articles only the essential words of the titles are given in the references. Their contributions to missionary problems are not included in this bibliography.

The following abbreviations of titles of periodicals are used:

IRM.	*International Review of Missions.*
JRAI.	*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.*
O.Ed.	*Oversea Education.*
Z.f.Eg.	*Zeitschrift für Eingebornensprachen.*
Z. Ethn.	*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.*

2. *An Empirical (Sociological) Definition of Education*

If the empirical concept of education, as distinct from the teleological, is to prevail for this study, an attempt must be made to settle its limits. As a guiding line for observations on the Chaga, the following tentative definition would seem adequate: 'Education is the relationship between members of successive generations.' This is to be conceived in sociological terms, in the sense that an analysis of isolated subjects, such as a proverb, a lesson and a rite, is not satisfactory unless their social setting is examined. Nor can individual persons, as, for instance, teachers, and pupils, be understood by themselves. Personality is not an autonomous unit; it stands in varying relationship with others who modify its behaviour, some, for instance, calling forth submissiveness and some aggressiveness. Such sociological processes are based on

principles or uniformities, which are to be described in regard to the relation between Chaga parent and child.[1]

This standpoint does not preclude recognition of the fact that those thinkers—for instance, Locke and Rousseau—who limit education to the single relation between pedagogue and pupil, are justly challenged by men like Plato and Pestalozzi, who attribute to communal life as such a formative function. But these two principles do not stand in opposition; they are, in fact, complementary aspects of education. The definition adopted above does not therefore exclude education through and in groups: each individual, be he father or son, is also linked by special ties to various social divisions, the one to professional organizations, military groupings, secret societies; the other to play-groups, initiation classes, and less respectable gangs. In a few of these the distinction of age is perhaps of minor importance, but for the majority it holds.

Relationship between members of successive generations sufficiently characterizes education. Alternative sociological definitions can be grouped under four heads.[2] The American sociologist Ward looked at education as the process of dissemination of knowledge through which is made possible a rational direction of society. More frequently it is described as an indirect means of social control to achieve conformity of the rising generation to adult standards, forestalling or replacing the more direct interference of governments and churches. Thirdly, it is said to be the process of transmitting from one generation to the next the culture of the past, making possible its continuity and growth. Finally, enthusiasts have so far extended its meaning as to include in it the highest stage of organic progress, the self-adaptation of the human race to its environment through social selection, a process which also shapes the individual. The ideas of transmission and moulding that underlie these conceptions impute to the relation between parent and child a peculiar quality, which it may not possess. The less definite idea of relationship may thus be the more suitable starting-point.

But, while the definition is less specific than is customary, its breadth allows the inclusion of facts which have been ignored

[1] Vierkandt, *Gesellschaftslehre* (Stuttgart, 1923), pp. 47–53, par. 7. Relation, the fundamental category of sociology.

[2] Monroe, P., *A Text-Book in the History of Education* (New York, 1905), ch. xlii, 'The Sociological Tendency in Education', p. 716.

without justification in educational theory. In addition to the fact that it covers the educational possibilities in the animal world, it also extends the range of pedagogical interest beyond the first twenty years of life, as it does not look at education as a process to be completed at a certain stage. Besides, it allows of including under the term 'education' the influences of the younger generation on the older which comprise the emotional significance of children to their parents and the social value placed on offspring. Incidentally, it takes account of the effect of non-planned acts and of uncontrollable factors upon the educational relationship, which is conceived to be exclusively personal. The modifications of behaviour due to the physical environment, which in some measure explain the varieties of cultures, are best described by the term 'adaptation'.

The time factor, which seems to have no place in a sociological definition of education, returns in our definition in a particular form. Usually, the element of time is introduced in order to limit the 'span of education'[1] to the period of childhood and youth. This is made impossible by our definition. Another school of thought lays emphasis on the implicit reference to the future in all educational activity. This involves the danger that the child may be treated as the man, whereas to the greatest educationists, the child and the youth are specific entities in their own right. On the other hand, it is true that all educational activity depends on the phenomenon of generation succeeding generation. Human generations are linked through relations of a particular value. Only their uninterrupted continuation through successive stages of descent makes history, and with it culture, possible.[2]

Like the family, the generation is thus not simply a biological, but also an important educational concept. This educational meaning only roughly refers to the same individuals as are comprised in the biological generation. The correlation between teacher and taught may sometimes exist between contemporaries. In consequence, the idea of a concrete relationship between succeeding generations has been abandoned by some pedagogues, among them Sir John Adams, for the more abstract notion of bipolarity. But it may be doubted whether this rectification is

[1] Adams, J., *Educational Theories* (London, 1927), p. 17.
[2] Hönigswald, R., *Über die Grundlagen der Pädagogik*, Second Edition (München, 1927), p. 121.

really an improvement, since many other human relationships, like those between husband and wife, king and subject, preacher and listener, also have two poles. In examining Chaga society, it will be seen that the family as an educational institution provides for the occasional breakdown of the biological unit by a system of substitution. Where children lack, adoption fills the ranks; where parents die, stopgaps are found. In a similar manner, the educational concept of generation is more elastic than the biological one, and allows of analogous replacements, as instance the system of fosterage in vogue among the ancient Irish and present-day Ganda. It must therefore be assumed that one of the qualities of the 'parent and child' relation is that substitutions may take place in both generations.

The sociological approach supplies us with additional hypotheses as to the nature of the relation. If either parent or child, teacher or pupil may be replaced, the two generations appear to be of equal, though probably not of identical value. As many sociological relationships are reciprocal, the question arises whether the same is true of the educational relationship. This would mean that the younger generation is not simply a passive entity in the educational process, but perhaps an active agent; or again, the elder generation may not always be taking the initiative, in some ways it may be pushed along by its offspring. In this connexion, the distinction between two objects of education becomes quite futile. It is traditionally held that not only the pupil, but also the subject-matter of education, that is the culture of a people, are objects of educational effort, the latter because through education culture is propagated, the former because he is being fitted to develop it further.[1] But educator and educand are both object and subject of the educational process, as expressed in its reciprocity; culture is the medium through which intercourse between them occurs—it remains an instrument not an end of education.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that the working hypothesis as to the nature of education embodied in this definition, permits of the extension of the empirical investigation in at least two directions. The biological problem of heredity and development may be subsumed under it. Besides, 'the gradual and continuous influence of generations upon each other' may result in modifications

[1] Hönigswald, R., ibid., p. 106.

of historical import.[1] Having secured a position that permits of easy transition to biology and history, to the vital motives and the necessary regulators of human conduct, it would appear that a basis has been reached sufficiently broad upon which to build a systematic description of the indigenous education of the Chaga.

[1] Comte, A., *The Positive Philosophy* (London, 1853), vol. ii, p. 114.

PART II

THE ENTRY OF THE CHILD INTO SOCIETY

1. *Preparing for the Child: An Education for Mother and Father*

A

AMONG the Chaga, as among the Bantu generally, the production of offspring is controlled by the two families concerned through the institution of marriage. The birth of children out of wedlock is disapproved, as pregnancy is a spiritual function demanding proper—that is, magical—preparation.

A family includes both the living and the dead. The living are constantly passing into the ranks of the dead, and they are as constantly returning in reincarnations. They do so only through properly constituted unions of the living. The legitimization of these unions depends on the approval of the living elder members of the two families, who also procure that of the dead through intercession and sacrifice, and take steps to secure the well-being of the child before and after its birth.[1] But while thus parenthood is made to depend on regulated sexuality, most native societies permit a certain amount of sexual freedom before marriage as an outlet for sensual motives and an experimental method for securing compatibility.[2]

This involves some training in 'controlled sex experience', with the aim of avoiding premarital pregnancies. Among the Chaga knowledge about 'safe' methods of intercourse, such as intrafemoral congress and *coitus interruptus*, is passed on among contemporaries. As in many cases it is the girl who invites the boy to a beer party in her hut, she may have been given some hint by her mother, as for instance, to place a rag in the vagina. But if in spite of such precaution conception occurs, a mother will advise her daughter as to various methods for inducing abortion, for the girl's disgrace involves her own. Of these methods manual treatment is one. It consists in violent massage of the abdomen and necessitates an expert's assistance. This is also required in the instrumental method, in which the midrib of a leaf is inserted into

[1] E. W. Smith, Broadcast Speech quoted in *East Africa*, March 23rd, 1931.
[2] Malinowski, B., 'Parenthood—the Basis of Social Structure', par. 2.

the uterus. The connivance of other persons is unnecessary when the juices of certain herbs are taken by mouth. About thirty herbs are said to be abortifacient.[1] The methods for extracting the drugs are passed on from mother to daughter; hence their knowledge is general, and in no way a professional secret.

Side by side with this practical training in matters of sex, which secures for boys and girls the advantages of sexual freedom without exposing them to its consequences, goes an attempt to prolong their 'sexual inexperience'. This may be viewed as the inculcation of an ideal of purity. In one of the lessons[2] taught during initiation, the teacher inquires of the assistant whether all novices are *ngeha*—that is, pure, unspoiled. They are warned not to lose their innocence so near the goal. This would call down upon them the chief's displeasure and the womenfolk's contempt. But the native conception of sexual purity is incompatible only with premarital pregnancy. Some of the older authors, writing in the nineties, report that premarital intercourse is allowed and virginity not specially valued.[3]

Thirty years later, apparently quite a different situation had developed, or the information given had altered. Dundas remarks[4] that after a girl has been circumcised, examination is made to ascertain if she is a virgin. If this be the case, loud cries of joy are raised, and the girl can hope to become the chief wife of a young suitor. If not, her father must give a goat for purification, and she will only become a junior wife of a polygamist. Gutmann[5] relates similar facts. According to him, the suitor spies out whether his betrothed is undefiled. And when the *masaleny* instalment of the bride-price has been delivered, the girl, by presenting the cup to her father, mother's brother, and brother, is given a chance of publicly manifesting her innocence. However, it is admitted that some girls are already spoiled, and that this does not constitute a reason for breaking off the engagement or cancelling the marriage.

[1] Ittameier, C., *Die Erhaltung und Vermehrung der Eingebornen-Bevölkerung* (Hamburg, 1923), pp. 29–33. The author worked as medical missionary for five years among the Chaga. In his opinion, the herbs are not specific abortifacients; their use results in a general poisoning of the organism.

[2] G., *L.*, ii, pp. 16–19.

[3] Johnston, H., *The Kilimanjaro Expedition*, passim. Volkens, G., *Der Kilimandscharo*, p. 252. Widenmann, A., 'Die Kilimandscharo-Bevölkerung', *Gotha* (1899), p. 48. Merker, M., 'Rechtsverhältnisse und Sitten der Wadschagga', *Gotha* (1902), p. 11. Dundas, C., *The Kilimanjaro and its People* (London, 1924), p. 296.

[4] Dundas, C., ibid., p. 213.

[5] G., *R.*, pp. 94, 96, 102.

This historical contrast reveals one between practice and theory, the older authors apparently relying on observations of their porters, the more recent writers on information. The particular difficulties of the ideal of virginity lie in the fact that it profoundly affects the relationship between parents and daughter. On the one hand, the mother becomes an inspector of her body, and the father is made responsible for her transgressions. On the other hand, the girl is placed under restraint through the publicity given to her reputation and the threatened reduction of her desirability, which also decreases her father's 'income'.

Analogous deterrents warn the young Chaga man against amorous adventures. He knows that, if before marriage he begets a child by a stranger, he will lose his power of producing a legitimate heir. In addition, he is reminded of the law-suits that will be brought against him, and of the ridicule of his friends commenting on his self-inflicted barrenness. Indeed, the consequences of his immorality affect the whole country: it reduces the number of cattle, dries up their udders, and withers the eleusine crop.

In the past, only pregnancy resulting from intercourse between uncircumcised adolescents was legally punished. The reason given was that they had produced offspring without the parental blessing, and while still living at their parents' homes. Four or five generations ago, it is reported, such offenders were laid one upon the other and impaled. As their bodies remained unburied on the place of execution, many a youthful passer-by, on seeing the sight, swore to himself not to commit a similar sin. It is said that later the sinners were banished from the country, their very footprints being swept away after them as they fled. Even during this period, sometimes the girl alone was driven away and the man fined. It then happened occasionally that the young mother perished. Against this, the conscience of the chiefs revolted, and, in consequence, a further 'alleviation' took place. The young parents were only indirectly punished through the killing of the child. If a betrothed girl became pregnant, the marriage payments were stopped temporarily; the girl had to leave her family's home and was married with a humiliating rite. At the present time, the elders complain, nothing is done to stem the general increase in premarital intercourse. The only case requiring atonement is when a girl is deflowered by some one other than her betrothed. Then the

payment of a fine in cattle is demanded, and against such a contingency rich people place animals in readiness. Even among Christians there is a tendency for young people to unite before the bride-price has been paid and the Church ceremony celebrated.

Dundas and Gutmann might make us believe that there has been an improvement of morals within living memory, but, as we have seen, the natives themselves contend that the opposite is true. Neither opinion is founded on an examination of facts. The ethical ideals, which the former stress, are part of the native system of virtues, whereas the historical ideas result from the reaction of the older generation to the apparently greater freedom which is enjoyed by the younger generation to-day. As such they are of educational, not factual, significance. The historical scheme is resorted to, to place before youths and maidens the example of the older generation, even if this has to be done in the realm of retrospective imagination. It also betrays a weakness on the part of the elders, a kind of resignation in the face of an irresistible force, which is expressed in a self-righteous manner: 'It is only because we have become more merciful that young people nowadays enjoy liberties. When we were young we were glad to be educated according to strict standards.' Thus, through historical precept, the inculcation of an ideal, and the threat of punishment and disgrace, do Chaga elders strive to implant into the younger generation a respect for the principle of legitimacy.

B

'The child creates the family.' Sexual attraction between man and woman leads to intercourse, but it is the desire for offspring which insists on a social charter for the prolongation of the relationship. This necessitates economic collaboration between husband and wife, which is intensified during pregnancy and after the birth of the child. The immaturity of the child causes its dependence on the parents, not only for its subsistence, but also for its training. Hence the educational motive secures, if possible, the permanence of marriage. It is thus the particular conditions attending the production and rearing of offspring which give rise to the family: and its three functions, essential for the maintenance of the human species, the sexual, economic, and educational, are inseparable, and secured by legal mechanisms.

Of these functions, the educational has received least attention.

This is the more remarkable as among primitive peoples the marriage contract already foreshadows the child. Among the Bantu the legal engagement between two families, two of whose members intend to unite in wedlock, is the bride-price. Through the ceremonial handing over of cattle to the woman's family, the man acquires exclusive sexual claims over his wife, and secures paternal authority over the children borne by her. For the final instalments of the bride-price become due from the Chaga father as his children arrive. If he cannot pay, his father-in-law may claim the children. By paying, therefore, he compensates his father-in-law for their usefulness to him. If there are no children, the payments are discontinued.

This transfer of authority does not, however, indicate the whole of the educational importance of the bride-price. The names of the instalments paid before marriage are reminders of difficulties in the rearing of the bride. The first payment to her father is called *kiiria*, which means 'lifting' and commemorates his efforts in carrying off a wife, the girl's mother. The *masaleny* instalment refers to the dracaena hedge behind which they met on their secret trysts. Another instalment is known as *kitashiony*, 'to ask the divining board'. It is a return for payments made by the father to magicians on behalf of his daughter when she was sick. The first pot of beer sent by the suitor to the girl's mother is designated 'the beer of the market-place' and is to repay her for carrying the child in her womb before it was born. An instalment of meat compensates her for the pains suffered during the girl's birth, and another aims at 'removing the smoke from her eyes which got into them while cooking for her daughter'.

Consideration for a daughter is therefore not left exclusively to the working of parental affection, but, in addition, is secured through the anticipation of social recognition in the shape of certain economic returns. Actually, of course, very few parents in a concrete educational situation are conscious of a future reward. The assistance rendered to, and the love bestowed on, a child result from the mutual stimulus-response relation in the family, whose immediate needs soon demand the formation of definite habits. But this does not prevent Chaga parents from feeling proud of the fact that they have brought up their daughter well, that she suffers from no disabilities owing to negligence, that she is desired in marriage and valued as a high prize. It is therefore with

justifiable apprehension for her future well-being that her father hands her over to the bridegroom on the wedding day. Dismissing his daughter from his tutelage, he takes care to point out the temptations arising from the legal and often also physical superiority of the husband over his wife.

Through her marriage, the young woman passes from one educational relationship into another, from her father's into that of her husband's tutelage. The Chaga term for the marriage exchanges accordingly refers to her habituation to the ways of another family.[1] This process involves two educational aspects. The bride becomes the child of her parents-in-law, not on being married, but only after having fulfilled her part of the contract by giving birth to offspring. Then the special avoidances which restricted her dealings with her husband's father are ceremonially removed. Secondly, she is submitted to the authority of her husband, for whom she has now to work and who may punish her for various offences. There is a tendency for the husband to assume a parental attitude towards his wife, though biologically they usually belong to the same generation. In this secondary educational relationship, the bride-price forms a guarantee of good behaviour on her part and of fair treatment on his. Should the man ill-treat his wife, she may leave him and the bride-price is forfeited. If she is undutiful, she may be sent back to her people, who will have to refund his expenses. In both cases the pressure of the families, each of which would suffer economically, exercises a moderating influence.

But the husband likewise has to adapt himself to his wife's family, and some social mechanism exists which expresses his filial submission to his parents-in-law. Before marriage, an instalment of beer, 'the hut-opener', gives him the privilege of commensality. Another introduces him to the girl's 'uncles', i.e. father's brothers and mother's brothers. Similar gifts make him known to her brothers and female relatives, i.e. the father's sisters, the wives of the father's brothers and of the mother's brothers. Special presents are designed to make him acceptable to his mother-in-law, from the first shyly delivered pot of beer given as if by accident 'when taking a stroll' to the large portions of meat by which he indicates that he is prepared to share his chief's dispensations of food with

[1] *Ngosa*, the gifts; *wuko*, the bride-price as a whole. Both words are connected with *ikosa mana*, to accustom a girl to another family through the eating of the marriage exchanges. Cf. G., *R.*, p. 85.

his wife's family. The impression may be created that these payments are but economic transactions. If this were the case, it is difficult to understand why the immediate payment of the complete price by a rich suitor is contrary to custom. The proper thing to do is to spread the instalments over as long a period as possible. The explanation is educational. The continued payments are a technique to express the husband's filial status in appropriate behaviour; they are a 'redocumentation of the attitude of submissiveness'[1] towards a woman's family by her suitor. In addition, in a manner analogous to the bride's restrictions, the bridegroom has to avoid his mother-in-law, and only after he has become a father does the relation between them resemble the parent-child connexion. This is brought about in a rite in which he, accompanied by his age-mates, repairs to his parents-in-law, where he is anointed by his wife's mother.

The marriage contract leads, therefore, to the formation of three educational relations: that between the bride and bridegroom and their respective parents-in-law, that between the husband and wife, and that between the newly married couple and their expected offspring. In the new parent-child relations established through marriage the mutual adjustment of behaviour is effected through a continuous re-assertion of attitudes in transactions both ritual and economic in nature. On this basis the stability of marriage is secured. Procreation of offspring implements the marriage contract, and parenthood, which offers the possibility of being vicariously extended to the two pairs of grandparents, reinforces it, uniting the two families more closely than ever. Westermarck's dictum that round the biological factor 'child' the social institution of the family is created, can thus be substantiated from Chaga evidence.

C

If it is true that desire for a child creates the family, the disappointment of such hope must tend to break it up. That the

[1] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 'Bride-Wealth', *Man* (1934), No. 194. The educational relation is buttressed by economic co-operation. A young man, arranging with his father-in-law the payment of the bride-price in instalments, reminds him: 'Don't eat once for all like the spear, but continuously like the sickle!' In tribes where the youth serves his father-in-law (as among the Iramba) a more exacting educational mechanism is employed.

parents of husband and wife agreed to the marriage, and through them the ancestors on both sides, is a guarantee that the marriage will be blessed with children. If it remains barren, such agreement must have been nullified by unseemly behaviour, disturbing to the derived parent-child relationships. The most unsteady of these are the in-law bonds. Suspicion will most easily fall on the weakest unit, the newly married woman. She may be cursed with barrenness for being a magician aiming at the destruction of her husband's family, for being so greedy as to grudge her father-in-law the share of meat which is his due, or so inconsiderate as to disregard proper restraint in his presence. As Chaga marriage is patrilocal, there are fewer opportunities for the husband to come into conflict with his parents-in-law, but responsibility may be fixed on him because of his insubordination to his own father. Or the cause may be seen in the dissensions that have already arisen between husband and wife.

Such conflicts may be averted by certain magical measures, which remind the 'child' and the 'parent' of their duties towards one another. In most ceremonies there occur rites and prayers expressing the desire for children and stressing the conditions on which it may be granted. In all of them are spells prophesying loss of progeny to the transgressor of family and civic obligations. Such blessings and curses are uttered with increasing frequency during puberty; they are the ever-recurring theme of the lessons during circumcision, in the initiation camp, and in the subsequent course of training which prepares for marriage. They are recited during the meetings between representatives of two families negotiating a betrothal. They re-echo through all the phases of the building of the hut which is to be the home of the couple. They are repeated with impressive monotony during the wedding ceremonies. They occur in the professional ritual, the neglect of whose details affects the fertility of the marriage. And they form part of the legal institution of oaths and ordeals through which truth is established at court.

With the aim of procuring offspring, young people will direct all their efforts to avoid having a curse invoked upon them as the result of domestic dissensions. The demureness of brides is their traditional way of making themselves acceptable in a new social setting. But as, during the first months, the bride lives under the supervision of the mother-in-law, emotional conflicts happen and

some of them end in a *mtsiko*. This dreaded curse culminates in the wish *nalafeese*, which means 'May she not bear!' It can only be revoked after making amends to the offended elder through a special ritual. Similarly, an obstreperous young man will not be taught what his elders know of the physiological conditions and special techniques favouring conception. Only humbling himself before his parents and paying them a special fee will make the necessary instruction available to him. If barrenness is not believed to be due to domestic discord, the ancestors are propitiated with offerings through the mediation of the two fathers. The latter being guardians of sexual knowledge, direct controllers of the fertility of a marriage, and intermediaries between their married children and the spirits, the fulfilment of the desire for children depends entirely on their goodwill.

Certain other methods, however, may be tried by the couple independently. The services of a doctor may be procured. As he adds advice of a physiological nature to his rites and medicines, his treatment is often remarkably successful. Prayers are often said by husband and wife, for instance: 'Thou God, Chief, who pastureth me in trouble like a cow without calf, I pray thee bless me and give me a calf to fill the kraal. I pray thee who art the maker of all things to bless me and give me a child in thy likeness. It is this desire which makes me stretch out my arms towards thee!' The wife's brother or her mother's brother may be asked to help with prayers and sacrifices to ancestors.

If divination fails to discover the cause of barrenness, and medical treatment and sacrifices cannot remove it, several schemes are customarily adopted to achieve the birth of a legitimate heir. The first is a temporary separation between husband and wife. If the woman's 'womb is opened up' by another man, she returns to her first husband to live with him again. But if after that no children are born, the marriage is dissolved, or the woman proposes to her husband to try another woman. If he begets offspring by this second wife, the fault cannot lie with him. But if not, the woman will seek to be remarried elsewhere. In some cases the husband arranges for a substitute to raise seed for him. Usually a brother is engaged to fulfil this function. Secrecy is enjoined upon him and the woman by making them enter into blood-brotherhood with their employer. The children born in this manner are treated as legitimate offspring of the marriage.

A man whose son dies before producing offspring marries a woman in his place. She and her children are considered to be the dead man's family.[1]

Customs like these are frequently explained by referring to the parental desire of perpetuating the hearth and of being commemorated ritually after death. The educational motive being more concrete, is probably stronger. By this is meant the wish to live in close contact with immature beings, dependent on one's experience and resources, to pass on to them the knowledge and skill acquired in a lifetime, and to have strong arms and a warm heart near to make old age easy and comfortable. Of a childless widow, Mambora, living at Mamba, I was told that, because she wanted somebody whom she could teach and who in return would tend her when sick, she procured offspring in the following traditional manner. She paid the bride-price for a girl, who was allowed to have relations with men of her choice. During the confinements, Mambora looked after her 'daughter-in-law', then helped to rear the children, and finally left her property to be held in trust for them by their mother. This fictitious continuation of the lineage expresses thus as much a craving for the immediate experiences of the parent-child relationship as for those remoter ambitions which, on account of their religious and legal nature, have received greater attention.

The social consequences of barrenness are not as severe as might be imagined. The mocking comments of relatives and neighbours are more irritating to the woman than to her husband. But divorce is not a necessary and never an instantaneous result of infertility. In the past the fear of the degrading manner in which the carcasses of sterile men and women were disposed of was utilized to strengthen the belief in the parental control over the power of procreation. Like the corpses of children, they were not buried inside a hut, but thrown into the bush to be devoured by the hyenas. An exception was made in the case of childless men of clans of high rank, who had power to return and wreak their vengeance on the whole country. Their bodies had to be deposited under a large rock or stone to keep them underground, and every passer-by threw some grass on it to 'bind' their evil intentions.[2] Thus the vicious circle was complete: evil behaviour having caused their barrenness, they were condemned to work off their grievance

[1] G., *DDD.*, p. 82. [2] G., 'Steinahne'.

by further evil deeds. Childless marriage implied thus a deficiency in character.

D

The social status of the child having been secured through the legitimate union of the parents, it becomes their particular concern to conceive and fashion the new individual. In the first part of their training for marriage, both bride and bridegroom are given directions for finding out the most favourable date for conception.[1] This differs individually from the first to the last day of the menses, and should be remembered by the husband for future occasions.

The circumstances at conception are arranged so as to be favourable to the child's character. Like the pillar of the hut which is found at the foot of the bed, the child is to be upright and firm. The secret interment at this pillar of magic which might cause altercations between husband and wife fatal to conception, or affect the child's health or reason, is cursed when the hut is being built.[2] To procure for the child filial piety, a parent will, after a night of connubial congress, approach a man renowned for this quality and stroke his head when exchanging greetings.[3] And the chiefs who desire tall and light-skinned children do not rely on the hereditary transmission of their own physical characteristics, but carry about and contemplate the bones of large animals.[4]

As soon as the new life announces itself, the control of the dominating family, which among the patrilineal Chaga is the husband's, is reaffirmed. When a woman hopes to become a mother, she has to announce it to her mother-in-law through a symbolic act. Offering her two nicely prepared roasted bananas, she says: 'Mother, accept these bananas from your son's wife, for, if God pleases, I am no more one person but two in my heart!' If the woman did not inform her husband's mother, the child would be considered illegitimate and killed. 'For if it had been ours, why did she not tell us?'

In many tribes this legal superiority of one family over the other finds expression in their ideas of procreation. These are of theoretical interest, because they form a mythological justification of the

[1] G., *L.*, i, p. 39. The practice is called '*ititsha mweri*'.

[2] G., *R.*, 286. This pillar is called 'the post of the master of the house'. Similarly, another pillar, referred to as the 'wife's post', is ritually appealed to to secure a safe pregnancy.

[3] G., *R.*, p. 7. [4] G., *R.*, p. 499.

prevalent kinship organization and political system. Thus in matrilineal societies physical paternity may be altogether denied, or the fiction of its insignificance demands that it should not be mentioned in polite talk. In patrilineal societies the opposite obtains, the father's contribution to the embryo being exclusively stressed, as among the Yao and Ba-Ila. Perhaps in most tribes a certain balance is struck, as is the case with the matrilineal Bemba and the patrilineal Chaga. The latter hold that the embryo results from the union of the semen with the menstrual blood, which, after impregnation, is diverted into the uterus to be used in the gradual completion of the foetus. The bridegroom is therefore taught not to beat his wife when she becomes pregnant, for she co-operates in the creation of the child.[1] But the ascendancy of the male principle is unaffected thereby, as is evident from the belief that gestation varies from nine to eleven months according to the husband's clan, and does not depend on a special physiological quality of the wife's stock.[2] Accordingly, when he learns that his wife is with child, a man may be quite beside himself with pride, and indulge in bragging, but the event may also heighten his sense of responsibility.

Among the more important families, the development of the embryo is a subject of teaching with which is connected the magical belief in the power of shaping the embryo through singing didactic songs, cutting notches into a tally, and ritual intercourse. Little is divulged as to the beneficial influence of the latter on the embryo or foetus. In practice, intercourse is unrestricted during pregnancy, but a sensible man is expected to exercise restraint after the fifth month, advice which refers to the method of copulation rather than its frequency. During the training for marriage, it is said, a man is advised to reduce the frequency of coitus from ten to three times a day after the *sara*[3] ceremony, and by practising *coitus interruptus* to avoid the disgrace of having a premature or meagre child born to him.

At one time the tallies were probably symbols of sex acts for shaping the embryo; later they became registers of pre-natal development and a medium of instruction. The lessons accompanying the various patterns do not all refer exclusively and

[1] G., *L.*, i, pp. 39–41.

[2] G., *R.*, p. 4. On the gestation pertaining to a clan also depends the gestation of the cattle owned by clan members!

[3] Cf. p. 80, footnote 2.

systematically to embryonic development. Where this is the case, definite indications are given as to its stages.[1]

The Chaga are taught that the embryo begins as a worm-shaped being, that the head emerges in the fourth month, that the extremities appear in the fifth month, and are followed by the sense organs in the sixth month. In the seventh the foetus grows to full size and the head becomes covered with down; finally, in the eighth month the eyes open and the foetus is completed.

This development can not only be affected as described above, but is also a function of the tone of behaviour in the family. Especially any dissension between the young couple and their parents results in serious deformities of the embryo. All living relatives must therefore be appeased through offerings of beer. In addition, the spirits of the two families have to be cajoled through prayers, sacrifices of animals, and libations of milk, beer, and honey. In these regular propitiatory rites the two parental families take a share, as they are both responsible for the marriage and the welfare of its offspring. Unallayed ill humour and rankling malice are fatal; they cause miscarriage and delay delivery. Offerings and sacrifices are the appropriate way of redress, because they manifest a filial feeling on the part of those who depend on the favours of their seniors and are a suitable return for them. The recurrence of pregnancies in the early years of a marriage affords, therefore, to husband and wife opportunities for allaying the tension between them and their parents. The sinister nature of barrenness is partly due to the fact that such periodic acts of reconciliation are impossible for childless couples.

The mother, as the vessel in which the new life thrives, must take special care not to provoke forces inimical to it. Hence no better way can be found for making the embryo thrive than for her to avoid annoying others and being vexed herself. Her husband also abandons his usual patronizing ways and becomes his wife's cook and purveyor, anxious to humour her special desires in the way of food. The post-natal care of his wife, too, involves for him much expense and exertion. So it may be said that for a considerable time before and after a birth the derived educational relationship between husband and wife is reversed as to its 'filial' and 'parental' pole.

The restrictions on the expectant mother in regard to certain foods are not so elaborate as in other tribes. She is not to drink

[1] G., *L.*, ii, pp. 39, 93–210; also G. Kerbstock. For details, see pp. 326–9.

beer or eat bananas; her diet should consist of milk, sweet potatoes, yams, and plenty of fat. But, like other peoples, the Chaga make these rules more compelling by theories regarding their effect on the embryo. The foods prohibited impede its development or cause a painful delivery, while those recommended further the growth of the child and facilitate birth. Strong medicines, such as that for tapeworm, are avoided for reasons in which the European would concur. But the casuistic regulations with regard to different kinds of honey, of which some are considered specific sedatives for pregnant women and others detrimental to the mother and her child,[1] suggest that the true function of such limitations in the diet, as well as in other forms of behaviour, have a deeper meaning. They keep awake by intermittent and varied reminders the good resolutions of the parents to do nothing contrary to the welfare of their child.

This educational mechanism is reinforced by a course of instruction culminating in various ceremonies. As soon as the husband's mother has been informed of the conception, she sets aside a goat to be fattened for the feast after the child's birth. Husband and wife collect eleusine and beans for the first pregnancy feast,[2] for which also an animal is slaughtered and beer brewed. From the beast's skin rings are cut, of which the husband wears some on his finger and his wife some on her wrist. They are symbolical of the closest possible union of the two. Both are then separately instructed by elder members of their sex about the development of the embryo, its proper care, and their various duties as parents. To the second pregnancy feast neighbours and friends are invited and, together with the relatives, drink beer, dance, and talk. The dancers form groups according to age, and in the past even groups of young girls attended in the daytime. These dances are not only a means of jollification, but, as the accompanying songs indicate, complement the many other magical devices for influencing the mother's and child's life

[1] G., 'Imkerei'.

[2] This is called in the eastern dialect, *mrumo o kuwoka*, the first preparation; the second and third feast correspondingly are named *mrumo o kavi*, and *mrumo o karandaru*. Alternative names are *wunyi*, *shinungu* and *sara* respectively. Gutmann reports for Moshi a different counting (G., *R.*, p. 171), viz. *wali wo kilaa*, presentation of the night, referring to the fact that the teaching lasts till the next morning; *wali wo mwingiro*, the marriage proper; and *wali wunene*, the Great Wedding, and including the covering rite. In the west the dances have the special name of *nrango*.

beneficially. On this occasion, the breasts of the expectant mother are covered in a robing ceremony. She is also presented with a basket from which she is to give food to every child she meets. This, too, is held to bestow favours on the infant.[1] In addition, the mother places an amulet over her womb at this time. The third feast, often spoken of as the marriage ceremony proper, takes place during the last months of the pregnancy. The dancing, singing and talking are as intense as on the previous occasions. The teaching is more definitely concerned with the impending birth, the husband's mother giving lectures to the woman on the proper diet, the necessity of enduring labour without crying, and some first-aid measures. Regarding the latter, the husband receives separate instruction. It is said that the old woman gives a mimic representation of the delivery, during which womanly courage is extolled as being equal to that of warriors, and, in the past, implying privileges, of which women were afterwards deprived by a trick.[2]

There are many indications that these pregnancy ceremonies, together with the festivities during the time of betrothal, form an inseparable sequence, for which it is difficult to fix a day which would correspond to our wedding. For instance, the tally used during the bridegroom's theoretical preparation was employed to kindle the fire at the ceremony of cloaking the young mother's breasts. Indeed, the pregnancy feasts form an intermediate link in the chain of initiation, marriage, and the early rites of parenthood. Thus a vertebra of the neck of the animal killed during the cloaking rite is kept by the young mother till after her child's birth, when she puts scrapings of it into water to wash her infant clean from fatal feebleness. The repeated performance of such rites permanently directs the parents' interest towards the child. In thus stressing the necessary continuity of the parental influence on the child, they reveal a deeper educational intuition than might be assumed if one considers them to be isolated magical acts.

2. *The Birth of a Child: A Moral Test for Mother and Father*

The principle active during pregnancy, that the responsibility for the unborn human being is diffused throughout the paternal

[1] Dundas, loc. cit., p. 196.

[2] G., *R.*, 365. This typical myth is indicative of the inferior position of the women in Chaga society.

and maternal family, becomes intensified as birth approaches. In the last months the woman's mother wears a bead necklace as a charm to prevent herself from being employed as a medium of evil powers. This vicarious responsibility is particularly marked in the case of the husband who, it is believed, in the first month of pregnancy suffers in sympathy with his wife, feels the growth of the embryo in his own body, and experiences exceptional thirst.[1] As the event draws near, his responsibility assumes a temporarily negative character. All his belongings and possessions, such as weapons and cattle, must be removed from the hut. Such objects are held to engender fierceness, a quality unbecoming in girls[2] and dangerous in boys.

Customs like these resemble the *couvade*, as the husband's lying-in is called. This has been explained by some ethnologists as marking the advance in human history connected with the recognition of paternity (Bachofen); according to others, it expresses a sympathetic connexion between father and child (Tylor, Frazer). But it is actually a substitutive taking over by the husband of the functions of the mother. This is done to divert upon himself the magical dangers threatening mother and child during the crisis of birth.[3] In this extreme form, the custom is not known among the Chaga. But the father, although not allowed to be present at the birth, comes to the assistance of his parturient wife[4] and defends the infant by means of prayers outside the hut: 'Fight bravely like a warrior! Be victorious in your struggle, and bring booty home with you! If you were conquered, you could not celebrate the feast of victory!' When he hears the child utter its first cry, he gratefully spits against the sky, goes into the grove to praise God, and propitiates the ancestors with a sacrifice.

While, outside, the husband thus performs his duties as spiritual protector of the family, his mother directs the activities of the midwives in the hut. She is the commander-in-chief for the critical period, thus reasserting the paternal family's final power of control over the child. The woman's mother is also present, but she keeps in the background. Her anxiety increases as the crisis approaches. Will her daughter pass the test of womanhood

[1] G., *L.*, ii, p. 384. [2] Dundas, loc. cit., p. 189.

[3] Crawley, E., *The Mystic Rose* (London, Revised Edition), vol. i, p. 27; vol. ii, p. 185.

[4] Even when a woman is taken to the mission hospital to be delivered her husband or his brother will conduct the transport.

upon which her future well-being and reputation depends? Her own inactivity makes her liable to be overcome by emotion, and custom allows her to yield to her feelings; she trembles violently, and has to be comforted. For this purpose many women are present, for as soon as the news gets abroad, one woman after another slips into the hut, foremost among them relatives, like the woman's sisters, but also neighbours and friends. The higher the family's standing, the more visitors come, arriving even from distant places in an incredibly short time. The speed at which they come, and the solicitude exhibited are closely observed as indicating their real concern for the patient. All of them are busy giving good advice and assistance, but the most authoritative pronouncements are uttered by the husband's mother, for whom also are the important ministrations reserved.

If she is not alive, the woman's mother or sister takes her place. Diffidence is felt about inviting another person, not belonging to the two families, to act as substitute. Such a midwife might handle the child roughly, bathe it in hot water, or bury the placenta superficially, especially if she feels herself to have been slighted. It is therefore the husband's concern to facilitate her work and to be generally responsible for her activities, while his wife is commissioned to watch her manipulations. Without willing co-operation from all present, not only will the organization break down, but a blight fall on the blessing about to descend.[1]

The propitiation of the spirits, and the favourable emotional adjustments in the mother's personal environment, are not enough to secure a successful birth. The obstetrical skill of the midwives is called in to do the rest. Breech delivery is distinguished from normal presentation, and, if necessary, even an internal version may be performed. To induce labour, medicines are administered, and when the uterine contractions have started, the woman is told to 'bear down'.[2] The anxiety now becomes general, and the hum of voices louder. The husband's mother gives her orders, brandishing a piece of firewood. She hastily warms a bowl of soup and pours it into the patient's mouth. Then she rushes away to fetch leaves with which to wipe away the faeces. She has too many duties to perform to give way to weariness.

[1] For more detailed accounts, see G., *L.*, ii, pp. 70, 193; also, G., *DDD.*, p. 83.

[2] Abnormal presentation is described: *mwana asha mufulu*, i.e. the child arrives athwart. *Nka akundila*, the woman bears down.

A young woman can secure the willing assistance of the midwives during delivery if she does not offend them during pregnancy. Again, she is directly responsible for the life of the child, for her unruliness during delivery may cause its death. Most women stoically obey the unwritten law to suppress loud cries during labour. From their childhood, girls are prepared to face their ordeal with composure. Grandmother will tell a child in answer to questions that it is man's nature to groan like a goat when in distress, but women suffer silently as do sheep. Through the rites involving mutilations, e.g. the removal of teeth, the girl is inured to pain, but clitoridectomy causes scars which interfere with an easy delivery and make its last stages excruciating. A newly married woman is taught that her crying will kill the child, and disgrace her sex, and that her husband will hate her for being cowardly. During labour these considerations are strengthened by the presence of many relatives, among whom she is anxious that her own mother shall not be put to shame; and she also fears the censure of her mother-in-law. She knows, too, that her husband is listening outside, and that if through her lack of self-control the child is killed, he may divorce her, and the family may be broken up.

But even though a Chaga woman only moans during labour difficulties do occur. The child may be delayed, and in the frantic search for the 'some one who has blundered', it is the woman herself who is first singled out. Frequently a quarrel she has had with her parents-in-law is unearthed. She has to ask their pardon by sending her necklace round to be spat at, and thus have the curse withdrawn.[1] Or it may be said that the woman's hard-heartedness has offended an ancestral spirit, who retaliates by obstructing the birth. The husband, as mediator between living and dead, must reconcile him, and the libation offered is to break the spell. The husband himself may be blamed, especially if the placenta is retained. An occasion will be remembered when he scolded his father, and if the latter has since died a sacrifice has to be offered. If he is still alive, he must be persuaded to take the woman's necklace into his mouth to cause the placenta to come away. The husband's guilt is irrefutable if his wife dies in her first confinement. He has to settle the affair by composition, and traditionally pays the full wergild to her family. If the child dies in

[1] Dundas, loc. cit., p. 198.

the womb, the woman's relatives will say: 'Look, it is his spear!' or accuse him of kicking his wife.[1] In short, disharmony in the three important parent-child relationships of a patrilocal marriage reveals itself during childbirth.

When the child is born, there is a hush to hear its first cry. If this is delayed, anxiety grows afresh. Several remedies are used to startle an asphyxiated baby into breathing. Knives are whetted above its head; someone beats a drum or a pot. As soon as it utters the first sound, the women, led by the husband's mother, raise a long and high-pitched trill: *kyulilili*, the call of victory, shouted by the women on the successful completion of a hunt or a raid. The word is quickly passed round the whole neighbourhood that another woman has succeeded in her test of courage and morality.

Now the husband's mother attends to the umbilical cord. To prevent it from bleeding she spits upon it, and ties it with banana bast. She places it on a stick and severs it with a grass knife.[2] For a boy the bast is taken from the species *mchare*, the noblest banana, and for a girl from the less valued *mraroe*. At the wedding a couple of banana trees have been planted near the hut for this purpose. These 'wedding bananas' are symbols of fertility, for, like them, the young couple is to be blessed with plentiful fruit. To take the fibre from other bananas, even for subsequent children, would result in their early death.

A similar identification of the fortunes of the child with a plant underlies another rite. After the trill the women go into the grove to cut a bunch of bananas from a tree, which henceforth is called the 'child's root', and magically secures by its thriving the infant's well-being. Several authors[3] report a similar custom carried out with the shrivelled-up umbilical cord that has dropped from the baby's navel. It is buried under a banana tree in the case of a girl, and under a yam in that of a boy. None of them tells of a custom which at one time would probably have been explained as

[1] G., *L.*, ii, p. 197. A dead foetus is removed from its mother's womb by cutting it to pieces, and removing the separate parts one by one. If the embryo dies, it is said to come away in parts by itself.

[2] As the umbilicus is cut 2 to 3 in. from the abdomen, it is frequently pulled, and thus often causes umbilical hernia. On the other hand, in spite of the use of a dirty knife, umbilical inflammations are rare.

[3] G., *R.*, p. 102, and Dundas, loc. cit., p. 199. Gutmann, in 'Feldbau', conjectures that it was consideration for the offspring which led to the cultivation of plants near the house, and to connecting the development of the plant with the life of the infant. He mentions in this connexion that different clans used to plant, at the time of the birth of a child, plants peculiar to their mythology.

a survival of parental cannibalism. In some families the umbilical cord is put into a receptacle and placed for two months in the attic to dry. Then it is ground with eleusine into flour from which a porridge is made. This is consumed by the old women of the family, who claim in this way to be preserving the child's life.

Immediately after delivery the mother sits up to eat a special dish of bananas cooked with sour milk. To expel the placenta, she is given the juice of two grasses[1] crushed in the hand and mixed with butter and her husband's urine. When the placenta is delivered, the husband's mother again raises the cry of victory. Then she removes the blood and soiled clothes, wraps the placenta up in banana leaves, as is done with meat, and places it in the store of the hut. There it is left in the daytime, but during the night she keeps it under her head. She buries it next day inside the hut, in the byre if a boy was born, in the store, if a girl, thus anticipating their future occupations. The cord is kept on top and turned towards the mountain, and sometimes a piece of fat meat is placed over it. These features are reminiscent of the burial of a human being.

3. *The Selective Elimination of Children at Birth*

A

The warmth with which a child is received depends to some extent on its sex. To the father, the birth of an heir as the first child is a moral rehabilitation; it confirms that his premarital sex-life was unimpeachable. A son, moreover, is of great religious significance, because after his father's death he becomes the family priest, perpetuating his ancestors' memory and maintaining their authority through prayer and sacrifice. Without a son, the family vanishes 'like smoke in the morning wind'. Conversely, a man's social and political influence increases with the number of his sons; hence the proverb: 'A quiver with but one arrow is of no use.'[2] While the young man's chief desire is to 'make firm' his parental dwelling—that is, to continue his family through the birth of an heir—in middle age his attention turns to making his service and influence indispensable at court. This he can do chiefly by rearing sons to carry out his behests, to be at their chief's disposal in peace or war, to inherit his own property and

[1] The special dish is called *kidawa*; the two grasses are *ikowe* and *ikati*.
[2] J. R., *Versuch*, p. 290.

succeed to his profession and political position. On the other hand, a woman feels that she has done her duty when she has given birth to one son. The greeting which her husband then extends to her, 'Welcome, you increaser and owner of the heritage!' sums up her ambitions. She is recognized as mistress of the home and has a supporter for old age. The stability of her marriage having been secured, she earns both the respect of her co-wives and the admiration of her age-mates. A Chaga husband may therefore be heard complaining that his wife began to neglect him when their son was able to herd the goats, for she may consider it then more advantageous for her future to ingratiate herself with her son.

On the whole, women prefer to have daughters born to them. They are always welcome, because they will later be able to assist in field and house, to share in womanly confidences, to inherit personal property and the professional knowledge vested in the female sex. Moreover, girls are much easier to rear than boys since they are considered less intelligent, their work requires less ability, and they do not possess that obstinacy which in young boys expresses itself in naughtiness and in older ones in irreverence. To the father, too, a girl is acceptable: as maiden, she cooks for him, her marriage strengthens his family's influence by allying it to another, and the bride-price is a source of income for a great number of years.

Thus among the Chaga no child is killed on account of its sex, as is the case with other native people,[1] but an elimination of undesirables took place in the past, and may still be going on. Illegitimate pregnancies, the result of pre-marital or extra-marital relations, are terminated through the methods of induced abortion mentioned above. This is possible as long as the secret is well kept. As soon as it gets abroad, the claim of the child's legal guardian forbids such an extreme remedy. In the case of a betrothed girl, her father curses any one causing her to miscarry, as his title to indemnification would be annulled should she die. When the child is born, it is immediately drowned by the midwife.[2] In the case of a married woman, the husband may send

[1] As reported by Rasmussen of the Eskimo, where female infanticide is practised for economic reasons. Girls being unable to hunt are for many years an economic burden to their parents. The deficiency in women necessarily leads to polyandry.

[2] Gutmann, in G., *R.*, p. 136, tells a different story. The parents are described as being the executioners, and sacrifices are said to be offered to the murdered child to avert his taking revenge on subsequent children.

her to her seducer to claim indemnification. The child, however, is not killed; it is an object of bargaining between the natural and the legal father, after the former has paid his fine.

Feticide is also employed by mothers who conceive again while still suckling their previous child.[1] Theoretically, intercourse is debarred during lactation, but in practice *coitus interruptus* is resorted to among pagans. Christians, at present, do not space births. It still happens that a woman commits suicide when she becomes pregnant inside the three years prescribed by custom. This shows the pitch of sensitiveness to which she has been trained on this point, and the relentlessness of her companions in castigating her for her lapse.

Infanticide proper was demanded by custom in many cases in which labour, the child itself, or its development was abnormal.[2] Pregnancy, announcing itself by a cessation of the menses, in a manner interrupts the sexuality of the marriage relation. Anything that emphasizes this aspect becomes therefore suspicious—as, for instance, menstruation or a voluptuous dream on the part of the husband during his wife's pregnancy. In consequence, the pregnancy should be terminated. Anomalous sounds during delivery (explained as crying of the child *in utero*), precipitate labour, birth with the amniotic membranes intact, and premature expulsion of the placenta are variously considered as ominous. Positions of the foetus out of the ordinary are fatal, especially a footling presentation, and a child in transverse lie whose hand prolapses. If hope of having a healthy baby is shattered through the birth of a monster or a hermaphrodite, the cause of the disappointment is removed at once. A disaster also is the birth of twins, of whom, in the past, one—usually the weaker—was killed, but nowadays may die of neglect.

Children with irregular growth of teeth are doomed, especially those who are already born with teeth or whose upper incisors cut the gums before the lower. If excessive down does not disappear, the infant is looked upon as a public danger. Under this head might also be included the case of the girl whose first menstruation occurs before circumcision, an irregularity which is unpardonable.

[1] It is also practised by a mother who conceives two months after the death of a child, or after her daughter has been married.

[2] Cf. G., *R.*, pp. 212–17.

As for the motives underlying infanticide, it must, in the majority of cases, be considered as an immediate reaction to extreme disappointment of high hopes, to perplexity over an unexpected turn of events which it is desired to control, and to irritation at the stultification of professional skill or parental exertions. Any such distracting experiences would, under the control of custom, direct the emotional discharge upon the centre of attention. In such cases, therefore, the midwives would kill the child instantaneously.

In the case of twins, we have a particular instance of primitive bewilderment at excessive productivity. For the same reason, it is thought unlucky for two wives of one husband or two sisters to become pregnant at the same time. In such a contingency abortion is induced. A similar notion underlies the objection to the suckling of two children together. If of twins one is male and the other female, the one is allowed to live whose sex is not yet represented among previous offspring.

Most natives would explain infanticide by referring to the fixity of ritual custom. And who would dare to doubt the irresistibility of this social force, particularly if he considers that the neighbouring Masai, whom at one time the Chaga were prone to imitate in speech, manners, and dress, by tradition rejoice at the birth of twins? But such an explanation is at the same time an easy rationalization paralleled in the case of other 'conscious motives'.

Two of these motives recur so frequently that their closer examination seems advisable. An apparently unchallenged parental right to kill existed with regard to children whose behaviour indicated hostility towards the father or, more rarely, the mother. Such an incipient attitude expresses itself, for instance, in footlings, in those born hand first, or with the emission of curious sounds. In many other tribes, the killing of infants whose upper teeth appear first is put down to a similar assumption of conflict between father and child.[1] In this connexion, boys are more liable to be done away with than girls, since the former are credited with greater fierceness. The psychologically interesting point is that the primary motives of physical disgust are here superseded and reinforced by a secondary reason. This is founded on the

[1] Also asserted of Chaga by Dundas, and by some of my informants. Gutmann contends that this custom is not genuinely Chaga.

parent-child relationship and anticipates the strain to which it may be subjected. Further, the instances of infanticide justified by this reason only slightly or for a short time deviate from the normal. It seems therefore plausible that, where the abnormality is inconsiderable and does not release an instantaneous and violent reaction, secondary, 'deeper', and more 'irresistible' springs of action have to be called in.

In no case—even in those quite definitely demanded by custom—could the father or the midwives representing his family kill the child without having first obtained the permission of the mother's family, for it, too, has a possessive right over the child. If this were ignored, the woman's father could sue her husband for damages, unless he convinced the chief that he was justified in removing the child. The chief, as arbiter over the life of a child, figures also in the second rationalized motive for infanticide, which takes specific anomalies to be threatening to the country as a whole. Among the Chaga this was the case with babies born without apertures and covered with lanugo.

In these instances of general danger, the killing carried out by the chief's orders assumed the form of a purificatory rite. Sacrifices and prayers had to be offered to remove the blemish or, if this was impossible, to banish the impending danger. The anomalous child itself was treated as a victim to be dedicated to the spirit who had employed it as a warning signal, and was dispatched in a special place by a priest barren himself, who was therefore immune against its revenge. In other cases, the method of killing children has varied. Gutmann asserts in one place that they were suffocated, in another that their neck was wrenched.[1] Merker reports that their throats were cut, and I was told that the midwives disliked to shed blood and therefore used to submerge the child in a pot of water. A favourite method was simply to neglect the child, which caused fatal consequences during one of the many infantile illnesses. It must be feared that this method is still being employed, especially in the case of twins.

The killing was thus not always instantaneous, and delay sometimes saved a child. In some cases the abnormalities disappeared; in others a diviner subsequently allayed suspicions. Certain exceptions were also customarily connived at. A case of breech delivery was not killed if it was a first-born. Girls were pardoned

[1] Contrast G., *DDD.*, p. 89, with G., *R.*, p. 216.

the irregular eruption of their incisors. But in such cases particular care had to be taken to prevent the secret from becoming known to interested persons, such as a suitor. Taking these modifying factors into consideration, as well as the small percentage of all abnormalities at birth, one is constrained to look at the custom of infanticide, not as a sign of depravity, but as an instance illuminating the extent and limits of parental authority as society imposes them on the individual.

The parental power of selective elimination was also not applied in the case of cripples, among whom are counted children with supernumerary fingers or toes, a hunchback, clubfoot, or other deformity. 'God shapes the cripple too!' is a saw with a double meaning: a deformed child has been sent by the spirits, but as such its life is sacred. As long as its well-being is considered, that of normal children is also safe. The cripple atones by his deficiency for the gift of normal limbs and bodies in others; his misfortune is linked by a special bond with their soundness.

Among these 'tabooed' children, who are the special property of the spirits, are counted infants whose upper teeth broke through first, and boys with only one testis. The playmates of these latter were forbidden to touch them. When such boys fell ill, their relatives hastened to sacrifice for their recovery. When they married, their happiness had to be secured at all costs. I was told that such people were not allowed to fight in the front line, as their death spelled defeat to the whole army, and it was the district headman's duty to report to the chief about such cases in his contingent.

In spite of the sacredness of cripples, the magical belief in the parents' power to mould their offspring becomes naturally intensified in their case. A child born with six fingers or toes has the extra one cut off and thrown into a thicket to prevent it from being employed for magical purposes. Some families make great efforts to remove a child's hump, either by exposing it to the smoke over the fireplace or by having a magician pass it under a slit banana stem. Squint in their offspring does not worry some parents, but others pay a diviner who declares that it can be remedied by the sacrifice of a black bull to the ancestor who caused it. When such moulding fails, the children are sometimes killed after all.

B

The vacillating attitude with regard to deformities illustrates a principle of native beliefs, to which Robertson Smith[1] has drawn attention—namely, the easy transition from the idea of the untouchable to that of the sacred. Their common basis is that objects possessing either the one or the other quality are both unapproachable to human beings, being reserved for the use of a divine power. According to whether the vague apprehensions felt in the presence of a revolting and therefore unapproached object are rationalized into awe before a beneficent god, or fear of an evil spirit acting through it, the object itself assumes beneficiary or pernicious qualities. The reference to a wicked divinity is more easily made in the case of disgusting objects, and a good principle sought in the case of normal ones. But the theoretical distinctions retain a certain arbitrariness, especially with regard to mildly deformed and extremely ugly or beautiful children. Thus, in the case of albinos, some parents used to kill them; others adored them as though they were divine, shutting them up within a hut lest they be darkened by the sun, and hoping that they would redeem the fortunes of their families.[2] Similarly, left-handed children were in some instances murdered, in others specially protected.

In fact, the ambiguity of the quality of *sacer* can be traced in the native attitude towards children in general, vacillating from disgust and neglect on the one hand to indulgence and even adoration on the other. As long as a child was unscathed—that is, had received no ritual incisions or mutilations—it was considered to be pure (thus especially acceptable to the spirits) and untouchable (therefore avoided by them). The former attitude covers the reported cases of child sacrifice, the latter the employment of children as a propitiating influence, each passing easily into the other.

Stories about sacrifices of children are still told and firmly believed in, even by enlightened Christians. Some of these are on the Moloch theme; a child had to be given as a daily tribute to the monster *irimu* lest the latter should harm the inhabitants of the

[1] Smith, R. W., *The Religion of the Semites* (London, 1907); also Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution* (London), p. 440.

[2] As in the family of the Mtui at Marangu.

country. Or the spirit of the dead demanded from a parent the sacrifice of a child in return for valuable gifts, such as meat or the redemption of other children.[1] Where a heavy curse had been placed on the father, the death of his child could free him of it.

The sacrifice of children to procure rain is recorded in legends. Somewhat distinct from these generally known myths is that of a particular clan who lays claim to the water of an irrigation canal because one of their offspring is said to have been offered to the ancestors controlling its flow.[2] Of political significance are tales in which it is related that 'holy'—that is, ritually untouched—children have been buried alive in order to guard the inviolability of a boundary agreed upon by two chiefs. They are then supposed to act as a safety measure against a sudden attack by providing an unsurmountable obstacle or by uttering a warning signal.[3] One of the introductory rites of initiation was the killing of a youth, and a similar sacrifice was customary in some Chaga countries at the death of a chief.[4]

It is interesting to note the oscillation in the criteria for determining the victims, who may be abnormally beautiful children especially desired by the spirits, or boys and maidens with bodies undefiled by mutilating ceremonies, and therefore liable to be received favourably by the deities, or blameless youths who alone would be able to redeem their age-class. Their parents are described as worried and loath to part with them. Attempts are made to stay the execution or to substitute another victim. Two kinds of substitutes are constantly mentioned in the stories; animals, such as sheep and goats of similar virgin character, which are addressed as human beings, and sometimes only offered in pretence; or children otherwise despised, waifs, the sons and daughters of poor and powerless families, and feeble or deformed offspring. Indeed, natives give as the historical reason for the introduction of the rites of mutilation the desire of parents to protect their children from being selected by the chief to be sacrificed!

Not only may the beautiful through being sacrificed procure the favour of the ancestors, and the wretched through being

[1] G., *Volksbuch*, pp. 82, 35, 102.

[2] G., 'Feldbau', a typical mythological charter for a legal claim.

[3] The first report about this custom was given by J. R., 'Blut- und Speichelbünde'. When Marangu and Mamba partitioned Samanga, a smaller chieftainship, this custom is said to have been observed.

[4] G., *R.*, 323; G., 'Begräbnis'. The latter custom is denied for Marangu.

dedicated be able to propitiate them, but the child as such is *sacer*, a being who, because it is untouchable, may act as intermediary between hostile worlds. In rites in which the living commune with the dead, or the conquered chief asks the victor for mercy, in the ceremonies establishing contact between the bride's and bridegroom's family, children take part as agents whose innocence neutralizes evil powers. For instance, before a new hut is occupied, a boy and girl enter it alone to light the first fire on the hearth. Sometimes a young girl purifies the posts and buries a charm under the fireplace. When the bride moves into the house of her mother-in-law to be 'fattened', or rather strengthened, in preparation for her marriage, a girl is given her as servant and guard. When, after some time, she returns to her own home to be ceremonially anointed, she is preceded and followed by a girl. If through jealousy a maiden cuts short all further ritual by 'taking herself to her husband', she grasps a child of his mother's household to be her token of peace. During the young wife's confinement, a young girl is appointed to be cook for mother and baby, and thus are averted the magical dangers resulting from the temporary suspension of the domestic preparation of food, so important a function both from an economic and religious point of view. Before the new milk of a cow is consumed, an unspoiled boy has to drink some and ritually reconcile the calf.

In the past, when a chief wished to ask for peace, he sent a delegation consisting of his mother, or a chief councillor, a heifer, a young steer, a sheep with a dracaena leaf round its neck as sign of truce, and a girl not yet circumcised. These were all taken to the hostile chief's house and placed inside it without one word being spoken, and nobody would resist their entry. Then only would the ambassador repair to the place of assembly and state his master's case.

Even to-day, Christians and pagans alike show by their acts a similar respect for the sacredness of a child. When a visitor has arrived and a child decides to present him with a piece of meat, or some money belonging to his parents, it is the stranger's legal property, and cannot be recovered, except he returns it voluntarily or accepts payment for it. In certain situations—as, for example, when a poor man asks a great favour from a rich one, or when somebody wants to borrow a large sum of money, or hire a cow, or when a person, having offended the chief, desires to ask his pardon,

or when an adulterer sets about reconciling his paramour's husband—the only method promising success is for the suppliant to seize the other's small child and place it in its father's arms, asking him in the name of his child to grant the petition. Brought forward in this manner, it cannot be refused; even if he have no money, the person approached will go surety at a moneylender's to the extent of half the amount asked. To the adherents of the old faith and the new, a supplication supported by a child is like entering into a blood-bond with the person asked, obliging him to grant it. Standing in a special relationship of responsibility to the child, the father is urged to comply with requests expressed in this manner rather than expose his offspring to danger. In this sense, the offering of an infant to his father implies even to-day its dedication to the gods.

4. '*Taking up*' *the Newborn. The Reorganization of the Family after the first Birth*

The proper person to receive the child is the husband's mother. She licks it, to remove the *vernix caseosa*, then she rubs it all over with butter. Holding her hand over the fire, she warms it first to make the fat melt. Special care is devoted to the head. It is massaged again and again to remove the hematomatous swelling of the scalp. But it is improbable that any permanent effect is brought about by this practice, although the midwives believe that under their hands the skull becomes round and comely. This is more likely to be due to the rapid disappearance of the *caput succedaneum*, and to the fact that the head naturally regains its normal shape, for, as a result of the pressure on it during its passage through the pelvis, it becomes lengthened and bulges behind and above. The typical Chaga skull retains a certain 'infantility' as a racial characteristic. It is elongated, with a narrow but rounded forehead, a large protruding hind-head, and a curious depression of the parietal bones. If, as Gutmann asserts, some people wrongly inferred from this the existence of a custom of artificial deformation, his own explanation that the peculiar form is due to the cicatrization of the vulva is even less plausible.[1] At any rate, in the Shira district midwives attempt to 'shape' a newborn head, some using the soft leaves of the *imboko* plant as a pad. Mothers who omit this custom are ridiculed by their friends.

[1] G., *R.*, p. 204.

After the baby has been cleansed and wrapped up in a napkin (a weak baby is folded in the top leaf of a banana, chosen for its smoothness), the husband's mother hands the child to other relatives according to rank and prestige. This, the first presentation of the child, is followed later by many others. If the woman's mother is absent, the water in which the baby has been bathed (some families wash their babies) is kept for her to wash her hands in, before it is poured away.[1]

Soon after the cleansing, the child has 'the food of this world shown to him'. Two plantains, roasted and steeped in milk and butter, are chewed by the husband's mother and spat, piece by piece, into the baby's mouth. Several 'medicines' are added, some for magical reasons, e.g. the *kyana* dracaena, to 'open the mouth', others as medicines proper—for instance, the *kilau* tubers to prevent threadworm, and bark from a tree *msesewe*, masticated with eleusine, to combat roundworm; others again simply to clear the alimentary canal of meconium. It is said that, in the past, children who refused this first meal were left to die. This indicates the sacramental significance attached to it.

When the most urgent tasks have been performed, the midwives prepare a meal for themselves, a banana dish cooked with fresh milk. In the past, the hut was then shut against all callers, the women holding a secret meeting whose agenda has never been divulged to men. One old woman kept watch outside the hut to ward off male eavesdroppers. Probably, the main theme of this ceremony was to re-assert the superiority of the female sex, as alone responsible for the continuation of mankind, and as alone capable of suffering heroically the pains of labour. At least, the attempt made even at the present time, to keep the husband in the dark as to the sex of his child, expresses a temporary sexual antagonism, for it is his own mother who covers up the lower parts of the child, and who, sometimes only after a week, and then for the gift of some meat, divulges the secret. The custom, however, may very well be connected with the magical dangers threatening the more valuable sex, which are released if the son is talked and boasted about. For sometimes a number of signs are used to indicate the arrival's characteristics. When a boy is born, the trill is three times repeated, three lines are painted with ochre at the foot of the door-post, and the dracaena leaf laid round the

[1] G., *DDD.*, p. 85.

newborn's neck is knotted three times. If it is a girl, the number used is four. Another symbol employed in the case of twins consists in the handing of two bananas to the waiting husband.

The baby is fed by its mother when the milk has appeared in the breasts. In the meantime the husband's mother has been suckling it. Before feeding by the mother is permitted, several rites have to be performed. Some milk is sprayed on the baby's face, and the mother spits some water over her breasts. Then the child may be given a few sips of cow's milk, and only after this has been taken is the breast offered.[1] This elaborate procedure indicates that some important meaning is attached to suckling; indeed, it definitely marks the acceptance of the child into the family. In a similar manner the communion of the mother's milk ritually unites an adopted child to his new parents, and a few drops of human milk added to the blood make blood-friendship binding.

For this service to his family, the husband has to supply his wife with special food. This duty which is impressed upon him during the teaching prior to marriage, and is facilitated now by the close observation to which he is subjected by the woman's family, may in case of neglect be enforced in the court of law. Its discharge is a measure of the husband's love and devotion. Nothing, not even poverty or scarcity, can excuse his remissness. The staple food of a young mother is *kitawa*, a dish of bananas and beans cooked with milk. It is so nourishing that the women grow fat on it, sometimes changing their appearance altogether. In addition, the husband is obliged to give his wife a special treat in the shape of the *mlaso* meal. This he must do several times during her confinement, which lasts several months. This concoction of meat, fat, blood, and milk is supposed to increase the flow of milk. The blood is obtained from cattle by a special process of blood-letting, and fat is freely added.[2]

But the obligation is not one-sided. The woman's right to receive a special diet depends on her fulfilling her kinship duties. It is her father-in-law who prepares the *mlaso*, but if she should have treated her mother-in-law with contempt, the latter's curse

[1] Gutmann explains this as a means of uniting the infant to the totemic unity of man and beast in one clan. Cf. G., *R.*, p. 10.

[2] Men have no permission to eat *mlaso*, it is a distinguishing honour for the female sex. Occasionally a 'good' wife will secretly keep some for her husband. It may be used as medicine by men, to 'increase their blood'.

will close the bull's vein. It can only be removed by her doing penance[1] and thereby acknowledging her moral dependence on her parents-in-law. Likewise, she has to be particularly affable to her husband, greeting him politely when he calls on her, and wishing him well should he cough or sneeze. If a woman dies in childbirth the substitute mother, either the husband's mother or one of his sisters or wives, is given the same diet,[2] a custom which suggests that the special food during confinement is an immediate payment for the services to the child. As it is also 'owned' by the mother's family, some assistance comes from them during confinement, in the form of a special dish, known as *kitosho*, and contributed regularly.

On the fourth day after the birth, a special ceremony formally announces the arrival of the child to the family of the mother.[3] An animal is sacrificed amid prayers for the child's welfare. Skin rings are prepared to be placed on the father's finger, and on the wrists of mother and child. They protect the wearers against the envy of the spirits, who are thereby reminded of the sacrifice. Some of the meat is consumed by the father's people, some is sent to his father-in-law, the 'procreator of the child's mother'. The ritual significance of the gift is symbolized in the wrapping of dracaena leaves which, in the place of ordinary banana leaves, betoken peaceful intentions. In some districts a boy and a girl convey the glad tidings, carrying butter on their head, for which they receive a present of victuals in exchange, or the father himself may be the messenger, especially in the case of a first-born son. On the same day the woman's mother may replace the husband's mother in the management of the household and the care of the infant, thus assuming temporary responsibility for its welfare.

About a week later the acceptance of the infant into the father's family, which was already intimated in the first food-giving rite and in those connected with suckling, is reinforced by a test in which its physical characteristics are compared with those known to be hereditary in the father's family. Even where a child resembles its mother, certain details in the shape of the ears, chin, feet, hands,

[1] G., *L.*, i, p. 439 (note).

[2] A Chaga woman, provided she has plenty to eat and little work to do, can suckle, even if she has not fed a baby herself for about six years. Artificial feeding on cow's milk is known. Inability to suckle is extremely rare, the nipples are never depressed, fissure of the nipples is unheard of, and mastitis is rare.

[3] For detailed accounts of afterbirth ceremonies, cf. G., *DDD.*, pp. 85 *seq.*, Dundas, loc. cit., pp. 199 *seq.*, and G., *R.*, pp. 217 *seq.*

nails, lines of the palm, and the edge formed by the hair along the temples can be relied upon to be typical of the father's stock.[1] Consideration is also taken by the examiners of diagnostic marks transmitted from the grandparents on both sides. The test is carried out by the woman's father-in-law, his brother, who assists him ritually and the former's wife. If no strange signs are found on the child, it is accepted into its paternal kinship group by its grandfather, who lifts it up against the sky and spits some chewed banana into its mouth. Of these rites, the first places it under ancestral protection and the other signifies the sacred communion of food within one family. Another consequence is the termination of the avoidance relation between the wife and her father-in-law. In an impressive ceremony, the young mother offers a calabash of beer first to the ritual assistant and then to her husband's father, who receives it uttering blessings over her and her child. Husband and mother-in-law are also given of the beer 'that removes the shame'.

The child has now been accepted first into the narrow circle of women who decide upon its life or death, and subsequently into its father's and mother's family. That the paternal connexion is legally more important is shown by a richer and more significant ceremonial.

The announcement of the child's arrival to a wider circle is made when its mother visits the market for the first time after her confinement. This may happen as late as three months after the child's birth. Her fellows welcome her with the trill, greetings, and songs due to returning warriors. They comment on the husband's liberality or stinginess, and apply publicly for the first time the term *malyi* to her, a term of reference appropriate to her new status as the mother of one child. (After the birth of a second child, she becomes a *nka*.)

As the child's life was linked to a living plant, so it may be presented to the inanimate objects of its environment. Various rites are reported with this purpose. For instance, when the umbilicus is finally disposed of, the infant may be introduced to the banana grove. A presentation to the peak of Mt. Kilimanjaro, the white glacier dome called *Kipo*, may be repeated frequently

[1] Cf. G., *R.*, p. 223, and G., *L.*, ii, p. 201. A similar test is used in cases of alleged adultery. Some missionaries rely on the conclusions arrived at by the examiners if a question of Church discipline is involved.

during the first months. It is accompanied by a prayer in the following strain: 'God and guide, lead this child, guard it, and let it grow up and arise like smoke!'

5. *Customary Behaviour and its Psychological Interpretation*

It is now possible to evaluate the facts of educational significance during the period of anticipatory parenthood. The Chaga, like most primitive peoples, do not countenance an indiscriminate production of children through a promiscuous union of the sexes. The desire for offspring cannot be satisfied except in a legitimate marriage. This alone guarantees that the child can be brought into being in the appropriate manner and at the appointed time. For the ceremonial approval of the parents does not merely empower a couple to produce children; it also fits a man and his wife for this task and obliges them to perform it. Barrenness is regarded, therefore, not as a physiological deficiency, but an indication of filial insubordination or a punishment for it. It is a symbol of social inadequacy. On the other hand, even if legitimacy has been secured, conception, its frequency, the whole process of pregnancy and delivery, cannot be left to accident. It must be controlled throughout by the harmonious and efficient co-operation of the young parents with their respective families. This period of preparation is therefore one of mutual restraint in the secondary educational relationships established through marriage. The sympathetic diffusion of responsibility for the offspring is reinforced through teaching and ceremony. It culminates in the participation of the whole kindred group in the birth of the child and its acceptance into human society. Through the birth of the first child marriage is validly consummated. Through it the continued existence of the family as an independent social unit subsisting on its own economic arrangements is legally and psychologically secured.

The educational principle emerging in this period is that good conduct in the kinship group is enforced by a system of sanctions which restrain an individual indirectly through interference with the reproductive process in which he is engaged. Vice versa any complication reveals the non-observance of the rules of conduct or an inclination towards it. The incidence of guilt is heavily balanced against the sociologically weaker generation—the newly married couple—and especially the woman.

It is possible to explain the educational mechanism at work by the assumption that as the birth of a child shapes persons who so far were considered 'children' into parents, it becomes necessary to reassert their continued filial submission to their own progenitors. This is achieved by interlocking in the newly married the emotions aroused by anticipatory parenthood and by filial piety. The sentiment of filial devotion, which is, as it were, in danger of being replaced by that of parental love, vindicates itself by becoming a *conditio sine qua non* of the latter. The function of the system of constraints is therefore to prolong parental authority at the critical moment when the younger generation has become capable of reproducing itself.

The term 'sentiment' has been used above in the sense given to it by Shand and McDougall.[1] According to them, a sentiment is an enduring conative attitude towards some particular object round which a gamut of emotions is organized. To make this conception useful for a sociological study dealing with the relationships between types of human beings, we must stress that a sentiment is not only part of an individual mind, but in fact a connecting link between persons, the relationship of ego to the personal object concerned, varying in orectic value according to circumstances. Thus parental love cannot be defined as an individual virtue. It cannot live in the abstract; as it is possible only where parent and child co-exist and through their interlocked existence co-operate and interact.[2]

From this basis it is possible to arrive at certain guiding lines for the interpretation of native customary conduct. In customs, behaviour depends on regularly recurring social situations involving the interaction of clearly defined social types of human beings. Behaviour in them is shared and incorporates objective forces. It is therefore impossible to explain customs by a reference to psychological motives, to the springs of action in the individual mind. Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that an individual motive—say, the maternal instinct—were able to invent all the actions required for securing the welfare of the child. It will be conceded at once that in no society is the maternal instinct allowed to express itself in this simple manner. Years before marriage,

[1] Cf. Shand, *The Foundations of Character*, p. 35. Compare with this McDougall's definition in *Outline of Psychology*, Fifth Edition, p. 419.

[2] Cf. Shand, op. cit., p. 43, where such a possibility is maintained

during the ceremonial period signifying its conclusion, and during anticipatory parenthood, the mother acts in constant interaction with many persons who have not only a right to interfere, but whose co-operation may be quite indispensable. Even the arrival of the child does not afford its mother an opportunity of giving full rein to her instinct. On the contrary, the outside control is if anything intensified. A complicated machinery of co-operation is set going. The ways of interaction into which most of the participants fall are not necessarily orientated towards conscious ends; they follow predispositions formed in similar situations in the past. The great variability of customary actions concerning one and the same event finally excludes the assumption that in each individual concerned a ready-made instinct emerges and finds at once its appropriate 'expression in a specific mode of behaviour in relation to the object', viz. the child.

What cannot be described with certainty therefore are the individual motives for conforming to custom. It would be misleading to rely on the explanations of natives. For thought is derivative and emerges when unexpected difficulties (sometimes in the shape of an inquiring ethnologist) do not allow of the uninterrupted succession of habitual and customary actions. Meaning, purpose, reasons, and ideas are dependent on habits and custom. For in most cases people walk in traditional ways of behaviour for no particular reason whatsoever. In social conduct, the efficient cause, the individual motive, is clearly subordinate to the final cause, the social effect of custom. This effect or function of the customs regulating the interaction of the parental and filial generations is to be studied in the subsequent sections.[1]

[1] These last two paragraphs are based on Dewey, J., *Human Nature and Conduct* (New York, 1922).

PART III

INFANCY

1. *The Feeding of the Child and Training in the related Bodily Habits*

A

THE physiological services rendered to the child by its mother are connected with wider meanings than the immediate satisfaction of bodily needs. Such services can be executed properly only in definite social relationships, for these link the infant to living beings and to its forebears. In the one case the relationship is given a legal guaranty and in the other a magical basis of security.

For instance, during the marriage ceremonies, the bride's mother performs a rite over the piece of leather on which her daughter's first menstrual discharge was collected.[1] Having cleansed it, she smears four lines of cowdung on it, and blesses her daughter: 'Your milk be sweet like that of cow and sheep!' Mother's milk may be contaminated by the interference of the spirits—in fact, the breasts of a woman are believed to be an entrance which they can easily force. In consequence, in some clans the breasts must be medicated before a child can be suckled. This is done by a magician, who scarifies the areolas and makes the nipples fast by a charm.[2] Now the milk will not be able to 'burn' the child and vomiting will be prevented. If the mother falls ill, she must not suckle her child. The medicine-man, by daubing the breasts with a drug, temporarily seals them.

Other prohibitions concerning suckling point to its legal implications. Suckling must only be done by the mother. If a strange woman puts the child to her breast inadvertently or on purpose, it will die. In a case at Machame that came to my notice, a claim for compensation arose out of the alleged suckling

[1] Cf. G., *R.*, p. 120. The first menses should occur after circumcision and before marriage at the time when the bride temporarily stays with her mother-in-law, but does not yet live with her husband.

[2] Cf. Walk, L., 'Die ersten Lebensjahre des Kindes in Südafrika', p. 66; and Kidd, op. cit., p. 40, reports similar customs.

of a child by a woman not its mother. The child fell sick afterwards and had to be taken to hospital, where it recovered. The chief's court made the husband of the accused refund the expenses incurred at the hospital to the child's father. But it is not always the malice of an envious neighbour which is thought to underlie this transgression. 'The quick-tempered woman manages to suckle her companion's child!'[1] This proverb warns the rash person against suckling a strange child in mistake, only to find out that no food is left for her own children.

Here the suckling of another woman's child appears to be an imaginary extreme of the possible actions of a reckless person. As such it strongly contrasts with the assertion of communal suckling frequently recurring in anthropological literature and repeated by as recent a writer as Rivers. Those who interpreted native customs as indicating such a practice were misled by their eagerness to prove an historical stage of promiscuity. They were abetted in this by the multiple interpretations which natives put on their own customs. Professor Malinowski[2] has pointed out the impossibility of synchronizing the lactation periods of the women of a community. He also draws attention to the individual nature of maternity as anticipated in the prohibitions and ceremonies of pregnancy. This individuality is reinforced in the ordeal of birth, through the seclusion of mother and child and the intimacy of their contact during the lactation period. Whenever circumstances require the engagement of a wet nurse, the Chaga observe customs which amount to a sanctioning of the substitution. In no known case does the responsibility for the nursing of the child devolve on more than one person.

For example, if the mother dies in childbed, the husband's mother, as a rule, takes over the maternal duties. The substitution is both physiological and sociological. The baby is put to its grandmother's breast, and in return she receives the special diet of the confinement period, during which she is freed from heavy work. Occasionally an old woman uses charms and medicines to make the flow of milk return, but this 'late lactation' cannot be equivalent to real suckling.[3] In younger women the mammae

[1] J. R., *Versuch*, p. 282.

[2] Malinowski, B., 'Parenthood—the Basis of Social Structure'.

[3] Bartels, M., 'Über die Spätlaktation bei den Kafferfrauen', *Z.Ethn.*, xx, p. 80. See also 'Foster-mothers in Africa,' *Africa*, xi, p. 108.

may, on being stimulated, secrete milk in sufficient quantity. The substitute mother is frequently either a sister of the husband's or one of his wives. At times the father entrusts a runaway woman with the task. She would regard the bereaved home as a refuge where her services might render her indispensable. The man naturally would welcome her both for the sake of his child and the continuance of the household.

Mother's milk was and still is considered insufficient. From the second day the child has food spat into its mouth. This is done frequently during the day, and two or three times in the night. Milk and butter are specifically used for fattening the infant. They are often added to a cooked pap made of unripe *mshare* bananas and soda (which is found in the plains and used as salt). The baby also gets its share of the *mlaso* meal. From the third month it may be allowed to taste the food of the adults, except meat.[1]

In many families the infant's food is prepared separately and given to it from a bowl and spoon used only for this purpose. Fresh food may be cooked three times a day. This measure is of hygienic value, for the child never gets fermented food as adults do at certain seasons when only one meal a day is cooked. If the child refuses to eat a special dish, his mother either cooks another or, by beating him, forces him to eat it. But fastidiousness is rare, for most mothers have neither the time nor the means to pamper their children. It is not infrequent that one meets toddlers with but a few teeth lustily crunching roasted maize. At one year they will eat everything—unripe bananas, colocasia, and sweet potatoes, all roasted to make them tasty. The tiny calabash, spoon and bowl are carefully tucked away under the thatch of the hut. They will be produced to humiliate the adolescent child by reminding him of his one time dependence on maternal care. The educational implications of the early feeding processes are thus noticed by the Chaga.

Observation reveals that the frequent suckling reported of almost all primitive tribes is a means of soothing the infant. Whenever it cries it is taken up and put to the breast. The 'suckling' by the grandmother may be just such a method to calm the child in the absence of the mother. Christian parents, although desirous of observing regular intervals in feeding a child, often abandon the routine when it cries.

[1] This paragraph is based on Ittameier, C., op. cit. p. 41.

They, like their pagan sisters, carry the baby in their arms continually and when its limbs have grown firm place it astride on the hip, where it can always reach the breast.[1] During the night the child is bedded on the breast, and it sometimes happens that it is suffocated by it. Apparently this prolongation of intimate contact has no detrimental effect upon the character of the children as might be suspected by a psycho-analyst. It may be looked upon as the biologically necessary transition between the original symbiosis of mother and embryo and the ultimate independence of the two organisms. Of course, it makes impossible the early training in nutritive habits to which the European child is subjected.

But it is doubtful whether the immediacy with which the native child's hunger and thirst can be satisfied accounts for the domineering attitude which a toddler may assume towards his mother.[2] For, from the third month on, the mother may be absent from home for long intervals, tilling the fields or marketing her crops. In such circumstances, I have seen babies crying with hunger who had not been suckled for seven or eight hours. Surely, then, the native child learns soon enough that not all objects or beings (including its mother) are subject to its desires.

B

A similar indefiniteness may be observed in customs of weaning. As the infant is used to a mixed diet from birth, the change is never so marked as if it had been exclusively breast-fed. The transition is, besides, so gradual that it must be almost imperceptible, for even a three-year-old child may occasionally tug at his mother's breasts. This tendency towards 'eliminating a physiological wrench'[3] is supported by a few striking measures. When a Chaga mother decides to wean her child, she does so for reasons which have nothing to do with its health or well-being. She may have to hand the child over to its grandparents, as is customary in the case of the firstborn, or she wishes to terminate the suckling, which is a legal impediment to cohabitation and a new pregnancy. She may smear red pepper or some other substance with a nasty

[1] In tribes where it is the custom for infants to be carried on the back the breasts are pushed through under the arm and into the child's mouth.

[2] Thus asserted by A. I. Richards, loc. cit., Chap. 3.

[3] Malinowski, B., *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, p. 29.

taste on her nipples, or she prepares the infant's food with special care and the milk used is not allowed to become too sour.

A mother may have to employ stronger inducements to accomplish her purpose. Weaning is the first occasion for disciplinary action to be taken. It was in Siairuka's eleventh month when I witnessed the following scene. His mother had laid him across her lap as in preparation for suckling. She had, however, cooked a porridge. When she brought the spoon near the baby's mouth he refused to open it. She produced a sucking sound which had the desired effect. Siairuka swallowed the porridge with expressions of great displeasure. He tightly closed his mouth against the second spoonful. His mother slapped him on the buttocks. Startled, the baby gulped down some more. But at the same time he raised his leg to kick her and burst out into a violent protest: 'Baaah!' Yielding temporarily, his mother let him suck at her breast for a while. Then, renewing her efforts, she pushed the spoon into the child's mouth by wedging it under the nipple. Siairuka broke into a sorrowful wail which was requited with a series of slaps. In this manner he was forced to imbibe a certain amount of the pap. His mother having been satisfied, threw him several times into the air by way of consolation. On catching him in her arms, she eagerly licked his face as if trying to re-establish the old intimacy. Siairuka's face lighted up with a wan smile, but his chest was still heaving with sobs. Looking round for some diversion, his mother discovered a cat and pinched its tail. Its caterwaul put Siairuka into good humour again. Three days later I saw the infant being fed by his eldest sister aged twelve. His mouth opened quite automatically as the spoon approached. This change was, of course, not due to a miraculous spurt in learning a habit, but the result of a different social situation: by no means whatsoever could Siairuka make his sister perform what he could induce his mother to do by a sufficiently strong resistance.

The duration of suckling depends on the custom in vogue in the father's clan. In Christian families, where a quick succession of pregnancies is not considered undesirable, the father may still exercise the right of terminating suckling. Nahum Mrema, a teacher, told me that his wife suckled two children together. The elder was then about three years old, the younger sixteen months. A peculiar relationship developed between the two. The girl, who

was the younger, would not take the breast until the bigger child left the hut. If it returned, the girl would excitedly seize the other breast and thrust it into her brother's mouth. Evidently she did so to avoid a struggle. But as she grew older she refused altogether to be suckled with her brother. The father then gave orders that he should be weaned. The function of the custom of spacing births was therefore to prevent, amongst other ill effects, suckling together children of different ages. Similar conditions unfavourable to the development of character would, of course, prevail in the case of twins.

C

The control of urination and defecation forms part of the child's learning. That it be done successfully is a constant concern of the mother. Indeed, the marriage ceremonies foreshadow this. The piece of leather mentioned above, before being put to the uses recorded, is blessed on various occasions.[1] In one of the formulae recited over it the wish is expressed that it be bedrabbled with a child's excrements. In another rite the bride receives a spoonful of porridge called 'the child's milk'. This is a covering term both for menstrual discharge and a child's excreta. Their identification is based on the belief that the former is a pledge of offspring for which the latter is the symbol. But the very employment of such a term implies a feeling of shame with regard to the calls of Nature. Any reference to a young mother's irksome duty of training her child in this respect is therefore deprecated in men. During the lessons on the tally, the novices are taught to be patient with their wives should they find their clothes spoiled by a child,[2] and they are forbidden to abuse women with indecent words.

A timed habit, absent in the case of feeding, one would expect to be inculcated only by women who have come under European influence. Some of these begin to train their children one or two months after birth to defecate at a fixed time every morning. In the majority of cases, however, regularity is not insisted upon. The child lies on a piece of leather. Any excreta have to be wiped away with dry grass as soon as possible to prevent the rotting of the hide and a bad smell. As long as the child is carried about, the mother closely observes it and develops an almost uncanny knack of guessing its needs. Whenever it wakens, becomes restless, or,

[1] G., *R.*, p. 115 *seq.* [2] G., *L.*, ii, p. 132.

in the case of a boy, has an erection of the penis, it is held out. In these circumstances, to speak of a time when the training is complete would be inaccurate. From the sixth month its excrement may be thrown into the banana grove instead of into the cattle-stall, as done hitherto.[1] As the child grows up and learns to walk, it is taught to retire into the grove.

Enuresis calls forth a variety of measures. The steps taken with smaller children are magical. When a baby is about nine months old, its mother collects drops of rain in the hoof of a goat or the involutions of a colocasia leaf. This she gives to the child as a medicine, saying, 'Take and drink this drug. It will keep you from wetting the bed!' A bigger child is shown the puddle and scolded. Sometimes an angry mother will push it into the puddle and roll it about there, intending to produce a feeling of disgust. Boys are warned that unless they mend their ways they will not be allowed to sleep in their father's hut. If this threat is of no avail, they are beaten. Sometimes such treatment is effective. But some children never learn to control urination, though they are scorned for their deficiency and told that this will be an obstacle to their marriage. (Enuresis is a ground for divorce.) In such cases a boy prefers to sleep with the hens in a corner of the hut, where he can pass water with impunity. In some families neither parents nor children have formed right habits, and students at the Teachers' Training School told me of distressing dreams concerning their ineffective attempts at control.

There is no evidence to suggest that the magical interest extended to excreta expresses itself in other ways than in a concern to remove them out of sight. No occasion is recorded where a parent tried 'to carve out a future' for the child by giving a particular shape to or preserving its faeces. Nor have I ever seen or heard of children playing with it. It is different with urine. It serves as an ever-ready lubricant when boys make models out of clay, and occasionally they will urinate on each other for fun.[2] The husband's urine is magically employed as a fertilizing drug for his bride during the preparations for marriage and in cases of barrenness. It may be mentioned in this connexion that the myth

[1] Dundas, op. cit., p. 201.

[2] For similar evidence, see Appendix II in Isaacs, S., *Social Development in Young Children*, containing an account by I. Schapera on the behaviour of children of the Bakatla tribe of South Africa.

of the power of retaining one's faeces is employed by the men to justify their claim to ascendancy over the female sex.

As, in the case of weaning, no evidence could be found for the traumatic suddenness which psycho-analysts would fain impute to it, so does the interest in excreta lack the morbid glamour ascribed to it by those theorists. Urine is a handy liquid in the absence of water and it easily suggests the generative fluid. Faeces being more repugnant, greater care is taken to hide it and, in talking about it, to use an inoffensive term. This mystification in turn lends itself to the formation of myths. What is of greater importance from a comparative point of view is the obvious slackness in training the primary habits of feeding and secretion. Their indefiniteness hardly bears out those hypotheses as to the custom-bound native which used to convince our fathers.

2. *The Dangers of Infancy averted by Parental Effort*

A

The emotional crisis in the life of the parents, culminating with the birth of their child, reverberates with only gradually decreasing intensity during its infancy. This mental state is expressed in the concern with which they would view a stranger approaching the hut where the newborn baby lies. Nobody is allowed to go past, and signs are attached to the door to warn off trespassers. Nothing is lent out of the house, for witches can work their spells through the medium of tools, especially objects of iron. Requests for such things come from curious neighbours. But not even near relatives should see the child during the first months, and sometimes, as in Shira, brothers and sisters are only shown the baby a week after its birth. During her lengthy confinement a mother does not reply to a person hailing her from without, for, if she did, her breasts would dry up. She may, however, go out into the yard if she recognizes the voice to be that of a good friend. After some time pride may prevail over suspicion and she shows her child to her friends. (A business-like mother exacts an entrance fee on such occasions.) Any woman she dislikes she will turn away, feigning that the child sleeps or is sick. Where such a pretext is impossible, she snatches up the reddish tip of a banana inflorescence and, wrapping it up in a cloth, holds it towards the visitor, who cannot see much in the gloom of the hut.

If the baby in its hiding place winces, the mother screams: 'You had better watch! Did you come here to cast your evil glance on my child? Begone!'

The effect of the evil eye is variously described. Some say it causes death outright; others that it makes the skin peel. The least orthodox hold that it results in uneasiness and disturbed sleep. Beautiful children are in greater danger. A single glance might rupture their heart. A child should not be suckled in the presence of other women, because they might be tempted to praise its sturdy limbs or to comment favourably on the shape of its head. The fear of the evil eye passes here into that of 'the evil tongue', which chats irresponsibly about the ineffable. Into the same category falls the attempt to hide the sex of an only son, who may be arrayed in a bead apron to simulate a girl. In all these cases a correlation can be detected between the amount of pride in the child and the extent of the danger thought to threaten it, and hence of the protective measures taken.[1]

For instance, a father, instigated by his wife, takes the following steps to place both mother and child under the guardianship of a magician. He kills a goat, and calls the magician, who cuts two rings out of the skin of the forehead and places one on the mother's arm, the other on the child's. The skin of a leg with the hoof attached is hung round the neck of the mother. The amulet for the baby consists of little bags into which have been sewn banana 'root', certain grasses, fruits of trees said to grow near Mt. Meru, teeth of leopard and hyrax—in short, objects to which magical effectiveness is attributed because they are rare or difficult to obtain. Other magicians advise the use of ointments prepared from leaves and sheep's wool which are charred and ground to powder. Such unguents have a beneficial psychological effect as their frequent application results in a repeated assurance of protection. A third kind of charm consists of a rhomboid amulet carved from wood by the magician, or the father himself, and tied round the baby's extremities. Other protective charms are eaten, and a fourth kind is dug in under the fire-place, as, for instance, the

[1] The evil eye is believed to be possessed by strangers, but also by known persons, especially if old and with inflamed eyelids. Lonely women, dotards, mental defectives, and persons of peculiar mental gifts would most readily fall under suspicion. They form part of that group of people who have been called 'the inner enemies' of a society, and are composed of its delinquents, defectives, and dependents.

excrement of an elephant, which keeps safe not only the children but also the cattle.

The effect of these charms is said to lie in their power to ward off evil spirits and men. Occasionally one hears that they can make children invisible to strangers, but not to friends, which renders it impossible to test their action. No attempt is made to keep the possession of the charm a secret. On the contrary, the mother invites her neighbours to a feast at which a goat is consumed to mark the occasion of its installation. The public announcement of the employment of protective magic is, of course, a measure to ensure its success.[1] It serves both to warn the presumptive enemy and to smite the conscience of the suspected evil-doer.

When parental anxiety, which placed the child in the imaginary dangers of the evil eye, recedes, the memory of it becomes irksome. Nothing is easier then than to deny the existence of the danger and to cancel the counter-measures. The rite which is to accomplish this may take place any time within the first year. The variation is caused by the different emotional value which children possess according to their numerical position, their beauty, and their sex. Normally the period of the evil-eye danger coincides with the confinement period of three months. When the mother leaves the hut, the child is ceremoniously presented to a crowd of people, who have gathered to enjoy 'the beer of adjuring the child'.[2] It is placed on the thatch over the door, where the magician spits at it four times and fastens bead wristlets round its arms. He then adjures it to remain strong, courageous, and successful. If it maintains itself, however precariously, on its perch, this is taken as a good omen. The mother, too, is placed under a charm attributing to her powers of endurance. But the more precious a child is taken to be, the less likely it is that the evil-eye danger will be considered over before it can sit or walk. A ceremonial rite is then enacted to liberate the child from it for ever. The father's eldest brother kills a goat to obtain 'the bone that preserves the child's life'. This is a leg bone, which is carefully scraped to remove all meat. It is kept as a symbol of the child's vitality. After nightfall the father and the magician collect

[1] Cf. J. R., *Versuch*, pp. 377 *seq.*, for elaborate procedure of making a curse known to 'all whom it may concern'.

[2] For details of this first rite, cf. G., *DDD.*, p. 88, and G., 'Beschwörer'.

pieces representing all the meat parts distinguished in a goat. They are placed on a stone as a protective sacrifice to the ancestral spirits.[1] Skin rings and hoofs are employed as amulets, and the skull is attached to the lintel of the door as a charm.

B

The beginning of infancy is characterized by the danger of the evil eye; its end lies under the shadow of the fear of poisoning. The cause of this change in the theory of infantile risks must be sought in the child's increased mobility. If there is no hostility between its parents and their neighbours, it now begins to have meetings with children of other families at the hedge which separates their banana groves. A new relationship springs up and exercises its sweet pull on the child, who feels not quite at ease in the heterogeneous group of differing ages and interests which forms its family. This influence is reinforced by the quickly discovered possibility of supplementing the home fare from a neighbour's menu. The mother cannot but notice a certain estrangement. For the first time, she feels the forebodings of an inevitable separation. Her pride is stung by the child's preference for another woman's food. From such emotions as these emerges a genuine fear for the life of the child. Gradually, by means of stories, proverbs, and blunt commands, she imposes upon it certain rules regarding the consumption of food outside the family circle. No child should eat food offered in strange houses or by unknown persons. Ripe or roasted bananas are the only exception. To make them safe it is but necessary to pass the first of them between one's legs. Amulets are hung round the child's neck to prevent the passage of spell-bound food.

The witches known as 'poisoners' use various methods on their victims. Some have a knowledge of injurious vegetable juices, which are obtained by a process of extraction.[2] Other poisons so-called consist of harmless substances, such as the charred remains of snake or bat. The poison may be mixed with cooked food or placed under the finger-nails and transferred when

[1] The sacrificial offering is carefully guarded against dogs and other domestic animals. Wild cats and a species of milan are welcomed as having been sent by the ancestors to express their pleasure. The ancestors are not thought of as consuming the meat.

[2] A strychnine plant was cultivated by the chief's expert for ordeals. Women quite generally know the plant poisons used for procuring abortion.

presenting the eatables, or directly on to the lips of the child as the witch feigns to fondle it. Sometimes the sorceress looks on while her victim is eating, and it is alleged that she turns the food in the liver into stones, a method which always proves fatal. Otherwise the effects are supposed to vary considerably. Some assert that they are immediate, expressing themselves in violent retching, insufferable abdominal pains, and even instant death. Others talk of oedemas, turgescence of the belly, and others, again, of a slow action of the drug, sapping the strength of the child, until, with a burst of fever, it succumbs many months later.

The fear of poisoning by sorcery seems in a great number of cases to be hatched within a circle of one-time friends who for various reasons have become jealous and suspicious of one another. The many stories told on this theme are in all cases 'documented' with names and dates.

The poisoner is invariably a woman. The reason given for her action may be a quarrel, her own barrenness, the fact that she had no daughters or some such grudge. According to a few stories the deed is committed at a ceremonial feast which united the women of one kinship group and neighbourhood, as, for instance, after the thatching of a hut. Naturally, children would then flock round their mothers, trying to snatch up a morsel here and there, and the wicked woman takes her opportunity. In most of the stories, however, the witch slowly accustoms the victim to pass his time with her children, attracting him with choice dishes. Only when he feels quite at ease with her, eating whatever food he finds, is the plot executed. One day she will tell him to eat a bowl of food placed in readiness. Or, if clever, she is absent herself, having given orders to her own son to eat off one plate and to reserve another, the poisoned one, for her enemy's child. She takes care to add plenty of meat. This, however, may prove her undoing, for her own son, discovering the richness of his friend's share, may exchange the plates and consume the poison himself!

The poison having taken effect, the harassed parents first try their home remedies, such as snuff poured into water and taken by the patient in bowlfuls. This acts as an emetic, and black and yellow streaks in the vomit confirm the diagnosis. A piece of skin is roasted over the hearth, for its fumes cure the patient. If the witch is known, she will be forced to neutralize the poison by

uttering a spell over the boy: 'If it be I who administered the poison, may it go out of you; may it disappear!' In severe cases the services of a native doctor are engaged.

It is difficult not to surmise that many of these stories are educational instruments wielded by mothers to prevent their children from joining the carousals of women, and from incurring obligations towards unfriendly neighbours. The names and dates are added to make the warnings more effective. On the other hand, the fear of magical dangers threatening the child's life, not only results in the control of its behaviour, but is equally efficient in ensuring the proper conduct of the parents. For the child's illness is not always a consequence of its naughtiness. It may be a sign of displeasure on the part of the spirits because the parents have neglected their child. Among the Chaga, parental authority implies responsibility for the child's existence.[1] It behoves us therefore to examine in the next section the educational implications of the treatment of sick children among the Chaga.

3. *The Treatment of Sick Children among the Chaga*

'The worries about a sick child make you love it, even if it is not your own.' This adage testifies that the Chaga are not indifferent to the sufferings of their fellow men through either indolence or fatalism. Rebmann tells us that on his departure from Kilema (in 1848) 'the king's vizier, with the king's uncle and one of his brothers, came to bid me farewell in the king's name, as he himself could not come on account of the sickness of a child'.[2] When a child is seriously ill, not only the father and mother begin to worry, but relatives on both the paternal and maternal side, too, especially the father's brother and the mother's brother. They call to inquire about the health of the patient. The reply is: '*Wa mkyeku na meku*'—'(This is an affair) of the ancestors.' The general interest in the well-being of the child shows its significance as a pledge for the unity of interests of the two groups linked through the marriage of the parents. But it also reflects the

[1] There is at least one case on record in which the assertion that African parents neglect their children has affected legislation. In a Proclamation of April 23rd, 1812, concerning the registration of Hottentots and apprenticeship of Hottentot children, the Government at the Cape gave the local authorities power to apprentice Hottentot children to farmers for ten years. The motives of the law were that Hottentots were careless of their children and did not provide for them, and that farmers had no interest in them either.

[2] Krapf, *Travels*, &c., p. 241.

mysterious and baneful power of evil thoughts and strained emotions.

The apogee of wickedness is magical interference with progeny, either by withering it through disease or by drying up the sources whence it emerges. The ceremonial adjurations during the building of a hut, as described by Gutmann,[1] are a good example of this mutual distrust among closely dependent human beings and their methods for allaying it by a ritual affirmation of mutual goodwill. During the twisting of the lianas into strong cables which run round the inside of the beehive-like structure, the husband's brother, who is master of ceremonies, addresses himself to the neighbours, threatening them with destruction should they harry the child of the house with sorcery. He refers to the possible envy of his own wife, who, armed with a deadly charm, may pay a visit to the new house to injure the child. He hints that the husband's mother herself may be the cause of a child's illness if she secretly enjoys honey which should be consumed by the whole family. He points at the woman of the house as the possible agent of disease among the children of her co-wives because of jealousy, among those of her neighbours out of malice, and among her own to spite her husband. In a similar manner, many other relatives and neighbours are warned at various stages of the work. They in turn reply that the child's welfare may be secured through appropriate gifts to the kindred, abstention from false accusations, observation of all the customary rites over the child, devotion to parental duties, and the necessary sacrifices to the ancestors.

To procure the goodwill of one's dead forebears is one of the most important prophylactic measures. By private divination, a father finds out whether it is a living enemy or an ancestor who caused his child's illness. As the idea of natural causes of disease is not much developed, some such personal aetiology is inevitable. In the method used for private divination, some fruits of a solanum plant, called *nduo*, are split in two, placed in a pot of water, and then stirred. If froth appears, as it often does, the suspicion of sorcery is confirmed. In this case, the water is poured on the path, so that passers-by stepping over the puddle carry the contagion away.

In most cases, however, a father would approach a professional diviner, a *mlasha*. This class of people is distinct from magicians,

[1] G., *R.*, pp. 263–301.

sorcerers, and herbalists. They use a variety of methods, such as manipulating seeds on the gaming board, beating a pot of water with a dracaena leaf, hammering a nail on a stone, shaking snuff or grain in the hand, counting stones, dropping sticks, or dreaming.[1]

The process of divination is usually preceded by preliminaries of general importance in medical practice. The diviner tries to produce confidence in his art. He greets the client like this: 'Oh, I knew you would be coming. Your name is Such-and-Such. You have got so many children. One of your cows is quite black.' Where such references to the client's social position cannot be made by the diviner, he obtains by skilful questioning the history of the case from the point of view of magical aetiology. Quarrels within the family circle, neglected kinship obligations, and delayed sacrifices to the ancestors are significant admissions of the client's own guilt.

Such an investigation may not always be feasible. Then many other courses lie open to the diviner. He may saddle any one of the ancestors with responsibility, and a clever practitioner makes full use of the possibilities which genealogical ramifications offer. Frequently, in the case of a child, the spirit of a predeceased brother or sister is blamed, as being jealous of the rites which are its due even after death. If the ailing child is the firstborn, the father's and mother's pedigrees are searched for one who has died young, and who, for that reason, has rarely been offered sacrifices.

Sometimes the father pusillanimously presumes to challenge the diviner's self-assurance. He denies that there was in his family an ancestor of the name mentioned. The diviner's retort is abrupt and brooks no contradiction: 'Of course there was! Why do you try to catch me out?' The father now denies his doubts. Frequently, however, the diviner cannot at once arrive at a decision. He puts the father off, to gain time for collecting information or for the illness to decide itself. The father may be given an order of this nature: 'Go and look for a liana and a branch used as a perch by birds. Make two bows out of these things and then get some beer ready as a libation for your ancestors.' To carry out such a command takes a considerable time.

The diviner's powers are restricted to prophesying death or recovery, and to ferreting out the ancestor or enemy who is the

[1] G., 'Wahrsagen', and Dundas, op. cit., p. 160.

cause of the illness. When speaking of cause, the scientific concept of it must not be thought to be present in the native's mind, for this is, as Kant pointed out, a mode of modern thought. It is better to speak of a consequential relationship which differs in at least two respects from the efficient cause of our textbooks of logic. It is characterized by the non-contiguity of cause and effect and the law of moral participation. That is, antecedent and consequent fall into categories of facts which, in our opinion, are quite disconnected, their sequence being due to particular personal relationships. But it would be wrong to conclude that an empirical treatment of illness is altogether lacking among natives. In the case of infantile diseases especially, the Chaga, driven by their apprehensions, have elaborated certain directions for diagnosis and therapeutics.

Most infantile diseases occur, except scarletina and diphtheria, but of these not all are distinguished by name. *Maseusa* (measles), *ikoruo kirungui* (whooping cough), *uruumumnu* (roseola), *ndoyo* (mumps), *wuhee* (itch), *ndui* (smallpox) are diagnosed, but this list is not exhaustive. *Ndore ya kifua* (tuberculosis), *ndore ya masati* (pneumonia), *isemu* (malaria), *ndore ya uro* (angina), *ipee* (ulcers of the leg), *ndore ya mrana* (tetanus) are common in both children and adults. Unknown diseases are designated by the collective term *ndore ya mringa*. Too much reliance is laid on the diagnostic value of one symptom, e.g. if fever is present, malaria is at once diagnosed. But many a European has expressed his astonishment at finding himself in agreement with the native doctors as to the nature of a disease.

Before parents send to a medicine-man or herbalist, they have tried their own home remedies. Every Chaga dabbles in medicine and knows herbs for treating the commoner ailments. When a child complains of headache, its parents wash it with cold water containing odoriferous leaves. Or the head is sprinkled with water and spat at. If the illness requires the oral administration of medicine, the father will search for the herb and prepare it for use. Old people usually keep a store of drugs in readiness for emergencies. Such remedies are not always effective. Then the parents ask the herbalist for help. There are both men and women who professionally practise the art of healing with vegetable juices, and almost every plant has its specific uses. Whereas diviners have been discredited by modern ideas, medicine-men still enjoy great

popularity and are consulted by pagans and Christians alike, though admittedly quacks are not unknown in the profession. Opinions as to the value of a herb differ, and some of the so-called cures are failures. Specialization, often said to be absent in primitive professions, is practised, for some physicians treat only certain ailments, and some deal particularly with the diseases of childhood.

The plants called in Chaga *msara*, *kokowo*, *iringiri*, and *mbalasho* are known as febrifuges. Infusions are made of their leaves to extract the antipyretic. The *mkini*, *iwinai*, and *ishumbo* plants are used as aperients. For external application on sores and wounds, *isa* and *isaranga* are recommended, while helminthic qualities are ascribed to the leaves and roots of the trees *mfurumfuru* and *msesewe*. The fruit of the *nduo* plant is employed to reduce submaxillary swellings. This by no means complete list shows that many of the ordinary complaints of childhood are provided for. The herbalists also adapt the dose to the age of the patient. Thus, of the *mosereka* infusion, to prepare which two days are needed, adults are given a bowlful, and children from one to two cups. The eating of *ngetsi*, a fern, is a habit which the children have to learn from the moment they are allowed to have meat. Its avowed effect, that of removing tapeworm, is really achieved.

An intermediate position between the physician-herbalists and the out-and-out magicians is occupied by those doctors whose chief stand-by is scarification. It is always carried out to the accompaniment of spells and adjurations. When such a doctor has been called, he comes with a notched fire-stick carved out of the *mrie* tree. By twirling the stick on a piece of soft wood, he kindles a fire. The tail of a wildebeest is passed over the fire till it is singed. The smell is said to vary according to the disease in question. Then the doctor makes ten to fifteen incisions close together on the affected parts of the body, each about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length. Placing over the cuts a hollow horn which at its upper end is perforated, he begins to suck blood out of the incisions and to spit it into a wooden bowl, which, with all his other instruments, has been carried in a bag on his back. The blood is mixed with a charred medicine and then transferred back into the wounds by means of a brush. A goat is killed and, while the others busy themselves about the animal, the magician picks up a grass and a dracaena leaf and, spitting three times towards the east, prays: 'Spirits,

here is your child. Keep it safe, and cure it, if its illness is of sorcery!' The meat is boiled till it comes off the bones. Some medicine having been added, it is consumed by the magician, the child's relatives, and neighbours. This sacrificial meal implies a renewal of the pledge of faithfulness within the circle of acquaintances and kindred. Dire consequences would befall him who, though guilty, partakes of it.

Scarification is used on many occasions and for various purposes. In Shira all a man's children may be scarified a fortnight or a month after the birth of a baby. The underlying idea is to redeem the offspring from the envy and malice of spirits. In Mwika a baby is scarified when it refuses its mother's breasts. A cut is then made even into the tip of its tongue. In cases of swellings and rheumatic disorders incisions and the branding of glands resemble therapeutic counter-irritation methods.[1] But the chief value lies in the accompanying psychological tricks for producing confidence. The magician frequently remarks to the parents: 'Surely, if I had not been called, your child would be dead by now!' He also washes the child with an infusion of the *ipeka* plant, which he laboriously prepares, singing his adjurations: 'This child was put under the spell of the *mshare* banana. Spell, go out of it! Spell, go out of it!' He never hurries, but, busying himself for hours round the patient, insinuates himself into the confidence of the parents and, having obtained their credulity, gets ready to pull off his final stratagem. Putting his lips again round the pointed end of the horn, he sucks out of the patient's back or chest grass, stones, sand, hairs or other small objects. These, he maintains, have been put into the aching organ by a sorcerer. But sophisticated Chaga believe that he hides them skilfully between his lips, and, for proof, cite the case of the doctor attending Chief Kwembere of Mamba. This worthy disciple of Aesculapius, refusing to partake of a meal, had the ill luck to arouse the suspicion of the courtiers, who overpowered him and found beetles and claws in his mouth!

The idea of a bodily charm being the cause of illness leads some medicine-men to specialize in the discovery of hidden magic. While searching the house, the doctor is followed by a child, perhaps a brother or sister of the patient, who carries a pot of water.

[1] According to some medical authorities, irritants applied to the skin, especially that of the abdomen, cause a reflex contraction in the blood vessels of the underlying viscera. This effects a rise in blood pressure and an increase in the rate of the heart and respiration (Hale-White).

He picks up a handful of earth at the entrance of the hut and again under the bed, round the hearth, and in the cattle-shed, the customary places for burying a charm, and drops it into the water. He sometimes has a bundle of magic dug in there in advance, or deftly drops it out of the whisk which he carries as a sign of his calling. At any rate, after one or two futile searches, the child suddenly screams with terror, because out of the lump of earth thrown into the pot floats a small bag, which on closer inspection is seen to contain a tuft of hair, talons of birds, teeth of wild animals, and patches of their skin. The magic has been found, and with it the immediate cause of the illness has been removed!

If the condition of the child grows worse, the suspected sorcerer will be approached. He is requested to come to the child to spit at it and retract the spell. Often he refuses, solemnly abjuring any guilt. Sometimes, however, the offered price of composition is found acceptable, and, if the sorcerer is as wise as he is greedy, he will protect his reputation by entering into a blood bond with the child's father that neither party to the proceedings should make them public. In the past, if the child died in spite of its redemption, or, if the suspect acted in a less determined manner, the father would take him to the chief and accuse him of witchcraft.

To take such a course was dangerous, not only for the accused, but for the accuser. It was more politic to engage a magician to have the evil-doer cursed. Such a procedure commended itself where his identity was unknown, or his superiority of rank, wealth, and magical skill made it advisable not to challenge him. It is a method which can be safely employed even at the present day. To this end, one of the client's goats is skinned without having been killed. Its feet are cut off and the magician spits a powerful medicine into the animal's mouth, which is said to make it swell. The goat writhes about on the grass, bleating piteously. Whenever it utters a cry, the magician pronounces a curse: 'Swell! Burst! Swell! Burst! Here, I say, thou who didst this, swell, burst like this goat! Swell! Burst!' When the animal quietens down, he strikes it, and on its renewed crying, continues: 'Bleat, bleat, bleat, thou who didst this wicked deed! Bleat like this goat!' Finally, the beast is dispatched, to the accompaniment of the following curse: 'Be thou ripped open! Thou who didst this foul deed, be thou ripped open like this goat!' When the goat breathes

its last the magician breaks forth triumphantly! 'As this goat died, so thou too wilt die!' It is as if the vicarious killing of the animal relieves the father's emotional tension. In the end the goat is disembowelled and prepared for eating. The bones are placed in a pot and the skull put on a pole which is set up in the yard. By this token it is publicly announced that the criminal agent of the child's death has been cursed to die. But such a general imputation of guilt is rare. It is certainly safer to charge some ancestor with the responsibility for the illness of one's child and to attribute to him the power of curing it. A sacrifice to the spirits still forms the orthodox procedure which, if of little curative effect, is yet a powerful means of reassuring oneself. Its sociological function is to remove lingering suspicions within a closely co-operating group of people. This is brought about by their communion in consuming the beast.

The diviner's advice and the magician's remedies are not obtained for nothing. The former, indeed, obtains little—a calabash of beer, a bundle of firewood, a piece of meat, or a few coins. The doctor's fees, on the other hand, are exorbitant. 'To open his medicine bag', he demands an earnest of a goat or 2*s*. Then a contract is concluded whereby the client promises to pay for the cure of his child with a heifer or a bull. The claim does not fall due if the child dies, and may be disputed if it should be taken ill again within a year. In the case of a girl, poor people promise the doctor a share of the bride-price. Rich Chaga used to have magicians in their employment who lived with them. When their master's daughters were given away in marriage, they had a right to some of the eatable portions of the bride-price. Beyond this, they were not renumerated, but on occasion received gifts. If a marriageable girl has a complaint, such as hysterical fits, her father may arrange with the doctor to give her to him in marriage for a reduced bride-price in lieu of the fee. In such a case the magician may take the girl to his home for treatment. Such dealings cannot be made where boys are concerned. But even then the power over them of the person who has cured them is acknowledged by calling the child after its doctor.

Cases are on record of magicians trying to persuade a father to do away with his child on the pretext that it showed a bad disposition towards him. The advice played on the fear which all parents experience as to the unpredictable development of the character

of their child. If well prepared, the magician achieved his end. Some say that he desired by this means to obtain possession of certain members of the child's body believed to be instinct with magical virtue, such as the hands, teeth, or fingers. As the corpses of adults are buried in the hut, these parts could only be obtained from the bodies of children superficially interred in the banana grove. In ordeals, magicians have confessed to having prejudiced parents against their children. Whatever the imputed motive, such stories could only have been told, believed and acted upon by people who, out of anxiety for the life of their offspring, distrusted even the professional whom they employed to save it. So intense, then, is the affection a Chaga parent bears his child that it becomes tainted with a treacherous suspicion against almost every one he meets or knows.[1]

4. *The Social Environment of the Chaga Child*

A

Professor Malinowski points out in his article on 'Kinship' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Fourteenth Edition) that the ties of sentiments and the patterns of behaviour and terminology evolved in the primitive family are later extended to help in the formation of kinship loyalties. This statement summarizes researches of his own and that of other anthropologists, as, for instance, Firth, Radcliffe-Brown, and Evans-Pritchard.[2] It is therefore necessary to study the individual relationship within the triangle, mother,

[1] Ittameier, C., op. cit., pp. 34–50, gives convincing statistics for the time before the Great War. By these he proves (1) that the period of infantile danger is not, as with us, limited to the first year of life; it extends with no decrease in the mortality rate throughout the four years of infancy. (2) Five-sixths of all deaths fall within this time, and only one-sixth in the long period between the fifth year and old age. (3) The majority of deaths in infancy are due to digestive troubles, 30–60 per cent., the next highest percentage is that of pulmonary diseases, 10–20 per cent. (4) The causes throughout the danger period seem to be the same: wrong diet, the preparation of food with the highly alkaline soda, uncleanliness, and the cold, wet climate of Mt. Kilimanjaro. Ittameier gives the mortality rate as 45 per cent.—that is, there were forty-five deaths to 100 births. It is probable that the disheartening experience of seeing every second child die in infancy accounts for the magical fears of the parents.

[2] Cf. Firth, R., *We, the Tikopia* (London, 1936), chap. v, 'Personal Relations in the Family Circle', for an illuminating analysis of the social environment of the child in a matrilineal society of Oceania. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., 'The Mother's Brother in South Africa', *The South African Journal of Science*, xxi, p. 542; 'Father, Mother, and Child', *Man* (1926), pp. 156 *seq.* Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 'Kinship Extension', *Man* (1932), No. 7.

father, and child, in order to be able to grasp the workings of the more complicated kinship organization.

Primitive motherhood has for ever been a subject that has aroused theoretical interest. As recently as 1927, a learned French author, R. Briffault, in a work of three volumes entitled *The Mothers*,[1] defended the time-honoured thesis of the ascendancy of the maternal influence in primordial society. A study of the origins of sentiments and institutions, he argues, leads us back to the reproductive groups, to the functions of the female rather than the male. The state of a society in which the instincts of women control the social interests, which is the very opposite to what is the rule in civilized societies, can truly be called matriarchal. It is characterized by the denial of a status to the father. Families did not exist, for the social unit was the maternal horde. Marriage did not exist, for sexual relations were promiscuous, entered into with strangers and thus exogamous, contracted where the woman lived and therefore matrilocal. It is not necessary to recapitulate the historical causes which, in Briffault's opinion, brought about the disintegration of the maternal group into the patriarchal family, except to point out that nothing in the structure of Chaga society recalls such a past. Gutmann is of the same opinion when he interprets the fact that subdivisions of clans are called after female ancestors as a sign of respect for 'the mother' rather than a remnant of an historical stage of matriarchy.[2]

The Chaga mother's relationship to her child is marked by that closeness and intimacy which has been commented upon already. The nutritional devolution of the original symbiosis between mother and embryo to the quasi-parasitic stage of infancy, and the ultimate independence of the two metabolic systems, is counteracted by the biological insufficiency of the infant in other respects. This necessitates the situational interlocking of the two individuals, which, if it were not supported on the mothers' side by the fond emotions, would yet be secured by the father's feelings, the various

[1] Briffault, R., *The Mothers* (1927).

[2] Gutmann's position is, as in many other theoretical points, not very clear. While he admits in the passage alluded to (G., *R.*, p. 2) and in one immediately following it, that psychological factors account for the emphasis placed on the kinship bonds created through mother and sister (G., *R.*, p. 6) which otherwise might be neglected altogether, in other passages he plumps for the theory of original mother-right; cf. G., *R.*, p. 31, where the law of inheritance is stated to have been subject to it.

interests of the grandparents, and, strongest of all forces, the institution of marriage itself.

Beyond the fundamental services of feeding the child and keeping it clean, there are a great number of other little cares to which a mother is urged by her child's helplessness. When it cries, it must be soothed; when dirty or blear-eyed, it must be washed; when restless, it must be lulled to sleep; when it yawns, sneezes, or is worried by hiccup, the mother comforts it with gentle talk. While young, it cannot be left alone and must be carried about; when grown a little, the mother supports the baby in its first attempts at sitting up; and later she takes a hand in teaching it to crawl, stand, and walk. And, as the child is then able to get into trouble, it must be supervised, lest it come to grief.

These continuous efforts do not go unnoticed among the Chaga. 'A mother's soul is full of pity', they say. She cannot see her own child or a stranger's suffer; she feels its discomforts and pains as if they were her own. The question whether her faithfulness is worth while never troubles her, for 'what is yours is yours even if it be stupid!'[1] It is also interesting to see the increasing reverence—as expressed in honorary names—which is extended to the mother as she grows older. When she has borne her first child, she is addressed by the name of her paternal great-grandmother, for it has become apparent that, like her, she will continue the regeneration of the family. When she has three or four children who may be sent as messengers or be of service to neighbours and friends, it is the mother who is praised: 'May she live long, the mother of children!' Accordingly, she becomes open-handed to foster the general goodwill towards her offspring. When their number has been increased to half a dozen or more, and the eldest son is able to prove his might and mettle, a woman will be addressed as one who has nursed children not in vain. When asked for a favour and when thanked for one, people give her the praise-name of *moongo*—that is, 'nursing mother'. When her sons take wives, she is honoured as 'the uniter (*makulinga*) of the men', and when her daughters are wanted in marriage she is praised as the uniter of women. During the next phase of her life, when a woman becomes the guardian and tutor of her grandchildren, she is greeted as *makitshutshu*, the exhausted one, intimating that her

[1] J. R., *Versuch*, pp. 298 and 291.

breasts have been sucked to depletion by her children and grandchildren.[1]

These praise-names are used in the first instance as greetings, as expressions of gratitude and entreaty, and not as terms implying a legal status. By referring to a woman's chief pride, their function is to make social intercourse easy with her and to induce her to consider a supplication with favour. Though children are taught these expressions to make them respect their mother, her actual authority in the family is a matter of varying circumstances, such as her own firmness, the temperament of her husband, the wisdom of her parents-in-law, and the rank and standing of these people. An infant, being rarely punished severely, kicks at his mother when displeased, and it is not uncommon to see it slap and beat her for a supposed slight or when robbed of a knife or tool. Not infrequently a child is seen resisting its mother when being led away from the road or on being punished. Or a mother may be heard shouting herself hoarse in search of her child and yet remain unconcerned over its lack of obedience.

In polygamous households, and in the monogamous families where the father, through work or social obligations, is most of the time away from home, the mother derives much of her prestige by reason of her position as mediator between father and children. If any of them have committed an offence, she reports it to her husband, who either talks seriously to the accused or punishes them forthwith. The mother has it in her power, by suppressing the report of a prank altogether, or by representing it as an innocent affair, to divert the threatening retribution; on the other hand, she may slightly exaggerate and thus make it inevitable. A child in trouble will therefore try first of all to gain over his mother to his side. This is not difficult, for if punishment be excessive, or executed for reasons considered unfair by the mother, she may resent it and be driven to resist her husband with physical force.[2]

Taking up the cudgels on behalf of her children arouses in the mother the expectation of being rewarded. This idea of reciprocity is, indeed, a red thread running through all the ethical code

[1] From an essay by Filipo Njau, a teacher at Marangu Training School, incorporated by Gutmann in 'Die Ehrung der Mutter', an article in *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt* (1933).

[2] I never heard of such quarrels leading to divorce or to blood feuds between the husband's kinship group and the mother's. Such aggravation is reported by Zu Wied of the Botocudos; cf. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, p. 73.

of primitive folk, and it is early ingrained in children. By subtle hints, the mother gives her son's vague thankfulness a definite direction. When the men of the kinship group slaughter a cow, no female is allowed to be present. But a father would bring along his son and give him a share to roast on the spit. In deference to his mother's wishes, the boy ties some of his share into a corner of his body cloth and hurries home with it. She is then able to enjoy cooked meat, a luxury which she has no permission to prepare in the absence of her husband.

In this case the emotion of filial gratitude is standardized into a measurable manifestation. Another source of a mother's authority derives from her control over the food stores, and is thus based on her economic function. The only eatable which does not come within her sphere is meat. At meal-time it is she who distributes the food. A wise mother will give large portions to the smaller children and show preferential treatment to her sons, in order to justify the confidence of the weak and to arouse the devotion of the strong. The herds-boy is rewarded with additional food for the performance of special duties. She may refuse a meal to a child that has annoyed or offended her. Her power to withhold or grant is well symbolized in the general prohibition of children from entering the food store. For boys especially it is considered a disgrace to touch a milk calabash. The mother expects a return also after dispensing food. When sharing out a meal, she has no plate. She eats directly from the pot or, in times of famine, may go without food. Each child is then expected to leave a handful on its plate for her. To a child who refuses to give this return, its starving mother retaliates: 'Look, you haven't given me any food. Don't be astonished if I do the same to you next time!'

Upon the basis of the relationship to her children, a woman's legal position in the family is built up. This is best exemplified in the case of a mother's death. Through it the beneficial influence of her brother upon the children is interrupted. The full enjoyment of consideration from the paternal side depends for children on support from the mother's family. In difficult situations, as in the case of a quarrel between father and son, or differences of opinion with a daughter as to the choice of a suitor, the child will fall back upon a mother's advice and on the counsel of the mother's brother.

In polygamous families one often finds that a man has taken a

second and younger wife when the first-born of his chief (and senior) spouse is capable of tending the herds. A third wife may be taken for old age. As a man usually prefers the company of the younger women, each of whom lives in a separate 'compound', some provision must be made for the first wife. To this end, the Chaga law of inheritance favours the youngest son of each wife to such an extent that all his brothers must set up their own households, while to him is bequeathed the grove in which his mother lives. The function of his privilege is both to make it easy for him as the least experienced to set up house, and to devolve upon him the duty of protecting his mother in old age. Through him the father's obligations towards the mother's family are fulfilled. For this reason he is believed to stand in a special relationship to the maternal kindred: his name is chosen by them, he is considered a member of the mother's stock and is greeted by his maternal grandfather's name. If a woman returns to her people, she only takes this youngest child with her, for she cannot be deprived of him unless the payments of the bride-price have been completed.[1] A polygamous husband therefore neglects his ageing wives, leaving it to the youngest son of each to pay the hut tax, even though he be yet in his teens. On the other hand, a woman who never had a son, knowing her fate, invites a son of one of her co-wives (preferably the senior wife) to grow up in her home and to continue the household for whose prosperity she has toiled since her wedding day.

From the sordid angle of the law, it looks as if the ignoble opinion of the moralists were true that a mother's affection for her child is determined by the prospect of her future dependence on it—that is, by a singularly prescient instinct of self-preservation.[2] It is far simpler to believe that human nature, especially that of woman, is made to be provoked into tender activities on perceiving the helplessness of an infant, and to experience immediately the most exquisite pleasures, just as the object of her cares is created to need such assistance and to enjoy the relief derived from it. In such a relationship it is natural to expect a reciprocity of services as there is a reciprocity of delights. The legal crystallization is but an afterthought. Nevertheless, it need not lack an aspect of magnanimity. In Chaga law a widow of a polygamous

[1] For the facts underlying this theory, cf. G., *R.*, pp. 31, 235.

[2] So asserted by Hadfield, *Psychology and Morals*, p. 16.

marriage who is a mother cannot be driven out from her home and away from her children, although she must become the wife of one of her husband's brothers or sons by the custom of the levirate. Again, a divorce, however irrevocable, cannot affect the relation between mother and son. As soon as he is capable of running the household, he has the right to call his mother back. The father's possible objections are overruled by the superior right of the relationship between mother and child.[1]

B

The father's relation to the child is at once less charming in emotional quality and more diffuse in scope. It, too, has been the subject of theories, some of which lay too much emphasis on an abstract paternal *ius vitae et necis*, a right which does not exist for the Chaga father. More recently emphasis shifted to connecting a father's legal position with the physiological beliefs entertained by a tribe.[2] But a true picture of the authority a father wields cannot be obtained by an approach from a point outside the educational relationship. Whenever the question has been studied empirically, it has been found that the extent of the father's power varies greatly, but is never absolute. The accounts of the insubordination and submissiveness of children are most contradictory, even for one and the same tribe.[3] This is what one would expect, knowing the strength of the individual factor in the educational relation. Likewise, the duration of the father's authority varies, but here custom exercises a regulative influence. On the whole, a father controls his son till he becomes economically independent and his daughter up to her marriage and at any time afterwards should she not be under a husband's tutelage.

The Chaga father takes a great interest in the newborn infant, especially if it is his first-born. One may observe him shake his head over it, or clap his hands in the hope of seeing it imitate his actions. He tries to make it laugh by tickling it. When the child is more than a year old such intimacies become rarer. Small

[1] G., *R.*, p. 206.

[2] Malinowski, B., *The Father in Primitive Psychology*. Psyche Miniatures.

[3] Westermarck, E., *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, vol. i, pp. 597 *seq.* For contradictory evidence on one and the same tribe, cf. Steinmetz, *Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe*, p. 190. Of the Ojibway, Jones and Long report the absence of corporal punishment; Keating and Zu Wied assert the opposite. A similar contradiction is apparent in the testimony submitted by Musters and Smith of the Araukanians.

children are generally asleep when the father, after a day spent at the chief's court or in the company of his friends, withdraws to the home of one of his wives. Occasionally he comes round in the afternoon, and his wife bustles about to prepare a treat for him—a piece of meat roasted on the spit or a milk dish. As the older children are on the pasture at this time, the youngest only prowls about. If his father is in a good mood, he gives it a share of his meal. Thus frequently, as I observed myself and was repeatedly told, small children seem to have no special preference for either father or mother. Whoever offers the greater gift at a given moment is treated with greater affection. Similarly, whoever is suspected of disagreeable intentions is avoided, irrespective of the sex of parent or child.

To older children of polygamous families the father assumes the nature of a regular visitor.[1] The confidences of the first year are forgotten by the toddler when its elder brothers and sisters or its mother use the father as a bugbear. The child becomes shy and reticent in his presence, but he never becomes really dreaded for his disciplinarian acts unless he be a violent or irate man. The irregularity of his visits and the possibility of seeing his wrath melt away at a word spoken by the mother do not allow the fear to become a permanent mental state. It is true, however, that children are never as unrestrained in the presence of their father as when alone. They make merry and indulge in wanton ebullitions after his departure. 'When the bull is gone, the lizards slip out to sun themselves!' the mother remarks, laughing herself.[2]

The indifference of the father towards his children terminates, in the case of boys between seven and eight years, when he takes an interest in their training and makes a successful attempt at removing them from the tutelage of the mother, imbuing them with a contempt for everything womanly. Mother and daughter remain united for many more years in a co-operative association which is only dissolved at the girl's marriage. When a girl has learned to cook she takes pride in being allowed to prepare a meal for her father, but in other respects the contact between her and him is one of traditional colourlessness.

The father's importance for the child in the magical and

[1] This cooling down of interest of the father in his children is mentioned by all acute observers, e.g. Westermann, D., *Die Kpelle*, pp. 68 *seq.*

[2] G., *DDD.*, p. 95.

religious sphere has been noted. He becomes a diviner, magician, and medicine-man on behalf of his sick child, but this is never summed up by the Chaga in the terse phrase, 'I am your god', reported of Kafir fathers. Nevertheless, the Chaga child from early in life is impressed with the priestly functions of his father, just as he comes to realize soon his economic dependence on him. Only through him can meat be obtained for the household, either by the slaughtering of one of his own animals or through receiving a gift of it from the chief, and nowadays also through purchasing it. He owns the fields and it is only with his permission that an adolescent child can start to cultivate a patch of his own. Again, it is the father who gives a son a goat or calf to start husbandry with, and who hastens or retards the payment of the bride-price at his pleasure. Finally, it is from the father that the Chaga inherits wealth, and it is his profession which he learns, and his rank which he will occupy. All these facets to the relationship between a father and his son will have to be studied in their effect as we watch the infant grow into an adult. The fact that descent, inheritance, and succession are through the father eliminates from our subject the interesting problems which arise in societies where one or all of these are transmitted through the mother. Nevertheless, the social organization in itself is not likely to affect the educational relationship.

The magical control over the life of the child rests with its natural progenitor. Legally, offspring from extra-marital relations belongs to the woman's husband. Should the natural father claim the child, he forfeits several head of cattle placed in the husband's custody on the discovery of his wife's infidelity. He also has to defray the expenditure involved in feeding the woman during her confinement, and he has to pay one cow for the child itself. If the child is retained by the legal father, he has only the latter claims to meet. But the transfer of the child into the tutelage of its mother's husband does not terminate its progenitor's power over it. His anger or grief may kill it. Fortunately, it can be delivered from the danger by a magical rite. It is made to hand him a calabash of beer into which some meat juice has been poured. By drinking this, he undoes his power of cursing the child.[1]

[1] G., *R.*, p. 224.

5. *The Tender Cares of Motherhood*

Kutsie mkoku	Be quiet, child!
Mama waenda tela	For mother'll go to market
Waendefa maruma inyi	To buy cassava root.
Ngilye lyimwi	I shall eat one,
Baba nalye wawi,	Your father two,
Na iyoe ulya wararu	You, little darling, shall have three!
Kite kikacha,	When doggie comes
Likifune naho	We'll chase him away,
Luchihiyo luwavi:	The two of us, and laugh at him:
He, he, he, he	He, he, he, he!

Putting her crying baby astride her knee, the young mother sings the song again and again till her child breaks with her into the laughter of the climax. Not always is the mother in such good humour. 'Child, dear, sleep! I roast a sweet locust for you. Child, dear, sleep, for I have a bitter locust, too!' gently introduces a threat which becomes explicit if the crying does not stop: 'Who beat the child to make it cry? *Kui, kui!* Take it away, and take yours, too. Eh, take it away! Eh, take it away!' This is a song with a haunting air that awakens a sense of deprivation. As a last resort the mother hums: 'Do not cry, my child! What are you crying for? If you wail, the leopard will devour your mother. If you wail, what befalls us is your doing! Don't cry, then, and be quiet!' In lullabys, with their repetitive syllables, onomatopoeic expressions, and little untranslatable words, a mother speaks to her infant as if it had sense to understand the words. Sometimes, however, their function plainly is not to soothe the child, but to give utterance to intense feelings, be they tender emotions towards the child or disappointments and expectations which the mother experiences in adult society: 'Be quiet, my child, blessing from God; be quiet, my troubles, too. If you knew my troubles, little baby mine, how quiet you would be!' Thus, in the very means of soothing her child, the mother finds her own anodyne.

With songs a mother calms a crying baby; with songs she lulls it to sleep. Occasionally a child, upset by its own shouting, is washed to prepare it for sleep. This is a method sensible enough, but the same cannot be said of the attempts at frightening a baby into silence. 'Listen!' says its mother suddenly. 'Do you hear the hyena howling? Shut up, or it will come to eat you! At once!' If

this is of no avail, she puts the child down and, going outside, imitates the howl of the hyena: '*Ng'uu, ng'uu, ng'uu.*' But raising her voice then, she replies: '*Hilo, hilo, hilo!* Oh, oh, oh! Sir, I beg of you, don't eat my little one!' She returns to the hut. 'Did you hear him?' she queries. 'He won't come back now, because I asked him for your sake. But don't you cry any more, for he might return!'

A child who grinds its teeth when asleep is given a bead (which is attached to a string) to suck. On biting the bead the habit is dropped. If a child in its sleep turns from its customary position with the head directed towards the mountain to one in which its feet look that way, its mother tells it that some one will die in its clan, or that she herself will be lost in the plains. Although such remarks are made casually, and the consequences are never seriously expected, the repeated connexion of a child's behaviour with the fate of persons whom it holds in affection is bound to create an attitude of concern for them in the child.

The baby is usually washed once a day, any matter collected in the corners of the eyes being removed with a smooth leaf. During the first four or five years a child learns to clean its nails, to brush its teeth with a twig of a fibrous shrub, to remove chigoes from its toes, and to cut the hair of another child. These accomplishments are acquired in a desultory manner, and some children never learn them, or only in adolescence, when they themselves desire to appear handsome. Where there are several children in a family, the older ones teach the baby. Father, however, takes an interest in the haircutting and the child's skill in extracting 'sand-fleas' is tested on the grandparents. Anxiety exists with regard to the disposal of the shorn hair. It may be thrown into the cattle-stall or beyond the sleeping place in the direction where the head rests. The rats of the hut will remove it thence. If it is taken outside, care is taken to lay it in the rotting stump of a banana plant. When the side shoots bear fruit, it is not sold. 'The bunch of the child', as it is called, should be consumed within the household.[1]

Round such little events as sneezing and coughing, anthropologists have elaborated a heavy superstructure of dogma and

[1] Such beliefs are not extinct even among Christians. When a missionary suggested to the elders of his congregation that it would be a fine symbolism for the confirmation class to have their hair cut and burnt to signify their new spiritual life, this was thought inadvisable. The first hair-cutting was always a specially ceremonial occasion.

doctrine.[1] Among the Chaga when a child sneezes it is told: 'You have been remembered!' It would be futile to seek behind this traditional expression more than a passing reference to some person the child knows or an ancestor. When a baby suffers from hiccup its mother gently strokes its fontanelle. If the hiccup lasts for a long time, she may hold its nose and mouth tight. Some people take hiccup to be an omen announcing a present of meat. There are many aleatory events which have to bear the same interpretation in a society where a bite of meat is a delight thought and dreamt of constantly. When a child coughs, its mother says: 'Seize it, lift it up, and carry it away to your chum!' vaguely hinting that the trouble had better be transferred to some other child.

During this period of intimate contact between mother and child the movements of expression in the face and body are learned. 'They serve as the first means of communication between the mother and her infant; she smiles approval, or frowns disapproval, and thus encourages her child on the right path. The child readily perceives sympathy in others by their expression; his sufferings are thus mitigated, his pleasures increased and mutual good feelings strengthened. The movements of expression give vividness to the spoken word and serve to intensify the emotions connected with them.'[2] Not all of these are innate. Consequently, during their transmission the meaning attached to them may vacillate before it becomes standardized. For instance, spitting, which Darwin would fain connect with the primary movements round mouth and nose indicating disgust, is not so universally an expression of contempt as he would make us believe. Chaga children learn in their first year to spit at each other in fun. Later, boys vie with one another as to who can spit farthest. With grown-ups spitting seems to have become a sort of tic, recurring whenever sufficient saliva has collected in the buccal cavity. For adults, however, it has also a religious significance; it serves as a form of appeal to the deities. Accordingly, no disciplinary measures are taken with a child that spits. But for a grown-up to spit in anger at his father or father's brother is a serious sin which requires atonement with a sacrifice.

Throughout the first year, a mother anxiously looks forward to

[1] Cf. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, p. 367.

[2] This passage is adapted from Darwin, C., op. cit., p. 170.

the time when her child will be able to walk. Every sign of progress in her infant's power to move himself about and to make use of his limbs is hailed with joy. To prevent his rolling into the fireplace, he has to spend most of his time in the sleeping compartment, which, for this purpose, is separated from the hearth by a threshold. When the child is slow in learning to sit, a little pit may be dug for him to place his feet in and to provide a rest for his back. When he begins to raise himself up, little bells are tied round his ankles to give him pleasure in stamping his foot so that he may become steady on his legs. For an infant that has not learned to walk at twelve months a little apparatus is constructed for practising. Two forked props are rammed into the ground and a long pole is laid across them. The child enjoys raising himself up at the pole and sidling along from one prop to the other. If he is sluggish, the mother places a banana, a bell, or a toy at one end, and as the infant approaches, transfers it to the other end. Another method used is to let the toddler hold on to a staff and move along as the mother shifts it about. A little song of encouragement accompanies this lesson.

When the child has learned to walk, supervision becomes a strenuous duty. When it falls and hurts itself the mother looks for a stick with which to beat the ground. She then hands the child the stick to do the same. When a child cuts itself and cries, it is told: 'If you don't stop crying, our house won't be blessed with any more gifts of meat!' Boys are reminded that their chances of obtaining a wife are reduced by their unmanliness. Reference is made to how their comrades would laugh if they knew, and to the painful experience of circumcision, which must be suffered with complete self-control. When a child's nose is bleeding he is told: 'Hi! You are growing strong! To-morrow we'll go-a-wooing!' Such things are said to the tiny sufferer at a time when he but vaguely understands what is meant by them. But gradually they lead him to feel that his conduct is in some manner connected with his ambitions and thus their cumulative effect is to check his outbursts of grief.

In order to facilitate supervision, the vessels with contents—such as beer, honey, and snuff—and the fragile calabashes and clay pots are kept in special places. The knives and sickles are stuck into the thatch out of the child's reach. Should it, nevertheless, get hold of a dangerous tool, its mother or nurse exchanges it for

a stick or cooking spoon. When a little older a child is slapped and soon learns to associate a warning voice with a prohibition. In the children I observed, the reaction to such a warning was usually prompt if it had been uttered by an adult, but hesitating if uttered by another child or the nurse. Obedience is therefore not to an abstract command or a rational system of behaviour, but to a certain situational complex in which the child is ready to pursue its desires when the personal obstacle is likely to be overcome. The toddler whose groping hand is scorched by a firebrand is in a different situation, which requires for ever an immediate avoidance reaction. Among the Chaga, too, 'the burnt child shuns the hearth.'

The irksomeness of supervision has led to the elaboration of a system of placing the child continuously under the restraint of a superior will. Among poor people, father and mother take turns in watching the child, each doing duty for a whole day. Where the father is not so obliging, the mother is forced to tie her child by the arm or leg to one of the posts of the house during her absence. In addition the magician is called to adjure the hearth. Removing one of the stones from the set, he spits at it and, in a long spell, repeats again and again: 'Don't permit the child to fall into the fire, to grasp the coals, or to tread on the hot ashes.' If a child has burned itself, the magician, being proof against fire, takes a glowing ember into his mouth, grinds it up into charcoal, which he mixes with his spittle. Then, adjuring the fluid to defeat the fire, he applies the drug to the burn.[1]

As in the case of the treatment of a sick child, rational methods accompany the magical ones. As soon as they can follow the trend of a tale, children hear from mother or nurse a great number of warning stories in which the consequences of trespassing certain prohibitions are luridly depicted. These turn on the following themes: 'A boy went every day to the honey bottle to thrust his finger in, believing that this small theft could never be detected. However, when his father went to the honey after a week the quantity had been considerably reduced and the culprit received a memorable hiding.' The fate of a group of children is described who played with the fire and were all burned inside the hut. Or the story is told of boys who, playing at slaughtering, lacerated the throat of the child who pretended to be the animal so terribly that

[1] G., 'Beschwörer'.

it succumbed. These stories are not always heeded, but their cumulative effect is to create within the child certain restraints—that is, psychological sanctions active in the child itself, and emerging into its consciousness in fitting situations.

The most efficient measure, however, in controlling an infant is to engage a nurse. At the time of the birth a girl may have been called in to cook for the young mother. The usual time for hiring a nurse is when the traditional confinement period is over and the mother is taking part again in all the social activities. In the past the girls chosen for looking after infants were from twelve to sixteen years old. At present they are much younger and often seem hardly capable of carrying their charges about. This is a result of the greater thrift which modern economic conditions demand from parents. Nevertheless, the engagement of the nurse still resembles the conclusion of a contract, the father saying: 'If you look after my child, so that it does not get burned, I will give you a goat by the time it is capable of being sent for a message by itself!' But more often than not the wages are less; a dress or 1*s.* is considered enough. Care is taken to pick a trustworthy girl—one who is intelligent and industrious. Often she is a niece of the father's or the child of a neighbour. Nowadays frequently an elder sister or brother has to tend the baby.

A nurse's position is not an easy one. Ordinarily all the tender cares of motherhood devolve on her when the mother is absent. She teaches the child to speak, to walk, to sing and dance. She invents pastimes to entertain the infant and in so doing sometimes strikes upon strange ideas, and some of questionable morality. Foibe's nurse used to make her laugh by licking her abdomen. Eliaomooko's elder sister pacified her by touching her genitals. The nurse is indefatigable in inventing lullabys and songs. She has to submit to the horseplay of her sturdy charge. She has no disciplinary authority over it. In fact many a child quickly learns to take advantage of this particular situation and accuses its nurse of having stolen food or of having beaten it for sheer devilment, enjoying seeing its guardian punished.

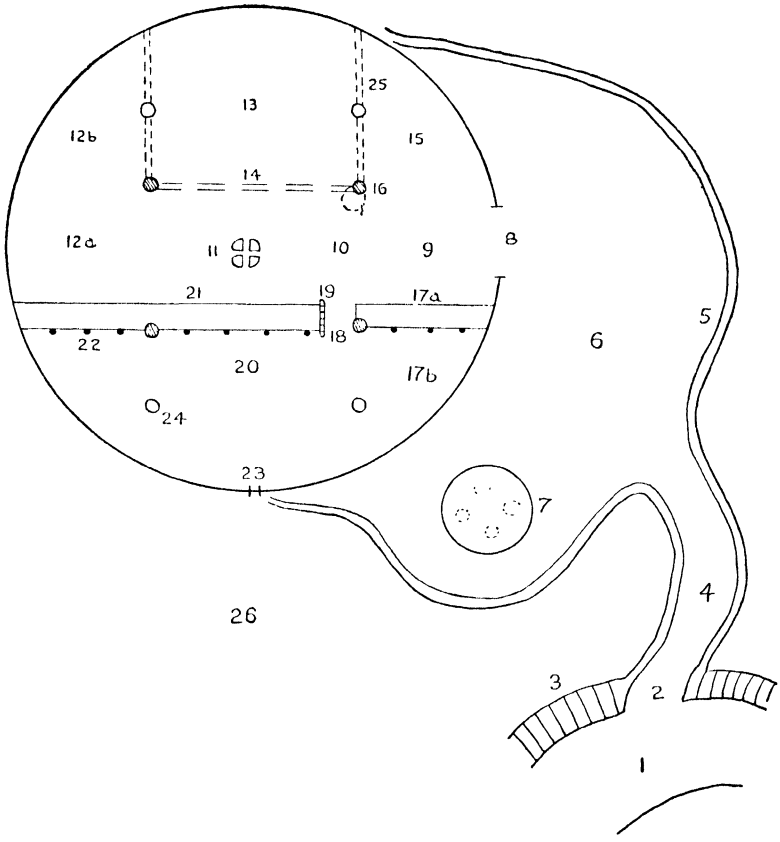
The educational relationship is thus characterized by various methods for complementing parental control over the child: magical checks, the inculcation of psychical restraints, and the extension of the circle of persons facilitating conduct by their direct assistance or by their mere presence. The institution of

the nurse is only one of many mechanisms by which parental authority is extended beyond immediate contact situations. Such substitution is not left without some ceremonial expression. Thus it is the nurse who ritually announces the eruption of the first tooth, even if the mother has actually discovered it. The baby is made to laugh, whereupon the nurse calls the mother; 'Look, the house has got a new prop!' It is only now that the mother may express her joy. Likewise the first calling of the child by its name is performed by the nurse. Having been informed of it beforehand, she hands the baby to its mother to be suckled, saying: 'Here, mother. Take Such-and-Such!' The mother, simulating astonishment, asks: 'When did he get his name?' To which the nurse replies: 'He had to wait a long time for it!' Only now the mother's face brightens up and she receives the child, wishing him luck and his grandfather's blessing.[1] Here quite definitely the nurse assumes before the world of spirits guardianship over the child.

Appendix: A Chaga Compound

The Chaga hut is circular, built of long sticks fastened into a point above and made into a firm wall by horizontal layers of lianas, the whole framework being thatched over. In the eastern districts the thatch consists of andropogon grass fetched from the plains and the whole structure looks very much like a huge beehive. In the west, where the huts are not so tall, they are covered over with banana sheaths. Inside, the roof is supported by eight posts, of which the four central ones have special names. They divide the interior into three parts: the 'upper segment' facing the mountain, the passage which runs right across the hut, and the 'lower segment' looking towards the plains. When we enter the hut by the door (*moongo*), which is only about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, we find ourselves in the front part of the passage. It is referred to as the place for receiving visitors (*wanda*). Behind it can be seen the three or four stones of the hearth which forms the centre of the hut. The two stones on the 'upper' side are called 'husband's stone' and 'wife's stone' respectively, just as the two corresponding posts are named after them. The other stones have varying designations; sometimes they are referred to as 'the children's stones'. In this anterior section of the passage a large stone used

[1] G., *R.*, pp. 311, and 314.



Plan of Chaga Hut.

1. Public path. 2. Entrance, in the past guarded by gate. 3. Hedge of brambles. 4. Winding approach. 5. Dracaena hedge. 6. Yard. 7. Eleusine store. 8. Door. 9. Porch. 10. 'Reception room.' 11. Hearth. 12*a*. Fodder store. 12*b*. Food store. 13. Sleeping place. 14. Threshold. 15. 'Pantry.' 16. Post of sacrifice. 17*a*. Space for tools. 17*b*. Goats' quarters. 18. Small passage. 19. Ladder to attic. 20. Cattle's quarters. 21. Trough. 22. Railing. 23. Drain. 24. One of main posts (eight). 25. Screen on either side of sleeping-place. 26. Surrounding banana grove.

to be placed as seating accommodation. Nowadays the owner sits upon a wooden form to warm himself at the fire. The backward continuation of the passage, called *kimolya*, is the place where cattle fodder is kept. The upper segment is divided into three sections. Next to the door is the *kichinyi*, a sort of pantry where calabashes, pots with water, and one containing cooking soda, are kept. Separated from it by a screen of intertwined sticks or roughly hewn planks is the sleeping place, the *wulyii*. In the past, dry banana leaves were used as bedding. Rich people had skins. To-day the use of the Swahili bedstead has become general. A similar partition separates the bedroom from the store, called also *kimolya*, where the milk jugs, cooking pots, and eatables are kept. Across the passage we find the lower segment occupied by the animals. The cattle stand with their backs to the wall and thrust their heads through a paling to feed from the trough (*momu*). The section next to the door is called *mrugany* and is reserved for the goats. There is room enough on the outside of the paling for depositing fodder for the goats, hoes, bushknives, sickles, and twine. Between the quarter for the cattle and that for the goats there is an opening in the paling and a narrow passage leading to the drain situated in the hut wall opposite to the fireplace. At this opening a vertical ladder leads up into the attic (*kai*), whose floor consists of a layer of thin sticks. Outside the house is a yard enclosed by a double row of dracaena. Within this enclosure the eleusine store, a huge receptacle of wickerwork raised on stones and roofed over, is set up. A narrow path leads from the yard to the public way. It is hedged in by dracaenas and so tortuous that it is impossible for a passer-by to obtain a view of the hut. The plantation surrounding the hut and yard varies in size from 2 to 4 acres. It produces most of the food consumed by the family. There is a rough allocation of crops for the plot. The main part is occupied by the banana grove. There is a section for beans and occasionally one for maize. An ideal compound, *kihamba*, comprises as well a small meadow for grazing the cattle. The whole is enclosed by a hedge of brambles forming an almost impenetrable fence.

6. *The Development of Manipulative Skill through Play and Work*

Having become acquainted with the child's social environment and the emotions it produces, we can proceed to examine its psychic

development. To this end, I shall give a sketch of my observations of two Chaga children, one a boy, the other a girl. Both were the children of educated fathers who had married women in character and intelligence scarcely above their fellows. There is no reason to suspect that, apart from individual variations, the development of children of other well-to-do parents would take a different course. The approach I used may be described as a case-history method, inasmuch as I can supplement my own records with continued observations made by the fathers of the two children. These were of special importance in judging the learning of speech. In recording the behaviour of their children, the fathers availed themselves of questionnaires supplied by me. In the case of Siairuka, the boy, I was able to visit him once a week for three years without too many interruptions. With Foibe, the girl, whose home was three miles away, my observations were less regular, but the father's contributions the more valuable. Occasionally I shall be able to mention evidence collected about other children.

The first line of evidence is to take us in a rapid survey[1] over the development of behaviour in connexion with those limbs and organs which are used for grasping and holding and for facilitating these processes. By such a study it will be possible to discover certain conditions underlying the learning process, and to observe how from a growth tendency, universal among human beings, differentiated cultural activities are derived.

One of the most important grasping organs during the first half-year is the mouth. The bias of psycho-analysis towards the idiosyncratic has led to much waste of acumen on elucidating the biting and sucking impulses of the infant. None of the children whom I could observe inclined to pathological thumb-sucking. Of Foibe a playful biting of the breasts of her mother is recorded (0 ; 11).[2] Another girl whom I had opportunity to observe at a much earlier stage showed quite clearly the employment of the mouth as a prehensile organ at a time when movements with the hands were clumsy. I once stroked Eliaomooko's cheek immediately after she

[1] A complete description of the psychology of Chaga children would fall outside our theme, and, besides, would lengthen it considerably. By selecting a few aspects of educational significance, the bearing of psychology on Chaga education can, however, be exemplified.

[2] In accordance with international custom the age of the children will be indicated by numbers in such a way that completed years and months will be counted, and the two numbers be separated by a semi-colon.

had been suckled. She smiled and at once her mouth rounded as if wanting to grasp an object, her head turning towards the stimulus (0 ; 4). Somewhat later she used her mouth as an active organ for grasping and feeling things. Whatever she could get hold of—a wooden bowl, sticks, her own toes—were moved towards her mouth, which at once began to drip with saliva. Her whole body concentrated on helping the mouth and tongue to enjoy new experiences of touch. For instance, a mirror which I gave her, she pressed against her open mouth, and I could see her tongue running continuously over the smooth surface (0 ; 5).

Normally the mouth is soon superseded by the hand as the sole prehensile organ, but the former may be used for a long time as a control. The sensations of touch can be enriched in the mouth by those of taste. I once observed Siairuka as he took a tuft of grass to pieces. The blades and the stalks were touched, rolled about on the palm, scratched, occasionally placed in the mouth, and after some time removed (1 ; 3). To what perfection the grasping faculty of the mouth can be developed was seen in Foibe, who removed a bandage on the fingers of both hands with her mouth (1 ; 4).

The hand, before it is used as an active tool, serves as an object of perception.[1] It has become 'known' to the mouth through sucking, and to the eye through varied movements across the chest as the baby lies on its back. The first clearly defined activity of the hand is that of grasping. It is quickly modified and elaborated according to the object presented. At first only those things are seized which touch the hand; no attempt is made to stretch out the arm to get hold of a more distant object upon which the eyes may be fixed (Eliaomooko, 0 ; 4). Soon the hand is thrust forward to clutch a glittering object or one well known by sight. The first grasp consists of a bending of all the fingers towards the palm. Sticks and cloth are seized in this manner. Later the thumb is separated from the fingers to act as a second jaw in a pincer-like grasp. Even then an almost experimental variety of positions of the fingers is retained. But the juxtaposition of thumb and fingers is a method which, increasingly through the learning process, shows its superiority (Siairuka, 0 ; 10).

Once the grip on a long object can be maintained for some time all sorts of games suggest themselves, having as theme drumming or hammering. Siairuka used spoons, sticks, and the midribs of

[1] Stern, W., *Psychologie der frühen Kindheit* (1928), p. 89.

banana leaves for this practice, and so did Foibe. Often the movements of left and right arm run parallel. A favourable situation, as, for instance, the presence of a sound-producing foundation, such as a pot, a calabash, or simply a piece of leather, calls forth the striking movements at once. Of course, the sitting posture is in itself a situation conducive to drumming.

The independent mobility of the fingers and the power to stand and walk soon lead to an enrichment of the spontaneously learned motor activities. At one time the movement which is indulged in most frequently is prodding and burrowing with the index finger. The index finger is first used by itself for touching aching gums. Later it is employed to clear the nose, to point at mother's mouth, eyes, or nostrils. Then the prodding movement is made more effective by the use of a tool, almost invariably a stick (0 ; 11). Not long afterwards I observed Siairuka grasping a stick, not with thumb, index, and middle finger pressed round it, but as one would hold a chisel (1 ; 2). With Foibe this movement is already fitted into a cultural activity. 'She sees her mother stir the porridge in the pot, cries for the spoon, and stirs about with it so violently that she almost breaks the bottom of the clay vessel' (1 ; 4).

While scratching is observed from a very early date, sweeping, cutting, and hoeing movements are learned best when the child can stand and walk, and knows how to adjust himself to the continuous shifting of the point of gravity. Indeed, 'the growth of manipulative skill depends on postural development'.[1] In learning to walk, the greatest individual differences can be observed. Siairuka, like his brothers and sisters did not pass through a crawling stage. On the other hand, Nahum's child crawled about for months showing little ambition to stand or walk. Some Chaga children learn to walk quickly, the youngest on record to succeed in this being seven months old. Others take a long time. Foibe, for reasons of health, did not learn to stand by herself till in her third year, when she could herself comment on her successes and failures.

The feet, like the mouth and hands, are at the beginning used as organs of perception. 'Siairuka discovers a patch on the hard-beaten ground which has been softened by water. He at once begins to move his feet about in the mud, apparently enjoying the

[1] Isaacs, S., '*The Psychological Aspects of Child Development*, p. 22. Reprint from *The Year Book of Education* (1935).

sensation. Only after his feet are all covered over, and their power of touch reduced, does he stoop and dip his hands into the mud' (0 ; 10). Soon afterwards I observed him learning to take the first steps. 'He cannot yet make steps forward or backward. But he lifts his left foot and places it sideways away from his body. The right foot is never raised above ground, being the leg supporting the point of gravity. Consequently, whenever he straddles the legs too far apart, he first lifts the ball of the right foot and, rotating it on the heel as pivot, sets it down further inward; then he raises the heel and, turning it round the resting ball, continues the inward movement. To achieve this, the point of gravity had first been moved to a point above the left leg. But the right, having still to support some weight, contrives to shift it about from ball to heel and back again' (0 ; 11). This practice in balancing becomes more difficult when he uses a stick to beat something while he is standing. He then plumps down frequently. Some months later (1 ; 2) he raises himself to a standing position from one in which he rests on his hands and doubles up his left leg. He walks nimbly and sometimes in a playful manner reels about, his balance being perfectly controlled at this stage.

With complete postural control, games with a stick as tool or toy can be varied manifoldly. He uses it as a chopping knife. He swings it over his head like a hoe. Sometimes it serves as a club in defence or attack. Sometimes it does duty for a broomstick. Then again, he drags it along the ground like a branch. In short, hand and foot, leg and arm have learned to co-operate with the body in the performance of a great variety of motor activities.

These activities are common to healthy children all over the world. Nevertheless, the learning of motor mechanisms results even at such an early age in a fixation of certain movements which do not receive such emphasis in other cultures. A definite bias in the cultural milieu of the Chaga child tends to canalize his motor energies in one direction, such as the handling of stick, spoon, and knife, and to perfect the co-ordination of movements useful for it. This process of habituation is accelerated by the child's autonomous selection of those movements which, in his circumstances, provide the greatest pleasure and outlet for his energies. As a third selective factor must be mentioned that adult relatives give the child similar objects to entertain him or to train him in the performance of a definite motion.

A glance at the further development of manipulative skill proves this warping by the environment. In the girl Foibe the tendency was towards picking out and elaborating domestic tasks. This could be seen from a juxtaposition of observations on one and the same activity separated by several months. A Chaga woman has to carry loads of grass from the plains and firewood from the forest to her home. 'When Foibe sees her mother return with a load on her head, she immediately looks round for a stick to place on her head, though she cannot yet walk. After some weeks, she occupies herself spontaneously with this activity. A stick which drops off her head repeatedly is thrown away in anger' (1 ; 0). Nine months later 'her burden has undergone an elaboration. She has got hold of a tin, which she fills with sticks and stones. Placing it on her head, she tries to balance it there without supporting it with her hand'.

Not only the system of division of labour according to sex, but also Foibe's illness, which reduced her to sitting occupations, contributed to making of her at three years of age an accomplished mother's help. In the case of Siairuka the game with sticks, which he like the girl played frequently, soon developed into the more virile activity of hoeing. At seventeen months I found him one day in possession of two hoes. Holding the lighter of the two in his hands, he struck the ground with it fifteen times in quick succession. He stopped for a while; then followed another series of strokes. When the right hand was tired, he wielded his tool for a while with the left. Then he tried to hold one hoe in each hand. All this he carried out sitting on the ground. He was not yet steady enough to trust himself to stand while hoeing, for he began to amuse himself with dislodging stones from the ground by pushing the blade behind the stone and drawing it towards him. As the stones yielded he tumbled backwards, a consequence which he had not yet learned to meet. After about half an hour, he got up and walked about with the two hoes, sometimes dragging them along the ground and sometimes carrying them crosswise before him or presenting them singly like guns. At last, pulling both hoes after him, he disappeared into the hut. Here is an example of how a tool is employed for all sorts of purposes incongruous with its ordinary use, but derivable from those qualities which it has in common with the stick, the primordial toy!

Siairuka also helped to prepare meals, and acquired some

proficiency in hulling beans. But having taken a fancy to the hoes, he developed a bias towards tilling, in which he was encouraged by his mother. He soon began to accompany her and his elder brothers and sisters to the grove to weed it. And I discovered that at two years and three months he had made a little irregular garden for himself without advice or control from any of his elders. In this little patch, whose soil he had loosened with his beloved hoe, he had planted a few beans and irrigated them with his urine. Thus he too had become set in the ways of his people, one of the famous Bantu agriculturalist tribes.

7. *The Development of Speech as Instrumental Behaviour*

The presentation of the growth of postural control as a means of furthering manipulative skill shows its true function in raising man above the animal level. Not the fact that man walks upright distinguishes him from the beasts, but the vastly increased differentiation in the uses of the hand consequent upon it. The question arises whether the process of learning one's mother tongue can also be subsumed under the generalization that behaviour is primarily unreflective, that it does not require for its explanation a hypothetical entity be it called 'insight' or 'intelligence'.[1]

In the past one was inclined to consider speech as the very manifestation of this particular power. Language was *the* gate to the world of spiritual values, and *the* method of developing ideation and volition. The assumed extra-corporeal nature of thought and language was vindicated by the alleged speed with which a child acquired its native speech, the absence of failure in this process and the adequacy with which its elaboration depicted the extension of the 'contents of the mind'. Gradually it was realized that language, so far from being only the expression of thought, was indeed its very instrument, an indispensable symbolism invented to facilitate the mental processes. Once this view of language is seen against the background of the theoretical difficulties of the

[1] Stern, W., op. cit., p. 59, and Bühler, K., in *Abriss der geistigen Entwicklung des Kindes*, p. 52, have referred to this emergence of 'insight'. And Köhler's experiments with apes have led to the suggestion that the simians also possess insight. But their purposeful adaptations to difficult situations prove nothing more than that their organism is capable of making use of tools. Likewise, the findings of the *Gestalt* school do not contradict Dewey's pragmatism. The facilitation of behaviour when the organism is reacting to definitely patterned stimuli does not require 'insight' to explain its suddenness. It proves, however, the necessity for the organism to co-operate with defined portions of the outside world.

dichotomy of mind and body, it becomes plausible that its instrumental functions cannot be limited to one part of the human organism. It must, in fact, serve the perceptible as well as the intangible part or, if there is nothing in the distinction, be a specialization of the behaviour of the unitary whole.

Professor Malinowski, faced with the difficulties of first himself understanding and then conveying to his European audiences and readers the meaning of native speech, suggested that to do so necessitates a 'study of the mechanism of reference'. Such a study leads the ethnographer, as distinct from the philologist dealing with dead languages, to the principle of symbolic relativity. This principle implies that meanings change with changes in the functions of corresponding words—that is, with their context, which in turn is determined by the cultural situation. Language is a mode of action rather than a countersign of thought. For instance, in 'speech-in-action', language makes concerted group activities possible. In 'narrative language', the referential function is not as important as the creation of bonds of sentiment. The idle chatter of social intercourse, apparently devoid of meaning, yet serves to establish personal contacts. *In fine*, where language is expressive of states of 'the mind', or used to control ideas, its function must be described as particularized and derivative.[1]

The first babblings of a Chaga child seem to differ little from those of children of other races. They are a spontaneous muscular exercise of the speech organs utilizing the physiological conditions of breathing. The first sounds heard from Eliaomooko appeared me to be variations of breathing brought about by a slight and rhythmical tightening of the throat, a sort of gurgling noise (0 ; 5). Soon after, pleasure is taken in stopping the flow of air at the lips, with the result that labials are heard for the first time, such as *b*, *d*, and *m*. At first these are not heard in isolation. As physiological necessity requires the regular coming in and going out of air, the closure of the lips is loosened at intervals. Therefore what the observer actually hears are the monologues: '*Ba-ba-ba*', '*Ngra-ngra-ngra*', '*Khu-khu*' or '*Na-na-na*', according to whether the tightening takes place at the lips or throat. Sometimes, when the infant is exuberantly active, the closing and

[1] Malinowski, B., *The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Language*; cf. Ogden, C. K., and Richards, I. A., *The Meaning of Meaning* (London, 1923), Supplement I.

opening of the mouth is repeated so quickly that the lips do not quite meet. In consequence, the current of air is rhythmically deflected against the hard palate, producing a semivowel there: '*Aiy-aiy-aiy*' (Foibe, 0;9; Siairuka, 0;6). If in these babblings the labials are on the whole preferred, the reason may very well be that they engage the same muscles that are used for sucking.

In the beginning the mumblings of the infant are not symbols of meanings. Nevertheless, these 'meaningless sounds' are powerful instruments evoking delightful experiences in the parents. With gleaming eyes, a Chaga mother bends over her child and reports its every 'word' to its father. He, too, is pleased and imagines that already it calls him '*ba-ba-ba*' or '*ta-ta-ta*'. Foibe's father is cautious enough to report: 'Foibe has learned to say "*mbru-mbru-mbru*", pronounced in a throaty manner. This word is used by children calling goats to be fed. But she uses the word by itself (i.e. without action), and we doubt whether she knows its meaning. The following day the sound is somewhat changed: "*puu-puu-puu*" and bubbles of saliva appear at the corners of her mouth' (0;9). But her father throws all caution to the winds when his personal pride is involved. A report of a fortnight earlier runs: 'She knows easy words like, "*ta, ta, ta*", and "*ba, ba, ba*"; also "*ma, ma, ma*". And these words the child understands almost all, for often when she sees her father she says, "*tatata*", and when her mother is near she says, "*mamama*" or "*nanana*".' The uncertainty lingering in this statement is resolved three months later: 'Now she can call her mother properly. Suppose her mother has gone to the grove and on returning is descried by Foibe from afar, she cries, "*Mamae, mamae!*" and begins to crawl towards her mumbling a lot of unintelligible gibberish' (1;0). And calling the mother by name during her absence and at night when hungry or wet has become a definite habit only another three months later.

What has happened in the meantime to mould out of a sound produced as a playful muscular exercise a word with a meaning, an instrument wielded by the child to make its mother act on its behalf? The crucial point in this development is reached at the time of which we get a glimpse in the second report. Then the Chaga father betrays that certain infantile sounds have meaning to him. A smile creeps over his face, his eyes sparkle with joy, he listens attentively. The child, who watches the faces of the

persons around him, somehow notices these changes produced on them by his sounds which now acquire also for him an emotive value and are emphasized and repeated more than any other combinations. When they are uttered they tend to call the mother or the father to his side, either for dallying or, if some impatience can be detected, for tendering ministrations increasing his comfort. In this way gradually the sound becomes a word conveying and expressing meaning for the child, too.

The parents' selection of the traditional sounds in the mouth-games of their children is therefore the starting-point in that long series of experiences by which the child builds up for his speech a system of references. That such sampling of the sounds in childish babblings takes place among the Chaga can be seen in their assertion that when a child says 'Mama' before 'Dada' its mother must die. The common choice of the *m* sound for mother may, as Jespersen points out, be connected with the fact that it frequently also accompanies the process of eating and comes to suggest its pleasures. The almost universal correspondence between nearest kinship terms and the first natural sounds arises from the fact that the latter must provide the material from which the former have to be chosen.[1]

At eleven months Siairuka's language consisted of syllabic repetitions of which '*dadada*' and '*doidoidoi*' were preferred; sounds expressing joy and displeasure among which a guttural *r* was most common; certain undefinable and frequently nasalized utterances used by way of replying when talked to; and a few onomatopoeic expressions, such as the panting of a dog or the snorting of a sheep. Of these latter sounds a few developed into words with an unequivocal meaning, for instance '*mao*', to designate a cat, used by both Foibe and Siairuka till far into their third year. The guttural *r* came to stand for 'I want to be suckled' because, being easily aspirated, it lent itself to express various degrees of urgency, the variation demanding immediate attention being rendered by 'aghr'. To Siairuka the experience of feeding was one indivisible whole and therefore 'aghr' could be heard applied to his mother's breasts or to express impatience. In this

[1] The correspondence need not be due to a fundamental unity of all languages or to borrowing. The problem has exercised many minds; cf. Tylor, E., *Primitive Culture* (1929), vol. i, pp. 223 *seq.*; Westermarck, E., *History of Human Marriage*, vol. i, pp. 242–5; Jespersen, O., *Language* (1922), chap. viii, par. 8; Malinowski, B., op. cit., par. 5.

latter capacity, it was retained after other sounds had proved to be more effective in the search for food.

This example shows that what is often called faulty association is in fact an arbitrariness in the selection of sounds and words. This is due partly to the instrumental value of even such irregular connexions where their meaning is understood by the social environment, and partly to the uniqueness of each individual life history. Thus as Siairuka reports to his father (2;3): 'Lord come on ox, talk mother' ('*Banya mbe mbe mama*' for '*Bwana acha na mbe kadeda na mama*'). What he meant and actually conveyed was that a white woman had come on a mule to see his mother. The European lady and the steed referred to were so rare an experience that there had been no necessity for evolving or acquiring a differentiated terminology.

There is no need to derive from such faulty associations a hypothesis as to a corresponding confusion in the mental notions. As the child's requirements are limited, his understanding of speech soon outruns the use he makes of it, for he is continually partaking in situations which are accentuated by words. Such 'wrong associations' are retained as long as they work. Sometimes the meaning of a word is acquired by having the thing pointed out. But most words are learned by experiencing them in action, by grasping the situations in which they are used and the context in which they occur. This process is rarely sudden. Only slowly a degree of accuracy is achieved and 'those meanings survive which fit in best with those of the surrounding society'.[1] The reactions of the social environment form with the responses of the parents and the child's own experiences the triumvirate of selective agencies in infantile sound-producing behaviour.

This process is accompanied by a rectification of the phonetic, as distinct from the semantic, character of speech. All sorts of mutilations are recorded from Foibe and Siairuka. Sound groups at the beginning of words are simplified: for *mringa* (water) *ninga* is used, the initial sound being nasalized (2;1). Often they are dropped altogether as in *na* for *shiwana*, children; or in the name Luindeny, which for more than a year is pronounced 'ndeny'. This abbreviation often approaches the nature of echoism, the tendency to employ the last syllable of a word or sentence by way of the whole. Frequently assimilation of a sound to another takes

[1] Jespersen, O., op. cit., chap. vi, par 1.

place as in *papa* for *kapa* (strike); or in *wowo* for *modo* (fire) (2 ; 0), this being facilitated by the similarity of the manner of their production. In a number of cases the mutilations resemble historical sound changes, as, for instance, *kaho* used for the ordinary *kapfo* (greeting) and *poi* for *kafoi* (plenty). These corruptions are retained for long periods. As they do not interfere with the symbolic function of the words, and are caused by the immaturity of the receptive and sound-producing organs, the half-hearted parental corrections are of little avail.

As the child grows older, it acquires a mastery over personal names and the vocabulary concerning foods and members of the body. This does not preclude its picking up words from other spheres of experience, but they remain isolated, liable to 'faulty association', or—as I prefer to say—to being used in a rough and ready manner, resembling prehistoric flints which growing experience replaces by the sharp-edged knives and scalpels of exact terms. The three spheres of experience mentioned require indeed verbal refinement very soon; the persons of the child's environment must be made to attend to its needs, the parts of the body that require relief must be adequately named, the preparation of food and its consumption fills out most of the child's experience and occupies it in its 'imitative' play. Thus at $2\frac{1}{2}$ years Siairuka knew how to name correctly the eight persons in his home. He could point out the important parts of his body, such as leg, hand, mouth, eye, especially in action situations—for instance: 'Wipe your mouth!' Very much earlier (1 ; 9) Foibe, because of her domestic bias, had learned to say '*Ende ama*' ('Bring meat'), '*Ende liko*' ('Bring spoon'), '*Ende tela*' ('Bring plate'), '*Ende chai*' ('Bring tea'), and many similar expressions which, though phonetically mutilated, were understood and acted upon by her parents and nurse.

If speech is behaviour which becomes gradually refined as a result of experiences concerning its value as an instrument, one would expect this process to be laborious. For the persons on whom this instrument is tried out are sometimes ambiguous in their reaction and sometimes act without being requested. These qualities of the social environment contrast strongly with the unvarying nature of the physical conditions which allow the child quickly to acquire the use of his hand and foot. Indeed, if we ask the question why a child learns to sit, walk and grasp in the

first year of his life, and takes more than a decade to know how to handle the words of his language, and his whole lifetime to appreciate the subtleties of meanings conveyed by them and the varieties of actions induced, the answer must point to the inadequacies of the system of reference in speech. Its workability depends on social conventions as to the meaning of symbols, and the child's difficulties in learning to handle them are caused as much by the phonetic and semantic intricacies as by the vagaries of his social entourage which sometimes accepts and sometimes denies the demand for action implied in a particular phrase.

If, on the other hand, the basic principle of learning to speak were imitation it would remain incomprehensible why a Chaga child at two and a half years should still be satisfied with one form only of the verb, and omit consistently the particles indicating grammatical person and tense which he hears daily, nay hourly, repeated in many combinations.[1] The inefficiency of the factor of imitation is apparently due to its unimportance. The child need not speak grammatically because his speech is as yet only a means of calling another person to his assistance, a person who expects such calls and who attends immediately. Infantile speech at two years works, therefore, largely through imperatives, nouns, and personal names, those types of speech behaviour which the child has found to be necessary and effective instruments.

Of course, gradually the symbols of speech acquire also for the child a referential value. Throughout their second year, I have observed Chaga children using what might be called merely 'communicative speech'. At the beginning of this period, Siairuka frequently indulged in a sort of amoebaean song with his mother or sister. He would begin to hum one of the primary syllables, for instance, '*aiyee-aii*', and interrupt himself as if expecting an

[1] In Bantu languages the group of words consisting of the verb, its personal pronouns, and auxiliaries of tense, voice, and mood is so intimately fused that it is usually represented as one 'word' in script. In analysing such a verbal complex, the prefixes have to be separated from the root of the verb and its affixes. There are six kinds of prefixes (negative, personal subjective, tense, relative, personal objective, reflexive) and a number of affixes expressing voice, mood and a variety of derived verbal forms. Chaga children do not trouble about prefixes and affixes before their fourth year. Only occasionally the personal subjective prefix of the first person singular and the affix denoting the passive are heard in the latter half of the third year. Similarly, Bantu nouns are complicated by a system of classes characterized by prefixes. In addition, the prefix of a class differs according to whether the noun is used in the singular or plural. Chaga children consistently ignore the class and number prefixes till far into their third year.

answer. His sister (being only eighteen months older) would then reply with another sound *motif*, having a slightly rising intonation. Siairuka would answer back and so it would continue for a considerable time. When thus 'talking' with him, his mother would occasionally introduce words and names and Siairuka would react either by laughing or grunting an angry '*aghi*'. Later on it became very common with both Siairuka and Foibe to mumble for minutes quite unintelligibly to the person addressed. Sometimes, however, certain words could be made out, usually names, and from their combination could be guessed what the child wanted to impart. Frequently such mumbling communications took place after the return home of the person spoken to. Foibe's father made the discovery that his daughter had then some complaint to make about her nurse or another child: 'Foibe has begun to accuse other children, though she cannot yet speak intelligibly. First she calls her mother, then she pronounces the name of the person who deprived her of a thing, then come words which cannot be understood; in the end she mentions the object taken away from her' (1 ; 10).

The function of these accusations is not the communication of facts, however, but the establishment of social sympathy between the child and the adult concerned. For it is in connexion with these imperfect pieces of information that the first untruths are spoken. 'She increasingly takes to accusing others. But often her complaints are unfounded. When her father comes she tries to tell him that the mother or nurse has beaten her. And when her mother comes she accuses her father of the same. She accuses every one she knows by name. Often those persons are quite innocent of the charge. It also happens that she accuses persons who only scolded her of having chased her away (this is to arouse the more pity). A third type of accusation does not directly concern herself. She accuses Father of having eaten or drunk during Mother's absence, and she impugns the nurse for a similar offence before her parents and vice versa' (1 ; 11). This last example shows that the social function of these communications, without involving the conscious intention, is to arouse pity and sympathy for the child or to detach it from the group of persons accused of an anti-social act and to join it to those seeking retribution. In other words, the child 'wishes' to ingratiate itself with persons having a claim upon others.

Similar reports exist about Siairuka. A little later, the gross method of accusing others to bring oneself into favour is abandoned. His father arrives as Siairuka is eating a banana. '*Baba*', he says. '*Mama nga yuu*' (for '*Mama an-nenga ruhu*', i.e. 'Mother gave me a banana'). And then the child continues: '*Ke mama nge yuu baba, ee?*' (for '*Uleke mama nakuenge ruhu baba ee?*' i.e. 'Let Mother give you a banana, won't you, Daddy?'). A few days later his father, on coming home, sees his son playing with a knife. At once Siairuka tells him: '*Baba, aki nndo kako, mama ng'enga*' (for '*Baba, aiki kimndo kyako nyi mama anyinenga*', i.e. 'Father, this knife of mine, it is Mother gave it me'). One day Siairuka's mother has sat down on the stool which is his father's seat. When the father comes into the hut, the child hastens to order his mother off: '*Kueo mama, baba nyanyie*' (for '*Kureho mama, baba nadamie*', i.e. 'Get off Mother, that Father may sit down') (2;1–2;2). These examples suffice to show that the speech of the infant is an instrument for establishing the temporarily interrupted contact with its parents. To secure this function, its trustworthiness as a means of communication is allowed to suffer.

PART IV

CHILDHOOD

1. *Wider Social Contacts Restraining Behaviour and Facilitating Conduct*

A

THROUGH the conquest of speech, the child establishes contacts in his kinship group. The question arises whether the patterns of conjoint action with his parents will be of avail to him in entering into these new relationships. To put it in anthropological terms: How are the primary attitudes formed in the 'initial situation' of the family extended so as to fit the child into the wider circles of his kindreds. Radcliffe-Brown suggested[1] that a Bantu child's sentiment towards his father differs from that towards his mother; he treats the one with awe and attaches himself to the other with love. This dissociation is then extended along relationship lines, all the members of the father's family being met with reverence, while the love of mother is diffused to all individuals of her family.

Other authors have attempted to indicate that a modification of kinship attitudes takes place with their extension. Moreover, it must be assumed that the sentiments formed towards the parents cannot be kept separate. Evans-Pritchard, commenting on the temporary estrangement of Zande boys from their mothers, remarked that in studying the behaviour of a child towards one parent it is necessary to know something about the relations of father and mother, and about the child's feelings towards the second parent.[2] Ideally, these three relations should be examined together. He asserted that as the intra-familial sentiments of a child change as it passes through certain biological and psychological phases, so their extension towards persons outside is not a simple process. It is subject to variations according to the degree of contact, the residential factor, the age, sex, social status, and legal position of the kin concerned.[3]

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, A., 'The Mother's Brother in South Africa'.

[2] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 'The Study of Kinship in Primitive Societies', *Man* (1929), 128.

[3] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 'Kinship Extension', *Man* (1932), No. 7.

If the problem is faced now, it appears almost impossible to arrive at a satisfactory answer by empirical means.[1] From a methodological standpoint, it becomes necessary to drop the term 'extension of kinship attitudes'. As a substitute, I propose to classify kinship attitudes according to the principle of generation. It may be expected that a child's relation towards its grandparents, whether maternal or paternal, is sufficiently alike to be treated as one sociological phenomenon. Similarly, his behaviour when in contact with his 'uncles and aunts', members of the generation of his parents, forms a convenient unit of discussion. The relations of a child with his brothers, sisters, and cousins form another division of kinship attitudes. Even within these generative strata conduct is not stereotyped. In the parental generation the mother's brother occupies a unique position, and in the filial generation certain differences were observed in the sociological importance of the eldest and the youngest son.

B

As the time of weaning is one of strain in the relation between mother and child, the infant is often removed to its paternal grandmother. Weaning is thus accompanied by a social disengagement. The grandmother realizes that the emotional wrench must be palliated and she therefore cooks the child's favourite dishes. She does not beat the child lest it become homesick. Life at grandmother's is therefore characterized by slackness of discipline. The result of her indulgence is said to be a rudeness of manners and a stupidity absent in those reared at home. On the other hand, children are encouraged from an early date to gratify every whim of the grandparents and thus avoid incurring their curse. The length of stay at the grandparents' home varies. Some children are left for only one or two years. Others return home when able to pasture the goats. Some again stay up to the time of their marriage.[2]

[1] In psycho-analytical theory, the unconscious ties between a child and its father, mother, and siblings provide lines of development round which its personality crystallizes. The most important agent in the growth is the father, who, having been projected into the child, becomes its 'super-ego'. The tension between the two poles, the ego and super-ego is the fundamental driving element in human life. Cf. Flügel, J. G., *The Psycho-Analytical Study of the Family* (London, 1921).

[2] For a detailed account of life at the grandmother's in another Tanganyika tribe, see Fisher Brown, E., 'Hehe Grandmothers', *JRAI.* (1935), pp. 83–96.

In many respects the time in the grandparental home may be compared to that at school in Europe. Grandmother is full of tales, which she recounts in the evenings. Grandfather's turn is during the day, when he accompanies his grandchildren to the pasture. The subjects discussed[1] cover the whole range of the tribal code. They deal with the solidarity of kin, obedience towards parents, reverence towards ancestors, the duties of a brother to his sister and those of the firstborn to his younger brothers. They go into the delicate problems arising through marriage, giving advice as to the qualities to be looked for in the mate. They describe the relations between husband and wife, the causes of quarrels between them and their composition by diplomatic cunning or moral restraint. They offer prophetic advice as to the education of offspring, and give tips as to the treatment of parents-in-law. Hints are not forgotten for securing and retaining the chief's favour, and at present, for relations with the white man.

Nothing in the choice of subjects suggests that the pupils are children from the age of six onward. In fact, most of the lessons recorded by Gutmann must be considered anticipations of the tribal teaching during initiation. However, certain adaptations in the method of delivering the lessons can be noticed. Difficult didactic songs are excluded. The grandparental teacher is straightforward and does not talk in mysterious language requiring interpretation by an assistant. The lessons follow in a loose sequence as opportunities offer and not in the rigid ritual order of the initiation teaching.

The transfer of children to their grandparents is thus of instructional significance. Besides it involves economic and legal arrangements. The first child can be claimed by its paternal grandfather as a return for assisting the young couple to set up house, and for supplying the special diet during the first confinement of his daughter-in-law. The second child is claimed by the maternal grandparents. It is called 'the child of the mother's people'. The child is not considered an instalment of the bride-price, but a hostage to be returned if the payments are faithfully completed. Curiously enough, the parents may claim a goat from the maternal grandparents in consideration of the trouble taken in

[1] The grandparental lessons were collected by Gutmann in the first volume of *Die Stammeslehren der Dschagga*, pp. 84–522. No such set lessons are given at the present day, but conversation still turns on the same subjects.

keeping the child clean, an indication of how highly the physiological services and tender cares are valued.

The possessory rights of grandparents over certain children are not rigidly enforced. If the first-born is a girl and the second the heir, the father's desire to rear him in the paternal family overrides the legal rule. Sometimes the maternal grandfather waits even for a third child to be born before he advances his claim. Often the transfer does not take place until a definite need for help arises—for instance, if the grandmother is widowed. The custom was in abeyance during the first decade of mission influence. At that time congregations consisted only of young men that married heathen girls who turned Christian afterwards. Their parents were not converted, so the Christian couples refused to hand their children over to the 'unenlightened' grandparents. Now there are several generations of Christians and the old custom has been revived.

The economic nature of the relationship is illuminated by the native explanation of the custom: 'You Europeans can pay wages for a "boy". We can't afford that. Therefore our children are given to our parents to work for them.' For this reason girls are preferred by the grandparents. They are capable of carrying out the domestic work required and are willing to do it. In return, they receive their food, clothes, and other necessaries. The more grandchildren a man can gather at his home, the wealthier he must be. They are a token of his social position. He willingly defrays all expenses for them and his wife takes upon her without reluctance the maternal duties of supervision and minor ministrations. A poor man's ambition is to have at least two grandchildren with him—a boy to pasture his cattle, a girl to cut fodder and clear the dung from the hut. When a Chaga slaughters a cow, he is expected to send the breast-piece, the most highly valued part, to his parents. This, as it is put, is not intended to repay them for the rearing of the grandchildren; but should be considered as an honour gladly bestowed. In the case of a girl reared at her maternal grandfather's, her father shares the whole of the bride-price with him or his heir.

The critical attitude towards the product of grandparental education may be a result of jealousy, as children that grow up at their grandfather's may inherit his possessions, to the neglect of the direct heirs. But also, where a man has taken a special liking to one

of his grandsons, he may make him his heir and portion off the legal claimant. The saying is significant that such children 'have no name in their own homes'. Such procedure is less common though not impossible with boys sent to their maternal grandparents. The law of inheritance excludes the children of a man's daughter. But the child hostage, when he grows up, may decide to remain a member of the maternal family, whose manners and efficiency he has learned to appreciate, or his grandparent becomes so attached to him that he reserves cattle for him in agistment, pays the bride-price on his behalf, and aids him to found a home.[1]

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is reared upon a religious basis.[2] As a rule, the first son was called after his paternal grandfather, and the first daughter after the paternal grandmother; similarly, the second pair of children were named after their maternal grandparents. The custom was not rigidly obeyed in the past and has fallen into disuse at the present day. Gutmann suggests[3] that it points to an original belief in the reincarnation of ancestors. The names were then an expression of recognition and welcome. Later, however, the custom weakened into a reminder of the dependence of human life on ancestral favours. Concurrently the desire arose to let the dead rest in peace. In consequence, the grandparental names were slightly altered on being transferred to the alternate generation—for instance, Msango was changed into Msangi, and this again into Ndesangyo.

Whatever its historical origin, the custom expresses the desire for a close emotional connexion between the alternate generations and anticipates a possible legal substitution. For instance, the youngest son may be called after his maternal grandfather because, when his mother grows old, he takes her over into his guardianship, fulfilling the function performed by her father before she was married. Nevertheless, the belief, if not in a reincarnation, at least in the reappearance of one's physical and mental qualities in the grandchildren exists. The examination of the newborn for such characteristics testifies to it. During discussion of a child's

[1] For these modifications of the rules of law, cf. G., *R.*, pp. 31, 59, 234.

[2] Hocart, A. M., 'Alternate Generations in Fiji', *Man* (1931), No. 214, points out that in the Fiji kinship system alternate generations are classed together by one term. To this correspond rules regulating the ritual conduct between members of succeeding and alternate generations.

[3] G., *R.*, p. 314.

peculiarities one can often hear some such comment: 'Oh, just leave him like that. His grandfather, too, had this tendency to pacifying quarrelsome persons.'[1]

The grandparents have magical power over the child's life. The grandmother attends a sick child, scarifying it or applying herbs to its sores. But it may be she who by her sorcery brings on its illness and death. During the building of the hut, she must abjure that she is hiding objects of the deadly art or that such have come down to her from her grandfather. On the other hand, the grandfather of a child is the proper medium to intercede on its behalf with the remoter ancestors or god, and in sacrifices a father would address him. In the most sacred sacrifice, the *simai*, he petitions the child's sixth ancestor (i.e. the grandfather of the grandfather of the child's grandfather) and approaches him through the fourth forebear, who is called after the remoter one and is therefore a favourite with him. The grandparental intercession is also believed to be required by a deceased person demanding entrance to the realm of the dead. Thus in many ways is the connexion between a man and his grandchildren elaborated: it is strengthened by economic ties, justified by religious beliefs, and supported throughout by intense emotional concomitants.

C

Neither the eldest nor the youngest son is handed over to the maternal grandparents, the one because he is claimed by the paternal family, the other to prevent his absorption into his mother's family. The eldest and the youngest differ profoundly from one another in their sociological significance. The first-born (whether son or daughter) possesses a special nimbus, for he is the fruit of the training before and during the first year of marriage. He secures the permanence of the marriage, as through him the mother is 'habituated' to the father's family, and the new family becomes ritually and economically, as well as emotionally, linked with the other households of the kinship group and neighbourhood. In a way, Radcliffe-Brown is right when he asserts that only the first child counts, as with it the personalities of father and mother are welded, and the family trinity is complete.[2] But when he goes on to say that this is due to a belief in multiple personality,

[1] G., 'Wahrsagen'.

[2] Radcliffe-Brown, A., 'Father, Mother, and Child', *Man*, 26, p. 159.

which makes all subsequent children psychical derivatives of the first, and all polygamous relations of the father expressions of such multiplicity in the personality of his first wife, he strains the evidence of social customs.

The privileges of the first-born are already manifest at birth. Smaller irregularities in his delivery are connived at. As he grows up, a poor mother feeds him well to make him the quicker capable of looking after his siblings.[1] As he carries them about on his hip, they are taught to call him *wawa*, a term used also for the father, and the father's brother.[2] Often a nurse is engaged only for the first-born, any subsequent child is reared by the parents with the help of the next eldest. It is the eldest to whom all have to reply, '*Li, wawae*', when he orders them about. When a group of children is invited to sit down, the eldest must do so first. In receiving food and drink away from home, the eldest partakes first, and when he passes it on to his juniors, they have to thank him ceremoniously: '*Haika, wawae*!' Younger children are warned not to quarrel with their seniors, not to bring accusations against them or to abuse them. This rule is strictly enforced with regard to the eldest sister. Vituperative language against her is believed to be aimed at the mother herself. The identification of sister with mother is, in fact, a parallel to that of the eldest son with his father. In this manner, parental control over children is reinforced by the authority delegated to the senior siblings.

The principle of seniority is ritually elaborated in those cases in which the first-born dies young.[3] He retains his power over his siblings, but now it is projected into the magical: for it is he who causes their illnesses and death! His anger, quite naturally, is roused when his seniority is disregarded. Therefore, before his

[1] Siblings is a useful term coined by anthropologists, and denotes brothers and sisters, the offspring of one father and mother.

[2] Among the terms distinguished by anthropologists, classificatory terms formed the basis for the hypothesis of promiscuity, and more recently have been used to justify the theories of extension of kinship attitudes of which examples have been given. The names used in designating relatives may be classed into three groups: personal names, terms of address, and terms of reference. While the last are exact, denoting mostly one person only, the terms of address are vaguely applied to various people, usually of one and the same generation. This extended use of a limited number of terms of address, mostly evolved in the family, has earned for them the name of 'classificatory'. The uni-denotative terms of reference have been called 'descriptive' terms.

[3] These customs have been described frequently: cf. J. R., *Versuch* (1908), p. 353; G., *DDD* (1914), pp. 81–2; Dundas, op. cit. (1924), pp. 212, 249; G., *R.* (1926), pp. 98, 136.

younger brother is circumcised, the operation must be symbolically performed on the inflorescence of a banana plant representing the deceased. Likewise, in the case of a girl, a banana made into a human image is operated upon and placed in a miniature hut for the period of recovery. As with circumcision, so with marriage. A brother who died unmarried warns a younger brother before his wedding by omens. To placate him the dead brother is ritually married to a banana inflorescence. As an alternative, the real bride is temporarily addressed as the dead man's spouse.[1]

The privileged position of the first-born is fraught with dangers of a moral nature. These are early anticipated in the family, and long before he is circumcised his grandfather warns him against certain vices. He tells him that if he behaves insolently he may be disinherited to make room for a worthier successor. If, after his father's death, greed should make him stint his brothers in food and drink, he will be cursed with childlessness. He must learn to discharge his duties faithfully, to avoid quarrels with his brothers, to support them when they marry, so making a return for similar services, to regulate the exchange of meat presents within the family branches, to support his ailing mother, to aid a brother in straits, and to allow his brothers to profit by the work of the unmarried sisters, all of whom he inherits. In this way will he be beloved and considered a true successor of his father.[2]

Mere moralizing is not considered enough. The heir must earn the benefits of his position by obedience, devotion to his father, cleverness, diligence, good manners, and thrift. If he fails in these virtues, the parent bestows his favour on a younger son, the child, perhaps, of a junior wife. The older the elected heir grows, the more openly does his father show his inclinations. On going to a beer carousal, he will take this son with him. When placing a cow with a befriended agistor, he calls him to attend. His brothers and sisters have to conceal their jealousy and stop mocking him.

The father's favouritism often arises, not from the depravity of the legal heir, but from his bias for the favourite's mother. A neglected wife complains to her children about the unfair methods

[1] G., *R.*, pp. 74, 145, 151, describes the legal procedure for making possible the marriage of a junior sibling before that of his senior.

[2] This is a summary of the lessons recorded by Gutmann in *L.*, i, pp. 153, 249, 256, 264.

used by her rival in estranging their father from her. She exposes to them the injustice of their being deprived of the material benefits of their legal position. The fortunate wife represents her case to her children not less convincingly. She describes her unsuccessful competitors as jealous, greedy, and wanting in those graces which procured her her superior rights. She imbues her children with a pride which will make them insist on their acquired privileges should they be contested in the future. Thus a child's legal training starts early and always refers to his most immediate interests.

As the father may show a personal bias, so the mother differentiates between her sons and daughters. In most cases it is the eldest and the youngest sons whom she prefers. To a great extent this is due to the unique emotional experience connected with them. The eldest brought her, if not the exquisite joys of motherhood, at least the satisfaction of an honoured status in her husband's family. The youngest signals that her status undergoes an equally important change through the loss of her fertility: her husband takes another wife, she becomes his labourer and, only if she is clever, his adviser. Her sex is now no longer a quality with which she can hold her husband.

The older she grows the more will she seek the love of her youngest son to assure her own future welfare. But long before this motive asserts itself the baby is the favourite. A special endearing term is used by parents and siblings. If the child's name is Nsiawony, it would be called Nsiawony *oko mae*!—that is, 'My-Nsiawony-and-mother!' The baby is compared to the darling little toe. It is also called *mwana wa ya-nkeku* (the child through whom the mother becomes old), or simply *lya mkeku* (of the old woman). The mixture of sweetness and bitterness of feeling is well contrasted in these expressions.

The terms for the other sons are equally instructive. The first-born is *mwana mbe*, (the child who opened his mother's breast). The second son is called *mrina*, (the child for whom a special name has to be found). The third son is the additional one, the *makishadi*, for when he arrives the mother thinks: 'Perchance this is my last child.' It is the intermediate sons who are liable to be given away as hostages to their maternal kinsfolk. Their inferior status is also exemplified in the law of inheritance. For while to the youngest and the eldest are bequeathed the land,

cattle, and personal property of the father, the others have to apply to the chief for land, and inherit only a few cattle. To balance these inequalities, a father secretes property for them during his lifetime. However, they are not altogether without rights, for as they become men they enter into certain institutionalized relationships with their brothers (cf. Part V).

The circle of children is not so rigidly cut off from their contemporaries as in European families. Certain customs bind them to the offspring of their father by other wives, and also to their cross and parallel cousins. When an animal has been butchered, the mother suggests to her children that the half-siblings and the children of the father's brothers be invited to partake those cuts with them that are reserved for their consumption. The children of the maternal uncles and aunts, as well as those of the father's sisters, are invited if they happen to be neighbours. Similar parties are held for the consumption of the beestings of a cow, and on many other occasions when the Chaga larder is well filled. These parties, which are reciprocal, provide opportunities for children to become acquainted with their 'secondary parents' as hosts. They also tend to unite the cousins more closely, and when serious fighting breaks out in the play-group on the pasture, these kinship groups attack together and defend their individual members.

D

During such parties it is occasionally necessary for the 'secondary parents' to punish their nephews and nieces. Only uncles and aunts are allowed to do so. From every other person such interference is resented. The male members of the parental generation are addressed as '*baba*', used in a classificatory sense, the females as '*mama*'. An exception is the father's sister, whom it would be a disgrace to call in the same way as one's mother. She is called *mshiku* (sister). This custom shows the great degree of confidence between a man's children and his sisters, which somewhat counteracts the preponderance of visits from the mother's people in the polygamous household.

In general, the teaching of the various relationships and the proper conduct towards the parental brothers and sisters takes place when the kinship group meets for social pleasures, for work, and for ritual occasions. Children are never excluded from such

happenings, and pick up a fair knowledge of the kinship system from the whispered remarks of siblings and the subsequent explanations culled from the mother. The co-operation of the 'secondary fathers' is also required for the rites accentuating the child's social advance. Thus no father would have his son circumcised or his daughter married without first notifying his own and his wife's brothers, and obtaining their consent, and without sharing with them the complicated duties and protracted emoluments of such events. In this manner the child acquires a sense of the nature of the primitive kinship system: he becomes aware of the fact that his behaviour is, to a varying degree, significant to clearly defined members of his kinship group.

The relationship of a child to its maternal uncle, the mother's eldest brother, is unique. He is called *meni-luwa* (the master of offspring), a status inherited from his father. He is of religious significance in bringing about the conception and birth of a child. If he has been annoyed, he inhibits a pregnancy, and must be reconciled. The necessary reconciliation is usually clothed in a religious cloak: the mother's brother is asked to pray to 'the ancestors of the left' to remove the spell of annoyance. All this means that without friendly relations between the brother of a woman and her husband no blessing can be expected by the married couple.

The mother's brother maintains his control over the embryo and the child. If through his brother-in-law's violence the expectant mother aborts and dies during her first pregnancy, he claims reparation. This amounts to the full blood-money: eight oxen and eight goats. 'The beasts of tears', one ox and one goat, are claimed by him if his sister had already given birth to a child on a previous occasion. To prevent such a calamity, the husband is careful to inform his wife's brother of any act of his involving the use of magic. Again, the father tries to obtain his brother-in-law's consent when deciding to remove an ill-omened child. The maternal uncle's control over an illegitimate child and over those children for whom the bride-price has not yet been paid depends also on his power to grant or withhold the blessing of children.

The infant becomes acquainted with its mother's brother on his frequent visits. Two or three months after its birth he pays his first ritual visit to his sister. On his return home he kills a beast

and dispatches a present of meat to the mother, 'the gift of welcome', likewise some skin rings to be put on the baby's fingers. They have been cut from the forehead and are a token of peace and friendship. In future, when he pays a visit, he is received with a calabash of beer and his nephews and nieces are told to stroke his head, a rite by which it is hoped to conduct the gentleness and ability of the mother's people into them. They are warned not to annoy their uncle or to provoke him into scolding and cursing. On the other hand, a child on a visit to his mother's brother is looked after most carefully. His cousins have been told not to romp wildly, as any injury sustained by him is resented and must be atoned for by the sacrifice of a sheep. The uneasiness felt in the mother's brother's presence is particularly strong where he has married the father's sister. The children of sisters thus exchanged in marriage do not visit the home of their maternal uncle until a special rite has been performed in which skin rings held by the two fathers, the mothers and the children, are cut through with adjurations and promises of faithfulness, and the two sisters are anointed with butter.

A hostile maternal uncle may use his power to harm the child or cause it to fall ill. During the building of the parents' hut, their ritual assistants adjure the mother's brother not to employ sorcery against the children. Where a father fulfils all his kinship obligations towards his wife's brother, the latter places his magical powers at his nephew's disposal. Of great remedial value is his spittle which can be procured for a gift of beer. The sick child takes the beer to his uncle's house, being accompanied by his mother, sisters and brothers. The uncle offers a libation to the child's maternal ancestors. Then turning towards the mountain he offers a prayer of intercession, anoints the child with butter, and spits into his outstretched hands, uttering renewed blessings. Parents are in duty bound to obtain this help, for should the child die without his uncle's magical mediation, they will be blamed for his death. On the other hand, a man's control over his sister's son obliges him to help him throughout life. If he is unwilling to do so, he is cursed by his sister and made childless through her anger.

The mother's brother plays an important role at the rites which mark the growing status of her children. At the ear-piercing rite which is carried out on children of from four to six years, the

father perforates the right lobe, and the mother's brother the left.[1] During initiation he takes part at the beginning and at the end of the *mbony ya lany*, the main body of lessons. His consent has to be obtained at the commencement of the marriage negotiations, and maintained afterwards through sharing with him the nuptial food exchanges.

E

What is particularly apparent in the case of the mother's brother is true of the other members of the parental generation. The institutionalized reassertion of blood bonds at significant intervals has of necessity a bearing on the child's conduct. It will be difficult for him to disregard the various kinship obligations upon whose discharge the character of a Chaga depends. For any such step upsets a finely balanced system of reciprocal services, to prevent which his relatives have been furnished with powers of economic and magical retaliation. The essence of primitive social morality is a perpetual give and take which, once interrupted, is difficult to start again. For this reason, the restraints of economic collaboration are reinforced by the magical interdependence of the generations: the grandparents teach the grandchildren who work for them, and both are linked by the mediation of the parents. Economic collaboration and magical interdependence act as steadying influences on the emotional vacillations of the three generations. For parental joy alternates rapidly with parental severity, childish innocence with filial recalcitrance, and grandparental indulgence with doting demands for reverence.

But what from one point of view is felt to be a restraint on behaviour, from another appears to facilitate conduct. The very presence of the nurse helps to make it easier for the toddler not to walk into the fire. To comply with the conduct expected from him, the child requires to be watched by a sympathetic adult. As he grows up his conduct is similarly facilitated by the presence and comment of persons who have neither imposed the rules of conduct and made themselves odious thereby, nor are so strange to him as to inhibit his generous impulses altogether. In the intermediate regions of social contact is the best practising ground for those minor morals whose observance is the mark of a well-bred man throughout human society. It is because primitive social

[1] For a full description of the rite, cf. pp. 298–300 and G., *L.*, i., pp. 69–80.

organization provides this interstitial society between family and world in the kinship group that natives appear to us so well mannered.[1]

In this kinship society a certain number of patterns of conduct have to be observed, and the child, as we shall see presently, learns them easily. But the acquisition of these patterns is only a minor part of the educational process. It is more important how the child learns to co-operate with his seniors and to master the essential cultural activities of his people. The members of his own generation, and of the parental and grandparental generations, meet the growing Chaga in continually changing circumstances. To believe that certain fundamental attitudes have been acquired in the family and are now automatically applied to these new relationships may simplify the complexity of human behaviour; it does not explain it.

However, it may be possible to summarize the characteristics of the three great divisions of conduct in their educational bearing as distinct from a psychological doctrine of motives. The position occupied by the eldest brother in the system of diffused authority which characterizes the Chaga kinship group, invests him with a power over his siblings which reflects that of his father. In the relations of a child with his grandparents, the two factors which characterize those with his parents, solicitude and domination, are projected, as it were, and thereby magnified into the indulgence and despotism of old age. Again, the influences to which a child is subjected by his parents and which he himself exercises on them are reflected in his contacts with his uncles and aunts, but diminished in their effect. These resemblances have little to do with a transference of psychological concomitants. They represent a social system of substitution. Thus the eldest son, being the potential heir, will one day have to take over his father's position. The uncles and aunts may have to act as secondary parents. While these possibilities are of legal significance, the substitutive process between the alternate generations is seen in a more emotional light, and this accounts for the religious note given to it.

[1] That a favourable social situation facilitates conduct can be easily observed. My own children are slack in using such ordinary expressions of politeness as 'Thank you' or 'Please' when at home; but employ them when invited out to tea by their playmates. Again, an acquaintance of mine, a schizophrenic, occasionally lapses into moods of icy taciturnity in his family, but towards outsiders he is invariably talkative and friendly.

2. *The Methods of Social Differentiation among the Age-Groups, Sexes, and Clans*

A

A Chaga child is placed in social relations which become increasingly complex. The observer, watching the development of the child, soon comes across sustained attempts on the part of the parents to impose upon it a type of conduct which is to differentiate the two generations. The first step in this direction was made when the parents reacted to the babbled syllables of *ta* and *ma*. Soon these words assume in their eyes a particular significance. They are taken to express a sense of obligation on the child's part, an admission of submissiveness. Concurrently, one can see how the original parental impulse to comfort the baby has weakened as it is realized how continual the demand upon it will be.[1]

The system of linguistic etiquette imposed on the child in primitive society is more elaborate than in ours.[2] The first polite distinction is that between the personal names and the terms of address of his parents. A first-born child, as Foibe, would naturally begin by learning the personal name of her nurse. At first she used it only when she heard her mother call the girl. The incipient stage for personal names is therefore imitative, but soon the instrumental aspect of language asserts itself. For shortly afterwards I observed Foibe trying to wake up her nurse by beating her and shouting, 'Yaiyie, Yaiyie!' She showed a distinct tendency to call all children by this name. By and by she made the discovery that this was of little use. The learning process of a younger child differs from that of a first-born. Siairuka's early repertoire (1 ; 10) of names refers to his family. His father spent much time in testing his knowledge of the names of his siblings. He would be told to go to such and such and come back again. In this game his father went over all the names in order of seniority. Later the difficulties of the game were increased (2 ; 0). Siairuka was asked: 'Who is this?' He then recited all the names as their owners were pointed out to him.

[1] The causes of this change of attitude may be physiological. A similar emergence of parental indifference towards the distress of their growing young has also been observed among animals.

[2] For an account of the language of kinship among a Polynesian people, see Firth, R., op. cit., chap. vii.

Within the first three years I heard Siairuka use the personal names of his parents on a few occasions. Once when his father and I were chatting outside the hut, he informed his mother of the conversation, using 'Filipo' when referring to his father. Another time Siairuka's father had ordered him to call together the whole family. The boy did so using the personal names for all, even his mother. In both cases no attempt was made to insist on the use of the term of address. Similar practice prevails among non-Christians.

From the beginning, the child uses the infantile terms of address for his parents almost with every sentence spoken to them. Personal names are learned for siblings and playmates of the same generation. Only at moments of unusual excitement or extraordinary confidence is the personal name of one parent used in talking of one to the other. Later the infantile terms of address are replaced by the terms in general use. These occur in two forms; one, the singular, is employed for purposes of reference; the other, the plural, is reverentially used in addressing persons of the parental and grandparental generation.[1]

Normally the first term of reference learned by a child is *mwana* (child). This is when a younger brother or sister is born. It happened in the case of Foibe when she was about two and a half years old. After the baby had been given a name, she used its proper name in addressing it, but preferred the term for 'child' when talking of it to her parents. Siairuka had exactly the same experience. But being a junior child he was once called *mwana* himself. Therefore, when his sisters and brothers continued to call him 'child' he objected to it. He also protested when his father, trying to attract his attention, called: '*Ambuya mwana!*', i.e. 'Look here, child!' Siairuka, pouting his lips, said: 'No, this is not a child; it is that one there', and pointed to the sleeping baby.

Before the more complicated kinship terminology is learned, the child acquires a set of polite expressions useful in definite situations. The phrase *huu*, used when presenting a gift or handing over food, is learned first. Foibe, having heard this when she received food only, naturally enough employed the term as a verbal instrument for procuring food for herself.

[1] Discussing in *Man* (1924), No. 3, 'The Origin of the Polite Plural', A. M. Hocart suggests that persons addressed in this manner were once considered a plurality as incarnating a god (or ancestor).

Neither she nor Siairuka seemed for a long time to grasp the difference between 'give' and 'take' (0;11). It was only half a year later that Foibe distinguished *nga* (take), and *ende* (give). It is in connexion with these terms that I observed the first instance of positive instruction. The word *nga* should always be combined with the name of the recipient. Ainainy, the nurse, had trained Foibe to repeat the phrase, '*Nga, Ainainy*!'. Foibe, in offering things to children whose personal names differed from that of the nurse, used this phrase indiscriminately (2;0). Indeed, she employed the same expression to her mother. The latter decided to teach Foibe a lesson. The next time her daughter wished to give her something she did not stir. The child repeated the phrase '*Nga, Ainainy*' with growing exasperation; finally she shouted: '*Nga, mama!*'

Expressions of greeting are learned earlier. At one time Foibe enjoyed a sort of amoebaean game in which her mother would call her name and she would reply with a corruption of *kapfo*, the most frequently used greeting (1;0). It was only five months later that she replied to a visitor greeting, '*Kapfo, Moshi!*' with '*Papfo*'. In the case of Siairuka the use of *nakofo* (i.e. good-bye) and *kapfo* (welcome) in correct situations was reported a little later (1;8). At eighteen months Foibe had picked up from bigger children expressions of sympathy used in case of a slight accident. The appropriate phrase for the father is '*Hai wawae!*'; for the mother, '*Hai mae!*' In a similar manner, the child learned rapidly such expressions as '*otana*' and '*kocha*'. The former is used when passing a person at work or returning from work. The latter is used towards persons arriving from a distance. In this type of learning, teaching method consists in the rectification of independently learned forms through gradually restricting the vague boundaries of application to the appropriate persons. Later Foibe was definitely taught to use certain phrases in addressing her parents and other grown-ups in certain situations (2;10). In the morning she had to say, '*Nekuamtsa-awae*' or '*mae*'. During the day the greeting changed into '*Tsinda-kingoto-awae*'. The child was told that she owed these phrases to her parents and that it was proper for her to use them! The honorary terms *wawa* for father and *mae* for mother are learned in connexion with these phrases. They are coupled with the personal name when a person of one's own age is addressed.

Throughout the first three years the terms of address are slowly elaborated. An accumulation of terms is desired to express the child's indebtedness towards its parents. If a child wants something it says, '*Ende mama!*' But if its desire is urgent, or the parents insist on a preliminary acknowledgement of their authority, the child is told to expand the phrase to '*Ende-ng'u mama oko mae!*' ('Please, give me, my-mother-and-grandmother!'), and to use an analogous phrase to the father. Foibe quickly learned this expression with reference to her mother, as she refused to accede to Foibe's requests unless they were brought forward in this manner. Foibe contracted the phrase to '*Ende ng'u mama m-mae!*' (2;0). I heard Siairuka use another honorary term to his mother: 'Give me water, nursing mother!' (1;8). The independent use of the possessive pronoun was learned in the third year only, significantly enough, in combination with the term for mother. When Siairuka said for the first time '*mama-ko*' (for *mama-oko*, i.e. 'my mother'), he made a great stride in the emotional modulation of his call for his mother.

At two years of age, while Siairuka had the words *baba* and *mama* constantly on his lips, his parents rarely used his proper name. Only in certain situations, when taking leave of him, on arriving home, or after having put him to bed, did they address him by name. The monotony was one day dramatically interrupted. The child had asked for a second helping, and on receiving it he rapturously thanked his mother: '*Haika*'. Siairuka looked up when she rejoined, '*Ee, Njau!*' addressing him by the name of his clan. Henceforward on special occasions the little boy was addressed as Njau. He was also taught to use the clan name when greeting or thanking his father. The lesson was always given in a concrete situation where Siairuka was so far used to saying '*baba*'. Let us watch the boy in a scene when he was almost three years old. His father had killed a goat and was about to dismember it. Siairuka, who was looking on, asked him occasionally: '*Iki nkiki, Njau?*' ('What is this, Njau?'). Each time his father gave the name of an internal organ, Siairuka repeated it adding Njau, as etiquette requires.

By learning to address his father by the clan name, the child acquires a term which is useful outside the kindred group as many other persons are named similarly. But soon he has to grapple with certain complications. Women, who by the rules of exogamy

never belong to their husband's clan, are addressed by their own clan name. Thus Foibe, after having learned her father's clan name, Moshi, discovered that her mother was addressed by some visitors as Lawuo. Soon afterwards, when left alone, she was heard shouting: '*Lawuo, Lawuo*' till her mother replied (2 ; 4). This was at least the fourth term of address for her mother which she had learned: *mama*, the honorary *mae*, her proper name, and her clan name, not to mention the polite situational expressions.

The female members of the Moshi clan to which Foibe belonged are politely called Lyinga after some famous ancestor. Imitating her parents, she called to a maid-servant hailing from her father's family: ' *Aiya sali ya Welamoo ko Lyinga*' (i.e. 'Weramoo, of the Lyinga ancestry, clean out the cow-dung').[1] The honorary clan name for men has its alternatives too. The branches and sub-branches of a clan, which is in a continuous process of division, are called after the wife of the man who founded the new grouping. Thus in the Moshi clan, which honours in its name the distant male ancestor, the branches take their designation from less remote female forebears. A Chaga usually claims two or three such 'grandmothers' as marking successive stages in the process of division. Foibe learned these names from her playmates and practised them. Her father observed her calling for Rumishaeli of her own clan: '*Lumishaeli oko Moshi, Lumishaeli oko Makando, Lumishaeli oko Malaviti, Lumishaeli oko Nyange!*' When playing by herself, she repeated the list spontaneously, as, for instance, in a greeting game: '*Kapfo Moshi, kapfo Makando, kapfo Malaviti, kapfo Nyange!*' The order of the names represents the traditional knowledge of the history of partition and of the seniority of clan branches.

The repetition of lists of relatives and ancestors begins thus as early as in the second and third year. We watched Siairuka's father drill him in reciting the names of his siblings. Foibe provided us with a glimpse into the learning of historical sequences. When a little older, we might watch them doing rhythmical work, such as hoeing or felling trees, and with each stroke mentioning a relative. And another five years hence the Chaga youth goes over the chronology of his pedigree in the sacrificial rites, where he

[1] In *sali* and *Welamoo* the phonetic phenomenon called 'lallation' can be observed, i.e. Foibe introduces *l* where ordinarily *r* occurs. Cf., too, Ma*l*aviti and *L*umishaeli below.

appeals with his father to the ancestors. These lists mean more to him than empty names. Their sequence enshrines legal claims to land, property, and political privileges.

Thus from birth the child is taught the proper terms for addressing his relatives. He is told about paternal and maternal grandparents, uncles, and aunts before he understands one word of his language. It is the mother and nurse who teach the child to use the terms in appropriate situations. Foibe was carried daily to her grandfather's, a distance of about half a mile. On returning home she would tell of her experiences: '*Mae* [i.e. Grandmother] cooked food for me!' (2;2). When she could not be taken there, she would crawl towards the door and announce: 'I am going to Granny!' (2;4). A recital game at this time showed how many kinship terms she remembered spontaneously. One day, saying good-bye to her nurse, she said: 'Give my love to father, to mother, to uncle's wife [*mpora*, i.e. bride], to grandmother, to Kutitire [a friend] and to the cat. Good-bye!' During a visit to her paternal uncle's home, her mother asked her: 'Who gave you your food to-day?' Foibe answered promptly: 'It was *baba*.' But at home, where the social situation was quite different, she talked of Sila, using her uncle's personal name. One day she related: 'I went to Grandfather. Sila was there. He sent the girl to roast some maize. I took the maize to Sila, who was in Grandfather's room.' The child spontaneously identified herself with the parental generation in talking of an absent relative, but in his presence she used the classificatory term of filial respect.

Households differ with regard to the attention paid to etiquette. Some are strict in enjoining it, using even force if necessary. This happens in rich families and those of social standing. In other families parents worry very little if addressed by their personal names. They are strict only with regard to the terms used towards the grandparents. In making a child adopt the appropriate behaviour, the whole family, except the person slighted, takes part. Father, mother, elder siblings, and nurse admonish the impolite child and advise it. Even younger children point out to their elders mistakes of form. When little Foibe heard her mother cough, she induced an older child to express its sympathy as she had done. A child who honours his elders in the approved fashion is praised before the other siblings. The mother, when sharing out food, gives the paragon a large and the rude child a small helping.

Thus it is not to be wondered at that children are masters of kinship etiquette when they are six years old and that at fourteen they know most of the terminological subtleties. Some of the more intricate in-law terms are, of course, learned later.

In attempting to assign to kinship etiquette its educational function, it is necessary to take into account its liability to being disregarded in certain situations. Siairuka talks of 'Filipo' in his father's presence. Foibe does not deign her uncle worthy of the designation *baba* when he is not there to oblige her. After initiation, the right of using the parental personal names is granted because parental protection is no longer required. Etiquette, on the other hand, becomes elaborated when conditions can be imposed by the parents and are accepted by the filial generation to secure parental support. This happens when the children make an urgent request or when the granting of it is irksome. There is little doubt that an interpretation which would couple certain emotions with the language of politeness puts the cart before the horse. The emotions that may gather round a particular expression are not its invariable concomitants. Foibe's use of *mwana* differs in emotive content from the term as used by her mother in addressing the baby, and from the same expression when employed by an old Chaga in talking to a youth. The emotions obviously vary with the sociological situation; they are independent of the word as such. But even when classificatory terms such as 'father' and 'mother' are devoid of emotive content they perform an educational function. They are reminders of mutual obligations which are easily forgotten under the levelling influences of close contact. They continually re-establish that ' social distance' between the generations upon which parents are inclined to insist before they collaborate with their offspring.

In certain circumstances, etiquette insists on stereotyped behaviour. In receiving something from or giving something to an older person, the child is expected to clasp its outstretched right arm with its left hand. If a child hands something to its parents with its left, it is rebuked, and may be beaten. Children, especially girls, are told that if they meet an old woman carrying a load they should help her without expecting a reward. When old people enter a hut, children rise to offer their seats to them. These and similar types of formal behaviour are supposed to express a proper degree of humiliation of the filial generation.

So far the question of the extension of kinship terms has not been touched. At two years of age Foibe's parents, did not bother her about keeping the designations for distant relatives distinct. They said she would be confused. Foibe referred to persons whom she knew not to be connected with the house as '*wandu*', i.e. 'people'. It was further observed that Siairuka objected to the general application of the term child. But evidence is not lacking of a spontaneous process of extension of terms of address. Very early in his life Siairuka had picked up the Swahili word *bwana*, which means 'master' (1;9). At that time he was greeting me and passers-by with it. This term has for a considerable time been undergoing a rapid widening of denotation. Originally only applied to persons of superior authority, such as Europeans, it was soon used of eminent natives too. Since the Great War it has been turned into a general term of polite address. But before it reached the backward sections of the population it was seized upon by the schoolboys. The pupil of superior learning distinguishes himself with this title from the tyro in education. Boys of eight or ten years do not dare to talk to their seniors without calling them 'Master'. Siairuka had to learn the term to address his brothers. But he was not inclined to remain on the lowest rung of the ladder of social distinction. One day I overheard him saying to his slightly older sister, to whom he had just given a banana, '*Mba: aika, bana*' (for '*Hamba: Haika, bwana!*', i.e. 'Say "Thank you, sir!" ') (2;6).

Within one's own generation one would expect this spontaneous extension of terms of address to be limited. Brothers and sisters address one another by their personal names. The terms for brother (*monowama*), sister (*mshiki*) and younger sibling (*moneru*) are not employed in the vocative by children. An exception is the term *wawa*.

When the processes of terminological extension are examined, it is seen that they occur in one direction—that is, away from the parents and spreading towards outsiders, as, for instance, in the case of the infantile terms *baba* and *mama* with which uncles and aunts are addressed and later any adult. Furthermore certain other terms, originally connoting a more distant relative, are 'extended' in their application towards the family, as is the case with *mae* (grandmother), which becomes an honorary term for mother. This fact seems to have been disregarded by those anthropologists who argue that kinship terms become coupled with psychic elements,

and that with the classificatory extension of the terms these psychic concomitants are transferred likewise. In other words, it is assumed that the metaphorical application of kinship terms coincides with an extension of sentiments or attitudes acquired in the family.

It was soon realized that this hypothesis went too far, and that with the extension of a particular term the intensity of the associated psychic element, if any, decreases. Professor Malinowski showed that in the case of the Trobriands certain 'indices of circumlocution' were required to make the meaning of a classificatory term precise when it was used in an ambiguous situation. As such indices, he classed the ocular index, looking at the person meant; manual index, pointing at the person addressed; tonal index, differentiating the emotional tone according to the closeness of the relationship; and the verbal index, i.e. the circumlocutory extension of the classificatory term.

Educationally, the most important effect is that, by the classificatory use of certain terms, members of different generations are grouped together. For instance, eldest brother, father, paternal uncle, and even eldest sister may be called *wawa*. If, as has been asserted in the interests of theories of marital promiscuity, classificatory terms imply identity of biological functions, it remains inexplicable how persons belonging to different generations and to the opposite sex could perform them. It is true the eldest son, being chief heir, replaces his father in the family, but only after his death. In some western chieftainships, he may even inherit his father's wives and marry them, with the exception of his own mother. Ordinarily, however, it is one of the husband's brothers who inherits the wives. What the classificatory use of the term *wawa*, i.e. father, means to imply is therefore potential similarity of sociological function in cases where a substitution becomes necessary.[1] Classificatory terminology must therefore be linked with the native system of social insurance, the organization of society on the principle of substitution.

This explanation holds good for two types of extension to which *wawa* is subjected. One of them, which might be called collateral, occurs in the parental generation in the direction of the

[1] Cf. Malinowski, B., Article 'Kinship' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Fourteenth Edition. The application of the term *wawa* to the elder sister indicates that if necessary she may have to act as the repository of the history and the legal claims of the family.

father's brothers. The other, which could be referred to as lineal, includes in the eldest son the filial generation. The explanation does not cover a third type which goes beyond the kinship boundaries, but moves along the strata of generations. The best instance is the term for 'brother', which may be applied to paternal ortho-cousins, and also to unrelated adults as members of the same clan, political unit, or association—say, a farmer's club. The principle of the extension of kinship terms is therefore not always particularized into an anticipation of legal succession. Often it discloses itself to be a verbal instrument for claiming respect and assistance on the basis of a fiction of kinship.

B

Within the child's own generation the differentiation according to seniority is less important than that of sex. It is possible to explain Foibe's predilection for domestic work by her physical weakness. But it would be difficult to explain the following behaviour as accidental. When anybody with dirty hands wanted to seize her, she objected violently. She did not allow persons with soiled clothes to come near her (1;6). When she was given a new dress or a freshly washed and ironed one, her joy was unbounded. She threw away the old dress or used it for sweeping the floor (1;9). Of Menyilisira, Nahum's daughter, similar reports are available. She resembled Foibe again in the aesthetic pleasure she took in flowers. To Siairuka flowers were objects to be pulled to pieces; with the girls expressions of joy over colours and smells showed a different attitude. Furthermore, with regard to language and especially expressions of polite submissiveness, Foibe was always in advance of Siairuka, the boy. The generalization is justified that in Chaga childhood the rate of psychic development, like that of physiological maturation, is in girls slightly in advance of that of boys and that the character of both processes is sexually differentiated.

This difference in disposition is elaborated as a result of social distinctions between the sexes. This is seen from an observation made of Foibe half a year later. Her interest in cooking had suddenly subsided, and she took a fancy to adorning herself. She spent much time over washing her face, arms, and legs and then sitting down on a piece of cloth, which she carefully spread over the dusty floor. When she was put down on the

naked ground she cried. She practised fastening a body-cloth over her chest. Sometimes she performed a simple dance (2;3). Nothing like this is known to have interested the boys under observation.[1]

Notwithstanding these peculiarities, girls and boys during the first five or six years are occupied in similar work. Younger boys take part in the domestic work of girls, such as the fetching of embers from a neighbour's, of water from the irrigation canal, and of firewood from the forest. Both girls and boys enjoy helping in the preparation of food, e.g. peeling unripe bananas, grinding eleusine into flour, cutting meat, and making *ghee*. Both are eager to assist in cleaning the animals' quarters, sweeping the yard, cutting fodder, and thatching the house. This disregard for the traditional division of labour is strongly marked when the eldest child is a son who has to do duty as a nurse, or a girl is the only child and has therefore to pasture the cattle. But in the actual teaching a mother tends to neglect her sons. She is aware that domestic efficiency means everything to her daughters, but nothing to them. No wonder, then, that the Chaga generally believe that girls are better workers than boys, that they are more painstaking, and less inclined to neglect their charges, or to steal their food.

The older a boy grows, the greater becomes the temptation to play the truant at work that he never sees performed by his own sex. Gradually it dawns upon him that there are differences between him and his sisters. If he cries his mother tells him not to behave in a 'womanly' manner. When he eats slowly she comments: 'Don't eat like that! Boys must eat in a manly way.' When he is allowed for the first time to go to the pasture, his mother asks him to bring some firewood home and promises him a piece of meat. But his comrades mock him for wanting to comply with her wishes: 'You wouldn't do women's work?' When he is about six or seven, his father joins the forces that pull him away from his mother. When he finds his son playing at home he tells him gruffly to be done with childish ways and to seek the company of boys.

It now becomes increasingly difficult for the mother to send her

[1] Dancing is an object of definite teaching. For the learning process involved, cf. Fortes, M., op. cit. p. 43. The movements are not learned by way of addition, but their 'schema' is there from the beginning. Teaching and experience fill in the details.

son on errands; she does so only if she has no daughters. Her husband insists that the boy should henceforth avoid the company of his mother. He particularly objects to his watching her cook, behind which lurks the obsolete prohibition that boys should not warm themselves at the hearth.[1] The son has to accompany him to the fields, to the pasture, and occasionally to forest and plains, carrying his father's snuff-horn and suchlike. Gradually the boy is introduced to the kind of work which traditional division of labour has assigned to men, viz. gathering banana leaves and plants suitable as fodder, and cutting them up, collecting grass for the goats, pasturing cattle, the difficult tasks of constructing a hut, the butchering of animals, the brewing of beer, and the preliminary clearing and tilling of a hitherto uncultivated plot.

But of greater differentiating force than the division of labour, which assigns to brother and sister complementary economic occupations, are those regulations which impose upon them indifference with regard to their sex. The sexual element in their relationship is systematically excluded by the incest prohibitions. On the other hand, there is the mechanism of directing sexual interest on persons who by the custom of preferential marriage are destined to be mates. The educational problem is how early such directing takes place and what methods are used.

In some primitive societies the sexuality latent in the brother-sister relationship is suppressed by strict avoidance regulations at adolescence. These are anticipated by symbolic avoidance gestures in childhood.[2] Among the Chaga no such stringent code is enforced. Sarcasm, persuasion and rebuke administered in very small doses suffice. For instance, if a boy plays at marriage with his sister and retires with her into the little toy hut, the father or the mother laughs at him, but avoids scolding. If he claims his sister again as wife, he is asked sarcastically: 'Who would marry his sister?' The boy is taken aback and drops the pretence. If he is obsessed with playing at marriage he may be discovered again in a similar situation. This time his father shouts angrily: 'You fool!' but avoids explanations. Similar scorn is shown when he plays

[1] This prohibition is connected with the generative significance of the hearth and its fire. An important preliminary rite at initiation was the suspending of the novice over a fire of dry banana leaves. Women are not allowed to step across the fire-place. These beliefs are connected with primitive ideas of a connexion between fire and fertility, but the link lies deeper: only married people owned and controlled a fire-place and enjoyed all the privileges involved.

[2] Mead, M., *Growing Up in New Guinea*, p. 124.

with cousins with whom marriage is prohibited. Even if the offensive pastime is indulged in repeatedly parental remonstrances do not amount to more than a contemptuous remark or the taunting riddle: 'You lack wives. Why do you not marry the one before your eyes?'[1] If the boy is clever, these irresistible checks set him thinking. One day he asks his parents: 'Why does one not marry one's sister?' The reply is abrupt: 'It is bad!' As no objection is raised to siblings and cousins playing other games together, and on the other hand playing at marriage is connived at if indulged in with girls of a non-prohibited relation, the amorous pursuits are from an early date set upon certain directions which exclude for a boy his sisters, half-sisters, and cousins.[2]

The function of this exclusiveness has been much discussed. The biological effect is to check inbreeding. But it is improbable that exogamy, the custom of marrying outside a social group, is the result of a realization of the physical disadvantages, if any, of inbreeding. It is plausible, on the other hand, to maintain that continuous intermarriage in a 'closed' group produces an unsupportable degree of tension between the related individuals. It need only be recalled that it is the nearest blood relatives who are suspected of murderous intentions toward one's children and most capable of achieving their ends by sorcery. The turmoil of emotions centres round the parents, but chiefly the mother. To this corresponds the fact that marriage prohibitions are usually more stringent in the mother's line. The sister, who lives in close contact with the mother and has been isolated, through the division of labour, from her brothers, would naturally fall under similar suspicions. Thus a tendency would develop to keep the maternal and sororal relationships separated from marital interests. The bent in this direction would be reinforced by certain favourable results of exogamy. First, marrying outside the kinship group closely associates and allies two such groups. This has its political and economic advantages. Furthermore, the eradication of sexual

[1] J. R., *Versuch*, p. 304. It is interesting to note that Gutmann, *Stammeslehren*, vol. i, has no lessons on the incest taboos.

[2] Sister-brother marriages form the subject of many stories. Gutmann believes that they occurred in times of emergency. Chief Ndeseruo of Machame married his half-sister, probably for political reasons. Incest occasionally occurs at the present day. The law with regard to cousin marriages varies considerably. In some clans (Mamba) all cousins except the maternal cross-cousin are prohibited. In other clans (Machame) only marriage with the maternal parallel cousin is prohibited.

interest among kindred makes economic co-operation between them smooth and profitable. Finally, the development of independent ideals for the maternal, sororal, and marital relationships would tend to make them increasingly incompatible.[1]

The differentiation between brothers and sisters is accentuated by the inculcation throughout childhood of a different set of virtues and values. Girls from their infancy are given hints about 'watching their bodies'. As soon as they can walk, an apron of beads is tied round their hips to 'keep away shame'. The mother continually observes her daughter. If she sees her sitting down with legs apart, she frowns at her. When her breasts begin to grow, she warns the girl to have them covered and not to allow boys to touch them. But she does not want her daughter to shun the company of youths. 'Don't be shy and dumb in the company of boys. Laugh, be happy, make yourself pleasant! If you withdraw into yourself you will not get a husband!' But there are limits to girlish coquetry. 'Do not lie with your boy friend. You will give him a disease, and he will not want to marry you after all!' Cleanliness as regards her person, and the various methods of beautifying the face, such as anointing it with butter, or making some small tattoo marks on the lower eyelid, are taught to the growing girl. When she is negligent of her exterior, her mother scolds: 'Why must you be so dirty? Do you imagine you can stay long with a husband if you are such a slut?'

The reference to her future status as a wife is indeed the constant comment of a mother on her daughter's behaviour. From days when she hardly understands what is said to her to the very day of her wedding her actions are judged by the exacting standards of an imaginary husband whom her mother personates. The conditions of eligibility are set out to her during many hours of tedious work, in stories, proverbs, admonitions, and threats. The anticipation of her married state habituates her from childhood to certain actions and attitudes. To maintain them, she requires the constant supervision of her mother. On the other hand, to have a well-behaved daughter is the pride of a mother, for when married she represents her mother's educational efforts in another clan.

[1] Cf. Hobhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution*, p. 145; Malinowski, B., *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, *passim*; Seligman, B. Z., 'Incest and Descent', *JRAI.* (1929), pp. 213 *seq.*

Two qualities are especially stressed, apart from that of exhibiting womanly charms to advantage. The mother tells her daughter: 'If you go to "the people", take a bag with you. Whatever you hear and see among them put it in there. Don't broadcast news concerning them, even if it be about a quarrel, for the peaceful minded are well beloved.' Of the Bemba, Dr. Richards tells that quarrelsomeness in children is deprecated for two reasons: it affects their chances in marriage and their political future, for disputes destroy a household and reduce the size of a village.

The virtue of diligence is stressed even more and its contrary laziness is unceasingly denounced. 'A diligent woman saves her children with her hoe; a lazy one kills hers with hunger' is a proverb that is repeated many times. Or the mother says: 'I heard a bird singing: "The banana trees of a man [i.e. of a hard-working woman] satisfy our hunger, but the plants of the lazy woman are bare and utterly useless!" ' Sometimes conversations between imaginary workers, the one slothful, the other industrious, are invented by a mother at work with her daughters. The theme might be: What will the lazy and the diligent say when they see the harvest? And the women heap indignities upon the fancied lazybones and honours and rewards upon the diligent one!

The cultural segregation of the female sex is emphasized by its social and ritual segregation. It has religious autonomy concerning its own affairs and in certain family affairs—as, for instance, barrenness. The libations and prayers of women are directed to the guardian spirit of the home, to ancestors of their family and certain female deities. In the rites accompanying birth and female circumcision, women play a predominant role, to the exclusion of all men. In the market the female sex has evolved a social institution, with its own laws and secrets, to which men are not admitted. There judgement is pronounced upon the conduct of husbands and warriors. Those men who do not pass this examination experience the humiliation of being publicly mocked in the market place. For such independence, the growing maiden is prepared from her first year.

C

Those prohibitions which are often called 'taboos' form a third method separating the generations, the two sexes and other social

groupings, according to conduct.[1] As hitherto described, they appeared to be another symptom of the profound differences between primitive and civilized thought. At first sight, these prohibitions are indeed confusing, and the consequences attendant upon their violation appear so arbitrary that it becomes intelligible why their true function has so far escaped elucidation. It has never occurred to anthropologists that these prohibitions might not be disconnected, but that they form an educational system, producing definite attitudes between certain social groupings.

The majority of the prohibitions concern the consumption of food. Thus children are forbidden the mouth parts of an animal, especially the tongue, because, it is said, these produce quarrelsomeness. Likewise a child is debarred from eating of the udder, because this would injure its mother's breasts and cause her death. The head (particularly that of a sheep) is not to be eaten by children, as they would become stubborn. Sometimes the prohibition is generalized: none of the meat received from relatives is given to the children. The explanations offered vary: a mixture of food, children are told, is bad and results in swelling of the abdomen; or, the meat has been put under a magical spell by a stranger who met the donor on the road. A similar series of prohibitions centres round the consumption of milk. Children are only allowed the beestings, but while they eat it, they are in special danger and consequently have to ensure their safety by abstaining from some other delicacy such as abdominal meat or fowl. The thick end of a sugar cane is tabooed to children, because otherwise their mother becomes barren, and, as an informant naïvely volunteered, 'because it is the sweeter end!'[2]

What is the meaning of this medley of restrictions? One can hear sophisticated natives say: 'Well, old people know what is good!', or 'Teethless people must have soft meat'. The prohibitions secure for the older generation the monopoly over meat and milk, the most valued foods among the Chaga. (Their value depends partly on their scarcity, for cows are in milk for only a short time after calving, and in the past meat could be obtained only on

[1] 'Taboo', from the Polynesian word *tapu*, in its original connotation, refers to the ritual act of a chief by which he withdraws certain objects from communal enjoyment. I prefer the term 'prohibition' as more suited to denote the facts to be discussed.

[2] For interesting examples of food taboos and methods of inculcating them cf. Fortes, M., op. cit., pp. 39–40.

rare occasions.) That this is the educational function of the rules becomes evident from the fact that some parents withhold from their children the knowledge that a cow is in milk. If they do not grudge their own children the enjoyment of a milk dish, they enjoin upon them not to invite their playmates, alleging that these might become greedy and the cow dry up in consequence. In short, the prohibitions establish a parental privilege.

All privileges offer educational opportunities. The variation in the stringency of the prohibitions suggests that a child who has earned the favour of his parents may be admitted to the privileged class. A calabash of milk is reserved for the herds-boy; the polite son is given a tit-bit of meat. Some clans disregard the educational advantages of the prohibitions, and allow smaller children to partake of meat after having them safeguarded with amulets. 'Educated' natives do the same without safeguards. But, apart from the fact that the hope for a reward stimulates the ambitious child, the difference in rights of the generations profoundly affects their relationship. Parents are in control of the amenities of life; children watch their enjoyment of them. If greed dictates the parental monopoly, envy creeps into the hearts of the children. While in the weak character this leads to grovelling and in the strong to rebelliousness, it drives home to both the fact of filial dependence.

In another respect these prohibitions are of educational importance. They ensure that in certain situations—for instance, at meal times—the two generations behave diversely and are subjected to contrasting emotional effects. The resulting differentiation of attitudes is complicated by the prohibitions pertaining to the sexes. Boys, for instance, are not allowed to eat kidney, as it would break their mother's womb. The heart of a sheep would make them cowards. A boy that eats of the breast-piece grows a beard before he is married, which disqualifies him for amorous pursuits. In some clans boys are debarred from enjoying liver, in others girls are too. But the latter may have the privilege of eating the tail of a female sheep. The head of a he-goat, as one would expect, is tabooed to girls; it would give them a goat's voice. A twin banana called *mbutany*, and to the native mind suggestive of the scrotum, is tabooed to every female.

Of greater differentiating power are those prohibitions which reinforce the system of division of labour. Boys are not to lick the

cooking spoon for fear of becoming cowards. They are not to roast bananas for the same reason. If they cook food, they will fail to marry. They must not touch the milk calabash or the cow's udder, otherwise they will stint their wives. They are debarred from warming themselves at the fire, from going to market, and from sitting on the grinding stone upon which women crush eleusine into flour. Various reasons are given, such as that the violator, on being circumcised, will bleed excessively and be healed with difficulty. Certain explanations sound rational, as, for instance, when boys of seven must sleep in a special sleeping shed for men, the *itengo*, lest they hear their parents talk and spread a compromising report of the conversation. In other restrictions, where no reasons are given, the segregating tendency is obvious, as for instance, in those that forbid girls to approach drinking parties or the place where cattle are slaughtered.

The restrictions imposed in childhood are in some cases prolonged into adult life. If a man should enter the milk store (*kimolya*), his wife would accuse him of 'trespassing'.[1] Boys are told the following story to warn them against this offence: 'There was a man called Kafoi Mosha. He had a cow which had calved recently. He believed that his wife drank milk when she was alone in the house. One day when she went out to cut grass, he hid himself in the hut to watch her returning. When she came home she put the calabash to her mouth and took a long draught. Intending to catch his wife *in flagrante*, he rushed into the store, shouting, "Why did you tell me that thieves are stealing our milk when you yourself drink it on the quiet?" Kafoi had not reckoned with the quick wit of women. Crashing the calabash into his face, his wife ran into the yard, where she cried for all the neighbours to hear: "I have caught the thief! Come and see him!" Many people hurried to her hut and saw, to their surprise, Kafoi all bespattered with milk and dumbfounded with consternation. He felt the disgrace of this public exposure so much that he forsook his wife. He has died since. But the woman is still alive.' From this it is evident that, while men exclusively control the meat supply, women only hold sway over the milk economy and the preparation of cooked food.

After our survey of the incidence of the prohibitions, an

[1] G., *L.*, i, pp. 150, 156, for lessons to grandchildren on this subject. None of them seem to me to be as impressive as the story recorded in the text.

examination of the psychological mechanism upon which they are built must be of educational interest. When the consequences threatening the violation of such rules are studied, it will be realized that they can roughly be divided into three classes. Some of them offer what is apparently a plausible explanation. This, of course, need not be based on the original motive. If a boy is sent away from the company of his parents, they obviously want to be left alone. But the reason given—namely, that he might gossip about their affairs—may be a pretext. A far greater number of restrictions are justified by referring to the dreadful consequences to the mother of the transgressor. Of these the most usual ones are death and barrenness. Many of the prohibitions must be imposed by the mother herself. Assuming a childish concern active on her behalf, she appeals to it to enforce the traditional differentiation of conduct. She knows, too, that whatever the instinctive nature of this relationship, it is strongly reinforced by her control of the commissariat. Many other restrictions are enforced by a theory of bad effects upon the child's ambitions. Thus many food taboos are sanctioned by the assumption that their violator will act cowardly during circumcision or that he will not be able to marry.[1] In all three cases, in the appeal to reason, to sentiment, and to ambition, the tendency can be observed towards making the child accept the regulation by his own decision. In this way it would appear to be self-imposed, as serving the child's own interests. The danger of rousing his resistance by crudely imposing the rules from outside is slyly avoided.

The weakness inherent in this method can be judged by the various attempts at elaborating the consequences. Not only is there a multiplicity of sanctions invented by parents which have a particular appeal at a certain moment or with an individual child, but frequently the consequences of the actions are telescoped into the future or interlocked with other taboos. For instance, if the milk prohibition is violated, the cow becomes dry; if she does not, she cannot calve again; if she does, her udders will be empty. Clearly, whatever the fixity of the restrictions itself, the magical

[1] This linking of two spheres of action by a series of moral sanctions is described by M. Read in 'The Moral Code of the Ngoni and their Former Military State', *Africa*, xi, pp. 1–24. The morality of the Ngoni rested on the basic belief that success in military affairs implied virtue, and defeat vice, in marital relations and vice versa. Compare the tendency in Christian beliefs to confuse righteousness and prosperity.

sanctions connected with it are most flexible, and transferable. This, of course, allows, too, of connecting any accident with some transgression of the past.[1]

D

A number of restrictions enforce differentiated behaviour, not of age or sex groups, but of those amorphous social groupings which go by the name of 'clan'.[2] Most of the meat regulations vary with the clan. For instance, the Moshi people of Mamba do not eat wild pig; others shrink from touching egg and fowl. Most Chaga clans refuse to eat fish. In some clans children do not get milk or meat; in others they do. Few of the prohibitions concerning division of labour are found to differ with the clans. But vocations tend to coincide with clan membership, and various forms of etiquette and avoidances impress upon the child, from an early date, different attitudes towards professional men. For instance, the native doctor is greeted 'Healer' (*mokira*). The servility with which he is treated by the Chaga mother must strike the child, particularly as a special meal is prepared for him. No special greetings exist for smiths, but the flatterer may welcome them with the word 'hammer' (*kiria*). Hammer blows accompany curses against unknown thieves. Nobody dares to remove anything from the open smithy, and the sound of the hammer on the anvil not only overawes the adult, but is made to instil terror into the child.

In many other respects 'clans' differ. In some cases they form

[1] A number of prohibitions not mentioned in the text form a system of precautions ensuring the safety of the milking process. Before milking, the mother waves a fire brand before the child to make it impossible for it to see her handling the udder. To prevent the cow from kicking during the milking, the child must close its mouth. When it is given milk to drink, it should do so slowly and without smacking its lips, so that the cow does not grow restive. The principle running through these restrictions is that the milk supply is made dependent on trivial actions of the child. This implies that the parents can easily accuse the child if something goes wrong with the milk supply and deprive it of milk on such a pretext.

[2] Professor Lowie, in *Primitive Society*, p. 105, defines the clan ('sib' of American anthropologists) as a unilateral kinship group distinct from the family, which is bilateral. The clan traces kinship through one of the parents, to the total neglect of the other. The principle of unilateralness is important for establishing membership in a clan. As a definition, it is singularly devoid of connotation. Objections can also be raised against a definition which lays too much emphasis on the marriage aspect of the clan, i.e. that it is exogamous. I believe with Dr. R. Firth that clan exclusiveness expresses itself, not only in exogamy, but in a great number of additional properties. Of these, those of educational significance are described below.

territorial units, and then the general prohibition to children not to go far away from home habituates them so much to the prevailing conduct in the group that any stranger is at once recognized as such. Thus the smiths have settlements of their own. The poorer 'clans' living near the forest are less refined. They have to greet first on meeting people from the lower regions and in general little note is taken of them. 'A poor man is nothing before me' is the adage that sums up Chaga policy, and children are early advised to act accordingly unless it be the case of a 'clan-brother of their father'. Rich people, on the other hand—and wealth to some extent goes by 'clan' distinctions—are received with a profusion of flattering epithets and servile requests for help and gifts. Girls are taught to avoid poor suitors. A mother impresses her teaching through the song: 'I must not be married to the *irie*-bird [which is variegated and thus suggests the ragged appearance of a poor person]. I want to be married to the ostrich: if he died I should have his feathers!' Soon the girls themselves say: 'I'd rather die than marry a pauper!'

Those features of Chaga social life which bear a totemic imprint are clearly apparent in certain specialized behaviour.[1] In one clan children are warned not to hurt spiders. The reason given is a story resembling the well-known account of Mohammed's escape during the Hegira. In another clan it is the frog which is protected from childish cruelty. The explanatory myth relates how the frog, by hopping up the trunk of the elephant when he was drinking, saved the clan's ancestors. For the elephant, irritated by the frog, banged his trunk so long against a tree that he killed himself. The Mtui clan claims a special connexion with a snail. For it is believed that at a time when the Mtui struggled with another clan for the chieftainship of Marangu they were assisted by a snail that, by licking their slain warriors, restored them to life.

If we examine the continuation of this myth, we come to realize how significant for the texture of Chaga society a relatively unimportant distinction, like that between snail and frog homage,

[1] The differentiating effect of totemism operates not merely with regard to clans. In the case of exogamy, totems become means of sexual opposition. In some primitive societies, totemic cults are connected with age distinctions, and initiation into them involves an advance in status. Among other peoples, what has been called individual totemism is practised—that is, the adoption of considerate behaviour towards an animal or plant by an individual tribesman.

is. The legend goes on that ultimately a girl of the Mtui clan fell in love with a warrior of the hostile people. Being infatuated, she divulged to him the secret of the snail and it was killed by her lover. He thus laid the foundation of the present political order in Marangu, for his deed was the signal for the defeat and subjection of the Mtui. Professor Malinowski has shown[1] that such myths are part and parcel of the social organization of to-day and not merely fanciful stories circulating from tribe to tribe. The snail myth forms the unwritten legal charter for the inferior status of the Mtui clan. The political implications of such important myths become ingrained in the children by their constant conformance to the prohibitions connected with them.

The features distinguishing the culture of a particular clan are of such far-reaching political significance that it is intelligible why they are inculcated from early childhood. It has been seen how early the use of the clan name is mastered by the child. As the sons grow up into the traditional activities of their family, the demands for their conformance to clannish standards of behaviour become more emphatic than in the case of girls. The latter, being throughout childhood and adolescence under the tutelage of their mothers (who themselves are strangers in their husbands' clans), become less strictly habituated to the cultural peculiarities of their own social group. But though on this account their feeling of clan solidarity may be diluted, it is sufficiently strong to make them lament the change in customs to which they have to submit after their marriage. A few days before this event her sisters, cousins, and friends visit the bride in her mother-in-law's hut and sing ditties such as: 'Even if you adorn yourself for strangers, they won't see your beauty!' and 'I have gone to strangers and, alas! I do not know at night which way to lay my head!'

The educational problems of adjustment of habits have to be faced not only at marriage, but also in the case of adoption. When a child is transferred to its maternal uncle, similar adaptations occur. Nevertheless, it is true to say that the majority of children have conduct patterned for them by their sex and their membership in a clan and age-group. Within these groupings many actions of an individual nature are possible, but in those social

[1] Malinowski, B., *Myth in Primitive Psychology*, chap. ii.

situations which matter conduct is prescribed and enforced, as well as facilitated, by the presence and collaboration of persons belonging either to the same grouping or its complement.

As we watch a girl and a boy grow out of infancy (in which behaviour is amorphous), we see their growing physiological specialization paralleled by a corresponding differentiation of conduct which culminates in the dichotomy of adolescence. But the wider the two lines of development seem to gape apart, the more does it become apparent that they are really interdependent and complementary. Manliness is demanded from the boy to increase his chances in the selective process of marriage. Domestic skill is demanded from the girl because it makes her eligible for running a household. At initiation and marriage, a general resetting of attitudes takes place, but age, sex, and clanship assert their influence throughout life, except in the very last stage, when men and women, irrespective of their sex, become elders of the tribe. Their experience is open to all and the chief avails himself of their advice. Old age even removes the prohibitions separating the sexes with regard to eating and drinking.

Etiquette, work, and prohibitions cover only certain aspects of differentiated behaviour. But in a way they are very important and round them the educational process can be observed best. They define the conduct of a child at a particular moment like the abscissae and ordinates determining the values of a mathematical connexion. While the division of labour marks out for each sex and age-group a sphere of positive activities; the prohibitions prevent these spheres from overlapping in many other respects; and etiquette reveals the amount of authority exercised by a leading group over the subordinate complement with which it co-operates.

3. *Food: Its Production and Consumption as an Instrument of Control*

A

Throughout the last section food has been shown to be an instrument for differentiating the social groupings of sex, kinship, and age. In watching a Chaga family at meal-times, it is possible to observe the rigidity of traditional prerogatives softened by arrangements running counter to them. For instance, one usually

finds a bunch of bananas ripening in the attic. 'The children take care that they don't rot', it is said, for they are allowed to eat as many as they like. Grown-ups rarely eat ripe bananas. Thus in this respect the child is privileged.

The Chaga have one chief meal after sunset. What is left over is dished up cold in the morning. Poor people, and almost every one else when there is a shortage of food, take only these two meals a day. But at harvest time a meal is taken at midday and a continual but irregular consumption of the new crops goes on. Chaga cuisine is not monotonous. There are many dishes of varying tastes and contents. The staple dish is *kyumbo*, which is made by boiling beans and bananas together. Besides, all kinds of tubers, such as colocasia, yam, and sweet potato, are eaten when in season. Bananas are usually roasted or boiled in the unripe state.

When the mother has the meal ready, she calls her children. They come and crowd round the hearth. The mother shares out the food. If the father is present, he is helped first. One of the children is sent to take his share out to him for he dines in the yard by himself. He does not begin to eat until the child has tasted the food. In some houses every child gets his platter or piece of banana leaf. In others children and mother eat from the common pot. A good mother should see to it that all children get a fair share. Bigger children are expected to stop eating before the whole is finished, so as to give the slow eaters a chance. In the grandparental lessons[1] boys are warned not to neglect at meals an adopted child or a dunce among their offspring, for fear of their revenge.

Impartiality comes easier to the parents than to the siblings. Elder brothers sometimes evolve a technique for depriving their brothers and sisters of their shares. They rush out into the yard and begin to play about noisily so as to attract the smaller children. Once outside hearing of the mother, the stronger demand tributes from the weaker. If they are refused, threats are uttered: 'I shan't play with you any more!' or: 'Next time I go to the neighbours I won't take you along!' In the case of a mentally deficient, it is his brothers and sisters that grumble about wasting food on one who is useless for work.

The ideal of motherly conduct is that she should not eat until her children are satisfied. A mother draws her children's attention to this self-denying behaviour by means of a story: 'When the

[1] G., *L.*, i, pp. 105, 136.

cattle get their fodder, the big ones first plunder the calves' trough and empty it before turning to their own share. Once the cattle were asked why they did so and they replied: "We do not want the stomachs of our children to burst from overeating!" You see the difference,' she concludes. 'We are human beings, not animals!' The custom according to which a mother expects her children to return part of their shares to her prepares the child for the regular *wusinji* tributes which parents receive from their grown-up offspring. For this reason, parents always accept food offered to them in pretence while their children are at play. Parents say: 'Don't refuse your child's food. Perhaps somebody was thinking of sending you a gift of meat, and because of your refusal, he changed his mind!'[1]

The mother, as the chief provider of food, controls, therefore, its distribution.[2] She insists on a fair administration of the various privileges, She inculcates the first ethical notions: the younger and weaker children must not be neglected. Moral ideas spring from the jarring interplay of interests in social groupings. They represent the harmonized individual claims of persons in institutional co-operation. No ideal, therefore, is realizable without collaboration; indeed, no virtue is thinkable without such social reference. The strength of the ideal appeal must therefore be expected to vary with the intensity of social contact and integration of interests. The ethical regulation of food consumption within the narrow family circle has its counterpart in the food exchanges among the kindred. But the temptation to disregard the claims of these remoter relatives is undoubtedly greater.

This explains why parents like to keep their stores of food a secret. Small children are not taught the word for meat; they hear a 'covering term'—for instance, the word for beans—applied to it. Thus passers-by who ask children about the household supplies are misled. Sometimes older children are trained to supplement this artificial ignorance by cunning. If they notice a suspicious person approaching the homestead, they call out to their mother a prearranged warning. In a similar manner, the brewing of beer is kept secret, and bigger children, to make them hold their

[1] This is a good example of the law of moral participation: the child's disappointment modifies the actions of a third entirely unconcerned person.

[2] When food is plentiful, its 'fair' distribution is not necessary, neither can its effectiveness as a behaviour control be maintained. Hence, a mother's authority may not be so great at harvest time. Cf. Fortes, M., op. cit., p. 29.

peace, are bribed with draughts from the beer bowl. Care is taken to wipe away any foam left on the child's lips and forehead. Thus children are employed, according to their mental powers, in misleading outsiders.

Secrecy in the household is maintained with regard to beer, presents of food, the calving of a cow, the number of cattle owned, and the slaughtering of an animal. But while thus the segregation of the family is secured, the isolating tendency is never carried right down to the individual. Eating alone is not countenanced in primitive society. Normally the members of the bio-social unit of the family are constrained by custom to eat together and to share an abundance of a particular kind of food with their kindred, the distribution being carried out along bilateral lines and often including the chief.[1] It is futile to argue that eating is a social activity rather than an individual physiological process, as has been done by Durkheim. It is a biological necessity, which like all other needs, is socially controlled. This control expresses itself in ideals of commensality to whose constraining power the child is early subjected.

The child is expected to act in a special manner during food exchanges with relatives and neighbours. When visitors are entertained, children must not clamour for something to eat. If they do, the mother scowls at them, postponing punishment till the visitors are gone. A similar idea prompts the rule which forbids children to gulp down food at a party. They should avoid giving the impression of parental indigence. When the mother suppresses her anger at her children's indiscretions, this, again, is done to preserve the reputation of the family. Her scowl reminds the child of the social implications of all processes of eating. In this way it comes to adjust itself to the finer distinctions of commensality: the community of food with the wider kinship circles is restricted as to its scope, and subject to a stricter etiquette than familial commensality. The greater intensity of the obligations within the family is further impressed upon the child by the occasional secret killing of an animal. Then its father excludes legitimate claimants by putting a dracaena across the approach to the house, the sign of magical isolation which is not disregarded with impunity.

Thus the child finds himself placed in a compact little group by

[1] Richards, A. I., *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe*, chap. 3.

whose help he can satisfy his hunger. This social unit is capable of meeting his claims because it forms an integrated system of balanced interests. But eating together implies the obligation for all to assist in obtaining the necessary foodstuffs. This stands out clearly when a famine increases the obligation and brings it in conflict with the moral ideals of wider social groups, such as the tribe. When there is a good crop, theft of foodstuffs is not punished. During a famine, the same deed becomes a crime. The theft of food always implicates the family of the offender, for if it had not been improvident as a whole it could have found means of satisfying him. And even if the dearth is general it is impossible to obtain food in a dishonest manner without the family's connivance. For in such circumstances a struggle goes on in the family between the urge for food and the necessity of adjusting the family to the tribal standards of conduct. This struggle goes on in stray conversations or in serious deliberations round the fire. The mother attempts to solve the conflict temporarily by rousing hopes of a miracle. She tells her children of a family in similar circumstances who were saved by the timely arrival of a gift of food. This hope may prove false, and in the extremity she gives her children permission to steal. She stipulates that the deed be done at night. Once the fear of discovery has lost its terror, such niceties are dropped. The father thanks his children for their successful robberies and excuses them when complaints are made.

Thus in dissembling the possession of valuable foods and in using illegal methods for acquiring nourishment, children are apt to be employed as the tools of parental policy. Whatever the opinions of a strict moralist on this point, there is no doubt that, in the eyes of the natives, the claims of self-preservation are paramount. In consequence, the child becomes conditioned to a morality whose demands become less stringent the remoter they are from the 'initial situation' of the family.

B

The normal production of food through work is not less capable of bringing about the integration of interests within the family. It necessitates the child's participation in organized economic activities involving complex ways of co-operation with the kindred and also with other groupings engaged in complementary activities. To enable him to fulfil his part, the techniques of food

production are transmitted to him through a continuous but informal process of teaching.

The child's first interests centre round the processes immediately preceding eating, viz. those of preparing food. As soon as they can walk, children help in these activities. Firewood must be fetched, and carried for long distances. In the mornings the fire has often died down and a child is sent to a neighbour to ask for coals. The blowing of the embers into a bright flame must be done skilfully, and children delight in learning it. In the evenings processions of mothers with their children go to the irrigation canals to fetch water. The girls carry small calabashes, some still holding them gingerly with both hands, others balancing them gracefully on their head. The advantage of the miniature vessel used is that from an early age girls are able to perform all the necessary manipulations without help. They can fill it without fear of letting it slip. They can carry it home and pour the water into its receptacle (an earthenware pot) without knocking the one against the other.

After having taken part in auxiliary work for some years, a girl receives 'object lessons' in cooking from her mother when she is six or seven. She is shown the essential steps in preparing a cooked dish: the quantity of water required and the amount of soda (which is kept in solution). If the girl gets bored, her mother rouses her attention by means of certain tricks. She tells her: 'I shall give you the spoon to lick!' or: 'Just come back for a minute to hold this brand so that I can see into the pot'; or, again, hoping to rouse her daughter's ambition: 'You are no use at this job!'

At last a day arrives when her mother is either sick or desirous of going to the market, and the girl has to show what she can do by herself. Giving her last-minute instructions, the mother tells her: 'Don't put in too much salt and spoil it! Don't give up if you find it difficult! Leave some over for me!' Then the girl is left to perform the whole task on her own instead of just doing one or other part of it. Taking unripe bananas, she peels and cuts them into little cubes, with which she then fills the pot. Some soda solution is added by way of salt, and a banana leaf tied over the top. Now the girl stoops down to blow the fire ablaze. The bananas are cooked till quite soft. Then they are mashed, while now and then some sour milk is poured in. When the porridge

is quite creamy, butter is added and the dish is ready to be eaten. On coming home, the mother finds the baby playing peacefully because it has been fed. She asks her daughter if she left some over for her. Delighted with her mother's question, she replies: 'Indeed I have, but I am afraid to let you eat it; it is so bad!' Her mother tastes it and reassures her: 'Oh, how very very good! I couldn't have cooked it better myself!' But secretly she remembers all the mistakes made and on a later occasion warns her daughter against them. Thus, with a natural pedagogical wisdom, a Chaga mother both instructs and corrects her daughter without damping her spontaneous zeal.

Children are occasionally sent to take samples of cooked food to their grandparents. During seasons of feasting, one sees little troops of children carrying pots and moving hither and thither throughout the country. They are taking supplies to their relatives. Thus the preparation of food not only places the child in co-operative union with her mother, but helps to activate other kinship connexions as well. A girl's final ambition is to be allowed to cook for her father. She is usually about fifteen before she is entrusted with this task. She reveals thereby whether she is capable of running an independent household.

The social implications of cooking affect indeed the child's future, and ambition is enlisted to produce efficiency. Among the Bemba (according to Dr. Richards), the girls are ritually taught cooking during initiation, although they are already efficient cooks. Similarly, among the Chaga, the independent application of the skill acquired during childhood is a prerogative of the post-initiation period. Three or four months after the wedding, the bride takes over the domestic duties from her mother-in-law. For this purpose she is presented with a new pot. Before it is used, it must be ritually dedicated. To a tuft of dry grass within the pot glowing embers are added and the smoking bundle stirred round, as if to harden the pot. Afterwards the mother-in-law cooks in it some colocasia, which may only be eaten by children. Only then does she hand over the pot to the new owner, spitting at it and touching her head with it. She tells her: 'Take the pot to cook the food henceforth yourself. Don't let the food burn in it, and may it never refuse to work!' At the same time the bride is installed as controller of the commissariat. Two little girls carry some bananas and beans into the hut; the

mother-in-law follows with a knife, a hoe, and some soda. Among rich people, the young couple receive the present of a heifer. The old woman, handing over the gifts, says: 'Receive these things to work with and be blessed with them as I was.' Henceforward the young woman tills her own fields, goes to the market to exchange her crops, and administers the food supply.

In another respect, the ability to cook well is important for marriage. Girls sing the song: 'A maiden came down from Makowa. She heard a bird a-singing, and asked it: "What must I do to be carried off?" "Cook food and you will be loved! Roast meat and you will be carried off!" ' In other words, skill in cooking attracts suitors and holds a husband.

C

As a result of the economic pursuits of the family, one of the earliest tasks a child learns is to cut fodder. The division of labour joins the son to the father and the girl to the mother. At eight or ten years of age, a boy has to accompany his father to the grove to be shown which of the banana off-shoots are the best for fodder. The leaves are cut up for the goats and the stems for the cows. The leaves of certain shrubs and trees form the staple provender of goats. Only men gather these. Boys are taught the great variety of useful and poisonous plants when they are twelve. In teaching his son the differences in the various species, a father uses the following criteria: the shape of the leaves, the form of the fruit, and the colour of the bark. When these marks are not distinctive enough, the smell of wood or leaf is examined. Another guiding principle is that of locality. This may be mechanically applied, as when a boy is advised to obtain fodder where his father has got it for years. But occasionally attention is paid to general geographical features. Some of the fodder trees are cultivated, but the majority grow on waste land. More than thirty shrubs are known to supply useful fodder. About twenty names were given to me of plants considered poisonous in the case of goats.[1] A father shows these to his sons, explaining that some cause diarrhoea and others death. If boys bring such plants home, they are scolded, and if an animal dies through their

[1] A Zulu boy of fifteen once astonished Mrs. E. C. Krige by identifying almost 200 botanical specimens. 'The value of such knowledge, common to herds-boys, lies in the fact that it is directed to practical ends. They know the uses to which each plant is put,' *Natal Mercury*, March 8th, 1939.

negligence they are not allowed to accompany their father when he is called to butcher his *msinji* brother's cow.

Girls learn very soon to cut grass for the cattle. One can see them at the age of four or five following their mothers to grassy slopes and carrying little knives. They learn to handle these tools on some patch near the house until they obtain mother's permission to accompany her farther afield. Each worker cuts, collects, ties up, and carries her grass home for herself. By far the most difficult task is to tie up the bundles. Four or five strips of banana bast are spread on the ground, the grass is piled on top, and the strips intertwined. The mother refuses requests for help by saying: 'Haven't you got hands like me?' A very young child is given a little bundle to take home. It is because all stages of the work are thus carried out individually that the loads seem always to be adjusted to the age of the children.

From early days children delight in activities connected with the cleaning of the animal's quarters. Siairuka strutted about in the dung at two years of age. Girls soon begin to run after their mothers as these go to and fro dragging dung to the grove. The dung is heaped on three banana sheaths. Small girls clamour for permission to do likewise and their mothers supply them with one sheath and a small load, a measure which is increased as they grow in strength. When a child works in the cattle compartment, the animals are let out first, so that it is not hurt or trodden upon. When a girl is about ten years old, she is alert and nimble enough to work round the stabled animals.

These activities are not irksome to children, because they have grown up with the animals in one room. Foibe and Siairuka were observed to be chasing them away with sticks before they could walk, and to be feeding them and talking to them in their second year. Goats and sheep early lend themselves to being looked after by children. The woolly sweetness of a lamb stirs the heart of a Chaga boy as it did that of Blake. It is given a name and the child takes it to sleep beside him. When he has more sense, he prepares for it a comfortable resting place. He makes a draining framework by interlacing withes and covers it up with dry banana leaves. The whole is fenced in with banana sheaths to keep out other animals. He cuts a little trough for it and places a broken pot, filled with water, near its head. Imitating his father, he runs out to fetch leafy branches, which he hangs upon a tiny post.

When he eats bananas, he forces the lamb's mouth open and spits the crushed fruit into it. He grows quite furious if any one interferes with his pet: 'I don't want any one to touch my lamb!' he yells.

Consequently, the first pastoral task for boys is to herd kids and lambs near the house and to cut their special fodder. At seven a father takes his son to graze the goats. He accompanies him half a dozen times and gives him an increasing portion of the pasture to look after. Then one morning he tells him to move on with the herd to the path and to wait for him there. But once on their way the hungry animals push on, the boy himself is full of self-confidence, and in the end he finds himself on the pasture. His father comes purposely late, and expresses his satisfaction. Younger children are thus relieved at about midday by their fathers; older ones only in the afternoon. Then, of course, place and time of meeting have to be fixed beforehand.

Only after a boy has proved his reliability at herding goats is he preferred to the work of pasturing cattle.[1] He already knows the animals, for the children, observing their various temperaments, name them: Irate-Bull, Gentle-Cow, Bolter, Glutton, Fighter, Truant, or suchlike. Others they call by such names as Dwarf, Belly, Turned-horns, Spotted-Cow, according to their physical features. They show preferences for certain animals and each juvenile 'owner' looks after his favourite cow. When he has eaten enough, he feeds his pet from his own plate. When nobody is in the hut, he keeps the provender in front of it. If his father announces his intention of killing or selling the animal, its 'owner' cries bitterly and implores him to change his mind. But a child's greatest delight is a calf. He feeds it out of his hand till it has learned to eat grass. He rubs and cleans it every day. He refuses to eat till the calf has got something too. When he awakes at night, he thinks of it. When it has grown a little, he asks for permission to pasture it by itself, that it may not be crushed or beaten when going in the herd.

The attitude of bigger boys towards cattle changes somewhat. At first they are still inclined to find luscious grass for their favourites. But when they grow stronger they try to fasten a rope round the neck of a cow and throw it to the ground as they see

[1] In some tribes, e.g. among the Zulu, this promotion was carried out in a developmental rite, viz. ear piercing.

their fathers do when butchering. Hence they have to be taught through the medium of stories to treat cattle kindly, for example: 'Once upon a time there were two brothers. The elder, called Kinyala, was a clever boy. The younger, Mpire, was a fool and covered with itch. One day they were told that cattle were to be had in the forest. Kinyala went there first. He found the animals and whistled to them to follow him. Those immediately behind him began to lick him. He was annoyed with them for slavering him all over and beat them. But they did it again and he struck them so hard that they fled. He returned empty-handed. Now his stupid brother set out, whistled to the cows and was licked by them. But he did not mind, for his itch was soothed, and he brought the herd home singing: "My cattle, my cattle have arrived. Come into the house! My cattle, come into the house!" His parents went out rejoicing. He was so rich then that even his elder brother became his servant-man.'

Boys are given strict orders not to beat cattle; especially are they not to do it with rods of a tree called *ghombo*, because this wood is very heavy; but there may be a magical reason behind it. Nor are boys allowed to ride astride on cows, for parents dislike their being used both for milking and as beasts of burden. Boys do occasionally take a joy-ride in a far-away corner of the pasture, ever ready to scurry off, for any adult may punish them. Another rule to be observed is that the cattle should return satiated in the evening. In the dry season it is not always easy to find luscious patches; in addition, boys forget their charges when engrossed in games. The mother guesses from the lowing of the cattle what has happened and the herds-boy is punished by being deprived of his privileged drink of milk.

During the hot season, cattle are taken out at about nine o'clock in the morning. The herd is driven home to drink and rest at noon and turned out again at three to stay out till nightfall. In the rainy period, the cattle stay in the huts till about eleven and no midday interval is observed. Sheep and goats are only taken out for the afternoon. This time-table serves as a general regulator of tribal activities and the few native expressions of time centre round it. Herds-boys who delay taking the cattle to drink at noon or who are too early home in the evening are scolded or beaten. They are therefore quick at learning the use of a sundial from their experienced companions. They set up a stick in the ground and

watch the shadow become short, which is the signal for driving the herd to the canal. Nowadays the area round the stick is sometimes scored to mark the intermediate three-hourly divisions of the day.

His office not only acquaints the herds-boy with the time measure of the tribe, but, through even more painful experiences, with its law, which meets him in the shape of persons protecting their property against straying cattle. The pasture comprises all those unoccupied portions of land covered partly with bush that extend between and beyond the banana groves and the fields or along the slopes of the ravines. Any adjoining plot, though not tilled, is closed to cattle. But such land has often excellent grazing, and herds-boys are tempted to drive the herd there. The trespasser usually goes into hiding and when the owner appears and begins to fulminate, he steps out into view at a safe distance, apologizes and offers to drive the cattle away. Occasionally the herd breaks into a cultivated field. In this case, the owner has the right to impound a calf or goat, which can be redeemed by making compensation for the foodstuff destroyed. Often the negligent herds-boy prefers to face the wrath of the owner, rather than be punished by his father, and fawningly approaches him with promises of greater attentiveness in the future. Softened by these marks of contrition, the owner may restore the confiscated animal. If not, severe punishment awaits the culprit at home. He may be tied to a post and deprived of food for the day. If a cow has been lost altogether, the traditional penalty is fifteen blows with a stick.

Thus animal husbandry brings home to the boy that his freedom of action is limited by the rights of others. It also provides occasion to introduce him to forms of positive co-operation. When the cattle are taken out in the morning, they first move to an open spot along the path on which they meet with the animals from three other houses. Groups of four households work together to facilitate herding. The four fathers concerned go along in turn to supervise the herds-boys, each of whom controls a sub-division of the pasture. This arrangement was originally necessary to protect the herd against prowling leopards or raiding enemies. For such an emergency, the adult carried a spear. Moreover, herding cattle is definitely considered to be work for which a youth is paid by his father. If diligent, he is rewarded with half of the heart and samples of each part of a slaughtered animal

placed in a bowl of blood. Triumphantly he takes his share to the pasture, to eat it there with his companions. The lazy boy who plays the truant or simulates sickness is given only a small piece of the intestines.

A herds-boy is taught the significance of cattle in Chaga social life: their use in bride-price, in barter exchanges, as tribute to the chief, and as fines. Their utility is exemplified in accounts describing the uses of milk, tallow, meat, manure,and skins. Learning how to slaughter animals is the final step in the career of a herds-boy. In most clans infants of both sexes look on at the killing of cattle. Girls are excluded when they are about six. In some clans even boys, desirous of attending, have to obtain permission from their father. Boys of fourteen are shown how to skin the animal. They learn the necessary skill on kids that have died, for it does not matter if their skin is ruptured. The knife should be used sparingly and only where the skin cannot be removed from the underlying tissue by the pressure of the fists. Later on, boys are entrusted with the skinning of goats and cattle while the father squats on the ground and comments on the work. The position of all the *wusinji* parts and the way to cut them are demonstrated in a similar manner. A boy is taught what to do if an animal should calve on the pasture, the lessons being sometimes given on a kidding goat. Finally, there is imparted a knowledge of those herbs which are used for remedying constipation, for increasing the amount of milk, and for other medicinal purposes.

In the past, this process of teaching was crowned by ritually empowering the youth to possess the herd. Before this could take place, he had to pass a test of strength consisting in the tilling of two fields in a specified time. To ensure magically the necessary wisdom and power, a duet was sung by father and son: 'My son!' 'Yea, father!' 'Let us love each other!' 'Yea!' 'As the chief!' 'Yea!' 'And his warriors!' 'Yea!' Control over the herd may be abused; for this reason the father appealed to filial love. In the course of the responses, the son extorted the promise of a gift of live-stock. Other tests followed, such as, for instance, to pick out the father's animals from among a large herd.

In the meantime a girl has learned to make *ghee*. At about ten years she is given a little calabash of milk, which she churns, imitating her mother's movements with a larger vessel. The first

ghee that she has made by herself is used with particular ceremoniousness. Some time later she is allowed to milk for the first time. Father and mother have had a consultation and decided that she should look after an animal all by herself. It is a heifer. When it calves the first time, she is shown how to milk it. It willingly submits to this treatment, for it is used to having the girl work round it. The anticipation of being allowed to look after the heifer had made her go regularly to cut fodder. Her parents incited her to greater diligence by remarking sometimes on the smallness of her load and sometimes on the poorness of the grass. Thus she begins gradually to realize differing degrees of efficiency.

D

A great effort is made by parents to interest their children in agricultural pursuits. The superiority of control over the land to wealth in cattle in holding the affection of relatives and subjects is upheld in many a story and proverb. 'Aye,' says a grey-headed Chaga to his grandchildren, 'soil never cheats a man', and he begins to hum a song with the refrain, 'Soil, soil! What a grand thing is the soil!' It is the conviction of the Chaga that farming unites peoples, while animal husbandry separates them and makes them hostile. Tilling a field is the symbol of honesty and simplicity of life; the rearing of cattle makes a man insidious and greedy. It might be thought that the conflict between these views expressed the age-long struggle between aristocratic nomad and subjugated settler. But it rather represents the contrast between the favourite occupations of the two generations. For the younger is attracted by the risks and opportunities of cattle-breeding, while the parental generation prefers the sedate life of the planter.[1]

The following story is told to impress on young folk the superiority of the soil:[2] 'A certain Rasio emigrated from Usambara and settled in the plains below Moshi. His son, Kale, moved up the mountain-side and his sons, Tu and Ringo, ruled the land after him. Tu, as the first-born, was heir and successor. But he cared little for his subjects, for he was always thinking about his cattle. He even had grass brought for them from the plains. Ringo, on the other hand, attended to the people's wants, composing their

[1] Among nomads, such as the neighbouring Masai, or among pure agriculturalists, the opposition between the generations cannot express itself in two contrasted cultural ideals.

[2] G., 'Feldbausitten'.

quarrels and teaching them to protect their homesteads. This pleased Tu and one day he proposed to Ringo: "Let us exchange our work." Ringo turned the offer down, saying: "Don't mention your cattle, but give me some soil!" Tu lifted up a handful. On receiving it, Ringo had the assembly horns blown and dethroned Tu in presence of the elders for selling his land. They gladly dropped Tu, because he was a cattle-tender.' Teaching of this sort makes the Chaga willing to accept the higher standard of diligence required in agriculture. This, and not a higher social significance of agricultural wealth, is the educationally important factor, for in many respects cattle are of immeasurably higher value than agricultural produce.

At about twelve years, a boy is given a thorough training in hoeing. The aim is not to inculcate skill in handling the hoe, for the child has learned that long ago, but to engender endurance and diligence. When the boy gets tired, he is threatened or beaten. The father scorns to take refreshment with him; this makes the boy's trial the more excruciating. Girls who hoe with their mothers are occasionally given something to nibble. It is not surprising to see boys get tired of hoeing and simulate seediness. After the training in hoeing, the more difficult task of breaking up grass sods with the digging stick is tackled. In most cases the boy cannot wield the full-sized stick, which is 2 yds. long and has a diameter of 3 in. He learns to assist his father with a small stick proportionate to his size. When at last he ventures to break the ground with the big tool, his father follows him about, urging him on with promises of a plot of ground or of promotion to the herding of the cattle.

The planting of bananas is the next job to be learnt. The boy is sent to his grandfather or uncle to fetch plants with suitable stems. He sometimes has to carry a heavy plant for several miles, and begins to weep or ask permission to set his load down. His father tells him to bear up.[1] The young trees are planted in holes about 1 ft. deep. They must not stand upright, but incline towards the mountain, for the boys are told that the bunch becomes so heavy that the plant must be propped. From one hole to the next a space of about two large steps is left. When choosing off-shoots suitable for planting, boys are told to pick

[1] Gutmann offers evidence that during the lessons on the tally the novices are warned not to overburden their children; cf. G., *L.*, ii, pp. 173, 176.

those which are well-developed and whose parent plants produce good bunches.

At about fourteen years, boys are taught the differences in the various species of banana and their uses. Each plot, they are told, should contain *mchare*, the favourite fruit for eating raw. *Miaiaga*, *ndishi*, and *mririgo*, when ripe, are used for making beer; and roasted, they are a delicacy for women during their confinement. Besides, they form the foundation for many cooked dishes and their leaves and stems serve as cattle fodder. They are valued for not drying up quickly during the hot season. *Mnanyile* and *mboe* are used for roasting. *Kitarasa* is the staple food when all other foodstuffs are scarce. People who live near the forest advise their children to plant *irongo* in place of *mchare*, which does not thrive in the colder districts. Those who dwell near the hot plains plant the *ikonesi*, which survives a drought.

The boy is not a mere recipient during this agricultural training. With regard to the skill required, much is left to his own initiative. This may be illustrated with regard to the digging of irrigation canals. One of the most interesting sights in the country is the Chaga irrigation system. Large canals distribute water over the whole of the cultivated belt. To lead the water from the bottom of the ravines to the desired height, the canals have to be started many hours' walk away from the fields. They are then constructed along the slopes of the valleys and have sometimes to be led through a tunnel or across other canals. Finally, they are dammed up to make reservoirs which branch out into a well-planned system of smaller furrows.

Children are very much interested in the working of this system long before any attempt is made to teach them. During the wet season it often happens that the rain runs under the door into the hut. Small children make grooves in the floor to guide it further. Outside they pick flowers and throw them into the canal, following with delight their swift voyage through the groves. At a later age, one sees boys come out after a heavy shower and look for a pool. Squatting down at its edge they begin to challenge one another: 'Who can make a canal that would drain the pool?' Every boy begins to dig a furrow. The unskilful is laughed at and called a woman. If all are equally successful, they shout with glee: 'Who isn't a man?' Any one excelling his comrades undergoes some friendly buffeting. Bigger boys combine during their

leisure hours on the pasture to make a 'real' canal about 2 in. wide. Beginning at the bottom of a stream, they divert its water from a favourable point into their furrow, which they construct so that it follows the contour line as closely as possible. Parental training can therefore dispense with the teaching of skill, and concentrates on the complicated law with regard to the use of canals by adjoining farmers.

When a new plot has to be chosen, boys are given three indices to guide them. As geologists recognize changes of formation by variations in the vegetation, so boys learn to recognize plants and trees that grow in fertile soil and others that indicate sterility. The topographical index is of great importance. Slopes facing eastward are avoided; those looking west and south are preferred. The driver-ants serve as a sort of zoological pointer to a fertile spot. Where they are not observed at all, the place is considered unhealthy.

Naturally, the characteristics of the various kinds of soil are well differentiated. A son is told by his father that *ipuke* (humus) is fertile. The best soil, in the opinion of the Chaga, is *kiseru*, a brown clay-loam. It is not found on the surface, and to reach it one must dig deeply. Bananas, potatoes, and yams thrive better in this soil and are more tasty. *Usena*, a greyish chalk, is easily remembered by the children on account of its colour and because it is used in building houses in the European style. Potatoes and colocasia grow well in it, but boys are warned not to have their vegetable gardens where it is the sole constituent of the soil. *Teri-ya-sangasanga* is sandy soil which is not fertile and must be manured heavily.

Boys are shown how to manure the fields to improve unfertile soils. Weeds are usually burned, but they may be dug in as green manure. After some time the soil is examined and if seen to be populated with black worms it is considered to have been improved. Dung is used for bananas, colocasias, and yams. It is spread flat on the surface and in banana groves heaped round the stems. This is done once a year. If the soil is infested with a fungus whose white threads attack banana plants, the soil is covered with manure and three small animals are buried in the field—a porcupine, a squirrel, and one called *kipopori*.

The care of the soil includes prevention of erosion in the eleusine fields. These are made on slopes and have to be well

watered immediately after sowing. When a boy is about fifteen, he is given the task of irrigating such fields. His chief concern must be to spread out the water from the canal by the use of furrows with banana sheaths as conduits, so that it flows in innumerable little trickles over the field and is quickly absorbed. Otherwise the fertile layer of soil is washed away, together with the seed. Other methods of preventing erosion are to hoe deeply and turn the sods upside down, to cover the field with banana sheaths or the uprooted weeds, to dig a ditch round the upper boundary of the inclining field and plant shrubs along it to break the rush of water.

Rotation of crops is recommended for those fields on which eleusine is grown, because it exhausts the soil. If eleusine is planted the first year, maize is grown the following year and colocasia the third; then the field is manured. A simpler scheme is: first year, eleusine; second year, fallow; third year, eleusine again.

Special care is paid to seed selection in the case of maize and eleusine. Well-developed maize cobs with large grains are bundled together after the harvest and stored in the attic. They must not be eaten in any circumstances. Any one eating seed is ridiculed: 'You must know the day of your death!' A father takes two of his sons to the field to test their skill in choosing eleusine seed. He asks them to point out suitable plants. If the elder does not choose those with large ears, he is laughed at and his brother told to do better. His father praises the boy who successfully passes the test.

The lessons regarding the seed reserve are among the most elaborate of the teaching at initiation. They are repeated for the newly married. The necessity for storing seed is explained by reference to the Dorobo, who are hunters owning neither cattle nor fields. For times of scarcity, they hide bones and skins from the spoils of hunting. In the lessons seed is put on a parallel with a mother animal of which offspring is expected and which must not be killed. It is compared to the spring water in the hot season, which Ruwa, the Chaga god, has stored away in the earth. They are taught that seed should not be purchased, but obtained from friends and relatives if its vitality is to be preserved. This can also be achieved by specially treating the first-fruit of a crop. Before a banana bunch is sold, six of the fruit should be removed

and given to the children roasted. They act here as propitiators. In a similar manner, the central colocasia tuber and the first sheaves of eleusine should not be sold.[1]

E

The children are thus gradually made aware of the dependence of mankind upon the reproductive forces of the vegetable world, which is one of the main themes of native religion. Children used to take part in agricultural rites and special ceremonies accentuating the phases of the growth of plants. A month before the harvest, dances were held throughout the country in which pantomimic representations of farming activities were enacted. During this month, children gathered in groups and went about the country blowing on whistles and flutes. The aim of these ceremonies was to rouse the vegetative forces to a last effort. At the conclusion of the harvest festivities, children figured again in a rite, called 'separating the year.'[2] All the uncircumcised of a district were led by two ritual leaders to the beginning of the canal irrigating the district. The leaders stepped into the canal, dipped a wand into the water, and sprayed the children with it. The following day all the houses from which children had come were ornamented with dracaenas. In this manner the rising generation was magically connected with the water indispensable for the coming agricultural season. Even to-day the harvest is the signal for an exchange of crops among relatives and friends. These visits secure the 'blessing of the fields.' A child is made to feel the importance of good relations in the kindred group when it realizes that the fertility of the fields depends on them.

Through their participation in farm work, the Chaga boy and girl are introduced to the cycle of the annual activities of the tribe. The dominant social unit of daily life is the family, as was shown with regard to cooking and herding. The integrative effect of agricultural work makes the child throughout the year conform to actions which he sees performed by the whole tribe engaging in the same routine work. In the past this co-operation was magically enjoined. For instance, nobody dared to sow eleusine before the ritual leader had ceremonially mixed the seed with symbols of fertility, adjured the soil to do its part, bitten upon

[1] G., *L.*, iii, pp. 68, 331.
[2] J. R., *Versuch*, p. 396; G., 'Feldbausitten'; G., *L.*, i, pp. 235–40.

a few grains to impart vitality, and banned destructive insects by spraying a liquid charm over his fields. At present, the same effect is produced by the agricultural time-table still in use, by the sequence of activities passed down through tradition and necessitated through the regular changes of climate and vegetable growth.[1]

Agricultural work thus not only enforces a uniformity of synchronized behaviour throughout the tribe and a close co-operative union of the family members, but it also activates the ties of kinship. In case of sickness in the household of one of the secondary parents, children are called upon to come to their assistance. In co-operation with their cousins, they must then carry out the activities appropriate for the season, such as tilling the fields, weeding the groves, and harvesting the crops. The whole group of cousins has to help when one member of the parental generation is building or repairing a hut before the rains. Boys and men have to construct the framework of poles, posts and rafters and fetch the required material from the forest. Girls and women have to collect grass in the plains, and thatch the hut with thick layers of it. In the western districts, banana sheaths are used instead. This work is done without any reward or wages, the only constraint being the mutuality of the obligation and the participation of the whole kindred group. However, it is rarely completed without some feasting and beer drinking.

Girls have an opportunity of getting into touch with the outside world when the crops are sold at the market. Each district has a market every third day, and in any one chieftainship the important district markets do not coincide but follow one another regularly.

Young children do not accompany their mothers to the market. But they are extremely interested in her business there. When they watch her depart, they clap their hands and sing: 'Profit, and return with the "luck-penny"!' And they add the market blessing: 'Meet an old woman that is blind'—that is, one who is easily cheated. A mother remembers her family when she concludes a bargain. She tells her customer: 'And now add something for "the shield"!' (that is, her husband); and when this is done: 'And now something for the child!' Girls of about fifteen are taken to the market to get accustomed to carrying the loads and

[1] An account of the distribution of agricultural work over the seasons of the year is given in J. R., *Versuch*, pp. 395 *seq.*

to learn the tricks and rules of bartering. Usually the loads are adapted to the strength of the child, but sometimes they prove too heavy for long distances. Promises and threats are employed to urge the girl on; sometimes she is beaten on the road, but also quickly forgiven and reconciled by a present of glass beads or a cooking pot. First she is only taken to the home market and shown the goods for barter there and their equivalents. She is given hints with regard to various methods of deceiving buyers, such as diluting milk and giving the adulterated liquid consistency by adding finely mashed bananas. This can be detected by tasting. The final stage in this training has been reached when a girl can be sent alone to the market in an adjoining district. The mother takes care to comment favourably on her transactions, but notices her mistakes and eliminates them by continued advice.

In summing up the educational effect of the training in agriculture and animal husbandry upon parents and children alike, the importance of the factor of social interdependence and economic co-operation cannot be too much stressed. It is the factor that is emphasized by ritual. To it must be ascribed the conformity of both generations to a common standard of exertion. This is as exacting upon the parents as upon their offspring, though undoubtedly it is the elders who claim to judge and comment upon the achievements of the younger generation. Compared with the constraining power of this co-operative union, the informal process of instruction is less important. Oral explanations are scanty and irregular, and given only where the inquisitiveness of the pupil must be answered. The use of models and miniature tools greatly facilitates the child's co-operation with adults. But only in one case—that of building a hut—is a model used in conjunction with definite teaching in the principles underlying the job. Perhaps the greatest individual incentive brought into play is ambition. Skill in the basic tasks of a Chaga household is tested in an elaborate and ceremonial manner, and the passing of the trials is made a condition of advance in social status. But by itself skill means very little, and its acquisition is left largely to the playful initiative of the child itself. It is important to remember that at present parents are often loath to impart their traditional knowledge, because their offspring, taking their cue from their ignorant teachers, boast

that their school knowledge is superior. In this way, the modern trend for pedagogical specialization tends to kill a general educational capacity.

4. *The Linguistic Tools for Directing Childish Conduct*

A

In the preceding sections it has been described how the child gradually fits into certain social groupings whose members act alike and co-operate with complementary units. The educational effect of this complex organization manifests itself in the ease with which children fall into their appropriate behaviour sets. But parental anxiety is not satisfied with the silent, impersonal forces which they cannot control. On the other hand, childish wantonness sometimes trespasses beyond the limits of good conduct. What are the methods used by the parental generation to ensure the observation of these limits? They are largely linguistic. To the child stammering '*Mama*', the word means the action or the person produced thereby. And it means exactly the same to the parental generation to whom also words are tools of control.

When the baby has learned to crawl about in the hut and thus to conquer space, it can satisfy the prehensile and cognitive tendency of the mouth by tasting and eating interesting objects. This evokes disciplinary interference from the parents. Once I saw Siairuka, who had taken a bite off a luscious clod of earth, being smacked hard by his mother while she said: '*A-a-a!*' Through such treatment Siairuka formed a conditioned reflex. On hearing '*A-a-a*', he recoiled from the oral examination of an object. A month later he reacted promptly to '*Pucha*' ('Spit out!') (1;1). The temptations of the toddling period differ from those of the crawling stage. Accordingly, the conditioning term has to be changed. When he seized a knife, his elder brother shouted '*Lega*' ('Leave it'). He looked up frightened and confused and an avoidance reaction became connected with the term.

Objects to be avoided by children are called *koko* by adults. When Siairuka showed a desire to trample about in the cow-dung, the frequent and threatening utterance of this term held him back (1;6). When he was being weaned, his mother refused him her breast by calling it *koko*. Foibe at that age was unruly on being put down to sleep. She was frightened by her parents: 'The

koko is coming!' This personification of *koko* quieted her down. Huddling herself up, she put her arms over her face and fell asleep (2;0). At that time she already knew how to employ the term in an instrumental manner. When flies settled on her sore places, she would order them away, saying: 'Leave me, *koko*!' (1;11). Gradually she applied the term to every animal coming too near her: cattle, goats, dogs, caterpillars. When she occupied herself by singing recurring phrases, texts like the following were frequent: '*Mama-ee!* Come! Shut up, Weramoo! Begone *koko*, begone *koko*!' The word had become detached from a concrete situation of danger. This, together with the tendency introduced by the parents to personify *koko*, leads us straight on to the use of bogies as terms of constraint.

If the baby does not eat its soup in the evening, its elder brother is sent out to make a noise like a *koko*. The busy mother pestered by requests for bananas which smaller children cannot fetch from the attic themselves, silences them with: 'There is a big animal up there, it has a tail studded with prickles. If I go up, it will strike me with it and I shall die!' If she wants her child to stop crying, the voice of a lion or the *irumbu*-spectre is produced with a bullroarer. I heard of a mother who hid herself to frighten her belated children by snarling like a leopard. The children threw themselves on the ground and squealed with terror. To-day the European has replaced the Chaga warrior as bogy. Children who object to having their ears pierced are told that the white man takes away all children with unpierced lobes. Stories about monsters are used to frighten children from straying beyond the paternal grove. One of them tells of *irimu*, a gigantic man, with glittering teeth and a second mouth on the hindhead, who appears to loitering children in the twilight, brandishing a spear and a shield.[1] Parents are aware that these monsters do not exist. But their invention is justified by the effect they produce.[2]

Frequently these stories are summarized in the threat that the child will be killed by a monster. Many monster stories

[1] G., 'Fabelwesen'.

[2] Mr. Barlow, in giving evidence before the Kenya Land Commission in 1933, quoted extracts from various books, including J. Boyes's *King of the Wakikuyu*, in which it is stated that the Kikuyu came from a race of dwarfs, among whom a Masai woman, called Maswatchwanga, settled. Chief Koinange, who was among the native audience, was asked what he knew about this. He replied that it was a legend, told to young children to prevent them from straying away. They are told that Maswatchwanga would eat them (*East Africa*).

have incidental references to the consequences of good or bad conduct, and show the child the dangers of disregarding them. For instance, the story of the unicorn tells of a boy who was adopted by a tanner during a famine. He was trained to set traps and caught many animals, but allowed the unicorn to escape. His foster-father challenged him to explain his remissness and successively proved all the evasive replies to be untrue. As a punishment, the tanner left the boy on a big tree, after snatching away the rope on which he had climbed it. An educational motive can also be detected in the story of the Tree of Darkness which grew out of a gorge and was so high as to cast a gloomy shadow over the whole country. Any adult going outside was attacked by wild animals, but children were left unmolested. Therefore people sent out their children for food and firewood; 'in those days the small people looked after the big ones'. In the end a boy was lowered down to the roots of the giant tree and hewed it down.[1]

Gruesome stories are thus employed both to check the child from wandering about and to send him out on a dark and rainy day. The majority of warning stories have not the high literary quality of those mentioned.[2] But all of them describe in lurid colours the fate of children who dared to break prohibitions. These stories are not always heeded. But, being more probable than the monster story, their cumulative effect is to create within the child, not only fear, but definite restraints, which emerge as checks on its behaviour in fitting situations. As they are based on a causal sequence and are free from the irrational participations so interesting to the seeker for the miraculous, they have so far been altogether neglected.

The older the child grows, the more complicated becomes the type of story he hears. The simple warning stories are gradually replaced by tales representing the success of virtuous qualities and the defeat of vice. The situations with which they are concerned are not so definite as to justify the use of single prohibitions. They try to inculcate general attitudes and principles, such as diligence and filial piety, and to ridicule, laziness, rebelliousness, and snobbishness. This corresponds to the fact that the child is entering

[1] G., *Volksbuch*, p. 37; Songoena, the unicorn; p. 121: Nridosi, the Tree of Darkness.

[2] For examples, cf. p. 215.

into widening social circles in which his conduct is judged by vague general standards. Nevertheless, the stories remain concrete, as will be seen from the following examples.

When boys begin to laugh at their mother, she tells them a story like this: 'Once upon a time there lived a chief called Lerumbi. He had two sons born of different wives. One of them, Lyoombe, had a stupid and malignant mother. But the mother of Makitauwo, his half-brother, was intelligent and kind-hearted. Every time the chief held court, she urged her son to attend and learn the wisdom of the elders, scolding him if he wished to idle away his time by the fireside, and questioning him on the complexities of the legal cases he had heard discussed. All this time Lyoombe was loitering with evil companions. His mother did not object to his watching her prepare meals, nor did he bother himself about attending the legal sessions. By right he was heir to the chieftainship. But because he was so negligent about his duties, he lost the affection both of his father and the people. When the old chief wished to retire from office, he chose Makitauwo to be his successor and everybody rejoiced. Lyoombe's mother tried to bribe the people to support her son, but without avail. Everybody said: "Don't be borne by a mother like Lyoombe's, who did not show him where to obtain wisdom!" '

Filial piety is inculcated through the following story: 'Once upon a time there was a child called Kilemi. His grandmother had become blind with old age. Every time his parents went to the fields, they left Kilemi with the old woman to feed her when she felt hungry. But, being exceedingly wicked, Kilemi ate the food himself and added earth to the remainder to restore it to its original bulk. His grandmother noticed the grit and smelt the earth and complained about it. Kilemi flew into a rage and told her that it was on account of her old age that she could not taste the food properly. As Kilemi continued in his ways, his grandmother was on the point of dying of hunger when she decided to retain some of the food in her mouth to show it to Kilemi's parents. When they confirmed her suspicion, the old woman fiercely invoked a curse upon the child: "You shall eat earth as you made me do it!" Kilemi grew up to be a man, he founded a homestead and begot children, and was finally chosen to be a counsellor of the chief. But within a month from his appointment he was overtaken by madness. He began to hate the

very sight of food and ate nothing but earth till he died, rueing bitterly how he had treated his grandmother.' This tale is believed to make children afraid of offending any adult.

Such stories are told by the grandfather on the pasture or on the grassplot in the yard; by the grandmother in the evenings, when the children huddle round the fire; by the father when they accompany him to the forest; and by the mother on the way to field or market. When the grandparents recount a tale, not only the children, but any adults present listen attentively. The usual time for story-telling is at night; but during the rainy season, at a beer party or palaver, tales are told in the daytime. The wet period of the year is one of indoor conviviality. A bright fire is burning on the hearth. Visitors call frequently, bringing news and telling yarns. The men refresh themselves with beer, which is handed round in a calabash. The women and children nibble green maize. Nobody likes to leave the warm and comfortable hut. Then the adults begin to sing songs, and the older among them recall incidents of long ago, of wars and famines, of rapacious animals scouring the country, of cruel chiefs and wise rulers, of feats of hunters and warriors.

This type of story differs from the pedagogical one described so far. On closer examination, it is seen that the stories describing the moral consequences of an action help to differentiate the generations by demanding from the younger a circumscribed behaviour. The hero type of tale, on the other hand, is of integrative effect. It makes a boy proud to belong to a famous family, it rouses in girls the desire to emulate a renowned clanswoman. For it deals almost exclusively with the history of their own kindred group, and often concludes with a remark casting doubt on the pluck of the rising generation.[1]

The educational significance of stories is realized by the Chaga. Their purpose, they say, is to instruct and entertain children and to give a legal training, for in the discussions in court elders explain their verdicts by adducing precedent and traditional sayings. Stories are told to inculcate upon children respect for their ancestors and elders. But it is also admitted that elders enjoy telling tales, that they take pleasure in the admiration of their listeners, and that they are proud of being looked up to as the

[1] English readers can obtain an idea of the richness of historical tradition from Dundas, op. cit., chap. ii.

dispensers of wisdom. To these points, which can easily be elicited from intelligent Chaga, one must add that story-telling is a privilege of the adult and married generation. It is behaviour which arises from superiority of experience. Qualities which are missed by parents in their children are presented to them in legendary and historical personalities. By way of contrast, the disastrous consequences of an evil life are shown. With an astonishing facility, parents discover also among the living, paragons worthy to be imitated. Children of neighbours, friends, or relatives are picked out and set up as examples to children, who in turn, though unknowingly, have to act as models themselves!

B

'The Chaga have four big possessions: land, cattle, water, and proverbs!' Indeed, no palaver, no conversation lacks the salt of proverbs. Their intrinsic value to the Chaga lies in two qualities: they are an inheritance from their ancestors incorporating the experience of the tribe, and they serve as instruments both for self-control and for the control of others. Stefano Moshi said: 'When a man is tempted by his own desire or by the suggestions of an evil friend and remembers a proverb he desists immediately. The youth of to-day treat many ancient things with contempt, but they never jest about proverbs. They respect the wisdom embodied in these sayings, for they strike like arrows into the heart.'

A mere collection of proverbs cannot convey the 'magical' power they have over the primitive mind.[1] They must be studied in the educational situation, in which their applications is of such profound effect. When a child flies into a rage, when he lies or steals, when he is recalcitrant or violates the code of etiquette, when he makes an ass of himself, when he is cowardly, he hears his actions commented upon in the words of a proverb. And also when he is worried or grieved and again when merry and overjoyed, an ancestral adage is impressed upon him.

A proverb is never used without becoming a condition of his future behaviour. A native says: 'I well remember the first time I was told a proverb. I was about fifteen years old and had to accompany my parents to the plains to hoe. The day was exceedingly hot and I began to grow limp. I wished I could return to the

[1] Cf. Pestalozzi, H., 'Lienhard und Gertrud', *Säkularausgabe* (1927), vol. i, p. 279, for educational use of proverbs in a Swiss village.

mountain with those lucky people who had finished their work early. My father said: "Let us rest a while." But when we started to work again I almost fainted. My father scolded and threatened that he would beat me if I gave in. My face became sullen, my heart was full of bitterness, and I gave up chatting with my parents. When we rested again, my father, seeing my face, called me to his side, and said: "My child, he who suffers tribulation will in the end enjoy rest. This," he continued, "is a proverb of our elders which teaches us a lot. By the time you eat the maize we are planting now, you will remember and understand." He proceeded to remind me of neighbours of ours, laggards, who left their children without food the whole day while they went about begging. And he told me that if we did not bestir ourselves, we would be in the same predicament. "For lazy people are those that prefer to enjoy their comfort first and have to put up with the trouble following," he added, inverting the proverb to make it more striking.'

Only older children, from about fourteen onward, are taught in proverbs; younger ones are told stories. Yet sententious maxims are not only pronounced in situations which make them at once intelligible and impressive, but their meaning is further stamped in by stories, or they appear as the summary of a telling tale: 'A father once asked his son to go to a neighbour and fetch him some snuff. The boy refused, saying he was too hungry. His father then sent one of his daughters. She went willingly and found the neighbours eating meat. They gave her as much of it as she could eat. When she returned, she untied a piece of meat from the corner of her dress and began to munch it in the presence of her brother. He begged some, but she said it was the last bite of a good meal she had had. He expressed his regrets at having refused to go, whereupon his father told him: "My child, our ancestors have a saying: 'An obedient child shall eat that which he knows nothing about!' Look! You refused to go, but your sister went, and she now eats what she knew nothing about!" '

Some proverbs are clad in the form of a riddle, or lend themselves to being separated into question and answer. An example of the latter form is: 'One lambkin only in your hand: this is your life'; and of the former; 'Don't offer libations at the gate and neglect the door', which means: 'Do not neglect near friends for the sake of distant ones.' The educational value of riddles in primitive life lies in the fact that the knowledge of their solution

implies a power not shared by the ignorant. Metaphors and conundrums are used to direct the action of the person addressed, where a blunt command might offend, and the action therefore be refused, and secondly, to incite a person to action through irony. A third type of riddle conveys secret information of a political character. Thus Chaga tradition records the feat of a child who warned a chief of an insurrection by singing a riddle to him: 'Baboons are climbing up the hill. They want to tear out the beans!'

The father, as impersonation of wealth and power, has a prominent place in these riddles: 'Father has a cowskin which cannot be lent: the yard'; or 'Father left me a bowl from which I have been eating ever since: the irrigation canal'. Metaphors, or covering terms, are taught to children and persons of inferior status to inspire in them respect for their superiors. Thus girls are warned never to mention the Chaga word for 'bull', which is also used to denote a future husband. They must learn a circumlocution in talking of male cattle, viz. 'mother of the calf'. The chief is designated 'The snail of the rain' (because he is as gentle as a snail and his coming as unexpected as that of the rain).

A threat may be expressed in the form of a riddle in order to weaken it or to avoid its execution. Many of the parental curses are veiled in this manner, perhaps also to puzzle the child and to force it to reflect on the meaning of the saying. For instance, 'May you lack a body' (that is, 'May you be without offspring'). Other mysterious sayings express parental disapproval. For instance, 'Why are you looking at me like smoke and nose?' ('He behaves like a nose which is troubled by smoke'). Other conundrums ridicule clans and, being adapted to the occasion, are a means of teasing children and of creating a sense of clanship as well. For instance: 'Kilamya goes to the river, Fumba goes too. Kilamya rises and Fumba lies low: Beer and dregs.' Kilamya was Mareale, the famous Marangu chief; Fumba, his rival, the chief of Kilema. The riddle is employed to tease the subjects of the unfortunate Fumba.[1]

The riddle has already been recorded which is used to make a boy think whether it is advisable to play at marriage with his sister. The imposition of an attitude of reserve between brother and sister is strengthened by this tendency to speak in riddles. When

[1] Cf. G., 'Dschaggarätsels', and G., *R.*, p. 60, for examples quoted.

a man has friends at his home while his sister is there, he tells them: 'The goats are on the pasture and not at home.' This is a warning to them to avoid improprieties in their talk.

Of course, the solving of riddles is also a favourite pastime, though few native riddles are ever solved by reflection. The challenger calls '*Orawe*' (i.e. 'Riddle'). The challenge is accepted: '*Oyo!*' ('Set the trap'). When the correct answer has been supplied from memory, the challenger says: 'Now set yours!' If a riddle is not guessed, the challenger says: 'Give me a chieftainship' or, 'I make such and such to be my slave, or wife', as the case may be. The child referred to is not the unsuccessful guesser, but one of his relatives or friends who is thus made responsible for his mistakes. The game is won by the boy who has 'acquired' more chieftainships or prisoners and is lost by the child who has no more riddles to ask.[1]

Riddles are reminiscent of the formal teaching methods employed during initiation. The teacher tells what he has to say in metaphorical language and with the use of so many obsolete expressions that an interpreter has to be employed. The lesson therefore resembles a contest between the poser of a riddle and its guesser. If the interpreter cannot supply the answer, he has to purchase the solution.[2] The posing of riddles, or, rather, the adoption of metaphorical language, forms one of the methods by which primitive man arouses attention.

That this is quite an everyday occurrence, employed also in the derived educational relationship between husband and wife, is shown by the following example: An old man had married a young girl as a subsidiary wife. When their cow was in milk, they had such an abundance of it that he told her: 'You had better bury the milk which you do not need for the present!' The woman poured the milk into a calabash which she buried in the grove. When the cow became dry, the man ordered her to recover the buried milk. She found the calabash rotted. Her husband affected surprise: 'What? You do not know that "burying the milk" means sending it to relatives, to ensure a similar return gift at a future

[1] Similar details are reported of a tribe in the Cameroons by Ittmann, 'Aus dem Rätselschatz der Kosi', *Z.f.Eg.*, vol. 21, i.

[2] G., 'Kerbstock'. Gutmann does not give in any of his writings an example of such a guessing contest. A specimen is given in Part V, Sect. 3 G., 'Bruchstücke', mentions that the *lany* lessons for girls were inaugurated by a riddle.

date?' Without doubt, a lesson on such a plan is more impressive than a mere explanation.

C

Riddles which are to warn others are usually sung. Like the riddle, the song is an important method of teaching, a didactic form which ensures the retention of the subject-matter. These didactic songs are altogether absent in the pre-initiation training; they characterize the formal instruction in the camp. Nevertheless, songs, as a sort of intensified speech, are frequently used throughout childhood to control children, to induce and habituate them to certain actions, to taunt the wicked and naughty among them, and to incite them to courageous deeds.

Lullabies are sung to soothe a crying baby and to put a tired one to sleep. The early amoebaean songs are continued in a special form. 'Sing us a song, till we are asleep, Grandmother', say the children. She strikes up a tune; the children respond until one after another drops asleep.[1] When a girl learns to milk, her awkwardness is overcome by a song: 'The cattle are milked like water; they are milked like the brimful streams. The bull comes: "Halter me!" The ram comes: "Halter me!" The heifer comes: "Halter me!" Although they are horned beasts. "Milk me! Milk me!" "How can I do that? Where can I do that?" *Ndshidima hana-hana!*' With the last words a click is uttered which is the secret of milking, for when the cow hears it she keeps quiet.[2] During the rains, when every one is snugly ensconced in the hut, it happens that rain-water comes in at the door. No one stirs to go outside to divert it with a hoe. The younger members of the family quarrel about who is to perform this unwelcome task. Then the old people begin to sing: 'Exert yourselves, young folk! Exert yourselves, helpers! For we are old and cannot hoe in such heavy rain!' This song is felt to be more irresistible than a spoken order.

In the stories, songs occur at dramatic points, when the emotion goes beyond the limitations of words. Such points are when a valorous deed is achieved or a danger averted, when supernatural aid is required or the agitation of the mind is to be assuaged.[3]

[1] Fletcher, A. C., *Indian Story and Song from North America* (Boston, 1900), p. 191, mentions that lullabies were sung by priests to soothe crying children attending a tribal ceremony.

[2] G., 'Lieder der Dschagga'.

[3] Fletcher, A. C., op. cit., p. 120.

As it is in most cases the hero who sings, the child quickly grasps that songs are a means of controlling the emotions. Even in the paeans of war, singing exercises a chastening influence, and the hymns of battle, besides inciting the individual, put him under the disciplinary restraint of the troop singing in unison with him. Thus the Chaga, like the American Indian, sings a song when in need of self-control. Gutmann relates how he had once to assist at an operation where an anaesthetic was contra-indicated. The patient implored, threatened, and cursed the doctor, but in a restrained voice and to the melody of a conventional chant.

More frequently, singing is employed to publish the disgrace of an age-mate or to mock him for being stupid. This effective method of behaviour control is fast disappearing. It is difficult to obtain examples, because the language is extremely coarse and nobody likes to repeat them to a white man. It is easier to collect satirical ditties concerning the inhabitants of other districts. Here is a sample: '*He, Njau, he Njau, ehee!* There in Nkwewoyo is something marvellous! There in Nkwesema a miracle happened! Njau blew up the fire and a brat threw charcoal at him! Look, Njau! Look well, *ehee*!' (Nkwewoyo and Nkwesema are districts of the Machame chieftainship, and Njau the name of a clan represented there.)

Youths singing mocking songs to judge their contemporaries assume therewith the parental function of defending the morals of the tribe. Even in the adult generation itself such ditties are employed. Of great pedagogical importance are those which the chiefs used to compose to direct the decisions of their warriors. Gutmann records one which Rindi, the famous Moshi ruler, sang. He announced in it his intention of training the rising age-group in courage and in devotion to the welfare of the country as a whole. Without doubt, song was a powerful means in the hands of a clever chief. For this reason, Rindi called himself 'the moulder of men!'[1]

In certain situations, song is an insufficient stimulus. If the populace had to be prepared for war, the warriors were called to dance. *Rosi*, the war dance, is supervised by the chief personally. It consists of movements in which the dancers advance in semi-circular formation and then close in upon one another, each man engaging another in a sham duel. No woman takes part, but boys

[1] G., 'Lieder der Dschagga'.

and youths join freely in the evolutions and gestures, and woe to him who holds his spear or shield clumsily! The simultaneous stamping of the feet, the surging forward of the far-flung battle-line, the thunderous roar from hundreds of throats arouse the spirits of all and make concerted action possible. The purpose of these dances is well expressed in one of the accompanying songs: 'Even if all the cattle of our country be stolen by the enemy, we shall not leave this country of ours. Even if chief Orombo carries off one and all, we shall not leave this country of ours. If we have no other food to eat, let us nibble the trunks of the banana plants in this land of ours!' When old men see these dances performed, they quiver with excitement and some shed tears of elation.

The dances called *iringi* are dances of jollification after harvest, circumcision, and initiation. All the people take part in them. Often when the adolescents and adults have formed their circle, the children have their little dance by themselves. During the *iringi* the mocking songs may be dramatized. One can imagine the contrition felt by Ndetangiro Kiwelu when he heard the following: '*Ndetangiro ee Kiwelu! Ndetangiro ee Kiwelu!* You drank the milk that was not milked for you. You drank the blood that was cooked for your parents! *Ndetangiro ee Kiwelu!* Ndetangiro is a breaker of milk calabashes!' And a stealer of maize had to listen to this song: 'Lyambaranga has eaten, Yea, has eaten! Has eaten what? Has eaten maize! Whose maize, you say? Mawenya's maize!' The skill with which the offence is gradually revealed can hardly be surpassed. How indelible the impression must be on those who with gyrating arms, clapping hands, and jumping feet emphasize every phrase! But how utterly unspeakable the agony of the child must be at whom the words are levelled!

A special type of dance for children is the *shiganu*, which is performed at night. Its aim is to recapitulate the songs and actions from the stories and legends told around the fire. Girls and boys join for such occasions and their merry voices attract the people of the neighbourhood. One of the children acts as leader, the others represent the action in pantomime. *Shiganu* dances that have no connexion with stories may yet have a definite educational purpose. They are used to intensify the oral instructions concerning the tribal standards of conduct. For instance, the lazy are spurned in this dance: 'Where were you when we broke the field with the digging stick? Where were you when we tilled it with

the hoe? Where were you when we burned the weeds? Where were you when we hoed it for the second time? Where were you when we watered the eleusine? Where were you when we thinned the eleusine? Where were you when we weeded the fields? Where were you when we harvested our crop? Where were you when we pounded the grain? Where were you when we steeped the eleusine? Where were you when we dried the eleusine? Where were you when we ground the eleusine? Where were you when we prepared the beer?'

Not only in the *shiganu* dances, which serve to drive home a particular lesson, and in the *rosi* exercises, which train for the calling of a warrior, but in all others, children are watched by their parents as to their performance. The leader or supervisor points out the awkward and the clumsy; he may, indeed, strike them with a rod. Unsuccessful dancers are ridiculed and the attendance of all persons of the appropriate sex and age is enforced. Dances are therefore general tests of intelligence. From his child's success as dancer, a parent infers whether he will be a fool or a personality, for the stupid dancer is handicapped, not only as a citizen, but as a potential marriage partner. Dances have thus a manifold educational function. Some dances are 'the earliest occasion on which the individual is introduced into a far wider society than the small family group', and thus help to modify 'the exclusive sentiments towards the parents built up . . . in infancy'.[1] Others serve as means of inculcating standards of behaviour: this may be achieved by dramatizing passages from folk tales, or by ridiculing wrongdoers. All of them provide an instrument for measuring the intellectual and social qualities of a particular individual, for in dancing he must submit to the concerted actions and feelings of the whole group or community, while at the same time he is given an opportunity to excel and to exhibit qualities of social leadership and sexual attractiveness.[2]

[1] Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 'The Dance', *Africa* (October, 1928), p. 437.

[2] No adequate account of Chaga dances exists. The text only mentions those which are of direct importance for child life. The following types of dances are distinguished: (*a*) *Rosi*, war dance, performed by the chief's orders; for men and youths. (*b*) *Iringi*, dances of joy, after harvest and initiation; danced by all, especially girls. (*c*) *Ushongolyo*, a dance to 'strengthen' adolescent boys; performed by order of the chief. (*d*) *Igoma*, danced by girls after circumcision before their parents and their parents-in-law; they are rewarded with presents of live stock. These dances are sexually stimulating. (*e*) *Kilya-shinga*, dances through which sorcerers and enemies are cursed by maidens. (*f*) *Woly*, the wedding dances, to which only married men and women are admitted.

5. *Inducements and Checks to Behaviour*

A

The fact that offending children are punished introduces us to a subject of general educational interest. Throughout the history of thought the nature of punishment has been a matter of speculation. Under the influence of teleological considerations, a long list of the aims towards which punishment is directed has been drawn up. Society, it is said, uses punishment to deter the would-be transgressor. A few theorists maintain that punishment is a retaliatory act. The explanation which found favour in the last century was that of retribution. The most fashionable theory of to-day is that punishment ought to be reformative. It has even been assumed that this list corresponds to the historical development of legal conceptions.[1] A more correct interpretation would be to consider these different aims as aspects of one and the same phenomenon.

The eclectic nature of pedagogical thought is well exemplified in the traditional applications of the above list. It has, for instance, been said[2] that primitive people, following an instinctive pedagogy, take revenge in punishing. Peoples of a higher level, such as nomads and agriculturalists, use punishment as a deterrent. Only civilized peoples know of moral punishment that reforms the character. Such imaginary schemes disregard altogether the sociological setting of punishment and the fact that it occurs where no aims are pursued.

Corporal punishment, ranging from a quick, unexpected slap to a sound thrashing, is not unknown among the Chaga. The mother slaps the infant when it refuses food. She pushes it aside when it obstructs her work. She strikes it when she sees it eating earth or dung. Bigger children, but girls rarely, are handed over to the father for punishment of the severer kind. Striking with the hand and beating with a stick are employed. To make the beating more painful, salt and fat are rubbed on the buttocks.

In infancy, punishment often appears to be a reaction to irritation of the parent concerned. Chaga children know well that the

[1] For instance, by Hobhouse, L. T., in *Morals in Evolution*, part i, chap. iii.
[2] Barth, P., *Die Elemente der Erziehungs- und Unterrichtslehre*, chap. i.

irritability of their parents varies. During the period of beer-carousals, the father is particularly gruff, and beats his children for slight mistakes of etiquette or for a startling occurrence, such as the lowing of a cow. A mother gets angry with her daughter when she breaks a calabash or loiters over the fetching of water. It is reported that in such cases mothers take a knife, throw the child on the ground and scrape the skin off its legs.

Another striking 'punishment' is the following: A cloth is tied round the head of a girl that refuses to help her mother, and she is hung up by it to a post of the hut and left there till she declares herself willing to do her duty. Many variations of this punishment are recorded. In its extreme form, the child is placed in a bag filled with nettles, with which it is rubbed. Sometimes the contents are disgusting animals, such as lizards, frogs, mice, and snails. The child is suspended over the fire-place with its head looking out, so that it is troubled by the smoke. The exasperated parents continue to beat and pinch the child; some even almost throttle it and close its nose and mouth. The punishment has achieved its purpose when the victim urinates and defecates with terror. Occasionally it is left in this position for as long as twenty-four hours. It is difficult to find out to what extent this torture is more than a threat. It is not only known among the Chaga, but also reported from the Shambala, the Pare, the Arusha, and Iramba.[1] One thing seems sure: only complete loss of control on the parent's side can account for its occurrence.

That parents, in beating their child, act under an affective strain is seen by the fact that they frequently fondle the child after punishing it. The mother who slaps the baby for preferring her breast to cooked food licks it afterwards. The child that has been tortured in the bag is given food after its release. The physiological exhaustion of the fit of temper releases the opposite affection towards the child.

When an interval is placed between the punishable act and its correction a definite aim may be pursued. The hesitation may be due to reasons of convenience—for example, punishment which causes the child to cry is carried out in the sound-proof hut. Sometimes it is felt that the effect of corporal punishment depends

[1] Todd, op. cit., p. 192, mentions a similar custom of the Uaraycus of the Amazon River. Zulu girls tell stories according to which young suitors punish unwilling maidens in the same way.

on its being administered as a surprise. The culprit is received with gentle words or, if suspicious, induced to come inside by a ruse, and even given food as usual before the anger of the father bursts forth. In other cases, the parent vacillates between giving vent to his feelings and restraining them. To find a pretext for punishing the child, it is trapped into saying an untruth or made to confess its offence.

When the culprit is deprived of its liberty, the parental reaction is less arbitrary and requires perseverance in the course adopted. If a child steals food, it is bound and put into the attic. Children who have annoyed their parents may be shut into an empty hut and left there without food for the day or the night. Boys who allow cattle to stray are tied to the middle post of the hut and have to spend the whole night in this uncomfortable position. Loiterers not back for the evening meal are shut out. It happens, of course, that children do not come home for fear of punishment. They stay with relatives or neighbours or sleep in the eleusine store.

If an adolescent son comes home late, he is wise enough to ask his mother for food with a smile. She may then jokingly reply: 'A laughing person must have received already!' The deprival of food is very common, probably because it lends itself to being easily adjusted to varying degrees of guilt, and is very effective. It is usually accompanied by incarceration, to prevent the child from obtaining food from neighbours or relatives. A lazy boy who shrinks from tilling the fields may not get any meat when an animal is slaughtered. The same applies to girls that refuse to fetch water in the morning. Obstinacy is broken by extending the fasting period.

When children are imprisoned, it is possible for them to argue with their parents about the justice of the punishment and to beg for its reduction. Its remission is often only granted after a confession of guilt, an expression of repentance and promises for the future. Sometimes this is ritually elaborated, the father insisting, for example, that his son shall kneel down before him and grasp his beard on saying, 'I repent'.

A distinct tendency can thus be observed to giving to educational punishment the appearance of legal validity. This tendency makes itself more strongly felt, the older the punished child is. A father had chased his adolescent son away for disobedience and abusive language. The boy ran till he was tired and then decided

to return home. The father was not quite cooled down yet and brought the case before a meeting of his brothers and brother-in-law. They mulcted the youth in one goat, which he had to supply from his small herd. Having paid them the animal, he had to provide a pot of beer for the company and apologize solemnly in the presence of all.

The employment of an intercessor by the disgraced child is not uncommon. A girl applies to her mother's brother or father's sister to plead her case. A boy may proceed to a well-known man and ask him to reconcile him with his father. The proper procedure is to approach the angry parent with a pot of beer. Standing in front of the youth, the mediator offers apology and winds up his speech by saying: 'We brought you something to clear your throat with this morning.' The father turns on his son, who has not spoken a word so far: 'Whose fault is it? Yours or mine?' He replies: 'It is mine. Because of the foolishness of childhood, I sinned. But I repent and will not do the like again.' If the son lives in the parental compound he has to pay one cow as a fine. The animal is slaughtered by the father's *msindshi* brother. Then the culprit is called into the assembly and told that his punishment is completed. If the son is already married, it is enough for him to offer the father some beer and pieces of choice meat. His partial independence of family obligations lessens the seriousness of the affair.

It is interesting to note that the Chaga have a well-thought-out pedagogics of punishment. Punitive practice should be adapted to the child's age. During the time when a baby is called *mnangu* (the incomplete), it elicits special consideration and must not be beaten or even scolded. During the second period of infancy, the child is called *mkoku* (the little one who fills the lap). The toddler not only makes mistakes; he sometimes seems to be bent on mischief. He should be beaten if he eats earth, cries without reason, or spoils a valuable possession. Henceforward till about three years of age, the child is known as *mwana* (infant). He is considered a nuisance to parents and neighbours. Punishments must be increased to keep his spirits in check. He may be struck or submitted to fasting. A *manake* is a child from four to fifteen. He has greater liberties, and for boys, at least, punishments should increase in severity, but become rarer. One scarcely hears of a *mleu* (a youth) who has to submit to corporal punishment. His

father tells him: 'I do not beat you any more. Go and look after yourself now. If you don't, you will be beaten by the beam of the house.'[1] A *monowaka* (a maiden) is treated with due consideration of the fact that any injury must reduce her marriage value. Special attention is also paid to a child who has caused his parents a lot of worry, particularly if on account of sickness. His whining reminds his parents of his illness, and it is thought that beating him would bring about his death.

During the lessons on the tally, the novices receive warnings not to beat their children in a blind rage. To hit a child on the thigh or in the hollow of the knee might make it a cripple. As dangerous parts there are also mentioned the hip, the groins, the abdomen, the small of the back, the backbone, the nape of the neck, the chin, and the temple. Among the methods denounced are beating the child with a heavy club, throwing a stick at it, belabouring it with a sickle, hitting it with the elbow, and violence to the head. Scars left on the face, especially of a girl, would be a constant reminder of the father's ire, and possibly be interpreted as a mark of sorcery. The use of a switch or the midrib of a banana leaf is recommended, as is also a box on the ear or pinching the skin in preference to the more violent methods.[2]

Many parents, however, are very lenient to their children and must be reminded that 'the bowstick can only be bent as long as it is green'. For 'a son is a bush on the wayside. Beat him with leaves [i.e. treat him leniently] and the master of the springs will appear!' [i.e. the drought which is without indulgence]. As with us, the mother is the more soft-hearted of the two parents. She often turns on the husband when she sees the sufferings of her child. She loosens the fetters, washes the bruises with warm water, and rubs the wheals with *ghee*. She may upbraid her husband for being rough and may leave him altogether and spread the report of his cruelty, so that he has difficulty in marrying again.

While undoubtedly more punishments are executed by the father, in most critical situations a discussion takes place between the parents as to what measures should be taken. The parental tribunal is influenced in its decisions by tradition and by the opinion of the secondary parents, especially the mother's brother,

[1] G., *R.*, p. 731. Gutmann interprets this saying psychologically. 'The beam of the house' represents to him 'conscience'. The metaphor probably refers to the collapse of the family through filial insubordination.

[2] G., *L.*, ii, pp. 114–27, 140–6, 160–90, 358, 591.

who demands damages if a permanent injury is done to the child. The secondary parents exercise a disciplinary authority over the child which in theory resembles that of the real father. In the past there seems to have been a general right for adults to beat loitering youths and boys found riding on cattle. But on the whole parents are very jealous of their right of punishment. Even if punitive authority is unquestioned as in the case of a schoolmaster, parents grow wild with indignation on learning that their children have received corporal punishment. A teacher who customarily resorts to it may one day find his school deserted.

In summarizing the essential features of Chaga punishment, it can be said that it is a reaction of the parental generation to certain situations. These do not necessarily involve deficiency in skill or a breach of the rules or habits inculcated upon the children. They include occasions on which children startle their parents by acting extraordinarily, and others created by the irritability of the parents themselves. The nature of punishment as an affective reaction is revealed in the parental efforts to re-establish the previous harmonious co-operation through fondling the child or in a more ceremonious manner. If punishment were nothing but a means of habituation, it would be absurd for the Chaga to object to their children being chastised by others. But, as they do, punishment must imply more. It is a mechanism of family life which brooks no interference. Habituation to the ethos of the family is, however, not the result of external force, but of the mutual affections and the reciprocal co-operation in which each individual shares according to his age, sex, and status.[1] Interaction, it is true, is not always smooth, and friction expresses itself in parental touchiness and juvenile refractoriness. As a rule, it is the children who have to suffer for such occurrences. Nevertheless, not only the original offence, if any, but also the retribution consequent upon it, violates the ideal of the parent child relationship and must be made good.

For this reason, there is a strong tendency to 'legalize' parental punishment. It is justified and explained in proverbs, for instance, 'A dog's owner catches it by the scruff of its neck' (i.e. 'It is the business of a person in authority to punish his subordinates'). Furthermore, the insistence on ritual confessions and

[1] Cf. on this point Malinowski, B., 'Introduction' to Hogbin, J., *Law and Order in Polynesia.*

legal compositions shows the need for validating punishment. The educational function of punishment is therefore to check (alleged or real) filial interference with parental authority and to reimpose a subordinate status upon the child—in short, it rectifies the relationship between successive generations within the family.

It is therefore not difficult to draw the dividing line between punishment in the family and in society. Steinmetz[1] tried to show that governmental power to punish is derived from patriarchal authority by being transferred from the family to a group of elders and then to a single monarch. At the same time the offence dealt with changes from injury done to an individual to one of social significance, to a breach of a general norm. This distinction is spurious, for even in 'pre-state punishment' the social equilibrium of the family is readjusted. Similarly unsatisfactory is the attempt made recently[2] to define primitive legal punishment as the reaction of society *as organized in a tribunal* to an action which violates its norms. For the Chaga father and mother in consultation with regard to an inefficient nurse or a disobedient son may be looked upon as a special case of a tribunal. The truly distinctive features of educational punishment are that it is administered on the filial generation by the parents (or their substitutes) in an attempt to restore the harmony of interests within the family; that it is not necessarily due to an offence of the children, and that it is followed by measures to bring about reconciliation. All these features are lacking in legal punishment.

B

In contrast to punishment, promises and rewards can be readily evaded and easily escape notice. When children are brought to a hospital, their parents make them 'mighty fine promises' in order to induce them to swallow a drug. They are sometimes told that the sister will give them oranges, although they are out of season! When a mother goes to the market, she promises her child a few bananas, some wild fruit or a grasshopper, which to a Chaga child is a delicacy. Promises are thus often made to soothe the child temporarily or to avoid an awkward scene. A special type of promise harks on the theme that good conduct has an unexpected reward: 'An obedient child receives its reward

[1] Steinmetz, *Ethnologische Studien*, ii, pars. 5, 6.
[2] Radcliffe-Brown, in a contribution to *Man* (March, 1935).

without being aware of it'; or 'Without tribulation, nobody becomes a man!'

Rewards are not unknown. The boy who supplies his mother with firewood receives a calabash of milk. The tired maiden is requited with an ornament. Girls are incited to learn agricultural skill by the promise of a hoe and, later on, of a small plot of land where they can grow their own maize, beans, sugar cane, and yams. The alleged purpose of this allocation of land to a minor is that she must be given opportunities for acquiring clothes and ornaments through exchanging her own products. A girl is also rewarded with the ownership of hens and a cow or two. Thus a diligent girl may have acquired a little herd before her marriage. She usually does not keep the animals at home, but at her mother's brother's till after the birth of her first child, when she moves them into her new home.

Similarly, among boys, the incentive to work is the hope of obtaining control over land and cattle. A boy of twelve to fourteen, if intelligent and diligent, may have been given a live goat in return for his pastoral activities. He enters into an agreement with his father whereby, of each pair of kids borne by this animal, the father receives the first and the son the second. If the son's kid is a male, he must, after rearing it, return it to his father, who slaughters it and gives the meat to the boy's mother. Likewise, a boy may be given a plot of ground. One of the first crops he grows is eleusine, which is required for brewing, for his father lays claim to the first-fruits of the garden in the form of beer. If the parents do not receive this 'opener of the hand', they remind their son. The mother roasts a banana in its skin, and on the boy's inquiring into the meaning of this, she informs him of his ingratitude. If this is of no avail, the father threatens: 'I shall not help you in the payment of the bride-price as long as you deprive me of the first-fruits.' In this manner, the youth is trained to regard his own success as a gift from the family authorities, and is thus prepared for his religious obligations towards his ancestors.

C

The supplementing of the educational effect of the society of the living by reference to the ancestors can be studied in the use of blessings and curses. As early as the time of the ear-piercing ceremony, a child receives an exposition of the power of its

parents and ancestors to blight or prosper its life.[1] Its grandfather explains that it must obey his orders cheerfully if it wishes to succeed and be renowned among its friends. The old man is very insistent on the powers of the grandmother. Contemptuous disregard of her wishes makes her curse the child before she dies. If it steals her milk, she will cause it to be restless like a bird. The mother's brother, too, holds the child's life in his hand and causes its death if it pilfers his stores. The mother's last wish is fatal to a child that has defamed her to her husband. At the same rite, the parental and ancestral power of blessing is inculcated upon the child. The grandfather's good wishes on his death-bed secure for the child the reproductive power of its crops and livestock, and by spitting into its hands, the dying elder grants it the power of producing offspring. The grandmother emphasizes this lesson by pointing out the material blessings which the grandfather will bequeath to the child.

Blessings turn on the three ambitions of a Chaga—namely, wealth in crops and cattle, prolificness, and social recognition. Many of the formulae used in this connexion name God: 'May God give you (animals) to pasture and tie up!' or 'May God turn his desire upon you!' In others the promise of children is metaphorically expressed: 'May God love you so that there will be dances at your home!' and 'May God awaken you with the anointing fat' (which is used by the young mother). A common blessing promises longevity, as whose symbol glacier-covered Mt. Kibo is referred to: 'May you last as long as Kibo', or 'Kibo does not grow old. May you be like it!' Another blessing is that of a special gift, a charisma, a character trait passed on from grandfather to grandchild. For instance, if the son of a person in authority bullies a comrade, one of the boys of the play-group should defend the victim. This action will make him the mediator, the courageous 'Leave-alone'-sayer (i.e. pacifier) of the group, and his grandfather's power of pacifying will descend upon him.[2]

Blessings are heaped upon the child that makes the life of his doting grandparents comfortable; he should clear their faeces from the hut, remove the discharge from their eyes, feed them by insalivation if they are too weak to feed themselves, and carry

[1] G, *L.*, i., pp. 73–5. The child is then between three and seven years old.

[2] These examples are culled from G., 'Fluchen', G., *DDD.*, p. 6, and G., *L.*, i, p. 111.

them out of doors on a sunny day. All this must be done without giving expression to disgust. Stories are told to make the promises connected with such actions and the curse attached to their neglect convincing; for instance, the story of Mkunare and Kanyanga. Both were sons of a poor father. One day, going in search of food, they met an old woman whose eyes were covered with pus. One licked her eyes clean and was advised how to obtain cattle from the Wakoningo, a nation of dwarfs; the other refused to relieve her and was punished with misleading counsel.

Magical threats and curses are more frequent than blessings. A girl that is sent to fetch water is told by her mother: 'Come home quickly or I shall change you into a bird!' The speedy return of a juvenile messenger is secured by spitting on the palm of his hand and saying: 'If you are not back before the spittle is dried up, you will vanish like it!' A mother wanting to keep a child at home, threatens it by saying that the low-sailing clouds might carry it off. Any person whose anger is roused by a child may utter a secret curse against it and ensure its efficacy by spitting three times at the offender. The majority of curses threaten transformation into an animal, madness, barrenness, or death. The most terrifying are the threats of death. Mothers frighten their children with: 'Turn back from your evil ways. Father can kill you if he likes!' If parents are excessively annoyed, they cry: 'If you don't obey, we shall hand you over to the spirits and get them to finish you off!' and an exasperated mother threatens: 'Be it not a lie [i.e. may it be a fact] when you die!' Sometimes these curses are reinforced by a rite. A raging father offers a libation to his ancestors and implores them: 'Help me to kill this child who despises me. Come and dance with him!' (Dances were performed round a bull that was to be sacrificed.) Or the father bows his head towards the ground, where the ancestors are believed to dwell, calling them to do their work: '*Huu hopfa huu!*' Terror is struck into the child by the announcement: 'Take care, the spirits have come to the surface!' The climax is reached with curses threatening complete annihalation: 'Die, and find the spirits not at home!' or 'Die a second time among the spirits!' and 'Be lost in the ground like a drop of rain!'[1] Stories of conditions in the spirit world accompany these outbursts. Many tell of a kingdom of ghosts resembling the realm of the living and some of a gradual

[1] G., *DDD.*, p. 128; G., 'Fluchen'.

process of disintegration of the soul, which finally disappears like an ant.

The use of curses (and blessings) is a privilege of the elder, but more properly the grandparental generation. If a child imitates his father or mother by uttering an oath like 'By my circumcision!' or 'If I were only dead!' it is reprimanded and beaten. In general, the person of superior status has a right to curse and his curse is more effective than that of his subordinates. Children are cursed by their parents; these in turn are treated in the same manner by the grandparents. The wife is cursed by her husband, the subject by the chief, and the poor person by the rich! The incidence of curses is therefore indicative of the existing hierarchy of authority.

Between parents and children a curse is a dangerous instrument of control. As in the case of punishment, immediate reconciliation is necessary, for the curse widens the breach caused in the co-operative unit of the family by the child's offence. For this reason, parental curses are as quickly repudiated as uttered. Sometimes this is done in a solemn ritual, and the sincerity of the change of mind is attested by a sacrifice. The father spits between the horns of the slaughtered animal and prays to his ancestors: 'Accept this victim. Do not listen to what I said before, but cheer my son and lift up his heart like the smoke of brewing!' After the sacrifice, father and son put each a skin ring on his hand, and join the company of kindred partaking of the sacrificial meal.[1] Grandparental curses, on the other hand, are less easily annulled. The greater obstinacy of old age makes it less easy to obtain a repudiation of the curse, and if death intervenes it is never withdrawn. Grandparental curses are therefore most effective checks on behaviour.

Parental curses seem thus to be derivatory, and their efficacy to depend upon a handing over of the child to the ancestors.[2] The true function of a curse is to control conduct after the death of the family member that uttered it. For through his death the educational problem arises of how the reciprocal control of conduct

[1] G., 'Fluchen'.

[2] As in the primary educational relationship between parent and child, so in the derived one between husband and wife, a curse must be ritually removed as soon as possible. On the other hand, a filial offence is said to be aggravated by the fact that it angers both parents and ancestors. Where curses are used independently of a reference to the family spirits, they tend to be viewed as spirits themselves. Cf. the curse of the cursing pot, which is addressed as a person, J. R., *Versuch*, pp. 377 *seq*, and G., *R.*, p. 644.

maintained during his lifetime can be continued. His decease releases the bereaved from the close grip of interrelated interest and endangers the ideals which they had been constrained to accept. The mechanism made to overcome this impasse is the continuation beyond death of the interrelationship of material and moral interests of the family. This extension of the family into the beyond is the basis of ancestor worship.

On the other hand, the physical removal of a person from a close circle is bound to affect behaviour permanently and is expected to affect it adversely and in a manner detrimental to the ethos of the family. As a reaction against this tendency the parental powers of reward and punishment are magnified into the authority of the dead to bless and curse, to grant offspring and to take away life. The greater stringency of the demands of piety towards deceased relatives is a principle which underlies many primitive customs. Primogeniture is ritually commemorated at the circumcision and marriage of siblings of a predeceased first-born. The husband influences his wife's conduct beyond his death by making her drink a few drops of his blood and adjuring her! 'If you abandon the orphans, my blood will kill you! If you look after them, this blood exchange will be a blessing to you.'[1]

The inclusion of the spirits in the social system of the living, the unbroken continuity of a family with its ancestors, the extension of the system of interrelated rights and duties into the unseen[2] necessitate that life after death be considered as complete as life in this world. Otherwise the educational effect of the extension would suffer and the constraints that are to be continued would be weakened. Consequently, the attempt is made through sacrifices, libations, prayers, and narrative embellishments to impress upon children the reality of life after death. On the other hand, the educational ideal is not only contradicted by the senses which observe the departure of life from the body, and the disintegration of the body in the soil, but is gradually overcome by the tendency to forget persons dead for some time. As a result, the temptation to evade kinship obligations is not altogether resisted. When a child is sick, his father does not at once sacrifice a goat to the ancestor pointed out to him by the diviner as the cause. He ties

[1] J. R., 'Blut- und Speichelbünde', pp. 269 *seq.*

[2] Hoernlé, A. W., 'An Outline of the Native Conception of Education in Africa', *Africa*, vol. iv, pp. 150 *seq.*

a rope round its neck, and prays: 'You ancestor, who have got hold of my child, make him well again, so that I see that it is you to whom I have to give this goat!' If the child improves the goat is not killed.[1]

It is possible now to assign to the curse and the appeal to the ancestor their places in the company of educational controls. One of the first controls used is the 'conditioning term', a word uttered in a stentorian voice in certain situations. As the child grows older, this is elaborated, by personification and by the child's use of it in inappropriate situations, into a bogy or monster. Round this figure a number of stories are invented to give it verisimilitude. In addition, a great variety of stories describing the natural and moral consequences of certain types of behaviour are used to create in the child automatically working checks activated in certain situations. A strong tendency can be observed to ensure the efficacy of these linguistic controls by employing words of high emotional tension, strong imperatives, the verbal magic of expressions of hope and despair, success and failure, threats and promises, curses and blessings. The nature of a primitive proverb cannot be grasped without this foundation. To drive home its lessons, the formal element may be strengthened even more and the imperative becomes a riddle, a goading enigma, a stimulating song, or an exciting dance.

Side by side with these linguistic directors of conduct, another control system has been elaborated. Conduct is facilitated by the presence and interaction of human beings in definite social groupings and relationships. The infant is habituated to his surroundings

[1] The theory of animism as formulated by E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, chaps. xi–xvii, assumes that primitive man is primarily interested in the fate after death of a part of man, i.e. his soul. This ghost or life principle is conceived after the analogy of the phantom self seen in dreams and visions. This idea, furthermore, is said to have served as a model for a whole hierarchy of spiritual beings, which, gradually evolved, culminated in the idea of a supreme god. Against this view, many criticisms have been levelled by Durkheim, Elliot Smith, and others. The most penetrating of these is that of Preuss, K. T., e.g. in *Tod und Unsterblichkeit im Glauben der Naturvölker* (1930), p. 17. He there asserts that to primitive man the primary fact is not the continuation of an abstraction, the soul, but the experience of a continuation of life after death as a totality. Our wider educational point of view can take into account the true aspects of both theories. Preuss's theory points at the necessity of extending the educational effect of the complete social unit in interaction beyond death. The theory of animism stresses the not less true experience that death terminates life as we know it with our senses. From the oscillation between these two points of view arise such attempts at cheating the spirits and evading the obligations of piety as are reported in the text. Cf. J. R., *Versuch*, pp. 343, 346.

under the supervision of his mother. In her absence, the nurse or an elder sibling is made to take her place. The boy is introduced to tribal activities under his father's observant eye. In the case of the death of a parent, a secondary father or mother is prepared to step into his place and thus to maintain social compulsion. Contrariwise, where there are no children, substitutes are found by the process of adoption or other legal methods of obtaining offspring. For, as the parent facilitates the child's conduct, so the child exercises a constraining effect upon his parents' behaviour. Here a double process of extension can be seen at work. When the presence of the parents cannot keep the child in check, an appeal is made to the tribal authorities.[1] Or social facilitation of conduct is achieved through reference to the continued presence of the ancestors and their extended control over human activities. Being the final link in the series of social facilitators, their powers of reward and punishment are correspondingly enlarged.

D

The ancestors are in a way inefficient supervisors and facilitators of conduct. The human qualities attributed to them induce the parents to cheat; they cause doubts and questions in the children. Moreover, the spirits only rarely give a sign of their presence; the remote ones among them are almost forgotten. The Chaga parents, therefore, 'set up on the mountain the silent observer to watch their offspring'.[2] This 'silent observer', or 'man of the sky', has not been seen by the elders themselves. Yet he is said to observe the children like an eagle in all their activities, especially when they steal. A Chaga father impresses the reality of this continuous presence upon his child by taking it every morning into the yard, where, holding its right hand, he prays to the deity and spits towards the sky. The father points to the child's shadow on the ground and calls it 'the constant guardian'. This identification of the ever-present shadow with the silent observer may also be carried out when the moon is full, or in the dark hut, when the leaping flames on the hearth project the child's figure on the wall.

[1] As will be described in Part V, Sect. 4.

[2] This expression occurs several times during the initiation teaching; cf. G., *L.*, ii, p. 12. The following paragraphs make use of the lessons listed under 'Gott und Himmelsmensch' in G., *L.*, i, p. xi, and 'Der Himmelsmensch als Gestalter und Führer des Menschen' in G., *L.*, ii, p. xii.

To make this experience indelible, the child is made to dance round the fire before its attention is drawn to the threatening figure behind it.

The 'silent observer's' chief quality is not wrath or ill-will against the human being to whom it is attached. On the one hand, he protects the weak members of the kinship group. The oppression of the nurse is checked by him; he holds his saving hand over the abnormal child and admonishes parents not to curse their unruly offspring! On the other hand, he is the guardian spirit and comforter of the child, warning it through omens, for instance, by making its toe hit against a stone. He saves it from falling, causes it to 'imitate' its parents' activities and thus to become a man. He also assures the success of the rites through which it has to pass, assists in the negotiations regarding his ward's marriage, and helps by mysterious signs to choose a site for the new household. He rewards the good behaviour of a child when it has grown up, for he causes crops to grow and cattle to thrive, and satisfies ambitions! To this anonymous entity, therefore, the parents delegate the fulfilment of their promises. But in certain respects the silent observer is not allowed to bestow blessings independently; the mediation of the grandfather is required to secure them. In other respects, he is closely connected with the family spirits; he is addressed together with them in prayers, and may be identified with them.

It is impossible to find behind these vague notions clear-cut theological concepts. If behaviour only is recorded, it is seen that the 'man of heaven' is appealed to in extremities, especially when sacrifices to the ancestors in case of illness and barrenness have proved without avail. When the family is in the depths of despair, the spirits of the right and of the left having been proved impotent, he is remembered as a saviour. To these situational peculiarities, special qualities are made to correspond. He is without name, and therefore apt to be remembered only on rare occasions. Unlike the ancestors who live in the earth, his dwelling is made in the sky. He is also distinguished from them by special cults, which, however, are rarely performed. Sacrifices are offered to him in the yard when the sun, with which he is identified in name (Ruwa), is in the zenith, whereas the ancestors receive their offerings in the dark hut or the dusky grove. Finally, to him alone are given the qualities of kindness, leniency, and justice. On the other

hand, the silent observer's supreme control over childish behaviour is not allowed to undermine parental authority. He is said to be approachable only through the ancestors; the grandfather receives the sacrifices for him, and his function as a facilitator of conduct in the absence of the parents is apparent in his being occasionally identified with the child's eldest brother.

In summing up the 'silent observer's' educational significance, it is well to realize that he is made the final arbiter, the first ancestor, the supreme judge receiving the complaints of the lowly and downtrodden. He thus exemplifies the psychological 'principle of closure', the tendency of human thought to project human circumstances into the unconditioned, to create the idea of a god, a just and wise being. He is made the controller of the affairs of men and of the behaviour of their offspring. He ultimately rewards the good and punishes the wicked, irrespective of whether they are children or parents.[1]

Appendix: The Child and Chaga Beliefs

Dr. M. Mead, in *Growing Up in New Guinea* (p. 213), asserts that 'animism is not a spontaneous aspect of child thinking, nor' is it 'characteristic of immature mental development. Its presence . . . is dependent upon cultural factors' which 'have their origin in the thought of individual adults, not in the misconception of children'. In an article on the same subject,[2] she adds that the child is sceptical towards its individual guardian spirit, although it sees its parents consult theirs through mediums; and that it shows no interest at all in the 'spirit population' of the village. Here she gives an idea of the methods by which she arrived at these results—

[1] The religious views of the Chaga have been described repeatedly; cf. J. R., 'Die Religion'; J. R., 'Über angebliche Götzen'; G., 'Die Gottesidee'; Dundas, op. cit., chap iii. Gutmann's attempt to interpret Chaga behaviour as remnants of an historical belief in a high god fails for two reasons. First, he disregards the vagueness and contradictory nature of Chaga beliefs, and the fact that there is 'little conceptual distinction between the Supreme Being and the ghosts'. Secondly, Gutmann disregards the influence of Christian ideas in crystallizing native thought. When the silent observer is said to have a son, this influence is patent. Moreover, in the texts which he submits, some of the expressions used have been coined by missionaries in order to express Christian ideas, e.g. *wunyamari* (sin), cf. G., *L.*, i, p. 91. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, in 'Zande Theology', *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xix (1937), pp. 1–47, in discussing the many interpretations to which the indefinite character of religious facts among the Zande has led, comes to conclusions about the primitive concept of god that are similar to those expressed in the text.

[2] Mead, M., 'An Investigation of the Thought of Primitive Children, with Special Reference to Animism', *JRAI.*, vol. 62, pp. 173 *seq.*

namely, observation in ordinary social situations, spontaneous drawings, ink-blot interpretations, and leading questions to provoke animistic responses.

In all these methods Dr. Mead does not take the least trouble to adapt them to the cultural milieu of the Manus child—for instance, in her questions she attributes malicious intent to a pencil, a dancing doll, a typewriter, glass chimes, and paper flowers! But a more fundamental error is to assume that the primitive child has beliefs *qua* beliefs on which he could be questioned. Even the primitive adult uses magical behaviour as a means of controlling his surroundings in circumstances where his practical experience suggests the breakdown of rational methods. His theoretical views on this behaviour are contradictory, and in most cases rationalizations invented to satisfy the inquisitive questioner.

Magic is in fact no system of beliefs, but a type of traditional behaviour employed to control human destinies in hazardous circumstances. It is, as it were, a marginal phenomenon of behaviour. Normally behaviour adjusts the organism to changes in the causal complex of which it is a unit, or in things with which interaction has become habitual. Magic, on the other hand, deals with the casual, the accidental, the unforeseen, the interfering unknowable as defined by traditional experience. In a way interaction with the physical environment is more certain, more reliable than that with human beings. For this reason, where natural causes interrupt habitual interaction, as in death or in catastrophes, primitive man concludes that the element of chance is due to semi-human beings, to ancestors, spirits, and suchlike. Magic, then, is predominantly a means of checking the instability and unpredictability of human behaviour and of influencing human or quasi-human action.

When Dr. Mead's material is scanned with this definition of magic in mind, it yields evidence which contradicts her conclusions. She has to admit that children imitate the whistling of ghosts to keep unwanted younger children away. In fact, they whistle to frighten their own parents. It is true that with regard to the *tchinal* bogy employed to intimidate the children, they apparently react to his being mentioned as if he existed. But the protective power of the guardian spirit is never appealed to by the children who have no need of it. Dr. Mead mentions only the

case of an orphan child who communes with its father's spirit because it wants him to keep it company. In the following sections, examples will be given of Chaga children using magic as an instrument of control, as a means of constraint where others fail. But if they were asked to express animistic beliefs spontaneously they would disappoint the investigator. For it is only as a means of influencing the behaviour of others that the child uses verbal and, to some extent, ritual magic. This, however, is undoubtedly a universal psychological fact, whatever the particular form in which it is expressed.[1]

Dr. Mead further asserts that Manus children show little tendency to anthropomorphize their toys. This she considers another proof of the fact that 'animism' is not a function of the child's mind. If by animism is to be understood the conceptual deficiencies which are ascribed to it by the classical school of anthropology, then Dr. Mead is wrong. For Sir James Frazer describes animism as a vagueness about the identity of things, an undifferentiated unitary experience of self and environment, and no such intellectual distortion does actually occur in the primitive mind. But if animism is the transference of our feelings and moods into inanimate objects,[2] then either the Manus children are a freak or Dr. Mead's observations inaccurate. For the creative interpretation of chosen objects as living is a universal quality of juvenile play. Without the tendency to make-believe, no child would ever become an adult (cf. sect. 8 of this part).

6. *The Reciprocity of the Educational Relationship*

The child is placed in a social machinery in which his co-operation is brought about by his membership in family, kindred group and tribe, and his status determined by his age, sex and clan affiliation. His integration with the former groupings takes place through the daily round of preparing and consuming food, the system of mutual assistance and commensality which shades

[1] Cf. Werner, H., *Einführung in die Entwicklungspsychologie*, part vi, chap. ii, which contains a comparison of primitive, juvenile and pathological types of magic. Werner distinguishes three classes of juvenile magic: (1) Personalization and demonization; (2) attempts at foreseeing the future, the use of oracles, influencing fate, and wish magic: the conviction in the force of one's wishes which may become stereotyped into spontaneous 'prayer'; (3) the tendency to repeat meticulously the phases of an action in a certain sequence, a ritual or ceremonial tendency.

[2] Fox, C., *Educational Psychology*, Second Edition, pp. 292–4.

off towards the kindred, and the annual cycle of tribal activities. His inferior status is characterized by the fact that he is submitted to a set of linguistic inducements and checks, to punitive and remunerative behaviour controls, and to prohibitions restraining his activities. On the other hand, throughout infancy the child's initiative and spontaneity is the distinctive feature of his learning processes. Is this quality lost under the relentless pressure of the social structure into which he is fitted? The answer to this question has varied from F. C. Spencer's assertion of the primitive child's complete imitativeness to Chamberlain's hypothesis of its creativeness.

The evidence from the Chaga suggests that while there is a preponderance of behaviour controls on the parental side, the child is not incapable of wielding his own. Such a statement can be more easily verified than the abstract theories mentioned. Observation establishes the fact that the child attempts to regulate the conduct of others in two spheres, in his own generation and in that of his parents. Only examples of the latter tendency prove a genuine reciprocity of the educational relationship; but for considerations of exposition both are here presented together.

The child closely observes parental behaviour and comments on it. This resembles the supervision exercised by his parents over him. He discusses their peculiarities with other children, the grandparents, and even other adults. It happens that a child accuses one parent to the other; but he is warned not to divulge secrets of family life to outsiders on pain of magic death. The child's comments take the form of blame and praise; they are sometimes standardized in songs. For instance, a father who has accomplished a praiseworthy action, such as winning a lawsuit or building a hut in one day, is extolled in this manner: 'My father, *ee hee*! What miracle did you achieve? You are like the man who discovered a stone in the sand! Father, you achieved a thing!'

While a child watches his parents especially with regard to their fairness towards him, his attention, when concerned with members of his own age-group, ranges over a wider field. Physical peculiarities are jeered at: 'He has a crooked leg! His arm isn't straight!' Greed, boastfulness, and thievishness are exposed. When a child cries for nothing his comrades gather round and scoff at him,

singing: 'Manene, have your nose cooked for yourself, have your ears stewed in milk, and when that is eaten have something else cooked!' The obligation of commensality among herds-boys is enforced in a little pantomime upon one lax in discharging his duty: 'Ng'anya, pay your debt to us! If you refuse, we'll tie you to a tree! Ng'anya, pay your debt to us, for down to the tummy the lane is wide! Ng'anya, pay your debt to us! If you bring little it will hurt you; if you bring much we shall eat it!'

The parental stratagem of determining the child's behaviour by promises is occasionally turned upon the elders themselves. Boys are not allowed to roast their own bananas. When hungry they promise their mothers broiled meat from the slaughtering place if they prepare bananas for them. Youths who want to leave home to learn a trade ask their mothers to look after their stock and promise them a blanket. Girls, desirous of earning money as maids, make their mothers agreeable by promising to buy clothes for them.

In the play-group on the pasture, promises and rewards are a favourite means of ensuring assistance. If the pasture is good, little attention is required to keep the browsing herd in order. The boys drift together and start to play games. One or two are deputed to watch the herd, and are relieved in turns. If a boy is engrossed in a game, he will promise one or two bananas to another to take his turn. If a boy harbours a grudge against one superior in strength, he engages the services of an ally to ambush the enemy and rewards him with maize or meat. Enterprising boys offer prizes for winners of wrestling bouts and races.

Threats and retributive outbursts may be observed among children when forcing their desires upon their parents. A small boy can be heard addressing his mother: 'If you don't cook food for me, I shall not take the cattle to the pasture!' In a polygamous household, where the father is often absent, such a declaration is genuinely dreaded by the mother. A girl who is not well clothed by her father announces that she will retaliate by neglecting his stock. A youth who has reason to believe that his father wishes to postpone his marriage challenges him: 'If you do not get me a wife, I shall run away to the coast and be lost to you!' This threat is sometimes executed and, of course, involves the break-up of the family, its economic basis and its ancestral cult. It frequently happens that an infant strikes his parent in a rage.

Occasionally one hears of youths beating their fathers, but such an offence must be atoned for.[1]

On the pasture an unpopular boy is beaten by his comrades or by their leader. A spoil-sport has his cattle driven away from the common and is ostracized. Older boys usually hand their cattle over to younger ones, and do not relieve them. If younger boys refuse to work on such terms, they are bullied into obedience. For this reason smaller boys do not like to herd cattle. They cannot hope to be supported by their fathers. For to complaints about a bully the latter reply: 'If anybody beats you, hit back. If you behave cowardly, I shall hate you!' Parents who make a fuss about the severity of this fagging system are laughed at. In fact, irate fathers beat their sons for lack of courage, telling them that those who do not undergo 'the tortures of the pasture' become fools in after life. The function of institutionalized bullying is to stamp out effeminateness. Moreover, in late childhood direct corrective interference from the parents is increasingly resented. Parents therefore approve of the mutual correction amongst juveniles. So keen are boys to correct one another that in the first schools established at the Kilimanjaro, boys would get up during the lessons and strike their inattentive comrades.

If a child is provoked he utters a curse against his parents. An irate boy, who had been beaten by his father, ran away and from a vantage point began to execrate him: 'May God kill you! May God strike you with blindness! May God overwhelm you with pestilence!' A child who is neglected by his parents curses them on his death-bed and his curse exterminates their offspring. The cases recorded in Gutmann's collection of pre-initiation lessons refer to an adopted child who was handed over to the chief, although it had been accepted into the family in a binding ritual; and to a stupid whom his parents left to the tender mercies of their clever sons.[2] A big child sometimes attempts to influence his parents by magical charms. He may have been refused a wish, for instance,

[1] The concept of reciprocity explains the contradictory opinions held about the nature of primitive corporal punishment. It has been observed among many tribes that children beat their parents. Of some, as, for instance, the Hottentots (cf. Francke, op. cit., p. 194) and the Trobriands, it has been asserted in addition that the elders approve such action as a sign of manhood. Of other peoples, either the absence of corporal punishment or its excessive use is reported. All these assertions can be reconciled in the statement that corporal punishment is a means of behaviour control used legitimately only in the family (and therefore not easily observed) with a tendency to reciprocation.

[2] G., *L.*, i, pp. 106, 136.

for a goat or cow, and goes to a magician, to whom he explains his trouble. He is given a special piece of wood which has been made irresistible, and is told to bite on it when he repeats his request to his father.

A youth who wishes to overcome the coyness of a girl purchases a talisman. In the age-group spells play an important role, and are not only used to exercise ascendancy over others, but definitely to injure them, an approach to sorcery. This is a formula used by a herds-boy: 'May a frog be sacrificed for you! When you go to the goats, be beaten by the pillar of the house! When you climb into the attic, be struck by the rafters! When you go to the cattle pen, be caught by the enclosure! When you go to bed, be struck by the pillow stone! When you feed the cattle, be hit by the trough! When you fetch water, fall into the ditch! When you go along the path, stumble over a stone! When you pasture the goats, may the he-goat gore you! When you compete with your pal, may he vanquish you!'

The tendency to reciprocate can be observed also when the parents have become old and their children are in full control of the homestead. Degrading and humiliating treatment of the elders does then sometimes occur. Adult sons deprive their elders of the valuable foods, meat, beer, and milk. A youth who had not yet married made his helpless father his servant. He ordered him to make the tea, sweep the house, and clean the pots and pans. The dotard dared not refuse for fear of having to go without food and clothes. But, as the Christian informant added, this boy died a terrible death. When the father grows old, it happens that the mother makes common cause with her sons. Polygamy, often said to degrade women, causes thus the lowering of the status of men in old age. When the son marries, his wife may aggravate the old man's fate. The scrapings of the pot are given him as food and he must do the filthiest jobs.

Even on the instructional side the child is not merely receptive. The intelligent child is expected to ask questions. Much of the lore retained in the memory of the older people is not reproduced spontaneously. It is yielded in response to apposite questions. The impression created by a perusal of the three volumes of traditional lessons collected by Gutmann—namely, that the educand is passive—does not represent what is happening in reality. Indeed, if one asks a Chaga where he has got his knowledge, in

nine cases out of ten the reply is: 'From nobody; I taught it to myself!'

The questions of native children vary with their ages. In early childhood they turn on the immediate environment: 'To whom do the cattle belong?' The answer is: 'To the chief.' 'Why does father kill this bull?' 'Because he has asked the chief's permission.' 'Has the chief many cattle?' 'Yes.' 'If I asked him, would I be allowed to kill cattle?' 'No, only grown-up men are.' 'What must I do to grow up?' 'If you eat well, you'll grow!' 'If I eat very, very much, shall I grow quickly?' 'You will.' Similar questions are asked about the vegetable foodstuffs.

Another type of question turns on the names and homes of passers-by, and on the origin of children. The replies to the latter question vary. Some parents say they come from the forest, where they are found each sleeping in a beehive. They are carried down by the grandmother or the midwives. Others identify the carrier with a monster, *irimu*, which also represents an ancestral ghost.[1] When natives are asked why they tell such tales, they reply that they would not like their children to make a song about it—that is, to show that they know a parental secret; or, it is said, aleatory influences must be kept away from such events. The educational function of such mystification is to maintain the social distance between the generations.

Slightly older children ask about natural phenomena and manufactured objects. The answers are either 'rational' or 'magical'. For instance: 'Where does the sun go?' 'Into the mountain', or 'Why do people die?' 'Because an ancestor or wizard bewitches them!' 'If a sorcerer sees me, will he be able to bewitch me?' 'Yes. Therefore, don't let yourself be seen on the path chewing food.' 'When we burn the weeds in the fields, where does the smoke go?' 'Into the sky.' 'If I shoot an arrow into the sky, what happens?' 'Water comes out.'

Boys and girls turn their attention to the important rites, which they look forward to with a mixture of apprehension and desire. 'When one is being circumcised, does it hurt very much?' 'It hurts

[1] This idea is vaguely connected with the belief in reincarnation of grandparents in grandchildren. The forest is the dwelling place of the spirits; the beehives, according to G., *R.*, p. 3, are still remembered as having been used as coffins for chiefs. In Shira children are trained not to enter a hut where a newborn baby is, because the *irimu* monster is there, but they are also told that the *irimu* is the father's mother.

terribly, but if you show the least sign of fear, you will be beaten.' 'If I refuse to be circumcised, what will happen?' 'You will not get a spouse, and you will be called a coward!' 'Was there ever anybody who refused to be circumcised?' 'No, never!' 'What will happen if I tremble with fear at the operation!' 'Songs will be composed about you, and the girls will despise you!' Children are told that men do not defecate, as their anus is stopped up during the initiation rites. Hence the question: 'If men do not go to stool, where does the food go?' 'It is dissolved and distributed over the whole body.' When girls question a woman during the onset of labour, they are replied to: 'Oh, I just have a headache. Go and call my husband's mother!' Only girls about to be circumcised and married are informed about a woman's fate.

Other questions lead to the beliefs regarding ancestors. 'If I dig a very deep hole, where shall I come to in the end?' 'You'll arrive in the country of the spirits.' 'How do they get food down there?' 'They till the soil as we do.' 'If I abuse an ancestor, will he hear me?' 'Indeed, when they are angered they come up and cause an earthquake.' 'When does the ancestor eat the sacrificial meat?' 'He comes at night, or sends his messenger, a bird, or a cat, as the case may be.' 'Does the beer of a libation reach the ancestors down there?' 'It does. The very smell satisfies them!'

The interests of youths and maidens turn to the legal and economic concerns of the adult. They ask about the history of their forebears, the meaning of names of persons and places, the rules of inheritance, the sequence of the marriage payments, the customs regulating the division of booty, the ownership of canals and so forth. They are replied to in stories, legends, myths and genealogical accounts. Some of the answers given at this stage insist on filial obedience beyond the time of marriage. For instance, 'Why are people taken to the initiation camp?' 'To be stopped up' (i.e. acquire the rights of an adult male). 'What is done to them there?' 'Those who don't obey their elders are thrashed!' 'Why have old people a stoop?' 'It is to preserve the life of their grandchildren!'

The reciprocity of the educational relationship thus manifests itself in an almost complete identity of behaviour controls used by the two generations in attempting to influence each other. Without doubt, parents have many advantages: they control the food, they

are physically superior, and have a wider experience and knowledge. The inferiority of the children is apparent in their inquisitiveness, in their attempts to pry into parental affairs. Leaving the deeper implications of the use of controls within the children's play-group aside for the present, it must be pointed out that this educational reciprocity is part of a wider system reaching deeply into the legal and moral conceptions of the Chaga.

Concern for the welfare of their children is made the lever with which to control the morality of the parents. If a person keeps it secret that he has found something valuable, the lives of his children are endangered. An unfaithful agistor who does not place his client's cattle in safety begets stupid children; he who does not inform the heirs of his deceased partner of the cattle in his charge loses his own children. The defier of law and order—in especial, the person who refuses to pay fines or composition money—kills his own offspring. The spells, spoken during the conclusion of blood-friendship, curse the breaker of his obligation with illness and the death of his children; contrariwise, the faithful party is promised health and success for his offspring. A person willing to atone for offences and to forgive injury is blessed: 'When your daughter cuts grass, may her sickle be firm in her hand! When your son hews firewood, may his axe not slip from the handle!' When native conceptions as to the causation of infantile diseases are examined, it is seen that the close circle of the family and neighbourhood is by its conduct responsible for the child's life and death.

The educational function of the child is thus to secure the smooth performance of legal and kinship obligations. For this reason, his welfare is made contingent upon the moral behaviour of his parents.

But it is not alone in this irrational manner that the principle of reciprocity is active. The child is secured from parental tyranny and over-indulgence by the judgement of outsiders. A mother, in sharing out food, is controlled by the opinions of her friends. A skinny child among her offspring provokes their jeers. Bias, intentional or not, is severely castigated: 'In that house some [i.e. children] are of the breast and some of the back.' The metaphor, according to Gutmann, is taken from the behaviour of baboon mothers, who place the most favoured youngest child on the breast when the troop is in danger. Some of the proverbs used

as checks upon parental errors are striking: 'The hornbill said he would lick his child into shape, and, lo and behold, what a misshapen beak it got!' is an adage addressed to fussy parents. 'If you rub fat on your head, hairs will come out' is said to elders who yield too much to their offspring. 'The bird's child washes itself in the evening' suggests that parents should not demand too much from their children; in the end they will learn how to behave. 'The teacher often commits adultery himself' is a reminder to over-strict parents.

These comments on parental behaviour show that the natural superiority which the older generation possesses cannot be applied in an arbitrary fashion. On certain institutionalized occasions, such as a beer party, difficulties between father and son are talked over by the kindred. If complaints are not heeded, a palaver is held. Definite standards are set up in this connexion. If a boy of fourteen cannot cut fodder, herd cattle, till 'easy' fields, and, when older, cannot do these things with speed and efficiency, the parents are blamed for not having trained him properly. If a girl cannot keep the animals' compartment clean, prepare easy dishes, milk the cows, and improve in these and similar things as she grows older, this is put down to her faulty 'education'. It can therefore be asserted that in primitive society the right to 'education' is safeguarded in a loose and semi-legal manner by the principle of reciprocity.

7. *The Play-Group: Its 'Culture' an Anticipation of Adult Life*

A

In order to understand the employment of behaviour controls by children in their own age-group, it is necessary to observe them at play. It is possible to classify play activities under three headings; first, the playful exercise of sensory and motor apparatus resulting in the adaptation of the organism to its physical environment; secondly, imitative play consisting of representation of adult life to fit the social needs of childhood; and, thirdly, competitive games which test the physical, intellectual, and social qualities of the individual. It might be suggested that these three types of play activity follow one another in time, the first falling into infancy, the second into childhood, and the third into adolescence. But such a scheme would be superficial. For it was described

above[1] how the spontaneous exercise of the limbs is intimately connected with the first 'imitative' exertions of the child. Moreover, games may be looked upon as a traditional way of exercising the senses and motor mechanisms of the body.

Another fallacy is involved in the assumption that the sequence of play activities is accompanied by a process of socialization.[2] As will be shown, mimicry play involves two types of 'socializing' processes: that among the children taking part in it and, secondly, that between the pattern, represented by adults in their institutionalized conduct, and the copy, the play-group. On the other hand, games involve an individualizing process, the singling out of champions and unplaced competitors.

Important aspects of the first type of play activity having already been examined, it is possible to proceed at once to the other two types. The mimicry play of childhood apparently copies adult life in so far as it comes under the children's observation. It requires in most cases the presence of a number of performers, and the child is drawn through it into a community of contemporaries. Together they enact the round of daily work, the activities of the annual cycle and scenes from individual life histories, such as birth, marriage, and death.

One of the favourite themes of mimicry play is the building of a hut. Any person strolling over the pastures or through the groves cannot but notice the many and varied miniature dwellings built by the children. Some are made of sticks and grass, others of dracaenas rammed into the ground, others, again, of clay mixed with water. The huts are usually not destroyed at once and often serve as a centre of imitative play activities for a long period.

Before the children build a hut, a distribution of roles takes place. Bigger children act as fathers and mothers, the smaller ones are told to be nurses, babies, and minor relatives. The 'fathers' go to a near bush to cut poles. The 'mothers' search for grass, which they cut, tie into neat bundles, and carry to the spot selected as site. As they do so, they sing songs heard from their sisters and mothers. Sometimes the 'thatch' is very deficient; a few leafy branches are considered enough. Crooked and branchy sticks may

[1] Part III, Sect. 6., 'The Development of Manipulative Skill through Play and Work'.

[2] Piaget, in *Judgement and Reasoning in the Child*, p. 73, quotes Cousinet as saying that the process of socialization in play advances from imitation and auto-suggestion to competition and the evolving of rules.

be employed as poles. The juvenile architects are satisfied with constructing the outer framework. Only one hut of the many which I saw had a central pole to support the roof, and none any of the partitions which subdivide the Chaga home. Most of them have a hole in the middle in which the food stores of the play-group are kept. When the work is complete, a 'beer carousal' joins all the workers in merry conviviality.

Occupants have to be found for the new domicile. Some of the bigger boys approach the girls and accost them: 'Hullo, girls, what are you playing?' 'Nothing in particular. Can you suggest something nice?' 'What about becoming our wives?' If the girls agree, they usually make some such stipulation as: 'If you want to marry us, we must cook bananas for you as mother does for father. And if you are good husbands, you will have to provide us with meat and clothes! Do you hear?' The reply is full of confidence: 'No fear about that. We are rich. Look at the number of cattle we own!' With this the boys produce their herd, consisting of certain fruits and stones, which they roll along on the ground.

The payment of the bride-price is the next step. It is represented by tokens. When there are only two boys at play, they assume the role of wealthy fathers; bride and bridegroom are symbolized too; the place of the parents may be taken by sticks. An important part of the juvenile wedding ceremonies is the 'lifting of the bride'. This custom consists in waylaying and capturing the bride, and then transporting her on the shoulders of the bridegroom's henchmen to his home. This now obsolete form of marriage is continued as an independent tradition in the play-group. As children are prohibited from attending weddings, their dances, songs, and drum calls are not reproduced with great faithfulness to detail.

At last husband and wife can move into their hut. They are immediately surrounded by a group of offspring. The father demands that a meal be cooked. Quickly the scene is shifted to represent a market place. The mother begins to argue with some other children who pretend to sell food. After some haggling, the sellers produce earth, leaves, or sticks, announcing them to be milk, maize, or bananas, and the buyer pays, using stones for money. The 'food' is taken to the hut. The earth is poured into the hollow of the stem of a banana plant, which serves as a cooking

pot. The mother says she must add some salt solution and proceeds to fetch water. Remembering that they must have a hearth, three or four stones are quickly gathered and arranged, a few sticks laid between, and 'the pot' balanced on top. Immediately the food is declared to be done enough, it is shared out, each member of the play family raising some of the earth to his mouth and then throwing it away. The 'nurse' is given food for the 'baby' and is allowed to lick the pot. Sometimes the 'baby' is inconsolable until it receives a second helping.

Not only the pleasurable side of married life is re-echoed in childish play, but also its cares and responsibilities. The tender cares of motherhood are enacted on dolls. Chaga dolls are not elaborate, like the clay dolls of the Nyamwezi people. Maize cobs and, more frequently, stalks of banana bunches are used, and either the natural integument or some rag does for clothes. The division of labour between husband and wife is observed. The 'husband' pretends to go a-hunting, he protects the fields against imaginary animals, and attends quickly constructed beehives. The girls stage markets, till fields cleared by their juvenile husbands, and tend the fire, real or imaginary, which for convenience' sake is lighted 'out of doors'. Play becomes realistic when 'the husband' marries subsidiary wives and holds beer carousals to which he invites his playmates, with whom, in the end, he may engage in a tussle. If enough children are present, they found several homesteads, and they dramatize the system of reciprocal entertainment and assistance, including the attempts at evading its obligations. Even from the final tragedy of life, death, children do not shrink. A grave is quickly dug and some substitute animal, such as a frog or lizard, is buried. It happens that a brave boy volunteers to let himself be covered up with earth.

As the boys grow older, they extend the range of their play-activities according to their widening acquaintance with adult life. The separation of the sexes begins now, at about twelve, to affect the composition of the play-groups; but it is never complete till puberty sets in. Girls drift into the society of women, which, like that of the men, tends to be exclusive, not only with regard to work, but also with regard to pastimes. With boys the great personage fancied now is the chief. The 'chief of the pasture' may be elected, but more frequently it is the boy of outstanding physical and mental qualities who assumes this post. He initiates at once

a copy of the engagements at a chief's court, be they merry or serious. In such play the change of roles is frequent. The boy who a minute ago impersonated a revered elder relative of the chief now acts with equal zest the role of a humble commoner eager to obtain praise from his lord, and a corresponding reward—say, a stone in lieu of a cow's hind-leg—from his stewards.

At the time of a locust invasion, the attention of the play-group turns on the campaign waged by government through the chiefs. One of the boys, acting as headman, announces: 'It is evening now.' Everybody disappears into his little shelter and listens to the headman blowing through the hollow of his hand as if it were a horn: 'To-morrow early—every man to turn up—with his locust beater—to go to the plains!' Then all the boys are quiet for a time, till the headman makes his round again: 'The sun is rising—come with your whisks—to kill locusts in the plains!' Out they come from their makeshift huts, more eager than their fathers, shouting for their neighbours and greeting them in polite fashion: 'Friends, let us go to kill locusts for the government!' They move to an open place, where they all squat down, beating the ground with their whisks till they are tired. Then they return to their village, singing a song in swaggering manner, shouting boasts and challenges as they march. The chief receives them, expressing his pleasure, and invites them to a drink of beer, which in reality is water, served in bowls quickly carved out from a banana stem.

Children frequently stage a court sitting. The occasions for 'legal interference' arise from the carousals at which the boys get 'drunk', start to quarrel, and fight. It is enacted with all the personages whom the play-group, out of their pooled knowledge, remember as playing a role in such affairs. There is the plaintiff supported by his advisers, the defendant with his; the chief comes to preside over the hearing of the case and is accompanied by other boys pretending to be the wise men of the tribe. In this reconstruction smaller children put up a poor show. Only a few and not even the salient features of legal procedure have been grasped by them. The monotonous recitation of his case by the plaintiff is rendered by a continuous hum, but the intermittent reply uttered after each supposed sentence by one of his supporters comes clearly: '*Ee-ee!*' The reaction of the accused party in listening to the charge is one of the things 'imitated' early: whenever the plaintiff makes a statement which the defendant

considers to be untrue, he breaks a stick and throws the pieces among the old men as a sign of his disagreement. When the boys grow older, they invent cases, especially after they have started to be trained by their fathers in the complexities of agistment claims. The limitations placed upon native courts by governmental decree are not felt to be binding in the children's court. It is therefore not surprising to find them carrying out corporal punishment, forcing the culprit to lie down flat, to be belaboured by a 'policeman' in fun. If he struggles, the elders double the sentence. These latter are the recipients of fines in cattle and beer, for which they accept stones and water respectively. Many other chiefly activities are simulated by the boys of the play-group which cannot be described here.

In drawing conclusions from this survey of 'imitative' play activities, it has become apparent that the meaning of the term 'imitation' must be carefully defined. If it is to imply the repetition of the behaviour of one person by another observing him, the phenomena described do not fall within the definition. If, on the other hand, we agree upon a wide interpretation, defining imitation as a means of transmitting the experience of generations[1] or as any action of one mind upon another[2] some of the essential aspects of mimicry play are excluded thereby. From the sociological point of view, the copying of actions among people having the same status—as in the case of the spreading of a new fashion—must be clearly distinguished from 'imitation' which cuts across boundaries of status, such as is seen in the native's craze for European clothes and the child's pretence of acting the role of an adult. While in the former case, the presence of 'likemindedness' may be assumed, in the latter the mentality of the imitator differs profoundly from that of the imitated, and his performance has an altogether different function from the original.[3]

For instance, in playing at marriage, the children taking part have not seen the ceremonies performed. Much of the subject matter of 'imitative' play is, in fact, relayed through the medium

[1] Stout, G. F., *A Manual of Psychology*, Fourth Edition (1929), p. 355.

[2] Tarde, G., *The Laws of Imitation*, Preface to Second Edition, p. xiv (New York, 1903); quoted from Karpf, F. B., *American Social Psychology* (1932), p. 103.

[3] Fortes, M., op. cit., pp. 45–8, gives a number of examples bearing out the interpretation of Chaga play adopted here. He calls the factor of 'imitation' present in play 'mimesis', and the factor of dramatic impersonation 'identification'.

of speech only. Most children know but by hearsay of weddings and court meetings. If, therefore, the term 'imitation' is to be retained, it should be qualified by some such term as 'blind', for the children's performance resembles much more a reconstruction of certain happenings from a limited number of data.

Furthermore, 'imitative' play activities never achieve a complete reproduction of the example, nor are they intended to do so. They are clearly selective. Certain traits important or striking to the child, and to him alone, are chosen from the adult pattern and are remoulded in his hands. This becomes apparent in the 'imitation' of so-called bride-lifting. There were several cogent reasons why this method of marriage was sometimes resorted to. But none of the economic or moral considerations that prompted it have any weight with the children on the pasture. As it has fallen into disuse among grown-ups, it might be suggested that it is a survival of custom in the play-group, a mere form without meaning. To this it can be replied that to both boys and girls the lifting is the vital part of the ceremony of wedding as practised by them, the symbol of marriage as they understand it.

The essential feature of 'imitative' play is therefore that of make-believe, the tendency of the child to construct an imaginary adult society from the scraps he is allowed to know about it. It is important to realize in this connexion that this type of play is indulged in when the child is not in direct contact with adult society, and, in addition, that children play with mimic cattle when they are actually in charge of the real herd. In the majority of cases, the themes of 'imitative' play are not immediately suggested by events in adult life at all. Rather, the choice of subject and its development are a result of the child's independent and spontanteous action. In mimicry play, the significant aspect is the juvenile tendency to act roles.

It is thus necessary to differentiate between cases in which the physiological and experiential conditions of pattern and copy differ and those in which they are alike. In the latter it is legitimate to talk of imitation; in the former not. For instance, in the 'imitation' of married life infantile sexuality is something different from adult sexuality; the copying must therefore have different implications. To express this difference of function, it is better to introduce a new term. 'Imitative' play is the particular response of the child to his adult social environment; in it

he anticipates adult life. The term 'anticipation' is the best to cover those aspects which make play appear to be imitative and preparatory, and those which show that it performs an independent function.

The presence in play of this additional factor can be proved by certain facts. It happens that the nurse or mother teaches the child a song, a dance, or some activity of adult life. In many cases the pleasure of young children in such 'imitations' is excited by what adults consider irrelevant. For instance, when Foibe was taught to stir the pot, she was not at all desirous of mixing its contents, but delighted in pounding up and down with the spoon. When Siairuka 'imitated' his seniors' hoeing, he was quite oblivious of the fact that it had a utilitarian purpose and indulged in removing stones from the yard, destroying thereby its well-beaten smoothness. For this reason the Chaga parent is warned in a lesson of the initiation camp not to despise these apparently irrelevant and useless activities of the child, but to see in them promise of future efficiency.[1]

Secondly, parental indignation at childish 'imitativeness' is connected with the fact that the developmental tendency in anticipatory play is not towards making the copy exact, but towards caricaturing the pattern. This does not contradict what has been observed with regard to the anticipation of court procedure. It was said, then, that younger children insist on a meticulous repetition of a few—in their experience salient—features, but that as they become older their play becomes more truly representative. It is true that the children correct any one who deviates from the pattern as it is pictured in their minds, and that this mutual correcting process has the cumulative effect of comforming the child in an ever-increasing degree to the adult pattern. Yet closer observation reveals that the selecting process tends more and more to stress aspects which make adult cares appear to be ridiculous.

This tendency is perhaps best illustrated by reference to the 'imitation' of the white man, to the Chaga child a representative of the extended parental generation whom he addresses as 'father'. In play centring round the subject 'school and teacher', much can be found which caricatures the foreign educational system. In a country where nobody except the teacher has a watch, our

[1] G., *L.*, i, p. 398.

time-ridden methods of work can be found symbolized by a great clock of sand in front of the make-believe school. The over-emphasis on literary achievements is represented in books of vegetable leaves from which the children read in a monotonous tone. Severity of punishment is distinctive of European education, for some of the lessons given by the deputizing teacher on the pasture are a series of harsh disciplinary measures. There is, of course, endless scope for copying the white man with the beard, the missionary, the emphasis being on those aspects of his many-sided personality which he would fain not have noticed at all. The juvenile minister insists on an appropriate get-up in which the long surplice and the wide sleeves are especially emphasized. In his sermons, the missionary's linguistic mistakes and mannerisms are reproduced so as to cause uproarious applause from the audience. Of the church ceremonies baptism is the favourite for it gives the minister a chance to sprinkle his converts with water according to their deserts, while in the choice of names he selects characteristic ones, such as 'Lover-of-food', 'Stupid', 'Dwarf', and 'Bully'.

A third and very important fact distinguishing the imaginative anticipation of adult life from mere imitation is the multiplicity of symbols representing one and the same object from adult life. It is as if the juvenile tendency to act in roles could not proceed entirely *in vacuo*, but needs concrete representations to work on. The children produce these mostly themselves, making use of whatever material offers itself and supplementing their deficient skill by make-believe. Some of the tokens are very simple; stones and fruit of a particular shape will do. Sometimes bananas or potatoes are used as cattle, especially when these are for slaughter. A banana leaf serves as a mule; the tip of a banana bunch as a bull. Occasionally insects are herded, such as grasshoppers, butterflies, and scarabs. Babies are represented by maize cobs and banana tips. Less frequently they are cut out from the soft stem of a banana plant and supplied with nose, eyes, and fibres plaited into a coiffure. Dolls are also carved from wood and vary in size from a few inches to half a yard or more, the eyes being represented by beads. Where the soil is suitable, as in Moshi and Machame, clay models are set up and huts are constructed over them, after they have been allowed to dry in the sun. The finished model shows a gaping mouth, and sometimes for the eyes there are

two red flowers. Animals are made of clay, too.[1] In a similar manner, the representations of houses, utensils, clothes, ornaments, weapons, and musical instruments show a great variety of forms. This proves conclusively that the salient feature in play is not imitation or reproduction, but representation. For the anticipatory make-believe of childhood, the slightest suggestion of resemblance is sufficient.[2]

B

The making and handling of toys develops certain skills. When playing at herding, a sort of relief map is made with huts, paths, hills, and open spaces. The herds are rolled along to a place with grass, the pasture. Sometimes the boys are not satisfied with stones and fruit as tokens, and prepare more ambitious models. As the girls for their dolls, so they for their animals take the stalks of banana bunches, put four sticks into each for legs, burrow two holes in the front part to serve as eyes, insert sisal fibres in the back by way of tail, and push a piece of wood pointed at both ends through the stalk so that it projects to the right and left in the manner of ears. A string to pull the beast completes the equipment. The boys build byres, strew bedding, and tie their animals to miniature posts.

The development of manual skill in creating the cultural outfit of the play-group is closely dependent on the raw material of its environment. A great variety of facts are in this manner learned

[1] Dolls have excited the attention of ethnographers, to the exclusion of other aspects of child life. A lucid survey of African dolls is given by Germann, P., 'Afrikanische Puppen', in Reche, *In Memoriam Karl Weule* (Leipzig, 1929). He distinguishes three types of dolls: (1) those used in juvenile play, very simple and produced by the child from suitable material of his environment; (2) those given to brides during initiation as fertility charms and part of their magical educational outfit in order to secure what the dolls represent, i.e. children; (3) those made by mothers to carry about as representations of their children whose welfare they thus secure. These magical doubles or 'twins' are very elaborate in finish and quite obviously the work of adults. Germann's exposition indirectly supports the anticipation theory. Children's dolls may be imitations of the other two types, or they may have been invented independently. What is more significant is that dolls serve different purposes in accordance with the varying interests of their makers.

[2] This fact, being of great educational importance, is expressed in the proverb: 'A feather is a feather; although it be the francolin's, use it by all means.' The situation represented in this saw is a meeting of warriors all adorned with ostrich feathers, the traditional outfit for war. The boys present, assuming the role of soldiers, pick up any feathers they find and put them in their hair, and are praised, as they thus show that they are getting ready for war. Cf. J. R., *Versuch*, p. 291.

by the child. He acquires the capacity of behaving according to the conditions of his surroundings, and increases the number of habits or ways of co-operative interaction with the environment in which he moves. This is shown by the fancy clothes worn and created on the pasture. Hats are made from leaves tacked together with thorns or glued with latex. Wooden slippers are carved from soft wood. They are fastened with leather straps and worn during the wet season. This is done only in districts where the loamy nature of the soil causes the ground to be slippery after rain. The hollow twigs of the castor-oil plant invite to the cutting of rings, which are proudly displayed on the fingers. Flowers are intertwined into chains and worn round the neck like beads. Girls are fond of fringing banana leaves and putting them round their hips as frocks.

Although a Chaga boy would be incapable of expressing his knowledge in generalizations, yet he has a practical acquaintance with the laws of physics. In reacting to the properties of air, he has evolved a set of musical instruments quite independent of those used by his elders. He prepares a humming top by hollowing out the fruit of the *nrowo* tree and supplying it with air holes. When it has been fitted with a stick, which serves as revolving pin, it can be spun on the ground and produces a rumbling sound. It is often played on skins or banana leaves at the harvesting of maize.[1] Children make humming boards, too. Any kind of wood can be used. The boards are elongated in shape and must be scraped thin. They are swung round on a string made of banana bast. Smaller children are afraid of the loud noise produced, but no myth seems to be remembered in connexion with it.[2] The sound resembles that of a big bird flapping its wings, and can be heard especially at the beginning of the greater rains.

[1] Spinning tops are favourite toys among boys. They are mainly used during August and September, after the wet season; just as in Europe they can be seen on the roads in spring. Of the four types of tops distinguishable (cf. Damm, H., 'Kreiselspiele bei den Indonesiern und Südseevölkern', in Reche, *In Memoriam Karl Weule*, pp. 299 *seq.*), all seem to be represented among the Chaga, viz. tops without pin, cone-shaped and worked with a whip; tops with a globular body through which a pin is driven; tops with a flat body (bone or stones) and pin; tops with a sound-producing body which are sometimes fitted with a winding-up mechanism. The second and third kinds are often rotated with the fingers.

[2] Humming boards are known all over the world. They are used during initiation to frighten women and children, and their sound is often said to be produced by a monster. They must not be seen by uninitiated persons. As regards theory of one common origin, cf. Lowie, op. cit., p. 297.

A variety of wind-instruments are made by children. Flutes are cut from bamboo (Shira district) and branches of the pawpaw tree so that a joint forms the closed end. The blow-hole is near this end and two to four stop-holes are arranged near the open end. These flutes are used by girls in the Moshi chieftainship towards the end of the greater rains. To make a pan-pipe, suitable pieces of the branches of a castor-oil plant are joined together by small cross-pieces, so that the open ends all look in one direction. Triangular holes are cut along the sides of the pipes to let the breath escape. As they are of different length, the notes produced differ. Instruments making use of the vibration of thin material stretched over an opening have been invented recently by Chaga boys. The usual type is a pipe with its two ends covered over with skin or paper, a blow-hole, and a second hole serving as vent. More ambitious specimens can be found, using the pattern suggested by European trumpets. One such instrument has a mouthpiece inserted in a pipe, the lower end of which is covered with a skin.

It will have been observed that some of these musical activities are seasonal. Such a variation of play life with the climatic cycle and the occupational sequence of adult life is a general phenomenon. Before the greater rains, the gathering clouds are watched with interest, as the whole creation yearns for refreshment. Clouds spreading over the forest are explained to the children as a sign that an elephant has died; the fluffy cirrus announces the birth of a leopard cub or zebra foal. The excitement is great when the first big drops are falling. The children are told to go out into the rain, to dance round the house and sing: 'The rain brings profit to the (diligent) tillers, but it is wasted on the lazy.' They are also told that the first rain makes them grow, and they run about in it, placing their hands upon their heads and singing some made-up song, for instance: 'Rain, come quick!', or 'May I grow, may I grow tall!' When rain surprises the family in the field, the bigger children are sent home in advance and told to light the fire. The reason given is that otherwise lightning will shatter the house. Thunder is explained as a sign that rain has started to fall in the groves of the rich people and that it will soon come to the fields of the poor. If it rains and the wind storms, the children run into the house, take off their wet clothes and sit round the fire to warm themselves. They start a song: 'It rains like a flood that uproots

trees, because an elephant died in the Marera ravine, the whirlwind comes down from Lasoe Hill, the whirlwind breaks down houses, *ee*, mother!'

Indoors, children pass their time in dancing, singing, playing hide-and-seek, and pinching one another in the dark. When the rain subsides, they rush out into the yard, throw each other down into the mud and slide down slopes. Hail is greeted with great joy. They take the hailstones into their mouths and enjoy their pleasant taste. Children collect them in receptacles and use them as cough medicine. Boys occupy themselves with catching rats by flooding their burrows. Incidentally, they help thereby to protect the sprouting crops, whose roots suffer then more than at any other time from the ravages of vermin. During the first heavy showers, the winged termites come out of their dwellings and the children run about collecting them. Part of the catch is eaten raw, but they taste better roasted. Another species of white ant lives in the plains, where it builds picturesque ant-heaps. The children organize expeditions there, shade the exits with leaves and blow air into the passages to induce them to come out.

As the rainy season wears on through several months of cold and wet weather, the children begin to long for the return of the sun. God, they are told, is sick. Thus they sing on the pasture: 'Sun shine! I will give you good broth, old man! Sun, shine! We shall roast a yam for you under yon tree! Sun shine, and I shall slaughter the red cow for you!' Another song is rather boorish in tone: 'Sun shine! so that I can brew beer to give to my father. It is sure to make him drunk! He will beat my mother, she will run away, and leave her house and food to me. I shall lick the pot then and grow very, very big!' The appearance of a rainbow leads to a competition. One shouts: 'It's mine!' and another, 'It's mine!' When the quarrel has continued for some time, they agree that each claimant should own one of the coloured bands. When the sun sets, boys climb into trees to see him sink behind the distant horizon. They say: 'He is sure to bring us something lovely to-morrow!'

The sight of the moon provokes the children to a quarrel as to whose yard she is in. The halo of the moon is considered an omen of death. Yet the children, quite undaunted, spit at her and ask her to grant certain requests: 'Moon, I have seen you! May my father's cow give birth to a heifer that I shall have milk! May my

mother's brother's cow give birth to a steer, that I may obtain a sister's son's share of meat!'[1] When there is full moon, the children run about in the yard playing hide-and-seek and other games.

When the stars come out on a dark night a boy may point at a particularly bright one and say: 'I love that child. It will have to be my wife!' When a shooting star is seen, they are told that it shows the direction in which their future wives live. Children try to count the stars and compare the star-studded sky to a market-place: 'Look, that's where they sell sugar cane, and there are bananas!' A cluster of stars may be interpreted as a slaughtering scene. As they are told that many stars mean a fertile year, they become concerned if there are only a few to be seen: 'I shan't get food this year, but may be mother will find something to cook!' Thus Chaga children prove the truth of the saying: 'Man, though dependent on his body, has the sun and the stars as the playthings of his mind' (Kemp Smith).

Not only by direct cognitive reference, but also by a well-regulated sequence of play activities, do children fall in with the seasons. This repeats itself year after year, for 'the external influences of Nature which affect life are rhythmical'.[2] This externally imposed rhythm brings about a uniformity of behaviour which it would be difficult to effect through organization and regulation. The child's particular response to his physical environment results in a training which, though not directly arising from the parent-child relationship, yet influences it. For the child, as a manufacturer of playthings from natural objects, creates for himself a sphere of activities which may be defined as an 'incipient culture', as a system of interactions between organic needs and external conditions which become habits.

In addition the beginnings of 'custom' can be observed in the play activities. For, apart from the use of objects available at

[1] This wish-spell was recorded in J. R., *Versuch*, p. 366, in 1909. It can still be heard recited at the present day.

[2] Fox, C., *Educational Psychology*, Second Edition, p. 311. Dr. A. I. Richards told the author that among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia the prevailing hunger before harvest time exercises a most depressing influence on play-life. The children are listless and frequently wail with hunger. After the harvest play activities are resumed in full. The Chaga live in a country with an evenly distributed supply of rain, so that famines are exceptional. It is probable that when famines occurred in the past, conditions resembled those still recurring among the Bemba. Dr. Richards's observation explains to some extent the assertion of travellers that native children do not play or possess toys.

rhythmical intervals, games follow their own traditional cycle. In the last resort, this cycle may be referable to favourable climatic conditions, to connexions with the routine of adult work, to whether the requisite plants are available or not, and similar considerations. Yet in quite a number of play sequences these explanations do not fit, and the most feasible hypothesis for them is that the play-group has its own tradition. Thus among the Chaga of the Kilimanjaro the big *oro* contests (to be described presently) take place during the rainy season, whereas the kindred Arusha hold them during the hot time. In the dry season a great number of round games are played, and the construction of vehicles also falls within this period.

C

If it is true that the play-group has its own peculiar material outfit and follows its independent traditions, it is necessary to examine more closely its social organization and its 'educational' effects. As in mimicry play, the child group anticipates adult life, and through the manufacture of toys creates its own outfit, so through competitive games it carries out a selective process which determines the status of the individual. For the continuous testing of physical adaptability, mental alertness, and social qualities going on in the play-group leads to the intimidation and subjection of those who fail, while those that are successful are received as equals and those of exceptional skill assume leading positions.

The novices of the play-group have to undergo a severe introductory training in the form of practical jokes. Small boys are advised not to grasp nettles boldly and touching them gingerly are, of course, stung. A species of bird called *kilepuru*, they are told by the experienced boys, can be caught if approached with closed eyes. The novice gropes about for one and after some fumbling opens his eyes. The birds are gone and he is mocked: 'Why on earth did you open your eyes!' An older boy pinches a youngster and, admitting his deed, says: 'I'll let you have some of my snuff, only stop crying!' Getting hold of the child's thumb and index finger, he moves them towards the sufferer's nose and quickly makes the fingers nip it. Or the old hand tells the novice: 'Do you know that there is an eye under the thumb-nail?' He takes a thorn and pushes it under the nail so that the novice writhes with pain.

'It's the eye that pains!' he is told. Or a 'fresher' is invited by an older herds-boy to stand on his outstretched legs when he sits down, and then to jump off at a given sign. At the moment of jumping the sitting boy pushes his legs upwards so that the other loses his balance. When the smaller boys fall asleep on the pasture, they later find their legs tied with lianas or attached to a log of wood.

Into some of these pranks a certain competitive element enters. On separating in the evening, a boy prods his playmate, calling, 'The *ngova* is yours', and runs away as quickly as he can. If the surprised boy cannot overtake the other he is mocked: 'You are carrying "the prod" home! It is left with you to sleep with!' Or when the boys are already separated by a distance, one calls the other by name. If he replies, he is told: 'Have a toad slaughtered for yourself and use its skin as bedding!' Milksops come home crying after such a parting, but are further teased by their parents.[1] Two lianas are used for a tug-of-war in such a manner that they are passed the one through the other, and each of two boys holds a pair of ends. While they pull they utter a magical wish, singing: 'May my cow lick salt and yours break her horn!'

Contests in jumping, swimming, and tobogganing are undoubted trials of skill. In the high jump, two sticks are set up, across whose forked tops a rod is laid. Any one upsetting the tackle is thrashed. The traditional measure in the long jump is a banana leaf. Smaller boys are overjoyed when they can jump over the breadth of it. For tobogganing, Shira children use the hard fruits of the *kigelia* tree, which are the shape of a large cucumber. The boys cut seats into them and ride down steep grass-covered slopes. Another favourite test of skill is swinging. The play-group usually 'owns' a large tree from whose branches thick lianas hang. The boys are swung about on them in turn. Where there are no lianas, they sit on low branches and make them move up and down. More dangerous is jumping from branch to branch, which is first practised on smaller trees. Here the make-believe tendency can be seen at work: the boys pretend to be monkeys escaping from a leopard. A fall not infrequently causes bruises and sometimes more serious injuries. If asked at

[1] G., 'Kinderspiele'. Similar games recorded of European peoples in Böhme, F. M., *Deutsches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel*, p. 589.

home about their wounds, boys tell a white lie rather than admit that they fell off a tree.

Soon the normal performance of the body is found to be an insufficient measure of skill. Boyish ambition concentrates on twisting and distorting the limbs. Some of the feats are licking one's elbow or nose or making the two elbows meet behind one's back. A most difficult achievement is that of a boy whose hands are tied behind his back and who has to place a stone on his head. When novices are present, the boy hides behind a bush, draws his legs up against his body, passes his buttocks and legs through his arms, and puts the stone on his head. Then he replaces his arms behind his back and shows himself. Not all boys can do that.

Some of these knacks resemble tricks. For instance, a boy pushes a thorn into the skin of his arm so that it stands upright. Then he strikes the thorn with his other hand, but only apparently so, as he takes care to place the thorn between two fingers and to lift it off. After a few more violent blows following quickly one upon the other, the trickster pulls the thorn 'out' from the under side of the arm.

The following is a test of speed: one boy stretches out his arm, making it rigid; a second boy begins to beat him slightly with the edge of his palm, starting at the wrist and moving up towards the biceps. In so doing he says adjuringly: 'I am cutting you and you shall weep!' The other replies 'No', and watches carefully, for suddenly there follows a blow at the strained muscle, and if not quickly evaded it hurts a good deal. In these contests, too, make-believe asserts itself. For instance, in finding out who can jump best on one leg, the boys sing: 'Kingfisher, kingfisher!' and imitate the bird's jerking movements.[1]

Sometimes one sees boys engaged in rough horseplay, tripping one another, kicking out with their heels and treading upon one another. Where such pastimes are orderly and regulated, genuine competitive games are played. For instance, a hitting game is known with definite rules. The opponents face each other, covering their heads with their left hands. Blows are only allowed on the back, so that the boys must fight stooping. They hit away at each other till one begs for pardon. To avoid such disgrace, some boys are known to have continued fighting till they were exhausted.

[1]Most of these examples are taken from G., 'Kinderspiele'.

Another way of comparing physical strength is wrestling. Two parties are formed, often on the basis of district or kinship membership, and boys challenge each other to duels. If a boy feels he is no match for his challenger, he may refuse to fight, on pain of being ridiculed. Except that the contest must consist in four bouts, no rules are observed. If the opponents are well matched, they shake hands at the end of their performance in mutual appreciation. The victor is extolled, and the vanquished derided to such an extent that he may pounce on the onlookers in blind rage. If the wrestling is performed by champions of districts the honour of victory and the disgrace of defeat are greater.

A kind of tournament is performed in which the combatants approach each other, riding on the shoulders of other boys. Those that are thrown off are derisively called 'women', while those that retain their seats are lauded for their manliness. Another test consists in staring into an opponent's eyes. He who blinks first is jeered at. This is explained as a preparation for battle, in which self-control forms part of courage. Boys also anticipate the trials of circumcision and initiation by twisting pieces of leather into wicks and burning them on their arms. The more scars a boy has the prouder he is, and the more authority he possesses in his play-group.

In all these contests the office of umpire is unknown, but the onlookers pronounce their judgements unequivocally, praising the clean and successful competitor and reproving the foul fighter and loser. Sometimes the cool pitching of strength against strength results in serious uncontrolled fighting into which the onlookers are drawn according to their territorial or kinship loyalties.

Quite a different type of game is concerned with finding out the mental alertness of a child. For one of these games, the midrib of a banana leaf is notched round its edge. The competitors pass their fingers round it, saying as quickly as they can, '*Kibere, kibere, kibere*', The first child that has to stop to take breath is laughed at. Many counting rhymes are known, some of which are made up of obsolete words. The children use them for counting toes and fingers, or for reciting. Here is an example from Shira: '*Ngwe, ngwe, ngwe, ngwe, pweha, naasha, viombe, fasila, ndugu, maunga!*' The meaning of these terms is not clear,

except that the first four words stand for the old Banta numeral, 1. Other counting rhymes convey a meaning, for instance: 'Pals,—beloved ones,—who—beat—*chenene* [an animal]—that—he—cried?—It—was—his—child—that—beat—him!—*Mbu—ta,—ee—mbu—ta!*' Some of the rhymes run up to five; others to ten, twelve, and twenty.

The distinction between odd and even is soon learned on the pasture. It has a magical significance, for boys and girls are advised not to walk in groups of which they are the odd member. When small children see a covey of birds, they sing a spell in which they say that the odd bird should get tired and drop down from the sky exhausted. They pursue the birds and look everywhere in search of the odd one.

A puzzling trick turning on the distinction is played by older children. Two boys lay out sixteen stones of different colours in sets of four, pairing two bright and two dark ones, except for the last group, which is made to consist of one bright and three dark stones. Then A. picks up the dark stones and B. the bright ones, so that, coming to the last four, A. takes three and B. one. Closing his hand round the stones A. recites the spell: 'May one come to me!' In a similar manner, B. sings: 'May three come to me!' They now set the stones into fours again, but this time each player forms sets of his own colour. As there were nine dark stones, A. is left with one odd one, while B. starting with seven, can only form one set of four and retains three odd ones. The trick turns on the fact that the principle of division differs from that of composition.

A child is taught to count by his elder playmates. They make him call out the numerals and throw a stick on the ground for each number. To complicate matters, he may be told to throw down for each number as many sticks as it stands for. When a stick-thrower makes a mistake, he is told: 'Do you want to be eaten by a lion?' or, 'You have disgraced all of us!'

Many native people have evolved games in which they work with psychic representations of numbers. For instance, the Chaga, in common with other Tanganyika tribes, know a game called *tarumbeta*, from the trumpet-like pattern in which the counters are laid out. Four boys take part in it. Each stakes a bowl of beans. Forty-five beans are laid out in nine rows one above the other to form a triangle. The base row has nine beans and each subsequent

row one bean less than the one below. One boy is chosen 'chief'—that is, umpire. He sits down at the apex of the triangle. The challenger's place is at the base, with his back towards the beans. The two other boys sit at the sides and remove the beans one by one, clearing off one row after the other as they work towards the apex. After each move, they ask the challenger the number names of the bean removed. According to the rules of the game, he is forbidden to answer when the first bean of any row is removed. When he is allowed to reply, however, he has to include the omitted step in the reckoning. His difficulties are great, as can be realized from the fact that he has to visualize the process of removing going on behind his back and to remember the points where he must pass over the number names. The boy who does not make a mistake wins all the beans staked. This is indeed as severe a test of counting as can be invented.

Another game of the same pattern is the following. Four sticks are placed in a row, and represent mountain ridges, the intervals between them being valleys. Each player has to move three stones across them without looking at them. They are called bull, cow, and calf respectively. The bull precedes and when he is in the valley the cow is allowed on to the first ridge. When the bull is on the second ridge and the cow in the first valley, the calf steps up to the first mountain range. In this manner the three stones have to be moved so that they are never in one and the same position nor lose contact with one another.[1]

A child secures respect for himself, not only by showing superiority of strength or of intellect, but also by graceful conduct in games which require the co-operation of several players. With regard to this quality there is no direct competition. But it manifests itself especially in the round games, of which a great

[1] Many more arithmetical games are played by the Chaga. One resembles the English 'jack-stones'. Others turn on the guessing of a number of hidden objects. Of course, the 'board game' known all over Africa is also played. The best account of the different ways in which the board game can be played is found in Klamroth, 'Afrikanische Brettspiele', *Archiv für Anthropologie* (1911), pp. 253 *seq.* He shows that among some people the game is connected with the myth of the *irimu* monster which devoured the whole of mankind, except one boy. A recent and succinct survey with bibliography is given in the *Uganda Journal*, vol. iv (1936), pp. 84–9, by E. J. Wayland in 'Notes on the Board Game known as Miveso in Uganda'. Almost any tribal monograph contains references to arithmetical games: for instance, Tessmann, *Die Pangwe*; Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*; Doke, *The Lamba*; Earthy, D., *Valenge Women*, &c.

variety exists. They are based on the formation, through concerted movements, of a line, spiral, and circle and their reduplications.[1]

Of the games in which the chief movement is done in a line or row, the so-called arch game is very common in East Africa. Among the Chaga two players form an arch with their raised arms. The other players, holding one another by the hand, rush through singing, 'Kindaviroe tree! And scar of burning! Kindaviroe tree!' The last of the row tries if possible to elude the grasp of the 'door-keepers', but is usually caught. When only one boy is left, he redeems the prisoners. Approaching the 'door-keepers' with a dracaena leaf, the sign which makes a request irresistible, he asks them to give him a child to fetch firewood, and then one to draw water and so on through all the domestic tasks.

Other games are elaborations of hide-and-seek. In its simplest form it is played already with the toddler by the nurse. On the pasture children hide behind bushes, banana trees, or lie flat on the ground. The seeker makes jokes or grimaces to cause the hidden children to laugh. If he cannot find them, he may cut his finger as a magical coercion. The game is developed by older boys into a make-believe hunt. Some children scamper off, acting as bush bucks. The 'hunters' order some of the smaller boys to be their dogs and urge them on to search in the less accessible places. If one 'animal' is caught, he may be made to look after the cattle of the successful hunter for a whole day! In a similar game three concentric circles are formed. The inner one is said to represent

[1] A recent account of round games is given by Tucker, A. N., 'Children's Games and Songs in the Southern Sudan', *JRAI.* (1933), pp. 63 *seq.* Mythologists have attempted to find the origin of arch games in a particular myth. For instance, German arch games have been attributed to the Edda myth of the end of the world with its reference to a bridge over which the dead enter Walhala and which breaks down when the final struggle between the gods and the giants begins. The explanation is based on linguistic remnants of the myth found in the songs and recitations of the game (cf. the English arch game, 'London Bridge is broken down'). The fact that in some of the European texts a Christian interpretation is given and, in addition, that the game is played in Africa and other places where neither Edda myth nor Christian legend is known, suggests that the textual interpretation is secondary—that is, the game, being there, was interpreted in terms of an impressive experience of the people concerned. In Africa the commentary frequently recalls a thrilling situation in native life, e.g. the risks of being the last person of a troop of raiders or a hunting expedition. The assumption that the arch game was invented in order to express this experience is fallacious, just as it is wrong to believe that it must necessarily represent the Edda myth and that the fact that it is performed in Africa proves a process of historical diffusion. The primary fact in the round games is that the combination of players, their arrangement and movement in space and time, allows only a certain number of possibilities, such as line, circle, and spiral. They have accordingly been discovered by most peoples.

leopards enclosed by wart-hogs and wildebeeste. The 'leopards' attempt to break through the two outer rings. The losers of this game are made 'slaves' or servants of the winners.

A game of particular complexity and of special effectiveness in expressing and reinforcing the social cohesion of a play-group is one called *oro*. It is known beyond the boundaries of Chagaland proper in Ugueno, the Pare district populated by Chaga immigrants, and in Arusha where Masai have intermarried with Chaga. In *oro* two teams oppose each other, and may represent districts of one chieftainship. Each team is organized into ranks of commoners, headmen, and chiefs, who have various tasks allotted to them. Each commoner provides himself with a javelin. The headmen prepare a hoop from suitable withes, which they twist carefully. When the playing field has been cleared of weeds and shrubs, the contest begins. A headman of team A., to the shouts of '*Oro! Oro!*' throws the hoop so that it rolls along the drawn-up front of team B. The opponents in reply raise their war-cry, 'Our cow!' and throw their javelins at the hoop. If one of the missiles 'pins down' the hoop, the circle it makes is used as a stationary target by team B. The number of hits is registered by notches on the hoop. Sometimes a lucky shot hits the hoop where the withes are joined. This is greeted with frenzied shouts for it counts fifty or a hundred points. Each point is called 'a head of cattle'.

Many local variations of the rules are known. For instance, if the javelin that stopped the hoop does not stick in the ground, but falls flat, and likewise if two javelins 'pin down' the hoop, there is no general shooting at the hoop. If during the general shooting no one throws his javelin into the circle, the opposing team has 'a hundred cows' counted to its credit, or each miss may be counted individually. At any rate, there are many ups and downs in the fortunes of the game, which may last for days, with sometimes team A. 'fielding' and sometimes team B. Party spirit runs high and the pride of successful players is without bounds. Some boys tell their parents in the evening: 'I won a hundred goats to-day. I didn't bring them home, because I farmed them out!' Father mumbles an appreciative remark, and the son continues to rave about his prize: 'I shall gather them when I am going to be married!' And the mother smiles and is proud that her son has been victorious. The fact that such complicated games

can be organized in the play-group shows that its life is well regulated. We must therefore turn our attention to the educational effects of its integrating tendencies.

D

The size of the play-group varies from about five to fifteen boys of all ages. The age limits, both upper and lower, change. The first-born is sent earlier to the pasture than his younger brother. The sons of artisans have to quit their care-free life at an earlier stage than those of agriculturalists. To-day the play-group breaks up earlier through the drift of the older boys into towns in search of lucrative jobs, for they have to pay tax when they move into their own huts and accumulate funds for the bride-price.

The composition of the boys' group is determined by neighbourhood rather than kinship. Although the Chaga are patrilocal, the fact that they do not live in villages, but that each family dwells in its own grove, makes it possible for children to meet freely with their neighbours and to change over from one play-group to another.[1]

Smaller children, who are still kept at home, flock together in the groves. Bigger boys meet not only on the pasture, but also when they have to guard the fields against baboons or birds before harvest time. Girls, too, have their play-groups. The sexes begin to separate at about ten years, but even older girls occasionally join the play-groups of boys and vice versa. The work of the girls, whose duties are agricultural, demands closer and more continuous application than that of the herds-boys. Yet there are occasions for banter, singing, and conversation on going to and returning from the fields, the canals, and the forest. Gaily chattering maidens burdened with bundles of grass or carrying goods to the market are typical scenes in the corporate life of the female sex. When girls meet for festive occasions, they indulge in dances more readily than boys.

Some of their pantomimes are dramatized anticipations of

[1] Similar conditions do not exist in all native societies. Among the Bemba, according to Dr. Richards, villages consist of from twenty to thirty huts, so that there are only a few children of the same developmental stage to form a play-group. The same is true of the Masai, who live in kraals of five to ten huts. Among the Shambala, villages of several hundred huts used to exist and conditions probably resembled those obtaining to-day among the Chaga.

married life. One, a double line game, bears resemblance to the English 'Here we come gathering nuts and may' and represents looking out for a husband. The performers face one another in two rows. The majority kneel down; a few step behind to lead the chorus. The kneeling girls sway their bodies to and fro and occasionally strike the ground with their palms. The singers clap their hands rhythmically and then raise their voices:

LEFT	RIGHT
Hiyo na hiyo,	*Kitulukume,*
Who will be your husband?	
Hiyo na hiyo,	
Who will marry you?	
Hiyo na hiyo,	
,,	The chief's son!
Hiyo na hiyo,	*Kitulukume.*
Kililililili!	

With this trill the first verse is ended, the kneeling girls pat the ground and, wriggling about, utter amorous sighs. During the next verse another eligible suitor is mentioned and so forth, till suddenly the leader suggests a beggar or cripple, whereupon all the girls have to refrain from applause and sit glum and silent. On the whole the girls' play-group is less firmly organized, the position of leader not so clearly defined, and the cultural independence not carried so far as among boys.

The boys' group must be distinguished from the age-group and the age-grade. The age-group is the adult social organization, consisting of individuals who were circumcised together. They together as a group pass through various age-grades—the warriors' grade, the married men's grade, and the old men's grade.[1] The play-group is independent of these adult institutions. Its cohesion and order are not the result of an authoritarian principle, which in the family rests on the natural superiority of the elder generation, and in the tribe on the traditional hierarchy of rank. 'When age-mates meet they are equal. There is none more noble than

[1] The use of the term 'age-group' is contested. Professor Radcliffe-Brown, in *Man* (1929), No. 13, suggested that the ambiguous term 'age-class' be dropped. He proposed 'age-set' for groups consisting of persons of the same age. F. J. Richards, in *Man* (1929), No. 29, points out that 'set' is a corruption of 'sept' or 'sect' and implies social fission rather than fusion, which is what actually takes place. He therefore proposed the use of the term 'age-group'.

the other. Even the chief's son is only a comrade then!' says the old Chaga to his grandchild.[1]

Every boy enters the play-group with equal chances. As described, a sifting process starts immediately and the 'fresher' has to submit to the traditional fagging system. Thus to some extent age counts, and of two brothers the elder claims certain privileges on the pasture. But when a boy has passed through this initial stage, there is nothing to prevent his becoming a leading member of his group. Parents advise their children to treat the chief's son with deference, and he is told to be affable to his playmates. Yet his rank is disregarded in the heat of contests, and is of no avail if he is a stupid or disagreeable person. The non-authoritarian character of leadership in the play-group can be seen from the fact that exceptional boys have to be continuously concerned about maintaining their position. The victorious and successful child is often envied and hatred grows up among those whom he temporarily controls. On the other hand, the ostracized boy is always able to join up with another group.

Leadership being unstable, the cohesion of the play-group depends to a large extent on the co-operation in common tasks, on the situational interaction of interests. The aim inherent in its activities is a make-believe anticipation of adult life. To support this tendency, objects of the physical environment are used as raw material for toys. Through competitive games, the authority of leading members is continually retested and re-adjusted. In this manner juvenile anticipation brings it about that the individual members of the play-group depend upon one another in their many activities, that a certain 'ethos' is created in the group, manifesting itself in a number of comradely qualities, such as commensality, solidarity, and mutual devotion.

The anticipatory tendency of child play makes it to some extent culturally independent of adult life. Culture can be viewed as a static entity, as the sum total of 'material and spiritual' possessions of a group of human beings. On the other hand, the deeper meaning which has been given to the term by Matthew Arnold regards culture as the process of acquisition without which the mere possession of goods remains barren. In both these senses, the play-group has culture, viz. as a peculiar system of possessions and as the dynamic process of acquiring and developing them.

[1] G., *L.*, i, p. 111.

This independence is safeguarded by a certain degree of economic autonomy.[1] Herds-boys are given food to take to the pasture. This is called by a special term, *kilego*. It consists of samples of every kind of dish eaten at home, except meat, the consumption of which is kept secret if possible. However, the parts of a goat which are the herds-boy's wages may be taken to the pasture, and sometimes a boy steals meat at home to give his playmates a treat. The desire to be of account in the boys' group overrides the 'sense of family loyalty' so laboriously inculcated. Occasionally criminal methods are employed to secure meat. Maize grains are threaded on a string and thrown into a grove. If a hen swallows them, it can be pulled out through the hedge without cackling!

But there are a number of legitimate ways of obtaining food on the pasture. Boys go shooting birds with bows and arrows. The bow is a weapon which the Chaga warrior did not use. However, the newly formed age-group, after the circumcision wounds had healed, used to roam the country with such weapons, and subsisted on birds.[2] If ever there was a time when the play-group 'imitated' this method, it is not now, when the making of bows and arrows is an independent tradition among boys. The bow is made from a suitable tree growing in the plains, the string from banana bast. A wooden point is jammed into the shaft of the arrow and a bird's feather glued on with latex. For practice the boys aim at a banana stump. When hunting they score their bows for every bird they hit, making the fifth and tenth notch longer than the others. The birds are plucked and roasted. This again is a cultural speciality, as among adult males the eating of fowl is prohibited.

There are two methods used for obtaining rats for the commissariat. The first consists in flooding their burrows and killing the animals emerging therefrom. The other necessitates the making of a trap. A piece of the stem of the banana tree is hollowed out, and a noose inserted into it through a hole in the side. The trap is smeared well with soil to prevent the rats from

[1] This assertion is not an acceptance of the Marxian principle that in human society 'culture' is a dispensable superstructure raised on an indispensable economic substratum. In such a doctrine the idealistic dichotomy is still implicit. Throughout this work the temptation has been resisted to explain educational behaviour in a teleological manner. Culture is the conduct of social groups, their behaviour as totalities.

[2] Cf. G., *L.*, i, p. 521.

becoming suspicious. It is set in the passage of a rat's burrow and occasionally inspected.[1]

Bird-catching is the most successful method of obtaining food. It is asserted that boys tie the feet of unfledged birds and put them back to be reared by their parents. When grown big, they are collected for the pastoral commissariat. One or two traps work without automatic release and are made by smaller boys. They consist of a dish made of banana sheaths or a wooden tray, propped up with the hollow side down. Maise chaff or eleusine grains are used as bait. The prop can be felled by a string which is worked by a boy, who goes into hiding behind a hedge or into the house.

Another, more elaborate, bird trap, called *kisabi* resembles the simple trap, inasmuch as the birds are caught alive in a basket or dish. But the release is worked by the bird itself when pecking at the bait, which is connected by a string with the contraption. The bait is varied according to the species of bird desired. The trap may be complicated by the addition of a weight on top, or by a two-piece prop. The string is then tied to a horizontal stick resting on a forked support and so nicely balanced that the gentlest touch will release it.

The *nsohi* or *nhelio* trap works with a noose. The bait is strewn inside the noose, which is laid out flat on the ground and held down by a crosspiece. This is jerked away when the release, a bent sapling, connected by a string with the noose, is worked. The approach to the trap is fenced in so as to make the bird move in one direction towards the bait. A fourth trap works on the principle of the fishing hook.

The birds caught in traps are francolins, pigeons, and some others. The white-necked raven, which frequents the pastures, is allured with meat and stunned with catapults. The birds are killed with a barbed thorn. Sometimes they are temporarily tended in cages made of sticks or dug out underground. When a boy has caught a bird he calls his friends: 'Look at the cow I have got hold of! To whom can I farm it out?' Another player pretends to be an agistor. But the reprieve is not for long; soon the bird is roasted at the fire. The successful boy is called 'chief', praised

[1] Schweinfurth, *Im Herzen Afrikas*, Second Edition (1922), p. 145, relates that the Bongo boys of the Bahr-el-Ghasal use rat traps resembling lobster-baskets. This shows that juvenile anticipation works to a large extent within the limits of adult culture, in this case that of a people living at a river.

in songs, and for a time his comrades willingly obey his orders. The parents are less pleased; they maintain that trapping is an inferior way of getting one's livelihood.

Boys herding near the plains or the forest have a more exacting task than others, on account of the danger from wild animals. But they have the chance of sighting an occasional bush buck or smaller antelope. They hotly pursue it and, with the help of their dogs, sometimes track it down. Precautions are taken at once to prevent the arrival of non-members of the play-group, who are attracted by the barking of the dog. The following ruse is employed. Boys not required at the butchering disperse in all directions, imitating the bark of a dog in order to mislead the univited guests. Thus the same exclusiveness as regards food-consumption that prevails in the family is spontaneously evolved in the play-group.

On the other hand, the rules of commensality are observed. It is a disgrace to eat one's game alone. Boys of the same play-group share their food with one another at home too. On the pasture the food resources are pooled and the dominating boy, assuming a female privilege, shares out the food. The ideal is special consideration for the weaker member as in the family, but a bully violates it more frequently than a mother does. He attempts to exact contributions from the younger boys in addition to his own share. He may do so by a trick. For instance, he suggests to a 'fresher' that he has not enough to fill his mouth. The inexperienced boy proceeds to prove the opposite and stuffs the bully's buccal cavity with food. He soon comes to see that it is not easily filled. Sometimes the younger boy's attention is slyly directed to an interesting object, and the opportunity taken to steal some of his food. Or, having shared out the food, bigger boys attack the smaller ones, demanding payment. They enforce their request by pinching, and have the effrontery to call on the mothers of the small boys. 'Your son has finished off our supper. You must pay for it!' Mothers usually redeem their sons with a few bananas. They are afraid that otherwise they might be ostracized from the play-group.

Voluntary tributes are also known on the pasture. When the lucky owner of some maize cobs begins to roast them, he puts the big cobs aside for 'the chief'. After some time 'the chief' calls his subjects to a 'beer' carousal, at which he shares with them the

contributions received. Thus, in the play-group, authority based on physical or mental superiority is reinforced by control of the food resources.[1]

The possession of food is not entirely left to boys palpably superior to their comrades. Many guessing games are known, which are based on two methods: guessing in which hand the prize is hidden, and guessing how many fruits, &c., are secreted. This gives to the lucky though inferior boy a chance to hoard foodstuffs and to use them for paying wages, offering bribes, and exercising a certain control until his resources are exhausted. Chance as a selective agent for leadership is also exemplified in the following devices. The boys gather about twenty sticks of the same length and a short one. One of them places the sticks between his thumb and index finger, and the others pull them, each boy one stick. If the boy who pulls first gets the short one, he is laughed at, and called a wizard, the son of a witch, or one convicted by the ordeal. The boy who pulls the short stick as the last, however, is made chief! A similar purpose is served by the *ndeye*, a three-pronged branch which is made to revolve on a stump with its central prong. The two other prongs are each weighted with a Solanum fruit. The boys squat round the apparatus and one spins it. Those at whom the free prongs point when it stops are called 'witches'. The story goes that this apparatus was used in the past for an ordeal.

Much acumen has been wasted on connecting these and the similar cases of coscinomancy and dactyliomancy with divining instruments of the dim past and explaining their occurrence in childish play as historical survivals.[2] It is more important to realize that they perform a definite function in juvenile society. They are used to find out a temporary leader or, contrariwise, a servant for doing a disagreeable task. For instance, if during a heavy shower the boys retire into one of their toy huts, the cattle scatter in all directions. It is then that by one of the above methods a chief is appointed who selects the boys that must

[1] The author was once a teacher in an institute for mentally deficient children. There, a similar system of control by older pupils over the younger had developed spontaneously. The strongest boy exacted tribute in bread from the weak and distributed a large part to average boys who acted as his agents in enforcing obedience. A similar system was evolved by another boy. His authority was not based on the exercise of force; he bribed his agents with pieces from his collection of odds and ends.

[2] Tylor, E. B., *Primitive Culture*, Sixth Edition, vol. i, p. 127.

collect the cattle, or these are directly pointed out by a divining instrument.[1]

Here, then, we have another example of that difference of function which one and the same activity may perform in adult and juvenile society. The various devices that may have been used in the past for ordeals with results counted legally valid are employed by the children for breaking down the stratification of their group life, which is based on personal advantages of mind and body. It must, however, be admitted that occasionally the play-group uses an ordeal for determining whether one of its members is guilty. When children discover ants marching along, the nurses among them are ordered to put a finger into the column. The girl that wriggles about uneasily is bitten, while the experienced girl keeps still and is not attacked. The former is laughed at for having eaten the baby's food. Although it is said that on account of this ordeal many nurses resist the temptation to steal food, it resembles more a practical joke played on novices than a legal procedure.[2]

The play-group knows, of course, a number of inducements and checks to behaviour which may assume a semi-legal aspect. Some of these have been described above. One more example will be given. There is a Solanum plant growing in waste places and bearing hard yellow fruits, the size of a large marble. Boys usually carry a few in the folds of their garments. They are sometimes thrown in fun at a child looking in another direction. Occasionally such an attack develops into a concerted action, punishing a boy for his unpopularity, his boasts, his unfair methods of play, and his betrayal of pasture secrets. From all sides the yellow missiles are hurled at him till he runs away in disgust or begins to weep.

The configuration of the play-group has emerged from the foregoing discussion. It is a loose group of contemporaries of youthful age with a tendency to sexual exclusiveness. Leadership is determined by the vague criteria of physical and mental superiority tested in a multiplicity of competitive games, practical jokes, and contests; and it makes use of food control to maintain itself. Chance is appealed to to prevent rigidity of the system and magic is occasionally used to secure success. The leader, by whatever

[1] This interpretation is supported by so painstaking an observer as H. A. Stayt, *The Bavenda* (London, 1931), pp. 95–6.

[2] Fortes, M., op. cit., p. 51, gives an example of a children's ordeal.

method he obtained his position, retains it usually only for a short period. He chooses advisers and guardians to enforce his orders. This group of rulers determines the kind of game to be played, settles disputes, and imposes tasks on the average members. It also controls the working of the ideals of conduct emerging from the clash of individual interests within the group. The stability of the latter is greatly enhanced by the possibility of making its economic life independent. For, in addition to collecting and hunting smaller animals, as described above, boys are gradually advanced to independent positions at home. They are given plots and stock 'to make a start in life'. The partial cultural autonomy of the play-group is manifested in a variety of material objects unknown to adult society, which, although manufactured with crude tools and immature skill, yet suffice to keep alive the make-believe tendency of anticipatory play.[1]

If the group of children tends to form distinct cultural features, one would expect this to express itself in their language. Speech has been regarded throughout as a means of control and as a token of social differentiation. Within a closed group, it serves as a means of heightening the sense of unity. Even where nothing is actually communicated by it, as in standing phrases, it nevertheless serves to ease contact. The speech behaviour of the play-group shows, indeed, distinctive traits. As in anticipatory play a strong inclination to caricaturing could be detected, so in its language a definite tendency to pervert the original can be observed.

There is a great variety in these speech perversions.[2] One group consists of words which are decomposed into syllables and have sounds, syllables, or words infixed at the points of separation. The Chaga seems to prefer the syllable *si*, with its euphonic

[1] Among some tribes, the community splits up into age-villages, 'each new generation of boys building together apart from their elders'. Cf. Stayt, H. A., op. cit., pp. 99–100, for an example of age-villages of a temporary nature; and Wilson, G., 'An Introduction to Nyakyusa Society', *Bantu Studies*, vol. x (1936), pp. 253 *seq.*, and 'An African Morality', *Africa*, vol. ix (1936), p. 78, for permanent age-villages. Among the Bavenda, children move into their villages after the harvest, at the time of plenty; among the Nyakyusa, the boys continue to eat at their parents' home, though dwelling apart. Among the Chaga, where territorial segregation is impossible, on account of their method of dwelling, economic independence is more strongly marked. Cf. also Meyer, H., *Der Kilimandscharo*, p. 117. The explorer, at the end of last century, met some boys at Loitokitok, a Masai settlement at the foot of Mt. Kilimanjaro, who refused to sell their bows and arrows to him, because, as they said, they had no other means of livelihood.

[2] Cf. the author's 'Language Perversions in East Africa', in *Africa*, vol. x, pp. 221 *seq.*

alternatives *chi* and *ti* as an infix. Thus boys of the Shira chieftainship, when talking Swahili with one another, change '*Jamani, twende, tukalime!*' ('Friends, let us go a-hoeing') into '*Ja-si-ma-si-ni, twe-si-nde-si, tu-si-ka-si-li-si-me-si*'. Let us listen to two Chaga boys, in the house of their paternal uncle, trying to communicate to each other their intention of going home: A. says: '*Si-si-nde-si*' (for *sinde*, i.e. 'let us go'). B. replies: '*Kwu-nguchu-i* (for *kwi*, i.e. 'where?'). A. answers: '*Ka-si-ngachi-nyi-si*' (for *kanyi*, i.e. 'home'). B. agrees: '*Lo-si-i-si*' (for *loi*, i.e. 'agreed'), to which A. jokingly replies: '*Na-si-ko-si-pfo-si*' (*nakopfo*, i.e. 'farewell'). This example shows that the secrecy of the communication was probably preserved.

At two points, irregular infixes have been employed, i.e. *ngachi* and *nguchu*. Another whole word used as infix in this manner is *naina*. *Kapfo* becomes *ka-naina-pfo*, *umbe* (cow) is extended to *u-naina-mbe*, *kyelya* (food) to *kye-naina-lya*. Another method falling into this category is the splitting up of a vowel by infixes. *Kapfo* becomes *ka-ngr-apfo*, and the same combination of consonants is used to lengthen *luende* (let us take, bring) to *lu-ngr-ende*, *mwana* (child) to *mwa-ngr-ana* and *ikite* (dog) to *iki-ngr-ite*. In the Kahe dialect of Chaga, *st* is used similarly. Thus '*Ero, dambuke kwakwa*' ('Friend, let us go home') is transformed into '*E-st-ero, dambu-st-uke kwa-st-akwa*'. In the same dialect, *neng* is used in the same way. As *ngacha* in the above example, *neng* undergoes euphonic assimilation to the vowel it is made to extend, and therefore changes into *nang* or *nung*.

In another group of speech distortions, the position of syllables is reversed. This transposition of syllables, or their 'backward reading' is a common method employed to deceive unsuspecting parents or playmates. The sentence '*Kapfo, kapfo ngoe, shimbony shakopfo*' ('Welcome, welcome. How are your folk?') becomes '*Pfoka, pfoka engo, nyimboshi pfokosha*'. The answer '*Nakucha wande*' ('All is well') is turned into '*Chakuna ndewa*'. Another example is shown as follows:

Normal speech:	*Nyi-kwi uke-ri ihe-nda mle-u?*	*Nyi kul-ya ko* N.N.
Distorted:	*Ku-nyi ri-keu nda-hei u-lem?*	*Nyi lya-ku ko* N.N.
	'Where are you going, friend?'	'To N.N.'
	Nyi-keri ihe-nda.	*Mwirikire!*
	Ri-kenyi nda-hei.	*Rikirim!*
	'I am going.'	'Give him my regards!'

As will be seen by a comparison, the change-over is not carried out with precision, allowance being made for euphony. As a last example, let us listen to a conversation between two boys in this kind of double Dutch: '*Pfoka*' (*Kapfo*, 'How do you do?'); '*Kwinyi uindaye?*' (*Nyi kwi uiyenda?* 'Where are you going?'); '*Ndaengi nyika*' (*Ngiyenda kanyi*, 'I am going home'); '*Nda-engi lyai manya*' (*Ngiyenda ilya nyama*, 'I am going to eat meat'); '*Ilo*' (*Loi*, 'I say!').[1]

The explanation of the phenomenon of language distortion lies in its effect, which is clearly to differentiate the play-group from the general society. The concomitants of this tendency in other spheres bear out this interpretation. Further, while separating the play-group, it also heightens its cohesion. The secrecy of the method, the high-handedness with which it is applied, the strangeness of the sounds produced, give to distorted speech complex emotional values which are shared by the members of the play-group alone. They reinforce the intimacy of their contact.

Such an authority as Professor Jespersen asserts that children may produce new languages under certain conditions—for instance, during widely extended wars and where the geographical factors are favourable.[2] Although scepticism is required with regard to such a sweeping assertion, there can be no doubt that if juvenile anticipation results in specific cultural features, some of these must have been 'invented' by children and become part of a distinct childish tradition. So much is also implied by the dynamic aspect of culture.

That juvenile culture has a past was noted previously. The use of bows and arrows, and the elaboration of the exceptional bride-lifting into a general symbol of marriage, are apparently handed down from one generation of children to the other. When boys meet with their bundles of food, the first to shout, 'I shall eat the

[1] This example shows in the inversion of *kanyi* (house) into *nyika* (the plains uninhabited bush) the phenomenon known as palindrome; through the transposition of the syllables of a word, another word is formed. It will be noted that I have been unable to obtain genuine tongue-twisters among the Chaga. They form, together with other distortions, a special division of language perversions in which normal pronunciation is interfered with through the influence of sounds at a distance. They are classed by Jespersen under 'Lapses and Blendings'.

[2] Jespersen, O., *Language*, book ii, chap. x, pars. 6 and 7. Incidentally, one of the authorities he quotes (H. Hale) records that in normal households the growing up together of twins is a condition favourable to the invention of an independent language of their own. This suggests that some tribes may have removed twins, because they found communication with them more difficult than with single children.

pig's snout!' has the right to taste his friend's food before it is pooled and shared. This phrase is derived from an adult usage. During a pig-hunting expedition, the assistant of a successful hunter had to cut off the snout before the animal was disembowelled. Such an action would impress itself upon a boy accompanying the troop as bearer of weapons and water. He would introduce it into the society of his playmates, giving it at the same time a different meaning. In this manner, the phrase would become a privilege of quick-witted boys and has been kept alive by generations of them. Another cultural tradition of the play-group is carrying glowing embers on dried cow-dung. Ordinarily live coals are conveyed from one hut to another in an envelope of dry banana sheaths. This method is useless for great distances. It is probable that this tradition can also be connected with an adult custom of the past employed during cattle raids and warring expeditions, which took the troops away from human habitations in order to outflank the enemy, or to pursue hostile nomads.

At the same time new inventions can be observed both with regard to the games played and the material outfit used. In watching play life for more than a year, one notices, as has been described, that roughly the same plays recur rhythmically at the same seasons. Yet there are also quite distinct changes. At present, for instance, old games are being gradually discarded; new games, such as football, are introduced, with curious results due to the 'blind' and selective nature of imitation. Thus anticipatory play tends more and more to emphasize European patterns.

The latter tendency manifests itself with regard to the manufacture of toys. Long before an adult Chaga dreamt of owning a motor car his son had exerted himself to make one. The first cars he turned out had wheels of the stem of a banana plant, but these, being too soft, were replaced by wooden ones. As they served their purpose on the narrow paths, they have not been discarded since. The technical experimenting done by Chaga boys, once the idea of a wheel had been suggested to them, can be seen by the following list of toys. In the *oro* game a hoop is used. Occasionally a fruit is placed in a pool and watched as it is revolved by the water falling upon it from a spout. More ambitious is a mill wheel, made of a section of a banana stem with an axle revolving on two forked supports. The next highest step is an

axle with two wooden wheels, which is driven along the road by means of a forked stick or pulled by a string.

Before motor cars became generally known, 'bicycles' were constructed in the following manner. To each of two sticks a wheel was fastened; the two sticks were then tied together in such a manner that they formed a cross in whose angle its driver, who was pushed by a friend, sat. Nowadays this toy has been forgotten. Manufacturers are turning their attention to *mutika ya fodi* and *mutika ya kazi* (Ford cars and lorries) respectively. 'Cars' with three or four wheels are made, with a triangular or rectangular seat fixed between and a rest for the feet in front. A more ambitious pattern has a body fixed to the chassis in the shape of a wooden box. Thus juvenile anticipation takes the child beyond the possibilities of his own culture and enables him to adapt himself more easily to the objects of the superimposed foreign culture.[1]

[1] The term 'invention' is here used in the sense of experimental technical elaboration of features of an existing culture. Gutmann, writing thirty years ago, reports the invention by Chaga children of carts, pop-guns, and a sort of machine gun. The latter was made of the midrib of a banana leaf, into which about twelve shallow cuts were made. These 'tongues' were cocked and when the hand was passed over them they fell back, each producing a report (G., 'Kinderspiele'). For other examples of invention, cf. Reiber, J. ,'Kinderspiele in Deutsch-Neuguinea', *Baessler-Archiv* (1911), p. 253. Haddon, K., *Artists in String*, pp. 137–49, relates that elaborate string figures were evolved by young Brahmins 'fiddling' with string, and interpreted and named afterwards. Cf. also Griffith, C. L. T., and Haddon, K., 'Some Brahminic String Figures', in *Man*, vol. xiv, p. 93.

PART V

ADOLESCENCE

1. *The Changing Relationship between Parents and Children*

A

IN surveying the relationship between parent and offspring throughout childhood, it is impossible to discover any one prevailing attitude governing it. A generalization that can be made is that identification and opposition of interests, emotional solidarity, and contrariness seem to follow one another irregularly. The permanency of the relationship is secured through the institution of the family, the religious, economic, social, and psychic factors of which constrain its members to co-operation and interaction. But the individual reactions to this social pressure cannot be reduced to one psychic complex or to the domination of one sentiment.

When the child is weaned, a conflict with its mother arises. As the child grows older, its increased freedom of movement enlarges the sphere of conflict. For, not only does the child's desire for independence grow, but also his power of realizing it. A typical clash is that between a boy and his mother at the time when he takes up pastoral activities. Some years later, hostilities with the father are the rule. Boys begin to resent being economically dependent on him and raise claims to plots of land, some animals, and a hut. At this time the quarrel with the mother is patched up and her advice sought with regard to the choice of a bride.

The anticipatory tendency of juvenile activities is partly to blame for the increase of conflicts. Anticipation of status is in parental eyes a presuming above one's age. For instance, the difference in prestige between uncircumcised and circumcised Chaga is pronounced. The pride with which the latter deport themselves, the special dress which they wear,[1] the greeting etiquette peculiar to them, the mysteriousness with which circumcision is talked about, the request that children should not look

[1] J. R., *Versuch*, pp. 4–5. In the past, ornaments emphasized the distinction, e.g. sticks worn in the ear and bells worn above the knee.

at persons recently circumcised, and the submissiveness demanded from children towards them are strong incentives to the average child to play-act as if he were circumcised. But he feels that make-believe is not enough, and confides in his mother: 'I should like to be circumcised!' When a mother hears this for the first time she is indignant: 'Don't let me hear you say such a thing again!' But a couple of years later her son asks: 'Listen, Mother. What is it that circumcises people?' The insistence of his inquiries makes her reply with a traditional story: 'There will be an old man there. He spits towards the sky, the moon drops and lights up the country—*paa*! and you find yourself circumcised with one blow!' A variant says that a giant performs the act by licking the boys. If the child presses for further information at this point, his mother may thrash him. Circumcision implies (as will be shown later) that the son has come of age, that legally and sexually he has become a person. The child's playful desire to be a grown-up changes thus imperceptibly into the illegal wish to assume adult rights. This wish may become so strong that boys circumcise themselves or have the rite performed upon them in secret. This happens as early as three to five years before the traditional age.[1]

Another source of conflict arises from the social independence of the play-group. The principle of age which in early childhood is used as a means of discrimination against the younger members of the family gradually becomes an integrating force which draws the children into a new social unit. Sons and daughters increasingly prefer the company of their age-mates to that of their elders. The experimenting in leadership and in the manufacture of utensils makes life in the juvenile community of absorbing interest. They band together and roam through the country. Such a group is called 'swarm' (*isumba*), and the individual member *isega*, 'the laugher', or hobbledehoy. Occasionally such groups fall foul of adults. Attacks of boys on women are carried out in the following manner. A liana is tied into a noose and placed in the middle of a path. Having covered it with earth, the boys, holding the other

[1] The average age at the present day is seventeen. For evidence regarding self-circumcision, cf. G., *L.*, i, p. 7. Similar observations are reported from other tribes; cf. Smith-Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. ii, pp. 28–35. Boys and girls use various devices to hasten the time when they can enter into full sexual relations. The boys go to the elders and demand to be circumcised. Dr. Richards tells of the Bemba girls that they use magic to make their breasts grow.

end of the liana, hide behind the hedge at the side of the path. When a woman steps into the noose, it is pulled to by the boys and she is felled to the ground. To the social exclusiveness of the age-group and the unwarranted assumption of adult behaviour patterns is added by such acts a criminal hostility towards adult society.

The seclusiveness of adult rites leads to further altercations. Children are severely punished for approaching the huts where marriageable girls live for months with their mothers-in-law. They must not 'see with their eyes or hear with their ears' anything connected with the wedding ceremony, and to enforce this rule they are threatened with death. Parents are fined a goat if their children are caught spying. Big boys are venturesome enough to approach by stealth the place where the sound of drums and voices arises, and make use of the shadow of trees and hedges. If discovered, they are beaten by the wedding guests, and this is said to be done so thoroughly that the victim dies. Adults are not allowed to sing wedding songs in the presence of children, nor may the latter attend negotiations concerning the conclusion of a marriage or a divorce. This prohibition applies not only to children but also to unmarried adults.

Parental control over marriage occasionally leads to conflicts with regard to the choice of a partner, but the arbitrariness with which parents hasten or postpone a marriage is resented even more. This is partly connected with the economic exchanges involved. A son's obedience can be enforced by the threat that his father will not assist him in paying the bride-price. An inefficient father, on the other hand, may not be able to succour his son. In addition, magical considerations weigh with the parents in determining the time of marriage. A girl is not supposed to be married as long as her own mother bears children. Attempts are made to retard her development by amulets and spells. On the other hand, a boy may be rushed into a marriage because his father, feeling himself growing old, would like to see a grandchild born to perpetuate the family and to sacrifice to them. Again, youths should not marry before they have grown a moustache and performed certain tests to be described later. Likewise, the bride-price is only paid and accepted for a nubile girl. While with youths most conflicts arise over undue postponements, with girls a tendency to fight shy of marriage can be

observed. This is probably due to the exacting ideals of domestic diligence and marital submissiveness inculcated upon girls by their mothers. Those attempting to postpone marriage may be forced into it. In the past such girls were sold as slaves to the Arabs. It has also happened that girls banded themselves together, refusing to be joined to their betrothed. Roaming through the country, they jeered their parents and the impotent chief in ditties.[1]

Perhaps the most far-reaching cause of dissensions between successive generations is suspicion on the part of the father that his son is aiming at supplanting him. The boy's anticipatory independence succeeds in turning the mother away from her husband. It gradually encroaches on the paternal prerogatives, such as the control of land and cattle. Fear of such a development is at the back of some cases of infanticide. Such suspicions are certainly entertained with regard to the eldest son, who, as *wawa*, has paternal privileges over his siblings. Exceptionally, the eldest son may therefore not be allowed to bury his father or to inherit his clothes. Naturally, in the case of an adopted child or one born out of wedlock, a conflict with the legal father is considered likely. When a man receives a woman who turns out to be pregnant, the child, if it is male, is returned to its father. If a woman barren in her first marriage gives birth at once to a son in a second union, he is considered to be hostile to his father.[2]

B

At the present day the conflict between the generations assumes a new aspect. Thanks to the dynamic force of anticipation, the youthful members of the tribe very quickly acquire certain ways of behaviour which, though not identical with the European pattern, mark them out as allied to the predominating cultural influence. Parents complain that their children do not listen to their advice, that they consider their school knowledge superior to traditional lore, that their conduct destroys tribal morality. Perhaps what is most painful is the juvenile contempt for the wisdom of old age, as typically expressed in the phrase: 'We want new talks; the old talks are no use to us!' To which the elders angrily reply: 'What you desire is to be guided by your bellies rather than by the desire for offspring. You are like birds

[1] G., *R.*, p. 70. [2] G., *R.*, pp. 34, 63, 213.

whose heads have been chopped off!' But it would be misleading to represent the new era as one of juvenile lawlessness and parental impotence, as Gutmann assumes, in the romantic belief that in the past the authority of the elders was unchallenged.[1]

Three facts contradict such an assumption. First, the conflict between the generations recurs throughout the known history of the Chaga whenever the filial generation enters upon adolescence and strives for independence within the tribal framework. About half a century ago, Chaga youths in their opposition to adult culture took over many features from the Masai, adapting them to the specific purpose of impressing their elders, and differentiating themselves from them. Tradition reports frequent risings of the sons of chiefs against their fathers during the last three centuries. In that period, also, the principle was evolved that only the age-group capable of defending the country administered its laws, a right which was not uncontested and which with the abolition of tribal warfare has passed into the hands of the oldest age-group. Gutmann himself places a period of conflict between the generations in those far-away times when the Chaga were not yet a nation, but straggling groups of nomads, and believes that to smother it the special training through initiation was elaborated.[2]

Secondly, the principle of reciprocity which prevents the complete subjection of the child to parental whims works, in periods when the younger generation has an apparent advantage, in favour of the older one. Thus the missionary, and administrator, and especially the educationist, who deal chiefly with younger natives, are apt to overlook that the old African is actively engaged in 'retaining his grip on the reins of the bolting horse'. In the stories which gather round the daily events of the life of the tribe, and which in time grow into legends and become public opinion, in 'the running mythological elaboration' of current affairs the older generation holds the upper hand.[3] The theme dwelt upon to the exclusion of almost all others is that of the triangular relationship between old Chaga, young Chaga, and European.

These stories refer with biting sarcasm to the European dress

[1] G., *R.*, p. 70; G., *L.*, i, p. 86; and throughout his writings.
[2] G., *L.*, i, p. 42, and G., *R.*, p. 348.
[3] Malinowski, B., *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (1936), vol. i, p. 209. Contrary to popular belief, the majority of stories told by natives are not myths and legends, but comments on social events.

fancied by the youth. They criticize the new-fangled notions with regard to marriage and the rearing of children—for instance, the giving of presents to the betrothed and the early provision of clothes for children. They scorn the modern husband, who is too cowardly to defend his wife's honour with a weapon. They describe the beauty and wealth of the indigenous culture, and, asserting the continued superiority of native practical knowledge with its simple methods and easily accessible raw materials, expose the helplessness of the European if deprived of his cumbrous equipment. The 'spiritual possessions' of the tribe are defended, such as the purity of the language, the power of narration, and the bias for metaphors. The kindness and helpfulness of the past is glorified and contrasted with the present-day scramble for individual property and pleasure. With clever persuasiveness, all those political disabilities are stressed which, in spite of the attempts of the young people to fraternize with the white man, make natives feel more at home with persons of their own colour. By harping on the grievances of the tribe and by condemning the foreigners, the elders touch sympathetic chords in the hearts of their offspring. For they, too, crave for independence in the management of tribal affairs. The treatment of all these various subjects shows a truly admirable knack of inventing typical personalities and elaborating stories by concrete detail, as well as a command of rhetorical expedients, such as sarcasm, proverbial sayings, and gentle poetry, which makes the effect profound.[1]

Thirdly, the conflict of generations is at the present day mitigated by the oscillation between cultural ideals. By this is meant that the wholesale adoption of European standards by youthful members of the tribe is only apparent. Behind the assumption of the external forms of European life, specific native ideals are regenerated and fervently embraced both by young and old. 'To turn European' is not an end in itself, but a means to realize the native national aspirations more effectively. For instance, with regard to the colour of the skin, the original ideal of beauty was jet black. Black is still a sacred colour and pure black animals are sacrificed to the ancestors. It is true that at the present day many natives prefer light-coloured girls in marriage, because the white skin has become a sign of political and cultural superiority. But

[1] Cf. author's unpublished manuscript, 'Kristall vor dem Zusammenschiessen'.

many protests are raised against this adaptation. One of the essential African qualities is the black skin. It becomes a symbol in the fight for cultural and political recognition. Hence, whereas in the past Negro manufacturers of dolls made them white, they gradually gave them mulatto characteristics, and now make them quite dark. Dr. Aggrey, the famous West African, extolled the glories of black as an ideal of beauty. Similar observations can be made about indigenous dress, which, at one time apparently doomed, has now been revived for ceremonial occasions, but this is not so true of the East as of the West Coast. Syncretistic attempts, however, are common to the whole of Africa. Among the Chaga, the young Mamba chief Lemge united with elders to form an indigenous sect. Taking over some features of the Christian communion, he interpreted it in the light of Chaga history: the wine was said to be the blood of a chieftain killed in battle about a century ago. Thus, although to-day the conflict between the generations centres round symbols of authority which differ from those of the past, the phenomenon of conflict repeats itself.

C

The Chaga parent uses special methods for dealing with the crisis in his relations with his offspring. First of all an attempt is made to destroy the nimbus of juvenile comradeship. It is true, the boy is told, that friendship among age-mates is something valuable. Certain standards of conduct must be observed by the boy who wishes to have a good reputation—for instance, commensality. Accordingly, in the grandparental lessons, the age-group is established by solemn ritual. The boys are given sections of one heart to eat, or one bowl of porridge is passed round among them. Moreover, juvenile solidarity is praised. Quarrels should be quickly settled and hatred against an age-mate not be allowed to rankle in one's mind. The secrets of the age-group should not be divulged to the chief. While all this is admitted, complete absorption in friendship is deprecated, and boys are told that they could avoid being present at many a fateful event (such as the birth of twin calves) if they did not spend so much time with their comrades. Again, they are warned that a boy's friends induce him to insubordination against his parents; that the mockery of age-mates causes him to shrink from fulfilling the services of love due

to his doting grandparents, and that their treacherous advice leads him into bullying his widowed mother. Finally, they are told that the ease with which social differences are disregarded in the age-group may lead to fights with poorer comrades from whom no damages can be collected, or to other legal affairs detrimental to one's wealth and reputation.[1]

In addition, certain methods of humiliation are traditionally employed to remind hobbledehoys of their duties. The child is rebuked: 'Do you think, if we had behaved like you, we could have begot and reared you, till you grew up into a youth? No, if we had done so, we wouldn't have had the food to feed you!' Occasionally the little calabash is produced in which the child's food was cooked when it was a baby. 'Look, you were once so small that you were satisfied at meal-times with what was contained in this. How can you dare to oppose your parents who reared you from the time of your helplessness?' A similar demonstration is made with the sole of a baby's sandal.

A boy guilty of gross neglect in his capacity as herdsman has the excrement of a slaughtered animal smeared on his face in the presence of all the kindred. A persistent loiterer is given to drink out of a goat's horn during a drinking bout, and this implies his utter disgrace. If a son spurns his father in public, he is struck by him and others present, and the report of his behaviour is spread deliberately by the enraged parent. The final step, banishment, seems occasionally to be resorted to. But it involves a solemn ritual which cannot be undertaken, except in the case of a seduced girl, without the chief's permission. On the other hand, escapes and elopements are frequent, and the custom of acknowledging a marriage binding which has been consummated by a girl's going of her own free will to a young man has not been stamped out even among Christians.

As indicated in discussing punishment, parents realize the law of growth and the transience of their authority. They see the necessity of varying the instruments of control and of granting to their child an increasing amount of freedom. They say with resignation, 'The periods of life follow one another as the sprouting banana leaf the drooping one', and extend this proverb in the lesson: 'The young smooth banana leaf laughed at the dry leaf,

[1] This paragraph is based on the lessons listed by Gutmann under 'Altersklasse', G., *L.*, i, p. xv.

teasing it: "Why are you rustling here, always rustling?" Said the withered leaf: "Don't I busy myself to make room for you to rustle?" ' The same idea returns in a riddle: 'Begone, that I can take your place '[1] How the Chaga elders admit their offspring into adult society, what measures they take to ensure filial piety beyond the period of their children's dependence, and the manner in which youth and maiden are introduced to their various economic, ritual, sexual, political, and social tasks are the themes of the following sections.

D

The occurrence of conflict during the adolescence of Samoan girls has been denied by Dr. Mead.[2] According to her, 'the pattern of social institutions alone is not sufficient to produce or eradicate conflict', but 'the far less tangible balancing of cultural forces'. For instance, the casualness of Samoan society prevents conflicts. It expresses itself, firstly, in the absence of pressure on adolescents with regard to choosing a profession, a denomination, or a type of morality, as Samoan civilization offers only one choice; secondly, in the absence of neuroses due to the lack of difficult situations, for households are heterogeneous, parentship is not centred in two individuals, the sexes are segregated before adolescence, friendship is not based on preference but relationship, and the critical events of life, such as birth, death, sex, and labour, are public to the children; thirdly, in the fact that precocity is checked and the child allowed quietly to absorb adult culture without becoming a disturbing element; and, finally, in the fact that children do not learn to work through play, as they have to work from the age of four, nor do they desire to turn adult activities into play. It is impossible to refute these assertions in detail; they are often contradicted by Dr. Mead's own evidence. In general, it may be said that the conditions which she adduces as favourable for an adolescence without conflict may be looked upon, with just as much

[1] J. R., *Versuch*, pp. 303, 294.

[2] Mead, M., *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1929), chap. xiii. Fortes, M., op. cit., p. 9, also denies that adolescent instability is known among the Tale. His explanation is that the 'social sphere' between adults and children is differentiated in terms of 'relative capacity' only. But it would be strange indeed if among the Tale alone differences of capacity did not imply differences in social recognition, and therefore tension between the generations. Fortes himself gives typical instances of conflict (p. 32), and such conflicts must produce psychic reactions in the adolescent.

justification, as potent causes for dissensions between the generations. Dr. Mead deals a destructive blow at her own constructions by including in her book a chapter on 'The Girl in Conflict', in which she describes cases of girls making a choice of unconventional behaviour![1]

While Dr. Mead overlooks the conflict between the generations, because she narrows it down to an individual psychological phenomenon unrelated to the social situation, Stanley Hall overstresses it in explaining it as a stage in the history of mankind incorporated into individual organic growth. 'The child comes from and harks back to a remoter past; the adolescent is neo-atavistic, and in him the later acquisitions of the race slowly become prepotent. Development is less gradual and more saltatory, suggestive of some ancient period of storm and stress when old moorings were broken and a higher level attained.'[2] Without doubt, the occasion of the conflict is the emergence in the child of physiological traits which integrate it with the grown-ups. But such a bursting forth of new powers must have taken place throughout the history of man, whenever child became adult, and therefore prior to any prehistoric step to a higher racial level.

Hence throughout mankind can be observed at this time a heightened tendency towards psychological independence (extending to the cultural and economic sphere), an intensification of sexual activities, and a crystallization of the emotions, such as occur in the social life of the play-group. Finally, puberty marks the stage of development from which onward anticipatory make-believe can be discarded, and, in consequence, a rectification of behaviour takes place which is traditionally described as an increase in intelligence. The conflict with the parental generation arises from the fact that the satisfaction of the biological urges is regulated by adult society and granted only on certain conditions.[3]

[1] Cf. also Mead, M., 'Adolescence in Primitive and Modern Society', in *The New Generation*, ed. Calvert and Schmalnhausen (New York, 1930), pp. 169 *seq.*

[2] Hall, G. S., *Adolescence*, Preface, p. xiii.

[3] The evidence of some sort of conflict between the generations at all times and among all races is overwhelming. Matthew Arnold (*Mixed Essays and Irish Essays*, p. 409) cites Epictetus concerning the severity with which the youth of his day was punished for presumption. The German epic, *Meier Helmbrechts*, describes the conflict among the country folk in the Middle Ages. Cf. also Gosse, E., *Father and Son*; Tolstoy, L., *Two Generations*; Turgenev, *Fathers and Sons*; Kingsmill, H., *Parents and Children: An Anthology*. If one accepts the thesis put forward in Lecomte du Noüy's *Biological Time*, viz. that as 'biochemical organisms we have a basic apprehension of time which varies with our

2. *The Developmental Rites*[1]

A

The child's admission into adult status is emphasized by ritual. Throughout infancy and childhood, rites have taken place which stress critical periods in the history of the relationship of parent and child. Sometimes the ceremonies are celebrated in connexion with definite biological changes—for instance, teething. But it is preferable to regard them as social events, of significance, not only to the child, but to its family. Thus the physiological occurrence of birth in itself does not introduce a child into society. A variety of ceremonies following successively upon one another, take hold upon it, and, by making it the centre of social undertakings, fit it into the various kinship groupings. Again, it is misleading to speak of puberty rites, because physiological pubescence is a process spread over years, and social and biological maturity frequently do not coincide.[2]

1. The ritual following upon the birth of a child and the legal implications of its weaning[3] have been discussed in Part III. Before the child is weaned, two other rites have occurred: the rite of the first tooth and the naming ceremony. The appearance

age and differs from our uniform clock-time based on the earth's movement', and that therefore 'each successive year seems shorter to us as life proceeds', then youthful impatience and parental obduracy may be due to physiological conditions and conflict therefore inevitable. As described in regard to the Chaga, the conflict is conceived in sociological terms and appears to be avoidable by adjustments within the parent-child relation. An important role is probably played by the numerical relationship between the two generations. It can be shown that in industrialized communities the elder generation preponderates over the younger to an extent unknown among agriculturalists. It may be assumed that civilized and primitive communities exhibit a corresponding relationship. On this question consult Krzywicki, L., *Primitive Society and its Vital Statistics* (London, 1934), chap. vi, in which the author asserts that in primitive society two tendencies can be observed: (1) a more rapid sequence of generations than in European society and (2) the percentage of children (up to twelve years of age) and youths (up to sixteen) is higher than among us.

[1] The description and discussion of the developmental rites has been postponed for the following reasons: (*a*) They have to be viewed in succession to be understood. (*b*) The observational method has largely to be abandoned. (*c*) The testimony of informants, except for circumcision, refers to the past. (*d*) In early childhood, the rites do not influence childish behaviour, but in late childhood they do, as shown in the text.

[2] van Gennep, A., *Les Rites de Passage* (Paris, 1909), chap. vi, was the first to draw attention to the distinction.

[3] Meinhof, C., *Afrikanische Rechtsgebräuche* (Berlin, 1914), p. 33, quotes H. Johnston, *G. Grenfell and the Kongo*, p. 674, concerning a tribe in which the men abduct their brides and return to the village after the weaning of the child.

of the teeth is expected from the sixth month. Before this time the baby is called *mnangu*, the incomplete. The parents look out for the first sign of teething, and carefully check up the time by reference to the agricultural calendar. Delay is said to be caused by the grandfather when angry at not having been regularly supplied with beer and meat. The parents make good their omission and he retracts his spell by spitting into the child's mouth. When the tooth appears, the paternal grandmother is called. She arrives with a herb, called 'to-rub-the-child's tooth', and, stroking the gums with it, utters a blessing to ensure the completion of the set of teeth, and a repetition of the emoluments received as midwife. This rite is called 'to take up the child'; it is an additional attestation of the child's normality, for if its upper incisors appeared first, it would have been killed. The ceremony has significance for the whole family. The mother pretends to be tired and sad, is comforted, and then rejoices, as if the child had only been given to her now. Her mother-in-law blesses her: 'May your lap conceive again!' The event is also announced to the mother's people, and, like the paternal grandparents, they are given gifts of food in return for blessings.[1]

2. Up till then the child was classed as a *matuma*, a being without teeth and name. Now he can receive a personal name. The naming ceremony has significance for two social circles: the kindred-neighbour group and the age-group (i.e. uncircumcised children of the neighbourhood). They all come to congratulate the newly named, and to present it with armlets of beads and small coins. A feast is prepared. The male guests gather in the grove where the sacrificial animal is killed. A prayer is spoken to the ancestor after whom the child is to be called: 'O you father, we would like to call this child by your name so that it be mentioned again among us. Be therefore glad over your grandchild, nor be offended that he is called after you. We beg of you your name that he may receive it!' The women have their share sent into the hut. After the meal they step out into the yard and shout: 'You men there, what is the child's name?' The child's father replies. The women answer with a trill and break forth into a hymn: 'You ancestor, may you be mentioned in this house at all times. Protect this your grandchild, lest your name cease to be remembered by us! *Ai, ai, ai, ai! Kulilililili!*'

[1] Cf. G., *R.*, pp. 311 *seq.*, G., *L.*, ii, p. 540, for further particulars.

The naming ceremony is connected with the ancestors in several ways. Naming removes the child from the *mongama*, the tabooed state. If a child falls sick before it has been named, this is considered a sign that its dead grandfather wishes it to receive a name. During the ceremony the child has a skin ring attached to its finger. This is to prevent spirits from hurting the child, for, as it has been named, they know and visit it. The name chosen for the child may be an ancestral one. The first son is often called after the paternal grandfather, and the second after the maternal grandfather. Subsequent children are occasionally named after other ancestors, whom they are said to resemble in shape or character. According to some informants, this is done to make the children inherit their qualities. This procedure strengthens the ancestral control over the parents, whose kinship conduct is determined through consideration for their child, in whom, by reason of a more or less implied belief in reincarnation, they suspect the presence of an ancestor.

However, many names are not ancestral, but refer to circumstances at the time of birth. They thus commemorate joy or sorrow, happiness or grievances of married life. In the one case the parents agree upon a common name, in the other they select different names. Then a child may be called by its father *Shilingi*, implying that the confinement of this child's mother cost him a lot of money, while its mother names it *Ndelaukiwa*—that is, 'I have met bitterness'. The true interpretation of such names is only known to the parent concerned. Often several meanings are attached to one name. Such names are not bestowed in a solemn ritual; they are, like the names of most girls, given incidentally.[1]

3. The covering rite—that is, the safeguarding of the child through a skin ring—may be performed independently. When the sacrificial animal has been dedicated to the ancestor, the ritual leader, spitting between its horns, prays him to share his gift with his (the ancestor's) wife, sister, and mother's brother, so that their

[1] In J. R., *Versuch*, pp. 46, 280, the following types of names are distinguished: (*a*) Personal names: (1) Childhood name, or 'name at the mother's', may be either ancestral or referring to conditions at birth, especially some grievance of the mother's; used by parents throughout life. (2) Manhood name, or 'warrior's name', chosen by youth at his circumcision; used by his age-mates. (3) Marriage name, or 'name at the husband's', a name for the married woman. (*b*) Honorary names: (1) Clan name; used for all men and women who have produced children. (2) Praise names, i.e. terms of flattery and etiquette. This survey is borne out by more recent reports; cf. G., *R.*, p. 28. Concerning the naming ceremony, see G., *R.*, pp. 313 *seq.*

combined blessing descend upon the child. After the cow has been killed, two rings are cut out of its forehead. One of them is placed on the child's wrist by the grandfather, who prays: 'I withdraw you from the civet-cat, lest it bite you. You are not to be hurt by the mouse. Nor is the cockroach to jump over you. If anybody is to cut you, let *us* make the beginning.' Offering a prayer for further offspring, he attaches a similar ring to the mother's arm. The reference to the animals may be interpreted with Gutmann as implying a removal of the child from the dishonourable status of animals.[1] But as the civet-cat is the messenger of the ancestors, and jumping over a person is a magical action destroying the procreative power which is controlled by them, the phrase suggests that the child is to be accepted into human society and taken out of its sacred state of belonging to the ancestors. In some families children who have been 'covered' may eat meat. In others a child's covering rite coincides with the ear-piercing ceremony of its elder brother.

4. Ear-piercing may be performed when the boy has a younger brother. The grandfather, pointing a sharpened stick at the lobe of the ear, prays to the ancestors to protect the child so that he may perform the same rite to his grandchild. When the lobe has been pierced (this is done by the grandfather's ritual assistant) the child offers some of the meat of the slaughtered animal to his grandmother, after having bitten into it. The old woman praises him, and calls on the ancestors to guard the child so that he may bring his grandparents similar gifts annually. Then the grandfather, his assistant, and the grandmother give the child the lessons concerning the grandparental power of blessing and curse.[2] When the meat of the animal is being shared out, it is recalled that the child's left ear must be pierced by its mother's brother. When this uncle has a suitable animal to be slaughtered, the nephew is called, and undergoes a ritual similar to the one described. Impressed with his uncle's power of blessing and cursing, and laden with a share of meat, the child returns to his parental home, where he is welcomed: 'The mother's brother has given greatness to you to-day. For this reason, appease yourself. Do not beat your younger brother nor curse your elder brother any more.' The child has been reminded of the fact that his life comes not only from the paternal, but also from the distaff side.

[1] G., *L.*, i, p. 69. [2] Cf. pp. 232–3.

The social significance of the ear-piercing is stressed by the fact that the father's brothers and neighbours attend. Frequently two or three neighbours with sons of about the same age arrange to celebrate the rite together. In addition, ear-piercing establishes a ritual link with the mother's family. As with other rites of development, the kinship obligations are activated: food exchanges take place, sacrifices are offered, goodwill is reassured through the bestowal of blessings, and tendencies towards disregarding kinship duties are checked through curses.

When the magical or religious meaning of the rite is examined, native evidence is contradictory. One explanation says the custom is just a tradition. Others maintain that the pierced lobe with the ornaments inserted into it is a badge of manhood. This is borne out by the fact that raw natives like to attach a small European object to the pierced lobe, such as a safety pin or the tube of a shaving stick, symbolic of a superior society. Likewise, women used to wear coin-shaped lobe extenders, and the higher their rank the more elaborate they were.

As the badge of a certain social status, it should affect juvenile ambition. In the Kahe district children cut disks out of a banana stem, remove the core, and, hanging them on their ears, claim to be fathers. However, the ear-piercing is performed at an age when the fear of the pain is too powerful a deterrent to be overcome by the anticipatory tendency. The boys must be made to submit to the mutilation by threats, such as that the Europeans take away all unpierced children. It is said that, when the first white men arrived, the Chaga feared that they ate children. To prevent this from happening, the fathers hastened to pierce their children's ears. The custom appears thus to be a magical protective measure. This interpretation is strengthened by the hypothesis as to the origin of ear-piercing. It asserts that the chiefs, in order to make a boundary sacrosanct, buried two children alive, one from each of the countries concerned. The children chosen had to be 'sacred'—that is, to be unpierced, uncircumcised, with the full complement of teeth, and without sexual knowledge. In other words, they had to be untouched, and with their blood not yet spilled. Otherwise their blood could not be expected to revenge a violation of the boundary. In order to save their children from being sacrificed in such a manner, parents pierced their ears.

This historical belief begs the question. For if, at the time when boundary burials were considered necessary, ear-piercing was already a condition which made the child unsuitable, it cannot have been invented as a counter-measure. To understand the function of the belief, it is necessary to realize that the chief is here used as a bogy. The appeal to his punitive authority is illustrated by his power over the life and death of children in the case of boundary burials. It is natural that reference to it would be made in the case of boys refusing to have their ears pierced. Similarly, during the time of Arab ascendancy they were threatened that the chief would sell into slavery any child with unpierced ears.[1] Such a child, it is said, is also liable to be called to attend magicians engaged by the chief. For if they have to light a fire, their occult purpose cannot be achieved unless a 'sacred' child kindles it. Such children, it is added, are not allowed to return to their parents any more. The historical explanations offered thus resolve themselves into threats employed to terrorize boys into submitting to the mutilation. They all warn the children of the danger of being removed from home. It is therefore not astonishing to find that their underlying assumption that the unpierced child only is exposed to dangers flatly contradicts the co-existent belief that during a period of universal disaster the child with unpierced lobe is safe.[2] The inconsistency becomes intelligible when it is viewed as a result of enforcing the parental will in varying educational situations.

5. A special ceremony introduces the child to domestic and agricultural work. Already for the ear-piercing rite parents try to combine with other families and to employ a common master piercer. This tendency becomes more pronounced in the case of the rite of dedication to work. Neighbours or even a political district observe it jointly. The children are gathered in a hut, on each face the ritual leader daubs some flour, uttering at the same time the following adjuration: 'To-day I am transferring to you the power of circumspection. Beware of behaving wantonly or recklessly in future! Do not break your mother's pot! Walk along

[1] It is asserted that the chief argued: The purchase of guns from the Arabs is for purposes of defence. But so is the boundary burial. My right over undefiled children is uncontested in the latter case; hence I remain within my privilege if I exchange children for guns.

[2] G., *Volksbuch*, p. 103, a story quoted previously and explained as supporting parental commands when out-of-door jobs have to be done during the rainy season.

the path and do not steal other people's crops! Do not curse your father or mother, nor your grandmother! And remember that a sister's curse exterminates offspring!' The dedication is accompanied by a ritual introduction to new food. In some families the child is henceforth allowed to eat dishes composed of several vegetable ingredients; in the case of others it is given beer to drink for the first time or allowed its first taste of game.

The advance in status is also expressed in increased legal responsibility. The children are touched by the ritual leader with samples of all the crops planted. These they take afterwards to their mother. On receiving them, she remarks: 'If you do any damage after this or become liable to pay a fine, it is my case no more. Henceforth you will have to settle any legal claim yourself.' It is therefore misleading to consider this rite solely as an habituation of the child to the world of 'animated plants'.[1] The manual coming of age of a child eases the economic situation of its parents. For this reason, their debts fall due at this time. For instance, a native doctor's fees must be paid when the child cured by him begins to herd cattle.[2] The rite introducing the children to work is therefore aptly called the 'rite that raises the age-group from the ground'.

6. At about twelve years of age, after the second set of teeth has appeared, children have the two central lower incisors removed by an expert. As in the first tooth rite, the connexion with the forebears is stressed. Delay is unbecoming, as the spirits wish the mutilation to be performed. After the extraction, the child spits ritually at his grandfather and then throws the teeth on the roof of the hut saying: 'Here, these first-fruits, I present to you.' They are supposed to be swallowed by the lizards that populate the thatch of the hut. These animals, with their glinting eyes and observant manners, are identified with the first ancestor and play a similar role in education to that of the shadow, the sun, and other concrete representations of the ubiquitous watchman. The milk-teeth also are cast on the roof. The grandmother claims the right to throw two of them, viz. the two lower central incisors, acting thus as mediator between the child and the spirits. She prays: 'You lizards, pray to Grandfather and Grandmother that they let the new set grow white and close together in a circle. May the sky prolong your life, my child, and assist your elders!'[3]

[1] G., *R.*, p. 227. [2] G., *R.*, p. 493. [3] G., 'Zähne'.

Spitting through the gap is a favourite pastime of youthful age-mates. He who can spit higher than his friends is praised and his mutilation admired. Those youths and maidens who are slow about having the extraction performed are laughed at: 'You have a full set like a hyena!'[1] For the mutilation is a sign implying a certain economic independence and the right to wider social contacts. A *manake*, as a child in the pre-initiation stage is called, has permission to go for strolls and visits in the neighbourhood. His presence at beer parties is not objected to. Boys begin to sleep in separate houses, and cease helping their mothers. Girls desist from looking on at the slaughtering of cattle, the task of men. Yet the *manake* is treated with derision by his slightly older, already circumcised acquaintances, who sneeringly call him *iseka*, the irresponsible laughter. The child's ambition is thus aroused and causes him to suffer the extraction with less trepidation than the ear-piercing. Nevertheless, traditional 'explanations' reveal themselves again as threats enforcing observation of the custom, e.g. the story that children with their teeth extracted need not fear being chosen as victims, and the very plausible justification for the custom—namely, that, because of the danger of lockjaw, a gap must be made in the teeth through which the patient can be fed.[2]

7. Towards the end of childhood, the anticipatory tendency of play assumes an aggressive aspect. Youths and maidens, behaving in what they believe to be an adult manner, outrage the feelings of their elders. To allay the spirit of rebelliousness, certain disciplinary rites are traditionally employed, which are interesting examples of the methods used by the parents to retain control during this period. When a boy or girl shows an inclination to loitering and, subsisting on the economic resources of the play-group, does not return home for days, his mother collects some of his nail parings and hairs and calls a magician, who parcels the objects up, spits at them, and, uttering adjurations, buries them under the hearth. In this manner the truant is tied to the house.[3]

[1] Even Christian children are easily persuaded by their comrades to submit to this mutilation, sometimes in opposition to their parents' wishes.

[2] It is more difficult to account for the 'animistic' explanation that the gap was made to allow the soul to escape after death (cf. G., 'Zähne'), or to allow it to return into the body after a fainting fit; cf. Meinhof, quoting Hollis in *Afrikanische Religionen* (Berlin, 1912), p. 34. The theories that explain the mutilation as a method of making impregnation through the mouth possible link it to those ceremonies that mark sexual maturity.

[3] G., *DDD.*, p. 65.

This general custom may be crystallized into a definite rite. When an adolescent child flouts parental authority and has become a cause of public annoyance, father and mother agree that he should be curbed by the *kisusa* rite. The diviner suggests that the kinship obligations to a paternal or maternal relative have not been fulfilled or blames an anonymous spirit, the *kisusa*, for the youth's ill behaviour. A goat is slaughtered, and the usual skin armlets cut from its forehead. One is placed on the magician's hand, the other on the hobbledehoy's. Before the youth's is pushed on to his wrist, four pieces of meat are inserted between his hand and the armlet. The youth pulls them through and eats them. One piece, from the animal's tongue, is to prevent the youth from swearing; the second, from its heart, is to stop his wicked desires; the third, from its foreleg, is a symbol of abandoned pugnacity; the fourth, from its hind leg, is to put an end to his loitering. Afterwards the group of kinsmen moves towards the father's hut, where the son acts as a stranger and exchanges greetings with his sire. He is allowed to proceed indoors, where he receives a number of lessons in good manners and Chaga morality. Songs and general feasting conclude the ceremony. Most children improve their behaviour after such a rite, on account of the frequent references to the anger of the ancestral spirits. As an attestation of such improvement, the skin armlet is removed after a month. A purification ceremony is performed in which the mother takes some flour in her mouth, spits four times on the ring, and repeats this with some beer. Singing disciplinary songs, she offers libations to the ancestors. The songs are rightly considered the essential feature of the rite.[1]

A rite called *kirundutse* is performed on the youth who becomes overbearing towards his widowed mother. He is made to jump four times over a slaughtered calf laid down near his father's grave. The father's spirit is invoked to be gentle, implying that it is his influence which causes the youth's turbulence. Another ceremony known as *irutsa* follows the *kisusa*. Its purpose is prophylactic; it averts the child's becoming a bad character. The youth must be accompanied by a sponsor, often the husband of his elder sister. Together they enter the hut, where all their kinsmen who have undergone the rite are forgathered. (A number of curious onlookers have collected in the yard.) The father's ritual assistant

[1] Dundas, C., op. cit., p. 205.

begins to stir the freshly brewed beer, saying, 'Be gentle!' The company rejoins: '*Hau!*' (i.e. 'So be it'). 'Like the hyrax: *Hau!* Don't be violent: *Hau!* Don't be a loiterer: *Hau!* Don't destroy the family: *Hau!* But may you beget children: *Hau!* May you have many cows: *Hau!*' As the beer foams up, the sponsor bows down and drinks without using a vessel and is followed in this by the youth. The ceremony over, a general bout ensues.[1]

B

In circumcision a rite can be described which is still generally observed. From an early date the ambition of the children focuses itself upon this ceremony. For it marks the transition to full manhood and womanhood. Thus anticipatory play turns more frequently to the crowning mutilation ceremony than to the ear-piercing, the *kisusa*, and *irutsa* rites.[2] For instance, in Machame, girls cut round pieces out of old tins, and bend them so as to resemble the bells worn by their elder sisters at circumcision. They put beans inside to make them rattle. Soon one sees groups of from ten to twenty girls forgather who choose one 'to be circumcised'. They tie eight of the bells round her ankles, and chainlets sewn on thongs round her waist. A banana leaf is artistically fringed and put round her neck by way of collar. Her body is smeared with lime, and her face painted in a red, white, and black pattern. She is placed in the middle, the others closing round her. Each attending girl wears four bells and flourishes a stick. The dance is performed to the following words: '*Iye, iye!* Oh, my loved one, when I look at you, my heart desires you! I do not want to leave you till I die! Oh, Mother, oh!' The second chorus replies: 'Truly, my Nkanusu, if I had to go without you what should I do? Whom I love, who knows how long! Oh, Mother, oh!'

Throughout late childhood educational measures refer to circumcision. Misbehaviour is said to become apparent during the rite, and good conduct to result in an easy and painless operation. At the same time a continuous training goes on to make

[1] Even this rite has to be performed on a banana inflorescence if the youth's elder brother is dead.

[2] To undergo the *kisusa* is not fancied by the children, as it shows that they have a bad character. But in the past the rite was performed like the *irutsa* on all children, and shared with it the distinction of being desired by them. The *irutsa* is particularly attractive on account of the fact that only those that had undergone it could participate.

the child suppress expressions of fear or pain. When a chigoe is removed from its toe, when its hair is cut, when it has to take medicine, cries and tears are discountenanced. Moreover, the mutilation rites preceding circumcision—that is, ear-piercing and teeth-extraction—prepare for the major ordeal. The attention of children is directed to the contempt in which persons are still held who are known to have behaved cowardly in the past. Thus about one girl the following song was composed: 'Our comrade wanted to be circumcised, and prepared herself to go with her companions. When she saw the wizened operator, she kicked her with fear and knocked her on the head. The old woman commanded that she should be seized by force. But, trembling with cowardice, she wrenched herself away, and fled to her betrothed. Not meeting his mother, she clung to her beloved's back. Whereupon her mother-in-law returned from the fields and asked her son: "What is the matter, my son?" The youth, contempt in his reply, said: "It is Ndetaramo's cowardly daughter, Ndetaramo's dog, Ndetaramo's rat!" '

The reasons given by intelligent natives for the origin of the rite are obviously educational threats. It is said that a girl is circumcised lest the unremoved parts of her genitals obstruct the foetus during birth and cause its death or drive it out through the anus.[1] Correspondingly, it is said that boys must have the prepuce removed to make sexual intercourse possible. An uncircumcised youth cannot hope to achieve the defloration of his bride. Another ground for performing the rite is hygienic. It is said that bathing alone cannot remove the evil-smelling secretions collecting under the labia and the prepuce. A third reason given is that the ancestors are so displeased with persons who refuse to be circumcised or who neglect the mutilation of their children that they kill them. Accordingly, at circumcision the elders declare: 'We have handed over our child to the ancestors.'

The fourth motive is that circumcision is a custom to which all have to submit. It is the strongest motive at the present day. Christian youths and maidens who are advised to drop the custom, if they can do so without giving offence to their families, only exceptionally have the courage to face the general ridicule and to

[1] In the opinion of European obstetricians, circumcision as practised by the Chaga and other East African tribes, e.g. the Kikuyu, obstructs birth and makes delivery most painful to the mothers.

marry without being circumcised. How this fear of social comment was adapted to special conditions in the past can be seen from an historical explanation of circumcision. It is said that when the Chaga were fighting the Masai, the latter used to circumcise the corpses of their enemies, who did not then know the custom. The Masai are imagined as remarking, 'It is a shame to be killing *maseka*', and as despising the Chaga warriors for being uncircumcised and therefore unable to defeat them. This historical fiction was quite plainly used as an educational threat, for when the Arabs traded with the Chaga the custom was enforced by fear of ridicule from them. By playing on tribal pride, it was easily turned into an effective incentive. Only the circumcised youth can be a victorious warrior, it was said, and circumcision makes one proof against spear wounds. Girls were told that their circumcised state is a protection for the hut during war-time.

The time for the mutilation coincides, in the case of girls, with their first menstruation. Mothers consider the darkening pigmentation of the breasts the sign that this event is approaching. Beans and eleusine are purchased. Together with a dish of milk, they are taken, one morning, to the operator by the girl's parents, who are accompanied by her father's brother and mother's brother. This visit is important, for, if the elders find water or urine spilled on the way, this is a bad omen, indicating that the girl will bleed to death. The sacrifice of a faultless goat is then offered at the grave of the paternal grandparents and the entrails buried under the dracaenas shading it, while a prayer for the girl's safety is recited. During the visit, arrangements are made for her circumcision.

On the morning of the day of the ceremony, when the full moon is still in the sky, the girl goes to a magician, who supplies her with an amulet (*uga*) to protect her against haemorrhage. The *uga* consists of the 'sinew' of a tree snake to which are tied four tiny skin bags enveloping a powerful magic. When fastening this amulet round the girl's waist, the magician spits at her, which is an additional charm. The girl proceeds to bath in the cold water of a canal. This makes the skin insensitive. Then she runs to the operator's home in the company of two or three friends, where they all begin to dance. All the adult relatives of the girls have gathered there to watch and assist. The girl has her ornaments removed and is laid on the ground, the old women crowding

round, and some holding her down. The operator, a woman renowned for her skill, cuts away the labia majora and clitoris with a special knife. She begins on the inside of these parts and in the end holds a ring of bloody flesh in her hand. The wound is treated with herbs to stop bleeding and cause speedy cicatrization. The removed parts are enveloped in cow-dung and buried under a banana tree, whose fruit no child is allowed to eat.

As soon as all the girls have been mutilated, they receive the congratulations of the onlookers. Foremost among these are their own age-mates, who form the outermost circle of the crowd. An old female relative, the wife of the father's ritual assistant, takes fat out of dishes which two girls of about three years of age are carrying, bedaubs the novices' foreheads and treats in a similar manner all present. There follows a rollicking dance, after which beer is distributed. If the girl is already betrothed, her fiancé then appears with presents, usually ornaments; he is dressed as a warrior with sword, spear, and a head-gear of ostrich feathers. The girl retires into a special hut, where she lives for three months under the supervision of her grandmother.

On the following day the circumcised girls move about in little groups and perform the *igoma* dance before their parents, to the following or similar texts: 'Makere circumcised his daughter, *hee*! Makere circumcised his daughter, *wo*! Bring the sickle, *ee*! Bring the knife, *wo*! Father, let us give her a present!' The father hands over to his daughter a goat, a cow, or a hen, and sends other provisions to her hut. When these are consumed, other relatives are requested to contribute their share. A girl who has flinched during the operation receives no present from her fiancé, and is jilted. Nor do her father and other relatives provide the special diet said to be 'fattening' or beautifying. She is thus almost coerced to run away from home and join herself to some man as a minor wife. At the conclusion of the period of isolation, the girl makes her first public appearance, one of her friends walking in front and another behind. She wears a special dress of goatskin thrown over her shoulders and a few ornaments covering her pubic region. She and her friends carry long, narrow flutes and go gallivanting for a fortnight. Then they return home to resume their work.

The circumcision of boys, though resembling that of girls,

shows some distinct features. The youth is sent with a pot of beer to his mother's brother to ask for his blessing. The latter offers a libation to the maternal ancestors, praying that they may protect his nephew and prevent excessive bleeding. The cold period between June and September, which is also that of plentiful food supplies, is considered the most favourable. The coldness of the air hardens the skin and this physiological effect is reinforced by an early bath in the river. The weather-makers are employed to produce a cool but clear morning. After the bath, the boy's father offers a libation to the male ancestors, praying: 'You God, lord, and chief, assist our son and keep him safe!' The mother offers milk to the female ancestors.

After this the father and his ritual assistant proceed to cut a banana tree. The former pours some beer out of a calabash on the stump to atone for spilling a human being's blood, lest the spirits cast a curse on the saplings growing up round it. The circumcision is performed by an expert; the boy, whose back is held by an old relative, sits astride on the stem. The father's brother sings: 'My child, It has circumcised you! My child, It has circumcised you! Remember that your father is the lightning. I say the truth, your father is the lightning! Remember, *ee*, my child, that your mother is a snail shell; indeed she is a snail shell; you hid yourself in it!' The operator now scoops out a hollow in the ground, lines it with a banana leaf and pours in water. In this he soaks a plant, *yande*, and the fur of a hyrax, objects which are believed to possess soothing qualities. He sprays the onlookers with the water to propitiate them and to prevent any one with the evil eye from casting a fatal glance at the wound. The protection of the circumcised from the wrath of jealous spirit brothers, and of the operator from fatal consequences of his action, is ensured by the slaughter of a goat or cow, from whose skin they receive the customary armlets. The meat is eaten by the father, his brothers, and the operator only; the other visitors are regaled with beer.

As in the case of girls, boys are usually circumcised in groups of three or four. Their relatives and elders accompany them home, singing: '*Hee, he!* Welcome, you warriors! Welcome, you men! Welcome to you circumcised the last! Do not jeer at him, for he is a man!' This reference is special praise for the last boy because, although tuned up like the others to suffer silently, his

composure is worn down by watching his comrades under the knife. After their return, the boys are given their mother's dress, a sheep-skin, to wear and are addressed as *mpora* (novice), a term generally used of young women. The period of recuperation is shorter than with the girls, and no presents are given.

Not many years ago the circumcision of boys was a tribal ceremony carried out by order of the political authorities. The chief and the ruling age-group fixed the time of a general circumcision in such a manner that the age-group had among its ranks a son of the chief. He thus became its natural leader. In pursuing this policy, it sometimes happened that an age-group comprised members from about five to twenty-five years of age. On the other hand, some age-groups had no royal representative at all and were therefore less respectable. Such conditions were conducive to an accentuation of the conflict of generations and to giving it a revolutionary aspect. The youths who had to wait for circumcision began to grumble. And many a chief's son whose rite was delayed in order to make the group of his followers larger took this to be an unbearable slight and revolted.

For tribal circumcision, in addition to the political leader, a ritual leader was chosen in the person of a youth born in his father's old age. He was the first to undergo the mutilation. His comrades were warned: 'This is your elder brother. Do not curse him; do not quarrel with him; do not beat him. He precedes you on the banana stem!' The chief sacrificed an ox, which was consumed by the age-group. He received its heart and lungs. After the circumcision the prepuces were collected in a banana leaf and allowed to rot, being protected by thorns against animals. After the recuperation period, which each boy passed at home, the foreskins were scattered during a special rite, in the presence of the youths, the chief, and those elders who were entrusted with tribal education. The operator, spitting some beer on the rotted skins, prayed to the first ancestor who practised circumcision. He asked him to grant again an opportunity for circumcising an age-group, thanked him for raising up the just-mutilated generation, enjoined upon its members the obligation of solidarity since they had been permanently joined when their blood mingled on the ground, and invoked fertility on the ritual leader and through him on all his age-mates. The foreskins were scattered in the grove and covered with cow-dung. This treatment reminds one, as Gutmann suggests,

of that of slain warriors. Their corpses were covered with thorns and after decomposition the bones were scattered.[1]

This interpretation implies that circumcision is a test of manhood, especially with reference to the duty of a man to defend his country. The function of Chaga circumcision can indeed be defined as an entrance test to full adult status. This is what it is felt to be by the present generation, which is abandoning the magical ceremonies accompanying the rite. When recently circumcised youths are asked about their feelings before and after the rite they invariably reply: 'Before circumcision I was very much annoyed at being called *iseka* by those already circumcised, and even by women. I was told that I would not be able to bear the pain, and that if I frowned or moved even my big toe even a little I would be beaten. A song would be composed about my cowardice, and my chances for marriage spoiled. For these reasons I was very much afraid lest I should fail to stand the excruciating pains that make you a man. I had half a mind to shirk circumcision, but realized that it was better to be mutilated than to be ridiculed and despised. At the time of circumcision itself I was neither elated nor despondent. My body felt as if benumbed, but presently I experienced a pain the like of which I had not suffered before. At once a great joy welled up in me at having passed the test of pain without disgracing myself. This joy was increased by the congratulations of my relatives and their words of comfort and admiration. After my recovery, I felt proud to be a man whom nobody dared to call "hobbledehoy". Yet I noticed that my physical strength had decreased, and that I could not lift loads which before the rite would not have defeated me. My whole body felt limp and light.' This statement is interesting, both on account of its reference to the physiological change from a state of high tension to one of slackness after achievement; and because it brings out the educational constraint exercised by the age-group.

That the parental generation regards circumcision, not only as a test, but as an opportunity for cumulative punishment appears

[1] These two paragraphs are based on G., *R.*, pp. 317 *seq.* Gutmann nowhere gives a descriptive account of circumcision as practised in the family. But he records in G., *L.*, i, pp. 509–20, that the candidates before the rite ceremoniously thank their grandparents for the lessons, that they are blessed by them on the morning of the day of the mutilation, and that the grandparents perform a thanksgiving sacrifice after it. For Dundas's account, cf. op. cit., pp. 207–14.

from the fact that any notorious mischief-monger is submitted to a severe trial. His circumcision is attended by those of his elders who bear a grudge against him. When the operator has made the preliminary incision, he is told to stop. Some one steps on the victim's big toe to find out whether he squirms and to beat him if he does. He is told to sing a song without hesitating or trembling. After some other boys have been circumcised, the operator is allowed to continue on the culprit, but before he is finished he is told: 'Leave him for another while!' Only after a lengthy interval is the operation completed. In some cases a boy is under the knife for an hour or longer. The report of this torture is spread among the uncircumcised and stupefies them with terror. In consequence, they willingly obey and honour their elders. The mild religious threats of Christianity, it is said, are unable to achieve what the system of cumulative punishment does. For not only during circumcision, but also during initiation and at a wedding, the older generation take their revenge in a similarly cruel fashion.

If circumcision is a rite of admission to adult status, it should be followed by the legal independence of the novice. This can be verified by reference to the law of inheritance, for instance. Only when circumcised is a son or daughter qualified to inherit. After a man's death his widow is married by one of his brothers, but the deceased's property in cattle belongs to his sons and is administered for them by an uncle. If he appropriates it, they can claim it in the chief's court after their circumcision and will be assisted by their mother's brother.[1] A girl, though excluded from inheritance, through circumcision acquires the power of owning and disposing property. Till then all the produce of her fields belongs by law to her father. But after coming of age she may sell it. In the past, she invested her income in heavy lead armlets. When a woman dies without male issue, her daughter inherits her private possessions. If already circumcised, she at once removes the cattle and ornaments to her maternal uncle's. If not, she claims her property with his assistance after her circumcision. The social advance of their children has also legal consequences for the parents. A man is discharged from the chief's labour gang when a circumcised son can take his place. The

[1] The circumcision of the heir to the chieftaincy implied his accession if his father was dead.

coming of age of a woman's eldest child is made to coincide with the last payment of her own bride-price!

The fact that the youth has acquired a legal individuality is expressed in his new name, the so-called 'warrior name'. Each boy chooses this himself. It is used by his age-mates, and his own and his companions' wives. His parents continue to use his childhood name. In the past, the assumption of the new name formed, like circumcision, part of the initiation. It was the concluding rite of the final day.[1] The novices, having taken a bath, sat down in a meadow. The preceptor conducting the initiation turned to each boy's monitor, asking, 'What name was left to your ward in the pool?' The monitors having replied, the preceptor congratulated the boys.

This warrior name has a female equivalent. After marriage a woman receives the 'name at the husband's'. This is her paternal grandmother's name, by which her age-mates call her; her parents continue to use her first name. This analogy points to the fact that circumcision not only confers the legal status of an adult, but his sexual rights, too. These consist in the permission to found a homestead, to marry—which involves economic independence and religious autonomy—and to procreate, which extends and strengthens the self-government of the new family.

The introduction to these manifold privileges and obligations is carried out gradually. The anticipatory tendency of juvenile activities turns play early into real love-making.[2] Parental interest, on the other hand, centres chiefly round the permanent form of the relation between a young man and woman, and the permission to procreate which it implies. The reference to the physical aspects of sex in circumcision is therefore only incidental. This is also apparent from the multiplicity of forms which the mutilation of the sex organs assumes in other tribes: circumcision, incision, subcision, extraction of one testicle, clitoridectomy, removal of the female external genitals, shortening or extension of the labia minora, scarification in the pubic region, and even extirpation of the nipples.

The wider implications of the rite are indicated in the following explanatory hypotheses. It has been said that circumcision is a means of sexual hygiene, that it facilitates intercourse, increasing the pleasure and the attraction of sex. These advantages, it is

[1] G., *R.*, p. 334. [2] Kidd, D., *Savage Childhood*, p. 189.

alleged, are complemented by the following graces: it protects against the dangers of intercourse, secures fertility, sanctifies sex life through a dedicatory sacrifice, ensures the legitimacy of offspring—in fine, it is a ritual, opening up the sources of reproduction.[1]

Some of these ideas are clearly the result of reflection on the custom; others may indeed act as incentives to the individuals concerned—for instance, when a girl desirous of marriage induces her lover to circumcise himself. The function of the rite in native society is, however, more far-reaching: it is totalitarian in the sense that it admits to adult behaviour in its entirety, not only to its sexual phases.

Through the study of Chaga education, it has become apparent why the unauthorized production of offspring is such a terrible crime. It strikes at the very roots of parental authority. If filial disobedience were not punished through parental interference with procreation—that is, through postponing marriage, withholding sex knowledge, and assuming responsibility for the barrenness of their children and for disease and death among the latter's offspring—most of the moral code could not be enforced. The parental control over the progeny of the filial generation is the ultimate sanction in primitive conduct. For a child implies a family and is the end towards which anticipatory behaviour is directed.

These facts make an insight into the religious meaning of circumcision possible. The ancestors are as much interested in the continued rebirth of their stock as the parents, for their spiritual existence depends on the sacrifices received from their progeny. It is for this reason that they safeguard the welfare of the latter. The ancestors being the parents projected into 'the beyond' are therefore as insistent on controlling the conditions of procreation. Moreover, they are endowed with greater powers of blessing and of cursing.

Yet the reference to the forebears is fundamentally educational, for it is full of contradictions. While the ancestors insist on the rite and demand a purification of the heart before they bless the circumcised, the parents fear that the mutilation may rouse their

[1] It might be argued that the parents reserve for themselves the right to the first spilling of genital fluids. This could be supported by reference to the anxiety of parents lest menstruation should set in before circumcision. Cf. G., *R.*, p. 561, and Dundas, op. cit., pp. 211–12.

ire; hence omens are observed, prayers and sacrifices performed, and patient and operator guarded with amulets. To refer such an inconsistency to a belief in the fickleness of the ancestors is to explain nothing. Clearly, the reference to the ancestors differs with the pedagogical situation. Before the rite takes place, its necessity is asserted and its faithful observation enforced by representing the parental, or traditional, will to carry out the mutilation as emanating from a beneficial ancestral scheme of conduct. After the child has submitted to the rite and its conditions, parental authority can dispense with the support of ancestors. Indeed, to reassert their own superiority, parents proceed as if they could protect the persons concerned against the anger of the spirits. Thus the ancestors are sometimes invoked to reinforce or sanctify parental control, and sometimes to set it off by being subject to it.

3. *Initiation as Fixation of New Restraints: Immediate Parental Control replaced by Remote One*

A

Circumcision implies coming of age; in itself it shows no attempt to train the offspring for it. Without a didactic complement, the mutilation remains an empty rite. Hence in the past initiation followed circumcision. Like circumcision, it was a tribal affair carried out by the chief's officers and resulting in the formation of the warrior organization. But, again, like circumcision, it contained features which stamp it as an important rite of the family.

When the age-group had recovered from circumcision, the chief, after taking counsel with his advisers, had the planned initiation proclaimed even abroad. For initiation was celebrated during a period of general peace, and youths of other chieftainships and tribes could attend.[1] The cold season during which the camp was held was considered conductive to a pacification of the minds of men. Before the novices were collected, the camp was built in the forest. It consisted of three circular sites, which were cleared of bush and surrounded with high walls of thorns. Only one of the grounds was accessible from the outside, but

[1] G., *L.*, i, p. 9. Dundas, op. cit., p. 214, relates that the Kibosho abandoned initiation because their camp was once attacked by the Machame.

a passage connected it with the second and this with the last enclosure.

The work was carried out under the supervision of tribal preceptors, the *makuleri*. This office was hereditary. Each chieftaincy had one or two clans claiming a particular gift for teaching. This they support to the present day with myths of their superior pedagogical skill. For instance, the Nshiwu clan of Moshi tells that Mrashi, their first ancestor, immigrated into the district with a large stone, a symbol of initiation. His family increased quickly, and distinguished itself by turning out excellent warriors. Their discipline was explained by the superiority of the initiation teaching received from Mrashi. Hence the leaders of other clans requested him to 'strengthen' their offspring too.[1]

The gathering of the initiation class was entrusted to the chief preceptor's family. For this purpose, one of their candidates was dispatched with his monitor. The latter, called *mwichi* (i.e. one who knows), had recently been initiated. He had to be an elder brother or paternal cousin of the novice. His task was to protect his ward in the camp, and to interpret its teaching to him. These two went round the country, stopping at every compound in which a novice lived. There they danced, challenging the father in songs to send his son with his monitor. This had to be done because parents and youths alike were afraid of the severities of initiation. A definite itinerary had to be followed. First the offspring of those clans were collected who claimed connexion with the chief's. Strict attention was paid to the seniority of the branches. When the youths of rank had been gathered, the commoners were rallied. Here precedence was determined by mythological claims to priority of immigration.[2]

The process of gathering the initiation class took several weeks, during which the country resounded with the lamentations of the parents. For the stay in the camp always resulted in a number of deaths. One of the boys was sacrificed, some were beaten to death, and some succumbed to the inclement weather. For as soon as they arrived in the camp their clothes were taken off and returned to their parents. The naked boys had to spend several months in the forest. They slept in hollows in the ground, usually

[1] G., 'Steinahne'.

[2] Neither Gutmann nor Dundas refers to this method of implementing the political stratification of Chaga society.

four of a kinship group huddled together to warm one another. That this sleeping in the open air was an essential part of the initiation ordeal appears from the name of the novices, *mokulala* (the sleepers). The monitors, teachers, and official interpreters did not spend the night with the youths.[1]

During the first days the boys were busy scooping out their sleeping holes, levelling the dancing ground, preparing the passages connecting the three enclosures, and digging two large pits, the one for receiving faeces, the other urine. The hollows and the pits were situated in the innermost enclosure. Every morning when the boys urinated they mixed some of the water with earth and smeared the whole of their bodies with it. This was done to obtain a mud covering to keep them warm. No washing or bathing was allowed. The pit for the faeces, called 'the bull', was dug with special ceremonies. One member of the age-group, the 'king of the camp', was lowered on a rope to measure whether the pit was large enough. From the bottom of the pit he adjured the age-group to obey him, invoking barrenness on any one daring to strike him, and promising a wife and offspring to the well-behaved.[2]

In the innermost circle, the *mkombonyi*, or 'place where people are destroyed', a quarrel could be fought out to a finish with impunity. The corpse of the slain was flung into the cesspit. Any one falling into it by accident was left to his fate. Again, a youth could be pushed down by order of the 'king of the camp'. As victim, a weakling, cripple, or the son of poor people was chosen. Gutmann surmises that originally the 'king' was killed himself to propitiate the age-group, that more recently he was only lowered into the pit in a sham sacrifice, and that his tabooed character and relative unimportance in the near past bear out such an assumption. But his untouchability was required to ensure his authority. And that his power was anything but insignificant appears from facts which have not come to Gutmann's notice. For various reasons, the choice of a 'king' always fell on a man in poor circumstances. As such he had the function of redressing wrongs done to

[1] G., *R.*, p. 322, mentions that in Moshi an unmarried member of the preceding age-group, the *lodanga*, who had to be of a privileged clan, acted as dance leader and supervisor of the camp when the staff were absent. He had also to taste the food sent to the camp. Informants of the Vunjo districts identify the 'king of the camp' and the *lodanga*.

[2] For details, cf. G., *R.*, p. 322.

the oppressed. For during his reign his word was law, not only in the camp, but, through his control over the life and death of the rising generation, also to their parents and the chief whose son was one of its members. As the ancestors (through their power over the offspring) are a kind of personified conscience of kinship morality, the 'king of the camp' is the 'impartial spectator' in the political sphere. The method used by him to enforce the rectification of a wrong was to refuse admission of food to the camp till the matter had been put right.

As the mother in the family, and the leader in the play-group, the 'king' upheld the discipline of the camp through his control over the food. This, sent daily by the parents, was received about half-way to the camp by each of the monitors individually. The 'king' inspected the two portions received, looking in the meat for a bone and in the porridge dish for an unmashed piece of banana. If any irregularity was found, the boy concerned was beaten unmercifully. This rule worked in two ways. On the one hand, the mothers were urged to cook the provisions with the greatest of care and thus came to realize the importance of initiation. On the other hand, they used it as an instrument of 'punishment'. Parents, it is said, whose children were headstrong and wicked, put a bone or a whole banana into the food, and informed the monitor of it, lest the 'king' should overlook this sign. It is hardly conceivable that this was ever anything but a warning during conflicts prior to initiation, as the parents were afraid that their sons might be killed.

The disciplinary value of eating together was utilized in the following manner. In the western districts, food was not sent by each family daily. Closely related families, whose sons slept together in one hollow, arranged to supply the provisions to the group in turn. Four or five such groups were in the charge of one teacher, who gave each lot to eat from a common plate. Hitting the boys with a rod, he gave them this lesson: 'This is the great union binding you together! You have been joined to be great. Now you are leaving childhood and must not retain childish stubbornness. You must prove yourselves men whose conduct is unimpeachable. Live together, support one another, like brothers born of one woman!'[1] Three such meals were served in the day.

[1] G., *L.*, i., p. 12.

At sunrise the chief preceptor and the teachers made their appearance at the camp. They greeted the novices with the cry of the rutting he-goat, '*Wo-wo-wo*', to which the novices replied in like manner. More recently a horn was blown, at whose sound the boys rose and moved to the dancing ground, *mengeny*, the middle enclosure, where they performed the *ushongolyo* dance. For this they drew up in a circle, leaping into the air when the rhythm demanded it. This made them warm and ready to sing songs or to receive their lessons in the innermost enclosure.

In the centre of this enclosure the teachers erected a pole with a cross piece at the upper end, to which the corpse of a young reedbuck was tied.[1] In other camps a tree was left there, into which the teacher climbed who led the novices in prayer. Holding himself erect by means of a rope suspended from a branch higher up the tree, he called on 'God of the permanent seat, who wipest the firmament with showers!' To each phrase the novices replied: 'Oh, *Ngai!* Oh, *Ruwa!*' the Masai and Chaga words respectively for god. This rite was only performed towards the end of the camp, and was usually followed by lessons which are described in a different context.[2]

The central teaching of the camp was the 'stopping up of the anus'.[3] The plug (*ngoso*) supposed to have been used for this, represents in a concrete manner male superiority. The novices were told that the plug was the sign of manhood, and that the guarding of its secret was the foremost duty of all men. They were made to sit down on and rise repeatedly from a bed of nettles, while the preceptor taught them: 'Don't emit wind in the presence of women and unitiated youths. If you do, the tribal elders will slaughter your cow. Beware lest you be surprised by women when you defecate. Always carry a stick with you, dig your faeces in, and scratch about here and there, pretending that you are digging in some charm. Then if a woman should have observed

[1] This is only reported of Shira. For a similar 'tree' reminiscent of Christian symbols, cf. Junod, H. A., *The Life of a South African Tribe* (1912), vol. i, p. 89. Among the Thonga a teacher addressed the novices from the top of the pole, and similar customs are reported of the Kikuyu and Makua.

[2] G., *L.*, i, p. 13.

[3] Dundas, op. cit., p. 220, does not report this rite, because 'the practices are indecent and revulsive'. But their educational effect cannot be understood unless they are described, when it is seen that they are not sub-human. For other references, cf. G., *R.*, p. 324, and G., *L.*, i, pp. 545 *seq.*

you, she will seek there and find nothing. If you have no stick, tie your faeces in the corner of your cloth and throw it away in a safe place. Particular care is necessary after your marriage. When you are seized with gripes, do not tell your wife. If you suffer from looseness of the bowels, call one of your age-mates to take you to the men's house (of which there is one in each compound) to look after you there. If tapeworm is troubling you, send your mother or an old woman for the male-fern medicine [*ngetsi*]; they know how to keep a secret. For if your bride gets to know about it, it means misery to you! If you dare to tell anybody of the secret of men, your age-group, the tribal elders and the chief will without mercy deprive you of all you own. For you would have disgraced your contemporaries—yea, the very dead themselves. And it will be said that the secret of the men is a lie!' The novices were therefore openly trained in basing their manhood on a fiction! Most Chaga men still insist on these privileges—for instance, when a man emits wind, his child must take the blame and apologize!

The whole of initiation, the life in the camp, and the lessons was a secret to be kept from womenfolk. No woman was allowed to approach the camp. It was placed in the forest to keep the curious away, and immediately after the closing rite it was pulled down. The vow of silence was taken over several animals, which the novices caught in a number of expeditions. When moving through the populated area on their way to or from the hunting ground, the whole troop clapped their hands, uttered hunting cries, and sang initiation songs to frighten women and children into their houses.

The evidence concerning the animals caught is contradictory.[1] If, as a number of informants assert upon whom Dundas relies, the animals caught were not dangerous, the expeditions were a type of hunting magic, for the animals must have been named, leopard, lion, buffalo, &c., in a sort of make-believe. But if wild animals were actually tracked down, the expeditions were genuine tests of courage and manhood. This is the interpretation fancied by Gutmann. Neither the acquisition of hunting luck nor a test of hunting skill is without educational significance. Yet the Chaga are without doubt not very fond of hunting, and there is no purpose in supposing that they trained their youth in a pursuit

[1] Cf. Dundas, op. cit., pp. 218 *seq*, and G., *L.*, i, p. 15.

which few ever took up. The true function of the expeditions was to make the novices share a secret by which they would feel themselves united against and distinguished from the other sex and children, very much as the solidarity of a clan is stressed by a mystic connexion with a totem.[1]

That this interpretation is not far-fetched appears from the use to which the hunting spoils were put. Whether leopard or locust, reedbuck or monkey, their treatment was the same. A piece of the beast's flesh, or, if small, the whole animal, was dipped into the faeces of the pit and then presented to the novices to be licked. Without spitting, they had to speak the following oath: 'I swear by the blood pact of all men. I swear by the blood pact of the initiation, never to betray any of its secrets! To one who asks of me that which I have not to give, I will say: "Truly, I swear by the oath of the initiation that I have it not!" ' The eldest and most venerable teacher administered the oath and addressed the novices: 'This is the blood pact of the men! This is your secret! The strokes which you received in this camp prohibit you from eating locusts henceforth. For if you eat the blood pact of man, that is, the locust which you licked, the curse of initiation will cut through your connexion with the ancestors, and you will bear no offspring!' The bedraggled animals, if alive, were then allowed to escape: 'Liberate these creatures, for they are our brothers with whom we made a blood pact. We may not harm them.'[2] Up to the present day, half a century after the last camps were held, Chaga men refuse to eat locusts, though they are relished by women and children.

The closing rites differed with the chieftainships. In Moshi[3] the novices were taken to a grove in which the ancestors of the preceptor's clan were buried. There they were shown a large stone resembling a skull in shape. This stone was ordinarily half buried between two palm trees, together with beads, snail shells, and an ivory tusk, a phallic symbol called 'the bull'. It was taken out of the ground on the day preceding its exhibition, and the officiating elders sacrificed to Mrashi, the first ancestor, imploring him to 'appease' the youths. The stone was shown to each novice

[1] Webster, H., however, argues in *Primitive Secret Societies* (New York 1908) that initiation has a religious significance, viz. the imparting of totemic cults.

[2] Cf. G., *R.*, p. 326; G., *L.*, i, p. 544; Dundas, op. cit., p. 220.

[3] Cf. G., *R.*, pp. 326, *seq.*, G., 'Steinahne', and G., *L.*, i, pp. 550–61, for lessons.

individually: 'Do not think it is but a stone; it is the anvil which nobody dares curse!' (The initiation training is often compared to the fashioning of a tool by a smith.) Dances were performed round it. In several lessons its venerable age was stressed, and its power of shaping the offspring. The ivory 'bull' also was shown to the novices separately. They were told: 'This is the bull of the men. It gives you offspring. It preserves your children!' Gutmann reports a series of questions concerning these exhibits which the novices had to answer. It is also said that no youth that could not lift the stone above his head was allowed to marry.

In the Vunjo districts, the test of manhood consisted in the crossing of a torrent. Dundas mentions that a place was selected where the branches of trees met over a river, and that the crossing was accomplished by climbing over from one tree to the other. Usually, however, the novices, holding on to a rope, had to walk through a gorge whose whirling waters reached above their heads. The onlookers, the chief, and all the men of the country sat upon the overhanging rocks and slopes, singing encouraging songs, commenting on the performers, and ridiculing the timid. In the evening, the adults returned home singing and shouting, while the youths withdrew to the camp for the last night. On this day the chief preceptor received his wages—several head of cattle—from the chief.

During the last night the boys did not sleep in the innermost enclosure, but in the outermost, called *ko-mkeku* (at the old woman's).[1] As the chiefs, for political reasons, wanted the age-group to comprise as many as possible, two younger sections were ritually joined to the group that had undergone the full initiation. So on the last evening the 'sleepers' were joined by the 'grubbers', whose name was derived from the fact that they arrived with their 'grub' carefully bundled up. The following morning the youngest division came to the camp; they were called the 'shorn ones' because the shaving of their hair was the only rite they had to undergo. The younger divisions were admonished to show due respect to the 'sleepers', and the latter advised not to be over-familiar with their juniors, who were not yet introduced to the secrets of manhood.

[1] According to G., *R.*, p. 328, G., *L.*, i, p. 562, and Dundas, op. cit., p. 221, the *ko-mkeku* camp was some distance from the others.

The last day was crowded out with ritual activities. First, the monitors cut the hair of their wards, which was swept together into a heap in the innermost enclosure. Then an amulet made by twisting bast from the *mfumu* banana was tied round each novice's waist. The accompanying lesson explained this belt as a string connecting him with his ancestors, and giving him permission to extend the line. It was pointed out that a similar string would be tied round his wife when she was with child. Then the whole age-group proceeded to a pool in a nearby river, where the dirt of months of outdoor life was removed. All these activities were directed and interpreted by the preceptor through songs and lessons. As the boys stepped out of the pool the ritual announcement of the warrior names took place.[1] Returning to the camp, the boys put on chainlets and bead necklaces and dressed to be received by their parents who were thronging round the enclosure. A few of these were struck down with grief, for they discovered that their sons were dead. Yet they were not allowed to show their sorrow. For the whole troop, singing and shouting and accompanied by the whole populace, marched down to the chief's dwelling, where several oxen had been slaughtered. From their hides armlets were provided for novices and parents to keep away any harmful consequences of the camp.

After feasting and revelling, the novices returned to their districts in groups and there dispersed to their homes, where a reception by the family took place. The mother daubed her son's forehead with fat, as a token that he had not begotten children as an uninitiated person. During the following weeks the novices received the congratulations of their friends and relatives, and roamed the country in little groups, carrying special sticks. This was a period of sexual licence. Any woman they met was raped, and she had no cause for complaint. Marriage did not follow immediately upon dismissal from the camp. In some cases permission was not given till twelve months later. The control was exercised through the 'king of the camp', who had to marry before any of the others were allowed to do so. The 'king's' wedding, however, depended on the chief, who chose the bride and ordered the marriage to take place. The interval between initiation and marriage was filled with teaching in preparation for the assumption of full manhood.

[1] Cf. p. 312.

B

1. Between circumcision and initiation special teaching was given, for the examination accompanying initiation tested, not only the candidate's physical endurance but also his knowledge of tribal lore.[1] After a boy had been circumcised, he prepared beer and invited a tribal teacher to instruct him. The lessons were given in the youth's hut in the form of didactic hymns or songs, the teacher occasionally refreshing himself with a sip from the calabash. One of the first things to be done in the camp was to test whether the boys had learned anything from these lessons. The preceptor and his interpreter delivered their 'questionnaire' in the form of riddles. The youths had to interpret them by discovering the deeper meaning underlying them. If they were unable to do so, they were beaten unmercifully. It appears that these tests were repeated, and that the monitors had time to drill their wards in the right answers. Much depended on the intelligence of the monitors themselves. Kinship responsibility extended thus to tribal instruction.

The following example will serve to illustrate this oral examination. The preceptor, addressing the interpreter, sang: 'You rash and inconsiderate fellow, you, who obtrude on the affairs of men, tell me where you were? Tell me at once!' The interpreter replied: 'You, who sing so beautifully, you, preceptor of the chief's, let me thank you for your question; I tell you that I was with the father of all things!' Preceptor: 'Thank you for your answer, you, O subject of the chief. But let me not stop interrogating, nor do you cease to reply. Therefore I ask again: Where do you come from?' Interpretor: 'Truly, O preceptor, you examine me closely. Who could satisfy you except the initiated? But if I should keep silence it would disgrace me. Therefore I reply that

[1] The scholastic aspect of initiation has not been realized by either Gutmann or Dundas. As far as I am aware, no similar mental tests have been recorded of Bantu tribes. From other continents, corroborative evidence is forthcoming. Cf. Best, E., *The Whare Wananga or Maori School of Learning* (Wellington, N.Z., 1923). The *whare wananga* was open only for sons of families of rank. The content of its teaching comprised in a superior section things celestial, viz. cosmogony and religious beliefs, in an inferior section things terrestrial, viz. history and geography, and in addition lessons on magic, the technique of warfare, &c. The object of the lessons was the preservation of traditional knowledge. The methods observed included a preliminary test of powers of memorizing, the ritual seclusion of the place of teaching, lectures by experts assisted by prompters, and a final examination, the successful candidates receiving a precious stone as certificate. Some of these features occur in Chaga initiation.

I come from the chief, from Ngare.' Preceptor: 'Truly, man, I rejoice to hear your answer, and I am satisfied. Indeed, you urge me on to question you more. You come from the chief, you come from Ngare, where poor and rich are sheltered. But you are here now. Tell me, where did you pass through?' Interpreter: 'Oh! you are in a temper to put such a question! Where did I come from with you to-day? These passages, what are they for? Are they not there to come through by? Has any man ever declined to pass? I tell you that I came on the road.' Preceptor: 'I have no objections. You have said nothing but the truth. But, not knowing whether you can satisfy me any longer—I rather doubt that you will—I ask again: Who was it dug this road? Tell me!' Interpreter: 'Listen, all of you! I met with a miracle to-day! This elder, where does he hail from? An elder that puts questions like these, whose man is he? *Ee*, elder of God, I tell you that he who dug this road is the chief!' Preceptor: 'I told you, you would not be able to please me always. You are near being defeated. I shake my head at your answer. I refuse it. Tell me who it is!' Interpreter: 'My elder, teacher of God! Behold! You are not satisfied? But the downfall of a man brings him to his knees; therefore I do not tire supplying you with answers. I tell you it was dug by the men.' Preceptor: 'I told you, man, that you were at your wit's end. Do you imagine this an answer to satisfy a wise elder? You might try to deceive a stupid person with it, not me! Tell me the maker of the road!' Interpreter: 'Lo and behold! Elder, what can I do for you, my elder? What will satisfy you? I have only one answer left now. I think it will suffice you. I tell you, elder, the maker of this road is the father of all things!' Preceptor: 'Truly, man, you have been taught; truly did you reply; truly I am satisfied! May you live long, and he who begot you, too! Indeed, you reached my brains [the seat of wisdom] with your answer. But, please, let me know about the progress of your journey.' Interpreter: 'My elder, I do not hesitate to reply. My journey continued to the circle!' Preceptor: 'Welcome to you, subject of the chief! Thanks for your answer. But now I ask, what is in the middle of the circle?' Interpreter: 'Preceptor, I tell you, that the Ogre [*irimu*] is there.' Preceptor: 'For satisfying me thus, please accept of beer from this calabash.' Interpreter: 'My elder, where could I borrow tears to have enough for weeping? Why do you despise me, by offering the beer with your left

hand? Where did the hand that holds the spear go? Where did the right hand go?' Preceptor: 'Behold! my youth! Truly you know manners; even expressions of contempt you can distinguish. Therefore, I trust, you will never despise your seniors. Accept, then, of the beer!' Interpreter: 'I thought, my elder, that you had finished testing me. Why, then, do you offer me the beer without tasting it first? Do you not know that all food and drink is tasted? Taste your gift!'

This ending shows that the posing and solving of the riddles was performed in a manner closely resembling a dramatic representation of good manners. In addition, the questions and answers most skilfully roused the attention and held it by expressing praise and blame, expectation and disappointment. Although intelligible in themselves, their true meaning was deeper and had to be disclosed by the novices. The first question refers to the whereabouts of a person before his birth. The father of all things is God. By the chief at Ngare is meant the mother's womb. The road upon which the journey is made into this world is the genital canal. In asking for its maker, several evasive replies are offered until God is mentioned. The circle into which the child is born is the round hut, and, with extended meaning, the yard encompassing it and the world as the Chaga knew it, the far-flung Serengeti plains into which he looked from his mountain abode. The ogre in the centre of the circle is the sun, God's dwelling-place, which is identified with God himself. In many Chaga legends the giant devourer of mankind is called *irimu*. From his belly women and children emerge after he has been slain by the only survivor. The paternal grandmother, the person who helps the child into the world, and the bridal couple are also occasionally called *irimu*.

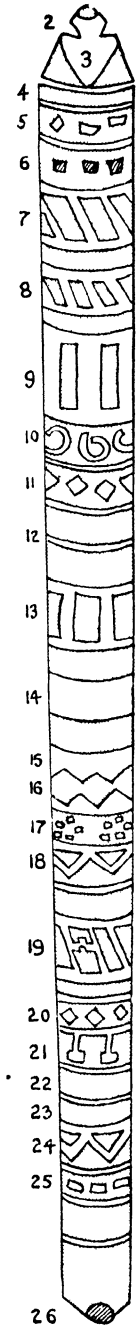
In a similar manner the knowledge concerning several other subjects was tested. A series of riddles dealt with the way to protect a house against sorcery. The answers described the guarding of the door by planting certain plants (*ikeri*) round it, by hedging it in with charm-resisting branches (*kiringonu*), and by having a pot filled with earth, painted with ochre and soot, and buried under the threshold. The dangers of entering and coming out through a door formed part of the curriculum. One must be on the look-out for an ambush; one should approach one's own home whistling or singing, lest one surprise one's wife

in the act of committing adultery (it is better to know it by implication than by becoming an eye-witness) or one's mother or sister when they are undressed. Further teaching referred to sexual implications of other parts of the house. A bent rafter was interpreted as a pregnant woman; and the rope of plaited lianas running round the inside of the hut as the hip ornaments of a woman enticing a man to adulterous intercourse. The threshold (a loose piece of wood) must not be jumped over, because, as one explanation said, if a child has died in the house, it is laid behind the log and the quickly entering visitor blamed with having caused its death; another explanation referred to making a girl pregnant.

2. The intensive teaching which the novices received during initiation itself can be divided into three courses; the *njofundo* lessons, which centre round the tally stick, the lessons on the couch (*mbia tsa lany*), and the instructions during the prolonged wedding ceremonies.[1] According to Gutmann, 'the chapters' (*njofundo*) were delivered about two months after the closing of the camp and rushed through in one night. It is probable that they formed part of the instruction received in the camp, and that they were contracted after it had fallen into desuetude. The presentation of the 'chapters' resembled the oral examinations, in that the teacher clothed them in obscure words which had to be interpreted by an assistant. However, this explanation was straightforward and the novices merely listened. As the overwhelming mass of lessons could not be remembered after a single hearing, the novices followed the teacher around the district. For his classes were not held on a tribal scale; they were small, comprising novices of neighbourhood and kinship groupings only.

The preparation for the 'chapters' consisted in brewing beer in a ceremonious manner. It was to refresh the teacher and his assistant during the long night. The rites round the beer pot gave opportunity for various allusions. For instance, the pot containing the beer was addressed as the teacher of the novices, the foam

[1] For the following paragraphs, cf. Gutmann's collection of tribal lessons in three volumes. Material independently collected by me (e.g. the tally-stick picture, the first to be published, and the 'lessons on the couch') has been used extensively. References: (*a*) *Njofundo*, the 'chapters', cf. G., *R.*, pp. 339–41, G., *L.*, i, pp. 25–38, G., 'Kerbstocklehren', G., 'Bruchstücke', G., *L.*, ii, pp. 1–210, from p. 96, tally lessons. (*b*) *Mbia tsa lany*, the 'lessons on the couch', cf. G., *R.*, pp. 341, G., *L.*, ii, pp. 211–642. (*c*) *Mbia tsa wali*, the 'marriage lessons', cf. G., *R.*, p. 341, G., *L.*, i, pp. 38–41. G., *L.*, iii, pp. 1–662.



This tally used in Marangu represents in combination several of the 'chapters':

1. The anus of a man, covered over with skin: he does not defecate.

2. The upper incisors have grown first, kill such a child.

3. The groins of your mother.

4. Your father's circumcision scar; from this downwards it resembles his glans.

5. This represents sexual intercourse.

6. Your mother's vagina, do not look at it. Also a red flower worn only by virgins.

7. A tough herb, *ikeri*, represents virginity and your mother's endurance when giving birth to you: never despise her.

8. A woman's ribs. They are more bent than a man's because she has to support the embryo. Do not despise her.

9. When your mother gave birth to you she split open like that, therefore do not despise her.

10. When you were in your mother's womb this is what you looked like.

11. The seeds in your mother's body look like these spots (ovary?).

12. Some children are born without lower orifices. Do not kill them, they are created by God. Call a medicine-man to open the body up.

13. The railings separating the animal's quarters from the central passage of the hut. Also: the female sex organs. They are alike for all women. God made them.

14. The yard of the house, especially the chief's court. It is advisable to talk with the chief's watchman, he may know something of advantage to you.

15. The chief's eleusine store. Look out for one of his servant girls: she may give you a sign to warn you of dangers.

16. The undulating line forming the edge of the hair of a newborn child. It does not change, it runs in the family.

17. The hair of the newborn, you were born with it.

18. Royal ornament worn on arm. Its bearer is not to be hurt; also the sign of ambassadors.

19. Head and tusk of elephant used in making royal ornament.

20. Pits in which elephant was caught.

21. Hoes with which pits were dug.

22. A hoe tied to string is used in describing circular site of hut which is shown.

23. Rope of liana running round the inside of wall of hut. Behind it is hidden circumcision knife lest it be discovered by uncircumcised persons.

24. The circumcision knife.

25. The child's hair in its mother's womb, causing mother to vomit in pregnancy. Do not despise her.

26. Top of hut.

being regarded as the result of the lessons—namely, fertile semen. The teacher made his appearance after the assistant, and asseverated his intention of using his pedagogical power in a manner beneficial to his pupils. He cursed himself beforehand for any perverting influence he might be accused of. Then followed a ritual legitimation of his qualifications and of his interpreter's. In a manner reminiscent of the battle of riddles, the two men asked each other in dark phrases the particulars of the camp. The right answers recited in their proper sequence established their claim to wisdom. The teacher described his task in the following words: 'I am the moulder who castrates [i.e. circumcises] the ram that he be gentle like me.' The novices were often compared to rams (and imitated their bleating); their fatal passion, that of approaching girls as uninitiated persons, had to be curbed by being shaped or hammered. The meaning of hammering was extended to cover not only circumcision, but the whole process of teaching.

The lessons proper began with the setting up of the tally. The interpreter handed the teacher a tally (*mreho*), together with other objects among which were a piece of a broken pot, a snail shell, and a small stone used to prop up the cooking-pot. These he proceeded to dig into the ground. All were referred to in subsequent lessons. For instance, the snail shell represented the mother's womb; and the small stone so important in setting the pot up straight on the hearth was a reminder of the significance of the child. The tally, a stick of the *mringonu* tree, which is very soft, was set up on top.

Each teacher used to notch his own tally, and individual differences were pronounced. The lessons are well remembered and are still taught, especially in the case of girls. The tallies can be admired to the present day; indeed, sometimes an enthusiastic chief, such as Petro Itosi of Marangu, attempts to revive their general use. Three types of tallies can be distinguished. One represents the growing of the embryo in the womb, the rings and notches standing for limbs and organs. Another type employs the curious multiple symbolism described for the examination subjects —that is, a notch may refer to reproductive processes or civic affairs. A third type, made of dracaena, embodies the stages of an embryo that disintegrates in the womb. The lessons connected with it give advice as to how to save the mother's life.

This short summary of the lessons taught on one tally shows

that several themes were interwoven: the development of the embryo, the anatomy of the sex organs, the building of a hut with its many magical and religious implications, and conduct at the chief's court. Gutmann surmises that the original tallies represented only the first subject, but obviously notching preceded any reflection on the meaning of the marks. His account contains most detailed lessons referring to the growing organs of a child *in utero*. Each lesson on a ring began with: 'Your grandfather notched you in your mother's womb and such and such an organ grew.' With the longitudinal strips referring to sinews, bones, and veins, the observation was: 'Your grandfather stretched you in your mother's womb and such and such a part came into being.' The interpreter reminded the novice: 'Had he not notched or stretched you, you would not have become a man,' and added general advice suggesting proper care or use of the part concerned. Thus, in discussing the heart, it was said that the initiated listens to its beat when treating a patient, and that he can be persuaded to sacrifice for him (as a remedy) only when it is still throbbing (i.e. a fool sacrifices even after a person's death). It was also suggested that in making incisions in the skin of a child, its father should not cut athwart the blood vessels lest one be severed that, coming from the heart, would not stop bleeding. In talking of the muscles of the neck, their habituation to the carrying of loads was mentioned.

The following example illustrates the method used: Preceptor, pointing to a ring: 'How was it notched? It notched you, as the man of the sky notched you in the darkness of your mother's womb, and he notched the thigh muscle. This is it!' Interpreter: 'Look, my younger brother; at the thigh he notched the muscle that rules the flesh of the thigh. If you beat the child, do not beat it there. For if you do, your child is wounded and becomes lame. If you grip the muscle with your own hands, you are not able to rise. For the sinew contracts. Therefore the elder tells you: "Do not make your child a cripple, for the man of the sky has notched its limbs and made it into a human being."'

3. The *mbia tsa lany* (lessons on the couch) received their name from the fact that the preceptor delivered them sitting on a bed. The instruction was given during the night. It is difficult to decide from the available material whether the scope of the lessons was wider than that of the 'chapters'. The same themes recur in both

and, in fact, they are touched upon in the grandparental lessons prior to circumcision. Gutmann asserts in one place that the tally lessons were not repeated, but in another admits that the stick representing the decay of an embryo was used at Marangu during the 'lessons on the couch'.[1] The time for giving the lessons was determined by the conflict situation. A growing rebelliousness in one's son could, it was believed, be checked by submitting him early to the discipline of the course. Obedient sons received them shortly before their marriage. This partly accounts for the contents of the lessons and also for their crude disciplinary measures, such as singeing the novice.

The lessons concerning sexual life became more definite. On the one hand, the fatal consequences of pre-marital intercourse were delineated in glaring colours, and warnings were given concerning the female art of seduction and its nature. On the other hand, the proper care of one's own wife during a legitimate pregnancy was inculcated, during which one could retain the goodwill of the ancestors by observing a great number of restrictions. No husband should fail to consider the particular emotional and physiological state of his pregnant wife. Not only should he assist her, for instance, in carrying a load, but he should try to satisfy her idiosyncracies. For example, when a man is warming himself at the fire, he is not to poke in the glowing embers.[2] The explanation given is that, in doing so, he might lay bare a rat which his pregnant wife has taken a fancy to roast, and, by putting her thus to shame, cause her to abort. The teaching regarding pre-marital and extra-marital relations was noteworthy. As reported by Ndetaramo Makule, an apostate of Christianity, it advised neither to fornicate with the betrothed of strangers nor to commit adultery, for both offences would cause a man to lose his property (through paying fines). The special danger of fornication lay in the fact that a male child might be born as the result of such intercourse. The religious notions centring round the first-born son demanded his legitimate birth. But, so the lessons continued, you might have intercourse with old and barren women.

The safeguarding of the expected child through observing one's kinship obligations requires both a sense of economy and liberality. The lessons stressed the necessity of storing and preserving

[1] Contrast G., *R.*, p. 341, and G., *L.*, i, p. 33.
[2] For the symbolic meaning, see p. 180.

food resources. With this they passed over to civic affairs. Manly conduct demands detachment from the female sex and the younger age-groups. For this reason, young men should avoid jesting with their juniors or womenfolk. The only exceptions are the wife of the mother's brother and girls of one's own age, who have been taught not to revile men. The existence among the Chaga of what anthropologists call a joking relationship has never been pointed out. In native educational thought, it is explained as a protection against jokes that might be carried too far and lead to abusive language between two sections which should stand in the relationship of respect and authority to each other.[1] Again, novices were taught not to go with an uninitiated person to a drinking bout, lest in their drunkenness they compromise their manhood and destroy the prestige of their age-group. Their manhood can also be maintained by special food restrictions. It is exhibited by avoiding the eating of the reproductive organs of female cattle, the rectum of all animals,[2] the blood soup (*mlaso*) given to women in confinement, locusts, and the grubs of white ants. All these foods are still eaten by women and uninitiated children only.

Manhood, thus, was and is shown by an exclusive type of behaviour denying tribal uniformity. But this negative aspect was complemented by an appeal for positive, aggressive conduct as a male characteristic. This was a lesson given in Chaga citizenship: 'My children, you are men now. Do not think that your fathers acquired their possessions by sheer luck. No, they tilled and fought with courage to obtain them. Therefore, be of strong hands to seize hoe and spear; do not yield, for these are the sources of wealth. A have-not dishonours his manhood! Again, my children, go about your business orderly. Do not provoke others, do not steal, do not commit adultery; drink with moderation; do not abuse the chief. For these rules were observed by your forefathers. If you do not restrain yourselves concerning these things, you will be involved in law cases and be robbed of your property, your children will die of hunger, and you will

[1] The implications are deeper. The joking relationship with young women facilitates the contact of potential marriage partners. The similar relationship with a member of the parental generation, the mother's brother's wife, is a mechanism to counteract the awe of her husband which has been inculcated. Cf. also the fact that the father's sister is called by her personal name, not 'mother'.

[2] Natives consider the intestines a relish.

become beggars. Our fathers said: "The gentle walker does not hurt his toe." Another thing that preserves wealth is to be liberal. You have neighbours. Do not treat them wickedly by depriving them of [expected] food. Do not eat your meals without storing a remainder. Perchance a person comes to beg some food; if you tell him you have none, he goes away convinced that you do not speak the truth. Hereafter he betrays you to the chief and you will be killed or robbed of your cattle. If you have food, give to all people [i.e. your kindred, neighbours, the district headman and the chief], for in a war those whom you grudged their share will stab you. Our fathers said: "The miser's death is near." Look at our country, the chief, the women and children; look at the cattle, the goats, and sheep. All these things are coveted by our enemies. They want to carry them off. We, your fathers, protected them with our weapons and with our courage and some of us even gave away our lives. The fathers of some of you died in those wars defending our goods. Now we have grown old, and our strength has gone into your bones. Therefore remember that these things depend on your courage. We elders rejoice that now we will be protected by you. Seize the shields with courage, hurl the spears with might, and punish brutally any coward in your ranks. Our fathers said: "A ram that is kept in the hut does not tup the ewes." You are males now, and you will have wives. Do not get used to staying indoors. When enemies invade our country, people raise the war-cry so that the men gather in troops at the chief's and the women and children hide. But if you sit inside, you do not hear the war-cry, and meet the enemy in the door of your hut and are killed without mercy. Every man, therefore, must be at his post; even when eating his meals, he must sit out of doors!'

From this theme were derived the rules for behaviour in war-time. Enemies lying in ambush were described as giants stealing along on tiptoe and leaving suspicious footprints behind them. Dangers threatened from hillocks when used as look-outs by robbers. The latter were compared to birds, as they used to camouflage themselves with branches. In time of incessant tribal warfare and internecine intrigues, it was necessary to know the following lesson: 'When you go to a chief, carry a calabash, carry a calabash to refresh your spirits. Shield and spear are wondrous things; [therefore] carry all your weapons to protect you on your way.' A man who had been called to court had to reckon with

being sent as envoy to a foreign chief, being joined to a raiding party, or meeting his death as the result of a plot.

The chief mechanism against the latter possibility was blood-friendship.[1] To become effective, it required a code of warning signs. Hence the preceptor taught: 'You men, it is useful to take snuff; it is a thing that saves your life. When you chat with people at the roadside some one will come to ask you for snuff. You pour it into your palm and tell him to take as much as he can hold between his two fingers. While doing so, he pinches you and goes away. And you follow him. If he just wants to invite you to a meal, he will wait for you on the path, but if he does not, it is a sign of danger. Flee and hide yourself! There are some who are aiming to take your life! Or you are travelling in another chieftainship to visit one of your friends [e.g. your agistor]. He welcomes you with roasted bananas. While eating them, you find in one of them a piece of iron or a pointed stick. This is a warning that the people of that country have made a plot to kill you. Flee at once! If you are travelling in the plains and see a swarm of butterflies fluttering over you, stop at once and make sure that you are not being ambushed. Do not proceed as one who has not been taught.'

This type of lesson, recorded by Stefano Moshi, frequently centres round a proverb and obviously did not require the services of an interpreter. The lessons contained in Gutmann's *Stammeslehren* are more elaborate. The teacher sings a short hymn of mysterious words, which is explained by his interpreter. The following will serve as an example:[2] Teacher, singing: 'Above the storks—stillness. You have cautiously walked along the edge of the abyss. Be welcome, you, who are severed from your mother's umbilical cord! Above the storks—stillness, my pupil! When you walked so cautiously, we surely noticed it, even your mother's brother did, *eh wui*, you, who are severed from your mother's umbilical cord! Above the storks—stillness, my pupil. Make your monitor tell you how your father rejoiced over it. *Heh, hia, aha*, above the storks. Above the storks, above the storks—stillness. You, monitor, tell your younger brother how he rejoiced. *Eheh, hia aha*, above the storks, above the storks—stillness. You,

[1] Cf. J. R., 'Blut- und Speichelbünde'. The chiefs tried to suppress private blood-friendship.

[2] G., *L.*, ii, p. 453. The storks soaring above the whirling locust swarms are an image of the fashioned and educated Chaga who is above the turmoil of moral and sexual temptations.

who are severed from your mother's umbilical cord.' The interpreter explains: 'Listen, my younger brother. The teacher wants to present you and dismiss you in your father's yard. Look, my younger brother. When he told you, Welcome, it meant that if you had played with a girl on the pasture and had come to grief over it, you would have been called a "bastard" bridegroom and found nobody to instruct you. And your mother's brother and your father would not have rejoiced. Also I, your monitor, would not have rejoiced or desired to touch you. Look then, my younger brother. You are called "undefiled" and not a "bastard" bridegroom. And the mothers will be glad and utter the trill of jubilation. When you have finished these lessons many will dance with joy on your account and say: "This our 'undefiled' has guarded himself and has carried it to a good end." Look, my younger brother. If you had come to grief with that girl, you would have been killed lying on top of her in the plains. For the order is that a "bastard" couple be killed by having a pole driven through them.'

C

In surveying the didactic means employed during initiation, various types of lessons can be distinguished. The simple lecture on a definite subject is in certain circumstances elaborated into one built up to support or justify a proverb. These two kinds of lessons were and are still being used by every parent, by grandparents, and present-day teachers. In the past the pedagogical opportunities of the camp led to a professional method of teaching through hymns. Song is, as was noticed previously, a more powerful incentive to action than words. Here it appears to be used in order to express an important communication in secret and poetic language. However, the instructional aspect must be of secondary importance, as the contents of the lessons are already known. It is thus plausible to presume that the didactic song developed from a spell, a magical adjuration—that is from an instrumental and non-communicative use of words. The stereotyped sequence of the words, the rhythmical repetition of the phrases, and the extreme confidence in their effect indicate that this interpretation is right. Among some tribes the language of initiation is, indeed, partly unintelligible, as, for instance, among the neighbouring Shambala. Obviously, it operates upon the

novices, not through meanings conveyed, but through verbal magic; it does not fashion certain ideas and principles in the novice's mind, but shapes his character directly. It is thus wrong to assume that the mystifying language used in initiation is necessarily an historical product, the result of a narrow verbal tradition. All magical speech consists of a succession of 'powerful' and not necessarily intelligible words, a combination of images altogether disregarding the conditions of time, space, and causality.

Originally the function of the interpreter was that of repeating and reinforcing the teacher's magical formula, as can still be ascertained in certain lessons.[1] From it the interpretative and explanatory character of his contribution has been evolved as an elaboration. One or two images contained in the formula gave the cue to a rule of conduct which he there presented in a casuistic manner. Sometimes the novices learned the hymns without knowing their meaning and had them interpreted months afterwards. This shows plainly that hymn and explanation are not implicitly connected. The latter is rather an arbitrary reflective reaction to verbal magic. How the daring interpretative tendency gained ascendancy can be seen in the battle of riddles introducing this section. In it the guesser carried off the victory, but occasionally the teacher was dissatisfied and revealed the proper interpretation only on payment of a fee. Of course, teachers frequently differed as to the meaning of a hymn.

The magical quality of the lessons is not limited to its verbal aspect. Seclusion from the profane world and ritual preparation of the pupils were carried out even in the case of lessons that were given outside the camp. Usually the night was chosen, the time of contact with the ancestors in dreams, visions and inspirations. The 'chapters' were delivered in a special bower, and the 'lessons on the couch' preceded by a magical securing of the compound. Teacher, interpreter, and novices were therefore called 'companions of one circle'. The implication is that the ancestors portioned off this circle on the hereditary land for their offspring to thrive and reproduce themselves in. The circular house site within which the family eats, where its children are conceived and born, and the forefathers temporarily buried, exercises a strong emotional influence upon the primitive mind.

In a similar manner, the symbols used in certain lessons must

[1] Cf. G., *L.*, i, p. 25.

not be looked upon primarily as a didactic means of objectifying a certain teaching. The various objects buried at the beginning of the 'chapters' are unburied at their end and the knowledge of their names serve as a legitimation to the initiated. Their magical character is emphasized when it is revealed to the novice that their proper use at the right time will secure the success of the initiation of his own offspring. A pot of a special make must be used for brewing the beer, and it must be scraped out with a snail shell. The beer is a magical image of fertile semen, and of wise eloquence acquired through the lessons; the snail shell is a magical representation of the female sex, which in marriage calms a man's unruly spirits.

Similarly the tally was originally a phallic symbol imparting sexual power in a magical manner. Accordingly, it was occasionally elaborated. A hole was made at each end and one hole made to represent the scrotum by having two beans placed in it, and the other the anus, the seat of the sign of manhood, the *ngoso*. The tally used in the initiation of girls was cut at an angle at one end to represent the female sex organs. In some cases the two magical symbols were combined as in the example given. This sculptural enrichment made reflective interpretation easy and at the same time restricted it, but it could not prevent a multiplicity of explanations. How far the cognitive employment of tallies as a mnemonic means had developed appears from the fact that the novices could be examined at them (each received one or two) for a certain period after the lessons. Their final destination, however, reasserted their essentially magical quality. They were preserved to be used in the ritual of pregnancy and childbirth. During a prayer of thanksgiving to the ancestors, they were thrown into the fire over which the sacrificial meat was being boiled. They had fulfilled their function, that of facilitating the processes of the first conception.

D

It is now possible to arrive at an estimation of the effect of initiation on the parent-child relationship. Many attempts have been made to explain the meaning of this important rite, for it is practised by many primitive peoples. These attempts show three tendencies. Some ethnologists stress with H. Schurtz[1] the political

[1] Schurtz, K., *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 96 *seq.*

aspect of initiation—that is, the welding together of an age-group into a social unit to be employed by the tribal authorities in military and civic enterprises. Undoubtedly initiation has been made use of by chiefs and elders. This aspect will occupy our attention later. Other authors have emphasized the religious features of initiation, explaining it as a sanctification of procreation, and interpreting the period of seclusion as one of contact with, or existence in, a different world, presumably that of the ancestors. For example, the ceremonies have been classified as being of three types: those of separation from this world, followed by others signifying a 'marginal' existence and a third series bringing about the reintegration of the novices with human society.[1] Of recent years psycho-analytical interpretations have become the vogue. Following his master, Freud, Zeller[2] assumes that the adolescent sons of the primordial hordes used to kill and eat their fathers in order to take possession of their wives. Circumcision is in Freud's opinion a castration symbol; the fathers curb with it the erotic tendencies of their sons. Zeller would like to see in it a symbol of the punitive execution of the sons by their fathers, but he fails to explain how a serious parricidal tendency in the sons should only be met by a symbolic gesture on the part of their fathers.

The function initiation plays in the social life of a tribe, and the effect it has on the parent-child relationship is less ambiguous than these explanations would suggest. When the contents of the lessons are analysed, they appear to offer a preparation for marriage in its physiological and sociological aspects, for the rearing of children, and for citizenship. The novices, whatever their previous status, are, on the one hand, treated by their parents as if they were capable of sharing adult rights. On the other hand, the ritual accompanying the lessons, the beatings, and deprivations, the tests and tortures, the complex methods of terrorization indicate a greater degree of filial subjection than can be observed in any previous period of childhood. If it were possible to explain this contrast and to find the connecting link between these two types of behaviour affected by the parental generation towards its offspring at this time, the function of initiation would be laid bare.

In the critical period of adolescence, it appears as if the organizing principal of native life, the reciprocity of rights and obligations

[1] van Gennep, A., *Les Rites de Passage* (Paris, 1909), chap. vi.
[2] Zeller, M., *Die Knabenweihen* (Bern, 1923).

within the family and kinship grouping, was going to break up altogether. The rising generation, anticipating its power, is ready to throw off the parental control and to stake all in pegging out its own sphere of social influence. Initiation is the reaction of the parental generation to the conflict situation. Its effect is to impress upon the adolescent that his coveted independence must be only partial, that the family which he wishes to found must continue to stand in a relation of subordination to the parental families, that the admission to adult status is granted only on condition that the newly married remain the children of their parents. Hence the contrasts of initiation.

In childhood, parental control is maintained in two ways; first, through social facilitation, which, beginning with supervision, is gradually elaborated into the imaginary control by spiritual beings; and, secondly, through conditioning mechanisms, from the simple conditioning term to prohibitions, punishments, curses, and blessings. Initiation develops these two methods. Although no direct parental authority can be exercised henceforth, the remote control maintained is inculcated during initiation as being more powerful, dominating even the success and failure of the very business of procreation upon which the young people are about to embark.

For these reasons initiation, on the one hand, strengthens the system of facilitation of conduct and enriches its personnel. Thus by extending their authority over the life and death of the expected third generation, the parents reinforce their sway over their own children. Initiation stresses the reality of such control by insisting on the payment of tributes to the parental generation, making them appear as prototypes of sacrifices to the ancestors, whose co-operation in the business of reproduction is secured through parental mediation. The *mwichi*, or monitor, retains his position as ritual assistant throughout life. The economic independence of the youth necessitates the engagement of a brother as killer of the sacrificial animals. Finally, the marriage negotiations place the youth and maiden under the control of their parents-in-law.

On the other hand, the conditioning mechanisms for maintaining parental authority are developed in an analagous manner. The disciplinary excesses during initiation are cumulative punishments by which parents react through anonymous agents to the

behaviour of their children. In addition, they are associative devices, exemplifying, as it were, the reality and severity of parental and ancestral authority. They proclaim once for all the extension of this control throughout the stage of apparent filial independence, and drive home the new prohibitions which cannot be so easily maintained through direct educational mechanisms as the restraints of childhood. Finally the lessons themselves are verbal instruments of a magical nature.

4. *The Age-Group and its Political Significance*

If initiation were nothing but a method of extending filial obedience beyond the period of childhood, and of securing the fulfilment of kinship obligations when direct parental control is difficult, it would be impossible to account for the political significance of the rite. Obviously, the family aspect does not cover the whole of initiation. It may be assumed that as long as a tribal organization of the Chaga existed, attempts were made to organize its youth into effective warriors. These efforts may have been made quite independently of the kinship groupings. Nevertheless, they would tend in time either to combine or clash with the family ritual through overlapping. On the other hand, the communal celebration of rites accompanying the development of children is only natural. Neighbours and relatives with offspring of the same age pool their resources and heighten thereby the solemnity of the rite.[1]

The political organization of the Chaga is a complex system combining the chief with the leaders of important kinship groupings and the dominant—that is, effective—age-group. From a very early age, the child hears about the chief. He and his henchmen are used, like the ancestors, as bogies and facilitators of conduct. Boys following their father to the pasture, and girls walking behind their mothers to the market, are sure to meet the headman one day. They hear the parent greet him: '*Kocha mangi ya kikaro!*' (i.e. 'Welcome, head of the district'), or: '*Kocha manawo!*' ('Welcome, his child', i.e. the chief's). They imitate these words and, as soon as he is out of earshot, ask about him. By and by they hear all that is worth knowing of him: the degree

[1] For similar evidence, cf. Krige, E. J., *The Social System of the Zulus* (London, 1936), pp. 81 *seq.* The author distinguishes an individual and collective ear-piercing rite. Again, the rite accompanying physiological maturity (i.e. first genital discharge) is individual and initiation collective.

of his popularity, the manner of his appointment, his way of dealing with difficult situations, his favouritism or rectitude, his success or failure as the chief's political agent. The headman is invited to beer carousals and the children watch him being treated with consideration by their father. He is given a potful for himself, 'in honour of the chief', as his privilege is justified. If the party is small, he gets at least a bigger calabash than the rest. Even greater deference is shown towards a councillor of the chief. He is solemnly greeted: '*Kocha mnjama o mangi!*' (i.e. 'Welcome, privy councillor of the chief'). At drinking-bouts much fuss is made of him.

Increasing mobility and independence leads boys sooner or later to the court. They have been told how to behave in the presence of the chief. In the morning he is hailed with '*Nekuamtsa mbee*', and at midday with '*Tsinda kingoto mbee!*' When he sneezes or coughs it is polite to tell him, '*Hai, mbee!*' ('Sorry, sir'). When a child sees the chief come along the path, it is at once struck by the size of his retinue, the reverential manner with which old and young rise at the roadside, the volley of greetings fired at him, and the murmur of comment which arises in the wayside groups after the paladins have passed. Through stories, comments on events of the day, and definite instruction, children learn the vocabulary of honorary names used in addressing the chief. When the great moment of meeting him comes, the father whispers excitedly to his son: 'Don't forget my teaching!' There follows a torrent of deferential terms, like *Njamombe* (owner of the cattle), *Simba* (lion), *Njofu* (elephant), *Kishamba-kya-uruka* (the great one of the country), *Samari* (sceptre), *Msuri* (the rich), *Kilayo* (supper, as the chief is used to sending gifts of food in the evening), *Ruwa-lyako* (my god), and *Ruwa-lya-umbe* (god of the cattle—that is, the one from whom they come). By learning these names and their implications, by falling in with his father's attitude towards the chief, and by observing that the honoured headmen and councillors are respectful towards their common master, the boy gains a standard for his own attitude. This is not one of abject submission. It is mingled with a desire to be known and honoured by the chief. The more ambitious among the boys begin to frequent the court, and those that are smart in the execution of small jobs soon attract the attention of the ruler. By and by they are allowed to join his retinue. Shy and awkward

children, on the other hand, arouse the anxiety of their fathers, lest they prove ignorant of the etiquette due to the chief. Such a child is warned that its father will be punished for its impoliteness with the confiscation of his cattle. Thus, etiquette, increasing in ceremoniousness the higher the social rank, comes to symbolize corresponding adjustments in the behaviour of the child.

The awe in which the chief is held resembles in many respects that of the ancestors. The mutilation rites are enforced on the children by reference to his power of visiting the unmutilated with death. This is a threat made probable by the fact that the political authorities concern themselves in supporting parental supremacy and act as final facilitators of conduct. It is the headman who chases away small children from beer parties. He is the first to intimate to parents that their children have become thieves or in other ways dangerous to the community. When parental threats and admonishments from the convocation of kindred and neighbours are powerless to check juvenile vice, the help of the headman and, if necessary, the chief is called in. Thus the story of a certain Mamkinga is told whose son Kilemi was a spendthrift. He disregarded his father's curse and made many debts. Mamkinga at last appealed to the district headman, who staged a legal meeting in which some one was made to prefer his claim against the youth. He was threatened with banishment, and the inhabitants of the district warned not to lend him anything, as an application for the legal enforcement of the repayment could not be entertained. Kilemi proceeded to borrow in other districts. The father and the headman brought the matter before the chief, who was the first to inflict a punishment on Kilemi. He had him soundly beaten and forbade any of his subjects to have dealings with the youth. He is said to have mended his ways then.

In the past the chief's authority exercised an integrating force during the many martial clashes disturbing the country as a result of internal feuds or the raids of hostile tribes. When the war-cry '*Ee woomi!*' was raised, the men repaired at once to the chief's fortified compound. They sometimes did this so speedily that their wives and children had to hurry after them with their martial costumes.[1] Generally, however, women and children fled to the forest or to subterranean passages prepared as hiding places in

[1] Johnston, H., *The Kilimanjaro Expedition* (1886), p. 169.

less accessible parts. These passages led to circular rooms with pegs for fastening the cattle to, and to smaller passages radiating from them and provided with air-holes.[1]

Old Chaga still remember the terror that drove their mothers in headlong flight away from the enemy. Timotheo, a grey-headed native pastor, recalls how, when the Kibosho attacked Machame, his mother ran away, leaving him in the hut, not minding his terrified screams. Fortunately, the enemy moved away and the mother was able to return. On one occasion they were surprised in the hut, and everything taken from them. One of the young enemy warriors shouted: 'Let us kill them!' He was restrained by a leader, but managed to thrust his spear in fun at the child. Frequently mothers found their smaller children too heavy a burden when fleeing from the raiders. This explains Samueli Nkya's experience. His mother, being tired of carrying him, decided to strangle him and throw him into the bush. She had already laid the noose of the liana round his neck when his elder brother objected violently, saying that he wished to be killed first. Some of these tales are naturally exaggerated and the recurring theme of rescue at the last moment makes them suspect. On the other hand, some mothers ran with their burdens till they broke down exhausted.

Children were trained to behave in a certain manner during the raids. As these were carried out during the small hours of the morning, children were occasionally roused from their sleep by way of drill. The most important rule to be observed when fleeing was to remain silent. This was not easily achieved in the case of smaller children. The following stories were told to overawe them: 'A woman escaped with her children to the brink of a pool. When she heard the hostile warriors approach, she submerged herself and the children until they had passed and saved herself and her offspring in this manner.' The foolishness of petty quarrels in the very presence of the enemy is brought out in this tale: 'War had broken out and a certain father hid his three sons in a thicket, covering them with leaves. When the enemies came, one of them stepped accidentally on the eldest, who said angrily: "Why do you trample on your fellow man?" He was killed. The second burst out triumphantly: "It is his own fault. Father warned us not to say a word!" He, too, was

[1] Meyer, H., *Der Kilimandscharo* (1900), p. 104.

slain. The third son could not restrain himself any longer: "Well, I knew I would be the only one to obey Father's orders!" He shared the same fate.'

The contrasting interests of kinship group and political authority are exemplified in the customs regulating the treatment of children taken as booty. Where the chief was not powerful, such children were appropriated by the warriors and adopted into their families. The warriors were looked upon as rescuers and assumed, not only the title, but the responsibilities of a father. Thus the capture of adolescent girls was not allowed to deteriorate into concubinage. They were accepted as 'sisters' into the captors' clans and given away in marriage according to the laws of exogamy. But if the chief pursued a policy of conquest, he required the continuous replenishment of his regiments. He then claimed all the boys, reared them and trained them into warriors. Girls were installed as servants in the households of the chief's wives or were sold to the Arabs in exchange for guns, powder, cloth, and ornaments.[1]

The chief's power over the child did not stop at the adopted ones. Rebmann, the first European visitor to the Kilimanjaro, relates: 'The greatest delight of the *mangi* [i.e. chief] lies in the birth of a *msoro* [i.e. warrior]. As soon as they can do without a mother's care, all male children are compelled to live together, to be trained early to serve the king as guards, and their country as engineers in the construction of watercourses and in keeping up the trenches of defence.'[2] Ndeseruo, the chief of Machame, had a peculiar method of ascertaining the fighting qualities of his wards. He made them assemble in his presence, and, throwing choice bits of meat among them, watched the fighting that ensued. The most aggressive were made into military leaders. In some chieftainships, youths and maidens seem to have lived together

[1] Cf. G., *R.*, p. 541. Schanz, J., in 'Mitteilungen über die Besiedlung des Kilimandscharo durch die Dschagga und deren Geschichte', *Baessler-Archiv* (1913), supplement iv, relates (p. 35) that Rindi, the famous Moshi chief, on several occasions between 1860 and 1870 gathered children in the country of his dependent Fumba of Kilema; and (p. 41) that in 1880 and later, Rindi, after temporarily losing his chieftainship, purchased booty children from the Arusha to rear them as soldiers, giving cattle in return.

[2] His account is incorporated in Krapf, J. L., *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours, &c.* (London, 1860), part ii, chap. 2, p. 243. Chaga fortifications consisted in double gates, guarding the few paths leading from one country to the other, lines of trenches along open parts of the boundary, and stone walls and palisades round the chief's compound.

at the chief's court for some time after their circumcision.[1] In all of them the regimenting of the youths led to the formation of a standing army which was fed and clothed by the chief.[2] The chief also trained the civic leaders of the tribe. Thus Chief Rindi's song about Teretere, whom he changed from a shy and inexperienced man into a trusted councillor, is still remembered: 'I split open Teretere, I transformed him into a councillor, I carved the log to change him into a councillor . . . I dressed the stone and turned it into a human being, the stone that could not talk!'[3]

The chief's policy of uniting the youth of his people into an effective fighting force was met half-way by the tendencies of the play-group. The uniformity of behaviour imposed by common age brings children together to play and fuses adolescents into a social group with its own social order, which is antagonistic to parental authority. By making use of this tension between the generations, the chief succeeded in enlisting the services of the adolescent Chaga in his own interest. Ambition had then already got such a hold upon the young men that escapes, which occurred frequently among younger children forced to live and work at court, were unknown.

The anticipatory tendency of play proved of preparatory value for the military training. Boys still stage battles, using the midrib of the banana leaf as spear and a piece of bark as shield. Sometimes champions fight; sometimes whole districts, each under the command of a leader. Two themes underlie the fights; raids against hostile tribes and civil wars. Although bows and arrows are used by children in games in which they shoot at each other after a call of warning, this was only of indirect military value, as the Chaga warriors did not use this weapon; they had, however, bloody contests with arrow-shooting enemies—the Pare, for instance. The games performed on the pasture are recognized by the Chaga as productive of courage and endurance. *Oro* was considered a war game. A game of missile-throwing was frequently organized between districts by orders of the chief.

[1] G., 'Frau'. Gutmann asserts that this custom was derived from the Masai, but among them the warriors lived with *un*circumcised girls in camps quite independent of the chief. A circumcised girl was at once married by a man who was old enough to leave off fighting.

[2] Volkens, G., *Der Kilimandscharo* (Berlin, 1897), p. 137, describes how the army of Shina, the Kibosho chief, received its daily rations.

[3] G., 'Lieder der Dschagga'.

Each of the two armies was fitted out with little shields and fruits of the *ndaviro* liana, heavy, hard balls of the size of an orange. It was important for the Chaga to know how to dodge a missile and how to throw it effectively, for their inveterate enemies, the Masai, were experts in wielding the knobkerrie. These *ndaviro* battles were very popular. Like manœuvres, they were watched by non-combatants. Frequently a tooth was knocked out or an eye spoiled, and sometimes a death occurred. The chief regaled the victorious side with a bull.

Military training in the narrow sense also grew out of play activities. The boys would fasten birds' feathers to their heads, gird leather skins round their loins, and, whirling sticks in the air, indulge in the singing of martial songs. When the chief heard of this, he was pleased, called the performers and entertained them. Under the supervision of experienced men, the youths were drilled in lying down and getting up quickly, in marching and deploying, in the methods of attack and retreat. Uncircumcised boys accompanied the troops as carriers of water and victuals. Such striplings often robbed and pillaged on their own account. If surprised by the regulars, they would be cudgelled. If they suffered the blows or returned them, they were allowed to remain in possession of the booty.

Even after initiation, in which the newly formed age-group was recognized as a political entity, the opposition between the ruling warriors and their juniors continued, thus reflecting the subjection of the *mwana* to the *wawa*, and that of the *iseka* to the *manake*. The tribal age-group organization necessitated the replacing of the ruling age-group when it had grown too old. Before the arrival of the Europeans, the tribal executive lay in the hands of the age-group capable of defending its position. Yet the principle of seniority was not solely maintained through physical superiority; it embraced such values as experience and wisdom. For this reason the ruling, i.e. parental, age-group was supervised by the age-group of the elders in the administration of law and in the foreign policy it conducted. The elders watched the trend of events, mediated if dissensions arose between the chief and his warriors, warned against a break with tradition, and advised the ruler how to justify his conduct of affairs in the assembly of the warriors. On the other hand, the age-group emerging from initiation were desirous of proving their worth and of removing

the remnants of discrimination as expressed in the smaller calabashes and portions of meat that were allotted to them in assemblies at the court. Full equality was granted only after the young age-group had on its own initiative attacked a neighbouring country and returned victorious to present their booty to the chief. The anticipatory tendency of playful mimicry had turned into serious political ambition! The chief then recognized the claim as justified, but warrior rights were not granted till after further tests. An expedition was planned in which the young age-group had to fight side by side with a seasoned regiment to show their equality. Before this was undertaken, a competition between them took place. The chief hung up the hump of a zebu on a spear, offering it as a prize. Tyros could then take part in trying to snatch it from experienced warriors; if successful, they were allowed to fight in the front line, among the stalwarts of the chieftainship. Gutmann, in describing this event, does not mention the fight for the meat, but records that each age-group leader, cutting off a piece from the hump, promised to return with a certain number of spears and cattle.[1]

The chief's control over his subjects was thus enforced through military duties. It was also enforced in a kind of labour service in which the ruler utilized certain economic resources of his country. Men, women, and uncircumcised boys could be called up separately. To demand that these sections should work together was an indignity shown to a conquered people only. The labour troop of boys comprised all the male children from the age when their participation in work was legally and ritually recognized, till circumcision. Girls did not serve in a special labour troop, but accompanied their mothers or worked in their place. Like the adult troops, the boys' labour regiment had a leader and an announcer. The former was usually the son of a headman or a person of rank who excelled his comrades in intelligence and versatility. The latter proclaimed a period of service by blowing on a flute, whereas the announcements for men and women were made with other instruments. The tasks committed to the boys were easy, such as carrying dracaenas to be used for fences or banana sheaths for roofs. Unlike the labour service of the adults, which was enforced by religious and legal sanctions, the service of the boys had no ritual. After circumcision, a

[1] Cf. G., *R.*, pp. 347 *seq.*

youth was allowed to replace his father in the labour troop of the adult men.[1]

The educational value of the labour service consisted in the imposition of a uniform activity on people who, by their conflicting kinship loyalties, tended to oppose one another. This statement may with justice be generalized as expressing the characteristic function of age-groups. For, like kinship, the age-group regulates the behaviour of everybody to everybody else. The enforcement of such behaviour is quite automatic, resulting from the suggestiveness of actions performed by persons of one's own age, and from the immediate reaction of such persons to exceptional conduct.[2]

Thus membership in an age-group determines the economic and social advance of the individual. It dictates his attitude towards contemporaries and members of junior or senior age-groups. The tripartite division into elders, warriors, and boys is frequently adapted to the great density of the population. Intermediate age-groups are formed which stand, not in the relationship of father and son, but in that of an elder brother to a younger. Obedience and respect is demanded from the younger age-groups, leadership and liberality from the older. The gradation of rights is expressed in the seating arrangements at general assemblies. Quarrels with members of an age-group other than one's own are discountenanced; such individuals are either beneath one's dignity or demand reverence. But although manners between contemporaries are easier, the common experience of initiation and the blood pact of circumcision impose a definite code of mutual services upon them—as, for instance, commensality. It is not easy to decline the request of an age-mate, when preferred with a hint at these events. Even the very greetings exchanged between age-mates refer to them, such as *ngasi* (the camp), *ngoso* (the plug), *oro* (he-goat), &c. Politically and socially, an age-goup advances together. The heir to the throne is surrounded at his accession by his age-mates who have been circumcised with him; his father usually abdicates

[1] G., *R.*, pp. 367 *seq.* For a recent account of the age-group organization among a Bantu tribe, cf. Beemer, H., 'The Development of the Military Organization in Swaziland', *Africa*, vol. x, pp. 55–74, 176–205.

[2] Cf. Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *The Nuer: Age-Sets* (*Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. 29), pp. 233 *seq.*, especially chap. xi, 'Interpretation of Function', pp. 252–70.

soon after this event. The dismissal of a man from the age-group of the elders is determined by the puberty of his eldest daughter.[1]

In a similar manner, the relationship to the other sex is regulated by age-group membership. Individuals belonging to a slightly older age-group will not allow their juniors to approach a girl whom they might woo. Like the Nuer, the Chaga stands in a joking relationship with girls of his own age, but for the latter this does not preclude marriage, whereas for the former it does. Exogamy among the Chaga is based on the principle of kinship, not age. In the past the members of an age-group married almost simultaneously. After the wife of the 'king of the camp' had become pregnant and had had her breasts covered ritually, the youths were at liberty to marry, 'which they do with alacrity, so that for months on end the whole country is the scene of a continuous series of marriages and the accompanying feasting'.[2]

The age-group is not simply based on seniority. It expresses, in addition, a principle of human behaviour to which the term 'sex-antagonism' has been applied. The tendency of the two sexes to develop mutually exclusive types of conduct has a special function. For these types of conduct become in their perfection an ideal admired by a potential sexual partner. Chaga women sing songs that incite their lovers and husbands to battle. A coward had not only to carry his comrades' spears, but, on the return of the army, he was laden with a bunch of unripe bananas, cut so that their milky juice flowed over his face. He was taken to the market place and seated in the middle of the women. They mocked him, spat at him, and in pretence accepted him into their company by calling him 'woman'. Such a man was divorced from all his wives and his property confiscated. No wonder, then, that a brave man, having met an evil portent, but fearing to disgrace his wife or sweetheart, suppressed his dread and went to meet the enemy. On the other hand, a faithful wife would search for her wounded husband, dress his injuries, and carry him home. Thus, in the exclusiveness of the sexes is hidden the very spring that irresistibly urges them together.

[1] For rites accompanying the individual dismissal, cf. G., *R.*, p. 357.
[2] Dundas, op. cit., p. 223, and G., *R.*, p. 345.

5. *Marriage as an Education: Preparation for it, and the Tutelage of the Wife*

A

The life of the adolescent girl shows in abbreviation the same stages as that of a young man. But, among the Chaga, female initiation differs in two respects from male initiation. Womanhood is not, like manhood, divided into two grades, for there is no preliminary period of military or labour service to be absolved before marriage. In consequence, whereas among young men circumcision, initiation, and marriage are spread over a number of years, in the case of girls they tend to be crowded into a comparatively short span of time. Again, the ceremonies for boys are carried out on a communal scale, the permission to marry being given in the past, by the chief to a whole age-group together, while among girls the ceremonies are private, for they are closely dependent on individual sexual maturation.

In order to understand the function of female initiation among the Chaga, it is necessary to realize that the *shiga*, as it is called, forms part of a long course of training.[1] This course covers the time from circumcision, which must precede the first menstruation, to the lessons in connexion with the wedding and even to several rites during the first pregnancy and confinement which are accompanied by formalized instruction. In this course, the *shiga* comes between circumcision and marriage. In clans where the recently circumcised girl lives for three months under the supervision of her paternal grandmother, the *shiga* follows after the period of seclusion. As the girl acquires from her grandmother a fair knowledge of the contents of the *shiga* lessons, the opening rite often resembles an entrance examination. Frequently, however, the maiden awaits her first menstruation in the house of her future mother-in-law.[2] In this case, the fattening food has

[1] As the *shiga* lessons are still being imparted, it is extremely difficult to find a mother willing to divulge them. Those quoted in the text were obtained for me by Stefano Moshi. Gutmann nowhere gives an account of female initiation, probably because in the Moshi chieftaincy, where his informants live, there is no female initiation distinct from the training accompanying the wedding rites. However, he asserts in 'Bruchstücke' that the girls received *njofundo* and *lany* lessons like the boys. Dundas's description of the *shiga*, based, like the author's, on information received in Mamba and Marangu, is sketchy.

[2] This is a way of habituating her to her bridegroom's family and of ensuring that she is fit to become a wife.

to be sent there, and the girl is taken to her parents' home to undergo the *shiga* rite.

When the mother of a girl who has recently been circumcised decides that her daughter should be initiated preparatory to marriage, she approaches friends in similar circumstances and, if possible, arranges to celebrate the ceremony with them. For this purpose, a teacher has to be engaged. The qualifications of a teacher turn on the belief that the anus of a male person is closed with a plug at initiation. A teacher of female novices must have discovered the male secret. Observing a man defecate, she waits till he has gone, removes a small quantity of the faeces, and mixes it with ochre and water. At the beginning of the *shiga*, she paints the mixture on the novice's head.

The ceremony is attended by friends, relatives, and neighbours. All of them, with the exception of the 'queen', must be women and already initiated. Before the teacher can be called by the novice, her wages, viz. two pots of beer, must be prepared. This is done in a shed at the edge of the banana grove that surrounds the hut. The teacher approaches with a large retinue. Some of her followers, whom she herself has chosen, are, like her, old and experienced. Being versed in the tribal teaching, they act as her colleagues. Her other followers consist of a number of young women, called *morika*, who act as witnesses and wish to qualify as teachers later on. One of them is chosen to be the novice's assistant, and is called *mana mshiki*, i.e. elder sister.

The teacher arrives about nine o'clock in the morning. She leaves six of her colleagues in the beer shed, where they light a fire. The teacher herself withdraws with the other followers about ten to twenty yards into a dense part of the banana grove, where they clear a round place and screen it from curious eyes. In the meantime, the novice's parents have sacrificed an ox or a goat to the ancestors, praying to them that their daughter might understand the teaching and not laugh while she is being taught. The girl herself, and any companions she may have, join the teachers in the enclosure. The *shiga* is formally presided over by a 'queen', a circumcised girl who has not yet menstruated.[1] She is seated in the centre of the clearing. As she is ignorant of

[1] A similar role is performed by an immature girl among the West African Ho.

her duties, a woman is delegated to instruct her in the ritual, while others must carry out her commands.

The first order is given to the novice's assistant. She is told to fetch glowing embers from the beer shed. In order to have her request granted by the old women there, she must carry the symbols of teaching with her, viz. a dry leaf of the *ndishi* banana wrapped round two sticks cut from the *mringonu* tree, a fragment of a pot made in the Kahe district, and the nest of a bird or rat. When she arrives at the beer shed, she sings, '*Kichumi ngakuirikira, nyi mbeo ingiruŕe!*' (i.e. 'Door, I greet you. I have been brought hither by the cold'). Then she sits down to receive an answer. After some time, one of the old women inside replies by singing, 'Who is at the door?' and after another interval, 'Who was it who put the door there?' To this the novice's assistant replies, 'It is the chief! It is the great God! It was he who made the door through which every one has to pass!' The woman, pushing a firebrand into the ashes, sings, 'Who is it who sticks the firebrand into the ashes?' The assistant replies, 'It is the father, and the hearth is the mother. When the father places the firebrand in the hearth, the child emerges!' The woman questions further: 'Who was it who made the pot the fragment of which you are carrying?' The assistant replies, 'My mother went to Kahe to a potter woman, whose name is Makinafu, and whose husband is called Makinalu. This woman shaped it and smeared it with cow-dung to make it hard, and adjured it. Then her husband prepared a pad for my mother to carry the pot on her head. He also gave her a leaf of the herb called *suki*. When my mother was returning, she came to the river bounding the Kahe district, which was teeming with crocodiles. That Kahe man sang an initiation song and asked my mother, "Do you see the crocodiles?" My mother replied, "Yes". "What are you going to do?" "I shall throw a twig of the *mnemvu* shrub into the river!" So she threw the twig in, the crocodiles fled, and she crossed the river with her pot and arrived back home'. The woman sings another question: 'Who was it who plaited this nest?' The assistant replies, 'It was the subtle wife of the rat who plaited it. She gave herself a lot of trouble looking for hard and suitable leaves, so that in days to come her children might live safe therein'. When the assistant has answered all these questions, she is given the embers. She

with the broken piece of pot; she finally puts the nest over the embers. While she is returning, the teachers in the enclosure strike up a tune: 'We have plucked the ostrich's feathers [i.e. obtained the fire]. Now everything else will succeed with us!'

It appears that occasionally the novice herself is made to fetch the fire. She has then to be taught the questions and answers beforehand. In this case, the novice is examined regarding the meaning of such expressions as the door, the firebrand, &c. By the door is meant the passage through which the child enters this world. The firebrand is the male sex-organ; the ashes stand for the female organs; the embers are considered the seeds in the woman's body from which children grow. The nest symbolizes the duty of a young man and woman to prepare a house before they produce offspring. Like the rat's wife, a Chaga woman is expected to provide the thatch for the hut. The pot, as the symbol of food supplies, plays an important role in Chaga magic.

When the assistant reaches the enclosure, the teachers begin various songs whose main burden is the instilling of womanly pride into the novice. Thus one song says that if the bridegroom abuses his wife she should not submit too long, but warn him soon and try to teach him better manners. Another song strikes a harsher note: 'Enemies are enemies, *ho lome*, *Kishamba* [i.e. the term of address for a chief]. Women may be men's enemies sometimes, *ho lome*, *Kishamba*!' The theme of this song is elaborated in the following hymns: 'I carry away embers on the piece of the pot. I shall brand you and make a mark on you, that you perish with your whole family, because you are a headstrong child that despises women: they will show you the strength they have!' This song is ambiguous; it may apply as much to the novice as to her future husband. In the concluding hymn, the teachers chant: 'What have women discovered? Oh, great things and many things, as many as there are grains of sand! What has the great mother discovered? Oh, great things and many things, as many as there are grains of sand!' When this song is finished, the novice's assistant places the embers on the floor.

The next order from the queen is that the *morika* should make an expedition to a shrubby wilderness, where they are to look for a kind of grasshopper with dark stripes on its yellow body. When found, it is placed in the centre of a large bundle of grass, which is tied together so that the insect can neither escape nor be seen.

The whole party lifts the bundle up and carries it to the grove, singing that they have caught a leopard with their own hands. It would be a disgrace for men to see this procession; the song warns them off. A similar procedure is adopted for the capture of small frogs or tadpoles, which are carried covered up in cassava leaves. Occasionally the tadpoles are brought alive in a pot of water drawn from a pool or pothole. A leaf of the plant called *lelema*, which has a sticky juice, is put in the pot, together with some nettles and two yellow twin fruits of a weed belonging to the Solanum species.

The first expedition having returned, the captured 'leopard' is shown to the novices and first among them to the queen, while the preceptor announces: 'This is the *shiga*. In ancient days that which now appertains to men was ours, but those possessed of horns came, and by force robbed us of our manhood!'[1] The first animal is received with expressions of glad astonishment, whereas after the second expedition the girls are met by women who resist their entrance to the grove. This results in a scuffle in which any girl taking part receives heavy blows. This is a pre-arranged punishment, inasmuch as obedient girls have been warned by their parents not to join the fight, while those that are stubborn have been advised to take part in it. When the second expedition returns, they find that the old women of the beer shed have joined the chief teacher in the enclosure. This old lady sends the young women forth a third time, but this time they are accompanied by some old women. Their purpose is to dig out the budding tubers of a species of colocasia, called *mŕinela o msaro*.

On their return, the novice and her companions, if any, are told to sit down. The teacher begins to explain the meaning of the various objects. Apparently the frogs or tadpoles are used in a lesson describing the 'quickening' in pregnancy. They are placed on the girl's abdomen and their movements explained as similar to those of the foetus. With regard to the narrow leaf of the *lelema* plant, the novice is told that when she is giving birth to a child she will see a thin string like this hanging from the child's umbilicus. She is warned that if she does not respect the old women, the midwives will cut the cord badly and the child will

[1] Dundas, op. cit., p. 225. In order to prove this assertion, Chaga women point out that when one of them becomes pregnant her source of blood is stopped up, and this is the original *ngoso*, or plug.

die on the spot. The twin fruits are explained as representing the scrotum of the heir whom every woman hopes to bear in her first confinement. The little tuber stands for the foetus itself. The *lelema* leaf is tied round it, the whole suggesting the appearance of the child at its birth. The novice, too, is shown how to cut the cord, and told to pay attention that the midwife does not maliciously sever it in a wrong manner. The nettles do not form an object of teaching. If the novice has a bad reputation, she is stung with them and not allowed to utter a sound.

By this time it has become evening and the teacher winds up the proceedings in the enclosure by saying: 'Henceforth you are allowed to attend initiation proceedings as *morika*. You have graduated. If anybody asks you what the *shiga* stands for, show her the little tuber, and she will accept it as a token of your status as initiate!' Another closing ceremony is the burial of the tuber under the hedge which separates the banana grove from the adjoining one. The novice is allowed to attend. The young women sing again: 'What have women discovered?' The actual burial is carried out by the queen, or at any rate by a girl who has not yet menstruated. When the tuber is covered up with soil, the company returns to the enclosure, and a procession is formed which advances, singing, towards the parents' hut. The song is a warning: '*Aiki, aiki*, it is bad to question, to be inquisitive, to ferret out things, to find out all the things at your mother-in-law's; if you do it, you will be struck by the curse!' It means that, in spite of the initiation into secrets of womanhood, there are still certain things which old women want to keep to themselves. The novice's mother receives the procession outside her hut. In a solemn manner, she anoints first the assistant's forehead with fat, then the queen's, and, finally, her own child's, whom she at the same time welcomes and blesses. Now the party splits up. The teacher, with her retinue, goes back to the enclosure, where they indulge in the consumption of the beer which forms their wages. It is customary for the teacher to send one of the two pots to the novice's father, who drinks it with the members of his own family.

This first part of the *shiga* corresponds to the 'chapters' (*njofundo*) in the initiation of boys. The second part, the lessons on the couch (*mbia tsa lany*) and the lessons on the tally, are also given to girls, but, as one would expect, the subject matter

differs. The *morika*, together with the novice, occupy the maternal hut and spend the night following upon the *shiga* there, while the girl's mother has to sleep at a neighbouring house. During the night the lessons alternate with songs and dances. Both teachers and taught sit on the low bedsteads. The lessons deal almost exclusively with sexual matters, and on the behaviour of a wise woman towards her husband. The following example gives an idea of the subject matter and its treatment: 'My children, the man of God has supplied a woman with the unction of fertility, the blood which comes once every month. When it appears, do not show astonishment. Do not show it to your mother. She would die! Do not show it to your age-mates, for there may be a wicked one among them who will take away the cloth with which you have cleaned yourself, and you will be barren in your marriage. Do not show it to a bad woman, who will take the cloth and place it in the top of her hut, with the result that you cannot bear any children, or hide it in the hollow of the spearhead, with the result that you cannot bear children. Do not throw the cloth on the path or in the bush. A wicked person might do evil things with it. Bury it in the ground. Protect the blood from the gaze of your father, brothers, and sisters. It is a sin to let them see it. There are some children whose abdomens hurt at the time of their period. When you feel anything of the sort, do not show astonishment, but try to find a companion to whom you can transfer the pain. To do this you must wash her back when you are bathing together or apply fat to her body. In this manner you get rid of your pain.'

The lesson on virginity is delivered in the following style: 'Be eager and open your ears [lit., set your ears like a trap], my children, for now you are circumcised and have been "fattened" to be beautiful of shape. Look out lest you be stupid about covering your nakedness. Cover your breasts well and your thighs, lest they be seen by young men.[1] For youths desire you now when they see these parts. Protect your virginity well. Do not yield to a youth who tempts you, but run away. When it grows dark, do not walk by yourself, for you may be seized by force. When you have preserved your virginity, your father,

[1] The early explorers all report that girls did not cover their breasts. They were ritually wrapped up in the late stages of pregnancy. The text given is an example of how the teaching adapts itself to new moral standards.

mother, and all your family will honour you on your wedding day. Your husband's father will have reserved a big fat he-goat to be slaughtered at the feast of your virginity. Your husband's mother will purchase milk and butter to add them to the dishes cooked at the feast of your virginity. This will be attended by old and young women in your honour. After the meal they will all bless you: "Oh, God, who have taught your children to be content lest they destroy the honour and glory of those to whom you have given them, we thank you. For you have directed this child to guard herself to be the flower of honour of her elders and parents, of her family and husband. Bless her, O God, on her wedding day, that she may obtain what she desires!" For if you do not protect your virginity, you will not be blessed, but cursed, for this feast is only celebrated once. Your husband and all his folk will take you away from the wedding and hate you. It will be a disgrace to your whole family and all the people will spit at you. Guard yourselves, children. Be not deceived by the sweet words of youths into losing your honour and blessing. I repeat again solemnly: Guard your virginity! She who does not listen to what she is told by human voices will listen to what the birds [as animals of bad omen] will tell her!'

On the second day the teaching is concentrated on the *mreho*, the tally. The teaching on the tally is again supervised by the old preceptor. As on the first day, she arrives in the morning at the house of the novice's parents. She tells the younger women to go with the novice and her assistant to a place where they can cut a suitable tally from a tree called *mringonu*. Before the assistant cuts the stick, she spits four times at it and four times towards the sky, uttering a prayer to God that he may bless the proceedings. The stick is taken to the enclosure in the grove, where the novice sits down. The teacher then chooses one among the *morika* to notch the tally, while she acts as supervisor.

The lessons on the tally, which resemble those described for boys, form the last part of the initiation proper. The novice receives the tally in order to walk about with it in her district. When she meets a youth who has gone through the male initiation, she throws her tally across the path and so stops him. The youth has to pick up the tally and explain every ring and notch carved on it. When he is finished, he breaks the tally to pieces and throws them away. If he fails to explain the symbolism, he is not allowed

to proceed until he promises to pay a fine of one pot of beer. Then the maiden walks on until she meets a young man who breaks her tally.

When we compare the initiation lessons for girls with those for boys it is seen that the courses for maidens and youths are run on parellel lines. It is true that male circumcision was carried out on a tribal scale in the past, the opportunity having been seized by the chief to weld together an age-class under the leadership of one of his sons. Again, the initiation camp of the boys was constructed in the forest, and the rites accentuating their period of isolation were more varied and gruesome than those reported in connexion with girls. However, the teaching seems to have been of a corresponding nature, except that the boys were thoroughly instructed in civic affairs and were given rules of conduct towards the chief for times of peace and war.

When we examine the assertion that women were the original owners of the *ngoso*, i.e. plug, with the other one that a woman, in order to qualify for the post of a teacher, must have appropriated the magical carrier of male superiority, viz. the faeces of a male, a certain contradiction becomes apparent. This incongruity is explained if we remember that two sociological tendencies affect the female teachers. On the one hand, the initiation of girls strengthens the unity of the female sex, and this results in a heightened feeling of importance, which expresses itself in the various claims to female greatness. But the authority of the teachers cannot rest on so fragile a basis as womanly solidarity. Throughout the teaching the fact is stressed that old women are superior to younger ones in experience and learning. This special excellence has to become manifest in a definite symbol. As such, they use the claim to participation in the men's secret, from which younger women are excluded. The same ideology, therefore, which justifies the social gradation according to sex is used to bolster up the authority of old age.

Another interesting connexion between the initiation of girls and boys is formed by the tally. It has been noted that the tally on which a youth receives his lessons is kept and used to kindle the fire that is lighted to prepare the feast in celebration of the birth of his heir. The initiated girl, on the other hand, tests with her tally the knowledge of youths she meets on the road. Boys can also be tested on their own tallies, but only by grown-ups,

and their sticks are not broken and thrown away. The examination of boys by girls on the tally has probably the purpose of facilitating approaches between the sexes. However, here again the rationalizing tendency invents a justifying theory. Chaga women assert that it is because of the more thorough training of girls that they can dare to challenge their male age-mates. Thus the tally forms a centre round which three tendencies of Chaga thought and life are crystallized. It obviously forms a mnemonic device which is consciously used as such. It also has a magical significance, as shown by its subsequent use, and by the fact that in many respects it recalls a phallic symbol. Finally, the claims and counterclaims due to the social divisions according to sex are referred to the tally as a concrete manifestation.

The episode with the firebrand is of interest because it brings Chaga initiation into line with the initiation rites of other tribes in which a sacred fire or a definite fire cult forms a feature. Its obvious connexion with impregnation and the begetting of children might also be ascribed to the otherwise rather dark story of the crocodile, which elsewhere is used as a symbol of fertility. However, the reference to fire is important on account of the fact that the magical significance of fire is less stressed than its use as a didactic analogy. It is useful to realize that certain primitive analogies, hitherto considered as alogical mental phenomena, may, after all, be only useful devices of indigenous teaching. Probably the most significant conclusion from our study is that the traditional over-emphasis on ceremony and ritual has led to a regrettable neglect of the educational factor which really forms the fundamental motive of initiation.

With regard to the question whether indigenous education is a force still to be reckoned with or not, it may be said that the tendency observed among the Chaga to abandon the weirder ceremonies or replace them by circumcision as the socially significant rite is universal. But this does not mean that the teaching is also forgotten. Evidence exists to show that this is continued and adapted to the new times, and the old insistence on secrecy is still to be reckoned with. Another recent development that can be observed in East and South Africa is the reduction of the number of 'courses', as the periods of intensive training may be called. The restriction of teaching to one short occasion—frequently the subject matter is rushed through in one night—

is to be regretted for various reasons. The old arrangement allowed, for instance, of the gradual unfolding of instruction in matters of sex and procreation, and could thus always refer to matters of immediate and practical concern.

B

After circumcision and initiation, a girl can be married. Like the 'fattening' period, the marriage payments are explained as a means of accustoming the girl to her new home. Thus in primitive society the desire to exercise pressure upon another party leads to the elaboration of magical controls. The natural dislike of the youth's family to parting with their cattle, even in return for a bride, is countered by the fear of dissonance between the two families. Such discord jeopardizes the habituation of the bride to the ways of her husband's kindred, whereas the regular payment of the price, by preventing such discord, facilitates it.

That such an adaptation involves hardships is manifest in the following customary rite. Before the instalment of beer for the bride's mother is paid, the young man's sister visits the betrothed girl in order to ornament her with a leaden bracelet. She struggles to escape and must be held down to have it put on. Then she submits, weeping, while her betrothed's representatives rejoice: 'To-day my cow was fastened. The attachment-hook has been fixed on the bee-hive' (which is suspended from a tree). When the first cow is slaughtered by the young man's father, he uses a special stone which possesses the virtue of accustoming the bride to her husband's people. When the meat is received by the girl's family, her father says: 'The "habituation" having been paid, the maiden shall obtain her abiding-place.'

The long period during which payments are made is occupied with giving instruction to both marriage partners. Before the bride's transfer to her mother-in-law's hut, the *omanga* lessons are delivered. They are associated with a rite in which the wedding sandals are cut. Over the right foot and left foot respectively, prayers are addressed to the bride's paternal and maternal ancestors. The sandals are blessed by her father: 'These are the wedding sandals. Do not sell them or throw them away. They are to thrive with you and your children are to urinate on them. Get used to these things, my child, and return with these sandals

to me to announce the birth of a child!' The lessons proper consist in similar blessings and are delivered by aged female relatives of the girl while they cut the holes for the thongs. The bride's elder sister and the wife of her eldest brother attend as interpreters. A girl who has gone to her mother-in-law's home on her own account cannot receive the *omanga* teaching in her mother's compound, but is taught in that of a neighbour.[1]

On the eve of the transfer of the bride, special rites are performed to make the change easy. While the mother prepares the last meal, her daughter breaks out in a lament: 'I am sold like a foundling. I am treated as if I were hedge-born and my brother is kept at home. I am treated like the goat's placenta [which is laid in the goats' fodder outside the hut] and not like the cow's womb-cake' [which is kept in the house]. She is comforted and taught that the ancestors have determined her fate by prohibiting marriage between brother and sister. A fable is told in which the separation of the children is illustrated by that of the leopard's cubs, and explained as necessary for increasing the strength of the family. Before the last meal is consumed, the mother blesses her child: 'Accustom yourself well, my child. Grow into quiet dignity like the queen bee. May you acquire gentleness like the *mbolea*-snake.' She also drives home the necessity of adaptability: 'Other compounds, other customs, my child. Some sleep with their heads mountainwards and some plainwards. Do not be alarmed by that. Do not scold a male animal in your mother-in-law's compound; they would take it as a curse. Do not grudge your mother-in-law the milch-cow.' After the bride has been anointed and robed, she is handed over to the bridegroom's assistant and sister. The former carries her on his back to her new home.[2]

If the bride belongs to one of those clans in which girls are 'fattened' at their parents' homes, she is now tested by her mother-in-law. A maiden who has been forced into a marriage against her will has then a chance of simulating qualities which stamp her as unsuitable. This she achieves by urinating on her bed, by gnashing with her teeth in her sleep, and by absent-mindedly daubing her face with ashes. After such conduct, she is returned to her people, but not without a ritual of separation.[3]

The *mbia isa wali*, the wedding lessons proper, are introduced by a large instalment of the bride-price in beer, which is drunk

[1] G., *R.*, pp. 105, 148. [2] G., *R.*, pp. 108 *seq.* [3] G., *R.*, pp. 117, 152.

as a libation to ensure the success of the lessons. An opening hymn represents the developmental rites as parental attempts at damping the refractoriness of boys. It is admitted that neither the rites nor the complex ritual and lessons of initiation succeed in this; a young man can, in fact, only be quieted down by a woman. After this the secrets of married life are revealed. The lessons, as they are recorded by Gutmann,[1] can be classified under three main headings: the legal and moral conditions of married life, the proper education of offspring, and the controls of human conduct. The lessons which fall under the first heading deal with pre-marital 'purity' as a basis for successful marriage; they describe the minor morals which make relations between marriage partners pleasant and help to tide over periods of strain; they discuss the economic rights and duties of husband and wife, inculcating at the same time such virtues as thrift, diligence, and providence; they expose peculiarities characteristic of the male and female sex and give advice as to how one is to behave with regard to them; they also set out the rights which husband and wife may claim in their marriage, such as the privilege of eating in the absence of the partner. The lessons concerning the education of offspring describe the processes of conception, pregnancy, and birth, and give advice for securing the best conditions for them. They emphasize that three persons help in the creation of the foetus: God, the father, and the mother. They deal extensively with the rearing of the child, i.e. with securing his physical welfare; they also outline the differences in the treatment of the first-born, the youngest son, and the adopted child, and insist on the carrying-out of the developmental rites. The lessons on the controls of human conduct describe the influence on behaviour of God, the ancestors, the age-class, the various relatives, the neighbours, and, last, but not least, of objects of the inanimate environment.

The method used during the wedding lessons resembles that at initiation, i.e. songs and lessons in obscure language, which have to be explained by an interpreter. For instance, the officiating old woman sings to the bride: 'Stillness, O stillness! Grief of the bride who is to be carried off; grief of the bride who is to be married. Now you come to your husband; now you come to your man. Stillness, O stillness! How will you honour the

[1] G., *L.*, iii.

names? How will you remember the praise titles? The [husband's] people are as numerous as the bees; they outnumber the bumble-bees.' The interpretation is carried out by an elder sister or cousin. The tendency to dramatization is given full rein. Gutmann describes a dance performed among the Malisa, the smith clan, by two old women. They jostle each other with their shoulders, singing: 'Oshiri and Tenga! Oshiri is the jostler. Thus he protects you with his shoulder blades. We are sisters of the people to be taken to the jostlers!' This song hints at a ruse by which Oshiri, the Malisa, ousted a friend from his grove. In the explanation, it is impressed on the bride that she is about to be separated from her folk and to become linked to the smith clan. Should she be divorced or widowed, she must on no account marry a man other than a Malisa. As during initiation, the secrecy of the lessons is inculcated. Most of them revise subject matter presented in the developmental rites, in the grandparental teaching, and during initiation.[1]

The instructional element is closely linked with the magical one. The lessons not only tell how young parents may retain ancestral goodwill, but they are themselves a definite prerequisite for the obtaining of offspring. The unruly are punished by having important lessons withheld from them. Most wedding rites are performed according to the bridegroom's family. If all the children of such a marriage die, the lessons are repeated after the manner of the wife's people. The wedding lessons therefore impart regenerative power, but no one except a 'pure' person can profit by them—that is, one that has not produced offspring in a pre-marital union. An illegitimate mother cannot be taught the wedding lessons with her seducer, unless the latter marry a second girl in the proper manner and his two wives attend the lessons together. In this fashion the defiled woman is again brought into a state of 'purity'.[2]

On the eve of the wedding the girl returns to her mother[3] and receives instruction in two parts, of which the first is called 'enlightenment' (*kidambuya*) and the other 'separator' (*mbarakany*). An interesting phase of the former is a sham battle between two women, one of whom suddenly collapses:

[1] Vide G., *R.*, pp. 3, 116 *seq.*, 154, 160–70, 341–4, 362, and G., *L.*, i, pp. 20–41.
[2] Cf. G., *R.*, pp. 136, 165, and G., *L.*, i, p. 38.
[3] Gutmann's evidence concerning the locality is contradictory; contrast G., *R.*, pp. 118 and 160.

'See, this will be the fate of your husband if you do not cook for him regularly. He will have to fight on an empty stomach and thus more easily receive a death blow.' The last directions are given to bride and bridegroom together. They culminate in the rite of 'uniting the age-groups'. Of the parental generation, the bridegroom's mother's brother and his teacher take part; of the filial, the bridal couple, the bridegroom's sister, and his ritual assistant. After a heap of wood has been kindled in the yard, the teacher mixes the contents of two troughs of beer, singing a hymn: 'Union. I unite. My son, you are now grown up, linked with the elders, and joined to the age-group!' Calabashes of beer are offered to the bridegroom with the words: 'This is the foaming drink. Your grandfather was given this drink and he begot you!' And to the bride: 'You enter the age of stillness. Do not behave like a scatter-brain. For the dwellings of the people are rich in prohibitions!' The *osa* lesson warns the two never to disgrace the yard through a scuffle. To the bridegroom it is pointed out that henceforth he has a house of his own and that he must not neglect it. When the attending kinsmen close the door behind the couple, they sing: 'We are shutting *irimu* up in his home!'[1]

C

The most obvious process of habituation on the part of the bride consists in her observing the proper terms of address in her husband's home. When addressing her parents-in-law, she must use infantile terms, such as *baba*, instead of their personal names. Nor is she allowed to utter the names of her husband's ancestors; she hears them mentioned only in order that she can avoid them. She must use circumlocutions if she desires to refer to them. She has to act in a similar manner concerning the names of bull and he-goat.

In such customs the inferior social status of the wife is expressed. The attempt is made to treat her as a dependent, a child. The behaviour imposed on her maintains this fiction. For instance, in many rites, especially those following a burial, a man may not partake of the meat if his father is still alive. It is expected of a wife that she should show similar piety with regard to her husband. During the lessons, the husband is warned not to punish

[1] G., *R.*, pp. 118, 120, 341–4.

his wife too hard. Naturally a husband sometimes has difficulty in maintaining authority over his wife, so he appeals, like his parents, to the powerful ancestors of his family or terrifies his wife with stories of his magical powers.[1] During female initiation, the old women act as upholders of the male privilege, for they impress upon the novices the fiction of the plug as a true symbol of the superiority of men. Accordingly a woman proclaims herself responsible if her husband emits wind.

But, like the parent-child relationship, that between husband and wife is ultimately based upon a reciprocity of rights and obligations. This is inculcated during the wedding lessons with regard to the control of the various foodstuffs. The husband has the right of disposing of the cattle, yet a wise man does not give away an animal without having obtained his wife's consent. Vice versa, the woman harvests and sells the banana crop, yet she leaves the best bunches as a reserve for her husband to cut in an emergency, and lets him attend to neighbours desirous of borrowing some. A great number of prohibitions in regard to the conduct of husband and wife function as constant tests of marital consideration. For instance, a wife is not allowed to take meat out of its wrappings which her husband has brought home. On the other hand, the husband is not allowed to slaughter an animal in his wife's absence. If he does, he has to pay her a penalty of a goat. Similarly, a man would not offer meat to his wife with his left hand, nor the latter prepare food except with her right hand. These and many other restraints of the secondary educational relationship between husband and wife act as checks to a lowering of the standards of mutual love.[2]

The female sex is not as rigidly organized into age-grades as the male group (cf. boy, warrior, married man, elder). Its main distinction is that between women capable of producing offspring and the rest. It lacks ritual leaders such as the 'king of the camp', whose conduct even after initiation is set up as a pattern for his age-mates.[3] Nor is it controlled by the chief's military officers or

[1] Cf. G., *Volksbuch*, p. 97. Crawley, op. cit., vol. i, p. 54, relates of the Pomo Indians that husbands personate an ogre to terrify their wives into obedience and that the Tatu enact dramatic performances for the same purpose.

[2] For details consult G., *R.*, pp. 179–92.

[3] But in other tribes, e.g. among the Zulu, the girls of a neighbourhood choose a 'queen', who controls the behaviour of her followers, especially with regard to their relations with young men. Thus no Zulu girl would talk with her sweetheart without explicit permission of her 'queen'.

political functionaries. It thus retains the amorphous nature of the play-groups. Nevertheless its *esprit de corps* is, if possible, greater than among men. The social centre of the female sex is the market. More important than the exchange of goods is the opportunity there afforded to a wife to unbosom herself to her companions, and to a girl to acquire a knowledge of married life. All the women of a district are gathered together and exchange their most intimate experiences. The simple-minded are enlightened about the wickedness of men, and faithful wives mocked into adulterous adventures. The faults of husbands are exposed to the cynical comments of the female congress. On the other hand, illegitimate trysts are arranged by the women on their own behalf and for their husbands if they desire intercourse with a beautiful woman. Sometimes a man uses his wife as a decoy to trap a numskull into paying the heavy fine for adultery.[1] Girls are not excluded from such scenes and are thus initiated into aspects of married life not stressed in the lessons.

In spite of the dependence of an individual woman on parents, husband, parents-in-law, and brother, the female sex forms a group in Chaga society distinct by its behaviour from the rest. The development of this differentiation was traced in Part IV. The birth of children and the circumcision, initiation, and training of girls are affairs reserved for women. Moreover, it is assumed that most women possess magical powers. A woman uses her apron as a protective charm. She touches her property with it and nobody dares remove it. If she beats any one with it he will die. Even the leopard, it is said, is afraid of the apron. Women are renowned for their healing power and act as professional diviners. It is alleged that they use sorcery more than the male sex, for sorcery is the last resort of a person in rank and prestige inferior to his opponent. The religious autonomy of the female sex is, however, counteracted by the principle that the success of a sacrifice or prayer depends on the completeness of the family circle. In the case of the illness of a child especially, husband and wife must co-operate, and only the slaughtering of the victim is reserved for the man.

[1] G., 'Frau'.

6. *The Replacement of the Elder by the Younger Generation: Succession, Descent, and Inheritance*

A

Through the marriage of their children, parents lose their direct hold on them. Nevertheless, this does not result in a lessening of their authority. Politically, the elders are the chief's advisers; economically, they enjoy the tributes of their married children; educationally, they become the tutors of their grandchildren and, through their special relation to them, control their own adult sons and daughters. Yet their authority is decreasingly supported by the exercise of their own powers of mind and body. The respect extended to them changes into awe before the majesty of decay. The social system of the Chaga, which secures the ageing woman the support of her youngest son and the dotard that of his youngest wife, makes maltreatment of ageing parents extremely rare.[1] In many cases, indeed, the parental control over the adult child is maintained to the last years through withholding the professional charisma, and thus the succession to the power of practising the father's profession.

This is manifest in the case of magical and medical knowledge. All children are gradually introduced to common magical beliefs and practices[2] but the child of a person practising magic can expect to be told a secret medicine or charm which is likely to lay the foundation of his professional reputation. It is customary for an old person to request his sons 'to cut the walking staff' with which he can go to the spirits. The staff is a fat goat, which the old man consumes. It frequently happens that after this 'last' meal, the father tells his son: 'Climb into the attic. You will find a

[1] But it is said that among the Shira, who have intermarried with Masai, a dotard was wrapped up in the skin of a recently slaughtered ox and, with some food and his walking staff, abandoned in the plains. For the Masai custom, cf. Merker, M., *Die Masai*, Second Edition, p. 200.

[2] As has been pointed out, children have their own wish-magic which in most instances is traditional in the play-group; but occasionally individual boys or girls invent their own methods. The anticipatory tendency ensures that juvenile magic grows more and more like adult magic. Belief in the power of adult magic is established through attendance at public performances of magicians, through the use of oracles and other magical devices employed by adults, and through the fallacious emphasis on events apparently supporting the belief in magic to the neglect of those contradicting it. (Cf. also Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford, 1938), pp. 154, 353, 358.)

bundle wrapped in banana leaves up in the rafters. Bring it down, my son!' This being done, the son is told to open it and to look at its contents—a charm to prolong life or to serve other purposes. He is admonished to keep it and to hand it on to his son.[1] A son who has incurred paternal displeasure forfeits this privilege.

The principle of reciprocity extends into the last days of life. Parents who die without having passed on the family tradition call down fatal consequences, such as disease and barrenness, upon their progeny. For this reason, a man takes care to instruct his son, and he passes the art on in his turn. Hereditary magical knowledge is handed on from father to son or from mother to daughter. If the son is small, the father instructs his wife to act as intermediary. The woman who has no daughter passes her knowledge on to her son after her husband's death. If both parents die suddenly, the father's mother or sister act as teachers. Milk and fat are given to a female teacher; an animal is taken to a male teacher. Inherited magical knowledge is thus not received gratis.[2]

The teaching is carried out during the night. It consists in imparting the spells, manipulations, and prohibitions for use at magical performances and in handing over the professional symbols. The magical formulae cannot be learned in one night, for they are often very long, and to ensure their efficacy all the previous owners and ancestors must be mentioned. Some of the manipulations employed by magicians have been described in Part III. The prohibitions ensuring success are manifold. Magical power is decreased through sexual intercourse, the consumption of mutton, the death of a patient, the drinking of water without a vessel, and the accepting of something from a person who is holding something else in his hand. The charisma is increased through an abundant growth of hair on the head, through being naked during the discharge of professional duties, and by the employment of certain plants, such as a euphorbia whose milk the magician smears on his forehead, tongue, and

[1] G., *Volksbuch*, p. 125.

[2] Cf. J. R., *Die Religion*. The call to take up the profession of a magician often comes in a dream. For instance, among diviners a youth is made through dreams to take up his grandfather's horn, i.e. oracle. None of his brothers may practise as a diviner. The vocation through dreams takes place after the grandfather's death, and the training is carried out by the father, who in turn obtained his call from his grandfather. The power of divination may also be passed on in the female line. At the present day, natives who desire to become teachers or ministers frequently report that dreams have decided them in their choice.

throat, and a touch-me-not whose petals are used as a magic mirror. When the father hands over his professional symbol, the tail of a wildebeest, his son seizes it with both hands, and passes it over his face, while his father adjures him to carry on his profession, wishing that his head may never fail him, but remain potent till he can impart his gift to his successor.[1]

Magical knowledge in the form of isolated remedies or spells can also be bought. The transaction is called 'to buy the head' (as the seat of magical power). Anybody may acquire magic in this manner, but a person never divulges all his knowledge. The price used to consist of poison arrows, hoes, and swords, objects which were highly valued. Now money is asked for, and exorbitant charges are reported for water that is to destroy locusts, or other drugs sold at the time of an epidemic. The purchase price, as well as the former owners, must always be mentioned in reciting the spells. These are taught by the master as he sits inside his hut with the door closed, while his pupil listens outside and repeats the formulae. When the lesson is finished the novice returns home. He comes again the next day and recites what he remembers, his master prompting him. This is repeated till he knows the spells by rote.[2]

To be a magician is honourable. Sorcery, however, is a nefarious business. This is apparent in the manner in which its methods and materials are acquired. Sorcery is not purchased from an acquaintance. This would be dangerous. For the practice of the black art is a crime and punishable with death. It is therefore obtained from members of other tribes, such as the Kamba, Taita, or Giryama. But a girl may also acquire it from her mother. Occasionally sorcery is taken up after a sign from the ancestors. A forebear may send a black adder to a young mother to warn her that, unless she becomes a witch, she will lose her own child. To save her infant, the woman collects parts of corpses and other ghastly ingredients to 'poison' other people's children.[3]

[1] See G., 'Beschwörer', for this and next paragraph. During witch-smelling proceedings, the chief had the suspected persons with their adolescent sons abjure sorcery, lest the fathers pass their practices on to their sons before the trial; cf. G., *DDD*, p. 173.

[2] The Chaga magicians are not organized into guilds. For an account of training for a corporate profession, cf. Evans-Pritchard, E. E., loc. cit., pp. 202–50, 'Training of a Novice in the Art of a Witch-Doctor'.

[3] G., *DDD*., p. 41. This sounds like a rationalized excuse used by a person charged with having practised sorcery.

The following account, submitted by a man of Kahe, describes a rite used in transmitting black magic. When a mother wishes to hand her witchcraft over to her daughter, she acts in a circumspect manner. She says quite casually: 'To-day I want to give you something, because I am getting old and doting. If I were to give it to you, would you want it or not?' If her daughter wishes to have 'it', her mother makes her swear an oath: 'If I give it to you, don't ever say: "My mother gave me such and such!" ' The young woman has her curiosity roused by now and asks: 'What sort of thing is it?' The mother replies: 'It is something which might assist you if anybody breaks faith with you. In fact, it would kill him!' If the daughter has been interested in sorcery herself, she is delighted: 'Give it to me. I shall not betray you, even if I were to be hanged or stoned, I would not tell of it.' Only now the mother is satisfied. But before she hands over her objects of witchcraft, she whispers to her daughter: 'Grasp this house-post and do not let go!' This done, the mother goes round the young woman and utters spells over her, giving her cunning and fortitude. Dancing round her and pressing her hips against her daughter's, she continues: 'My child, bear up. Even if you are burned with fire, hold out! Even if you are slashed with knives, do not yield! Even if you are stoned, do not abandon your secret.' Only after this rite does she hand over the articles of destruction, a skull placed in a beer trough in the attic, the hand of a child preserved there in a pot, and the dried-up arm of a person long dead.

In view of assertions that sorcery is a fiction and never actually practised, it is interesting to note the differences in the training for white and black magic. White magic is a legitimate affair; it may be purchased anywhere or inherited; its efficacy depends on proclaiming its ancestral origin. The secrecy observed during its transmission is only a means of securing its effectiveness. Sorcery is criminal; its purchase must be made from strangers; it is inherited only in the female line; its origin must not be divulged and its dangers must be averted by special rites. The owner of black magic may achieve with it what he desires—for instance, the mysterious acquiring of food from other people's stores—but, as a result, he will have no children or few, because such an anti-social power should not be inheritable.

When a smith's first child is born, he holds a hammer to its

mouth to make it lick the iron. This practice of determining the first-born's profession in a magical manner is universal. It is also achieved by giving the child an appropriate name.[1] Actually, the boy's interest in smithy work is the result of his attendance at his father's workshop. He acquires his skill, not through a system of apprenticeship, but through his anticipatory ambition. Soon he tries to fashion certain objects in secret. Then he begins to press his father to allow him to make an object of boyish interest, such as a knife. But as yet his father employs him only for watching certain technical processes. For example, he is set to attend to the charring of wood and to report to his father when it is accomplished. Later he has to blow the goatskin bellows. Gutmann mentions a boy whose urge to become a smith grew so strong after his father's early death that he began to carve wooden vessels with his only knife. He exchanged these for iron, made bellows, searched for two large stones to serve as anvils, and shaped a pair of pincers out of wire.[2]

The introduction to professional independence is coupled with a rite terminating the boy's life as a herdsman. The first male goat which he received as his wages has been reared into a fat animal. On the day when he returns it as a sacrifice of thanksgiving to his father, he prepares some beer and invites his father's ritual assistant and a neighbour with whom they are intimate to his home. The 'goat that opens the hand' is then spat at, dedicated to the ancestors, and slaughtered. After the meal, the father besmears his hammer with the contents of the goat's stomach, spits at it, and prays earnestly: 'You great God, we give this tool to this child. Bless him when he works with it so that he may obtain many head of cattle and food to sustain his children.' He adds a spell to prevent damage to the hammer in the hands of its new owner. At the end, those present are sprayed with water into which the plant *yande* and the hammer have been dipped. A boy initiated in this manner starts on his work with great confidence.

A bee-keeper's son is carefully trained to endure stings calmly. First he is told such tales as that of the hare (with the cunning of Brer Rabbit), who, through submitting to the stings without uttering a sound, achieved his greatest ambition, the possession

[1] Miller, N., *The Child in Primitive Society*, pp. 74, 80, 96.
[2] G., 'Der Schmied'.

of the hyena's store, which was filled with innumerable pots of honey, beer, meat, and what not. Later the bee-keeper takes his son to the forest, and makes him carry the leather bag in which the honey is to be put. In order to make the insects fly away a fire is lighted under the tree from which the hive is suspended. The father climbs up, cuts out the combs, and lets one covered with bees drop on his son as if by accident. Of course, he is stung, and gets used to the bees. Finally, the son has to climb into the tree himself and lower the bee-hive, in spite of the attacks of the infuriated insects. If he abandons his post, he forgoes his share of the honey.[1]

The bee-keeper's profession involves the co-operation of four men, who are sworn to secrecy and mutual assistance. If one of them dies, his son goes to the remaining three with gifts of beer, and requests them to show him the trees and to initiate him into their work. The first expedition as bee-keeper is solemnized by the following ritual. The mother spits at the pad used for carrying the hive, a piece of hollowed out tree-trunk, on the head. Blessing her son, she says: 'You are going to the plains to hang up your hive. Go and be lucky, my son, so that the most distant bees come to make a home in your hive and fill it, so that I shall be no longer poor!' All the older relatives now place their hands on the youth's head and, raising them four times, adjure all the bees of all the places they can remember by name. Then, spitting at the hive, they say, 'Hive, get busy and bring us luck'. If the father is still alive, he now hands over to his son the twirling-stick with which to kindle the fire under the trees and the rope used in climbing them. Spitting at them and blessing them, he reminds his successor that their ancestors already used these tools in 'quieting' the bees and the trees. A young bee-keeper returns the contents of the first hive he harvests to his father. It is only after this rite that the latter opens up to his son the full sources of professional blessing.[2]

The transmission of a 'practice' is accompanied by the giving of instructions. For instance, the many dangers of the forest are painted in vivid colours and singular advice is given. In a talk on the habits of the elephants, a novice in forest-craft is told that

[1] Seligman, C. G., *The Veddas*, p. 91, reporting on the training for honey-collecting, says that the boys were fitted out with the necessary tools and with them played a game of make-believe under the supervision of their elders.

[2] G., 'Die Imkerei'.

it is fatal to avoid an attack by running uphill, because the great ears of the pursuing animal will fold back and give it an unimpeded view in all directions. If one escapes towards the plains, which is also the way to the inhabited region, the ears fold forward and leave the animal a small angle of vision. The only thing one has to do then is to run zigzag fashion, as this makes it impossible for the beast to keep its eye on its quarry.

In no profession is this theoretical part of vocational training so elaborate as in that of the tribal rulers. The child of a chief is from an early age trained to behave in a manner becoming to his special position. He must show deference to every one, especially to old men and women; he must avoid treating his playmates unfairly; he must not beat or deceive them, as they, too, are 'children of the chief'; rather he should talk well of them and act as intermediary between them and their fathers. Finally, he must give food, especially meat and even beer, to his friends. In this manner, the loyalty of the play-group to the chief's family is fostered. During initiation it was further strengthened by making an age-group the bodyguard of a royal son.

The heir receives a special course in statecraft. In some chieftainships two teachers are appointed who accompany him everywhere, deriving subject matter for their talks from every-day occurrences. Gutmann gives an account of some traditional lessons, in which, after an introductory proverb, legal and political advice is developed in a concrete manner.[1] The subjects dealt with can be classed under three headings. In social intercourse, the chief should be affable and avoid the appearance of haughtiness. The poor should be received at the court with kindness, for, not only do they produce more offspring than the rich, but they are also more faithful: they would rather starve themselves than have their chief want anything. The rich are a moral danger, for they rely on their wealth to excuse or, if necessary, to redress wrongs which they have perpetrated. Widows, orphans, and expectant mothers are specially recommended to the chief's consideration. Politically, the advice given is twofold. In internal affairs, definite commands at the right time are essential. Watchfulness is better than indulgence, and therefore the employment of secret agents is advised. Opposition to the chief's rule will be

[1] G., *R.*, pp. 349–57.

expressed in songs to which he ought to listen carefully. Feuds in the chief's family are destructive of order and faith; they should be avoided at all costs. In external relations, although suspicion is better than over-trustfulness, the intertribal code must not be broken: ambassadors are inviolable; during royal visits the proper etiquette must be observed. It lies in the chief's hands to let incidents grow into open hostilities or not. With regard to legal affairs, the dangers of rashness, bias, and bribery are described. The chief should be lenient to the first offender and restore to him part of the fine. The only exception should be the adulterer, because of the abhorrence in which such sin is held.

The young chief tries to obtain sanction for his reign through magical measures. This is done in a rite in which one of his most trusted advisers sprays him with a liquid containing soil from all the paths of the country. In order to obtain the love of his subjects, a few wild banana trees are planted in his compound. If there is legal doubt about the succession, the following test is made. The candidates have to grope about in a heap of the sanguinary ant. He who succeeds in seizing the queen without being bitten is the rightful heir. Finally, of course, the approval of his contemporaries must be sought. It is customary for the heir to present himself to the age-group of the warriors and elders to be acclaimed by them if he possesses a royal character and bearing.

In summing up this survey of professional training, three types can be distinguished. The practice of magic is transmitted when the elders feel they are approaching death.[1] The simpler vocations, such as bee-keeping and forging, admit the successor at the time of initiation and marriage, because these occupations form the means of subsistence of the poorer families. The rites accompanying the training and the admission of youths to the professions are analogous to the agricultural education of the farmer's son, whose hoe and axe are blessed too. The heir to the realm receives a schooling, which, though adapted to his superior position, resembles that of his subjects. Theoretical teaching, magical initiation, and social approval are in all walks of life necessary to admit the novice to his vocation.

[1] J. R., *Versuch*, p. 395, mentions that the details of the calendar, which are of great magical importance, are known only to older people.

B

The care which is exercised with regard to the handing over of magic is connected with the fact that the father's religious leadership in the family is reserved to him for life. Children are not allowed to attend the rites of development initiating into stages which they have not yet reached. It is said that they would not understand their significance, and that they realize their importance through being excluded from them. Moreover, some of them involve tortures which might unnecessarily increase their fears. In consequence, children are left with neighbours or secondary parents during the developmental trials.

This educational exclusiveness does not extend to the religious rites, such as prayers and sacrifices. Children attend the libations and prayers for sick people, for ancestral blessing and prosperity. The only restriction is that girls must not frequent the slaughtering place.[1] But leave to attend is not equivalent to permission to perform a religious function. On the contrary, when a father takes his son to a tree in the plains or forest to sacrifice there, he makes him watch the ceremony from afar. It would be a sin for a youth to sacrifice for himself as long as his father is alive. Children therefore perform religious rites of their own in secrecy. These are a result of the anticipatory tendency of juvenile activities. Taking a calabash of beer to the dracaena clump in the grove, they offer libations, stammering some prayer in which they ask the ancestors to protect the goat they earned, to make the fields thrive which they tilled, and to prevent quarrels with their friends. Even after marriage, a man must ask his father to sacrifice and divine for him, especially if the arrival of children is delayed or during an illness of the first-born. When a professional has to be engaged, father and son go together. In the case of subsequent children, the grandparent delegates his priestly function to the father. But it may not yet be exercised in the former's presence.

Gradually the father's authority is, as it were, split up and descends to his sons. To reassure himself, he tests his heir's gift for ritual leadership through a public examination. For this

[1] Cf. Fortes, M., op. cit., p. 12. Among the Tallensi, children are allowed to learn who their ancestors are by listening at sacrifices. Examples of the anticipatory identification of boys with their fathers as leaders of worship and sacrifice are given (ibid., p. 59).

purpose, all his brothers and sons attend and a cow is slaughtered. When it has been struck down, he hands the knife to the heir, saying, 'Share the meat for me!' The dividing of meat is a most complicated affair and each family has slightly different rules.[1] The test is not only one of technical skill, for the shares are not equal, but of behaviour as well, for the distributor is expected to be affable to those of lesser right. If he shows himself worthy of his future position, his brothers and uncles hail him as the leader of the family. If not, his father instructs him further. But if he fails in a second trial, he forfeits his privilege. A similar test is made round a trough of beer with regard to the drinking ceremonial.

The father's tutorial and economic powers descend to his sons in the same way and are stabilized in lifelong relationships between them. The elder brother becomes the *mwichi*, the monitor, of his younger sibling during circumcision and initiation. He interprets the teaching received during these rites, and, having but a few years previously undergone a similar course, revises the lessons for himself at the same time. If his pupil dies before him, the *mwichi* has the reversionary right to his property. If a youth has no elder brother, a half-brother or a cousin is engaged as a substitute. A similar relationship exists between a maiden and her elder sister or cousin.

Reciprocal economic control is exercised by brothers in the *wusinji* bond. This is established when each of the two concerned has a home of his own. The *msinji* butchers his brother's animals. The magical reason given is that the owner dislikes killing the beasts with which he has lived. The educational function of the institution is to exercise control over a man's stock and to secure the prompt delivery of the kinship shares. The bond is entered into between the eldest and the youngest son and the intermediate sons are paired off as convenient. If one is over, he becomes the *msinji* of a half-brother or cousin. The fee for slaughtering is the first three ribs of the animal, together with heart and hump. Brothers in such close economic relationship naturally assist each other in case of illness, for the decline of the one involves the loss of a regular source of meat to the other. A man has to bury his *msinji* brother if he dies without heirs.[2]

[1] Contrast G., *R.*, p. 40, and Dundas, op. cit., p. 134. Besides the codes of distribution mentioned by these authors, many others are in force.

[2] Regarding the *wusinji* relationship, see G., *R.*, pp. 43 *seq.*

The third relationship between brothers is ritual. The *mngari* or *mkara* is the sponsor or ritual assistant of his brother, especially during the difficult negotiations preceding marriage. The *mngari* has to obtain the maiden's consent. He invites her father to the 'beer of discussions' and has meetings with her mother's brother and other relatives. During the subsequent exchanges, he carries the presents (in which he is assisted by the bridegroom's sister) and tastes the victuals. He prepares the beer, officiates during the sacrifices, exchanges good wishes with the bride's sponsor, and carries the bride to her new home. (If he is not strong enough, a substitute is engaged.) He prevents illicit intercourse during the fattening period, admonishes the bridegroom on the eve of the wedding, settles the accounts between the two families and finally occupies the position of an arbiter of domestic quarrels in the new household.[1] As soon as a son is born to the young couple, the *mngari* receives the three middle ribs of each animal killed. The *mngari* relationship is not reciprocal. It is, in fact, doubtful whether a younger brother has experience enough to be *mngari* to his senior relative; yet Gutmann asserts this.[2] In many families the functions of the *mngari* at the wedding are performed by a brother of the father, for the delicate mediation between bride and bridegroom before and after marriage must be carried out without a suggestion of intimacy between him and the bride. The *mngari* therefore is not allowed to accept food or drink during the night when he keeps watch outside her mother-in-law's hut during the fattening. After the wedding, the bride avoids him as well as her parents-in-law. If the husband dies, the remarriage of the widow according to the levirate is only possible with brothers of the husband other than the *mngari*.

In this manner the parents' religious and magical control of their children after marriage is supplemented by a complex system of social facilitation. Relatives are charged with watching over the conduct of husband and wife, each controlling a definite sphere of tribal and kinship morality. The final authorities are, as in childhood, the imaginary ancestors and the political and legal checks administered by the chief.

[1] Cf. the institution of 'Ehe gaumer', i.e. guardian of marital faithfulness in Swiss villages; cf. Pestalozzi, op. cit., p. 164.

[2] Cf. G., *R.*, pp. 47 *seq.*, on *mngari*.

C

The family is thus prepared to meet the inevitable event of the death of the parents, for the continuation of the kinship bonds has been secured. The decease of the father unites the whole family for the last time in one common ritual. The burial of the parents offers an opportunity for recasting the relationships between the independent households of the children and for arranging about the rearing of the minors. It is at the same time a test of those sentiments of piety and reverence which the religious importance of the parents has inspired. For 'not even a friend helps to bury the corpse'. The last service is definitely a family obligation. The mortuary rites which comprehend all the events from the first wail to the distribution of the inheritance are solemn processes of weaving the ruptured strands into a new structure. As a result, the distribution of authority and wealth in the original family is completely reset and a revaluation of the status of daughters and sons takes place.

When a man is near death, he is removed to his first wife's hut. This transfer is significant in that it reaffirms the claim of the eldest son of the chief wife to succeed his father. Death having taken place, the wives and children burst forth into dirges and cries. The man's ornaments are removed and replaced by rings and wreaths of dracaena leaves, so that he can enter the underworld without feeling shame. The burial involves the co-operation of the deceased's ritual assistant, his *mngari*, and that of his sons. The *mngari* selects the stem of a small tree suitable for use as a digging-stick and strikes it four times with the axe. The striking is repeated by the eldest son and then by every other son present. If one of them is still an infant, he is assisted by his seniors. Relatives, neighbours, and friends sever the stem and point it.[1]

The party repairs to the hut, where the grave is dug in the part of the house called *kichinyi*. Here the *mngari* and the sons go through a ritual digging, each scratching the ground four times; again the work is completed by the attendant mourners. The corpse, wrapped in a cowhide, is lowered into the grave in a sitting position and with the face turned towards Mt. Kibo as the dwelling of the gods or as the direction from which the deceased's

[1] Burial customs, being mainly family rites, differ greatly. Contrast account given in text with G., *DDD.*, pp. 131 *seq.*, and Dundas, op. cit., p. 179.

clan claims to have immigrated. Pieces of the tongue, the liver, and the first stomach of the animal that has been slaughtered are thrown into the grave. The tongue is to tie the deceased's tongue lest he return to earth to talk with his people at night. The liver and the stomach are explained as assuaging him when he realizes that one of his animals has been killed without his permission. A piece of tallow is placed on the head of the corpse and the second stomach over that. These are interpreted as provisions for the journey across the treeless plain, *morongo*, which separates the land of the living from the underworld. Before the grave is filled in, each person daubs the dead man's forehead four times with fat as a ceremony of leave-taking.

The night is spent in preparing beer and cooking colocasia for a rite which unites all the sons in the morning. The first-born sits down near the door of the hut holding a calabash and a piece of colocasia in his hands. He takes a sip and a bite without swallowing either. Then he spits beer and colocasia against the sky, cursing the person who killed his father. All the other sons do likewise in order of seniority. A fire is lighted in the yard, and for three days all the cooking is done here. People come to condole with the children and wives of the deceased, and, sitting round the fire, soon begin to chat in a less concerned manner. On the third day the fire is extinguished with sods, each of the neighbours and friends licking some of the ashes and saying, 'I don't know what killed him!' or 'I don't know where he had his cattle stabled'.

During the following week a bull is sacrificed to serve the deceased as an entrance fee to the realm of the dead, where he is received by his grandfather. On this occasion the marriageable widows are claimed by the heir,[1] either a brother or the eldest son of their husband. Accounts are settled, debts and claims being assessed by the eldest son in collaboration with his uncles. Finally the distribution of the hereditaments is carried out. The sons have now an opportunity of showing their legal training. From early childhood, their paternal grandfather had gone to much trouble in instructing his grandsons about the rules of inheritance. In their boyhood they listened to arguments between defendants and plaintiffs in the tribal court and to their father's comments. Many of the cases heard were re-created

[1] The claim is established through ritual intercourse, but the actual transfer takes place about six months later.

in anticipatory play on the pasture. In his adolescence, the heir was initiated into the secrets of agistment. In fact, the handing over of the animals was done by the eldest son while his father spoke spells cursing the caretaker should he ever deny the arrangement.

The orthodox rules of inheritance consider the individual households within the polygamous family system as independent units; that is no transfer of property takes place from one to the other.[1] The property of a household goes to the first and last son of the wife. It consists of the land, the cattle, and the daughters of the house. In most cases, the eldest son has married before his father's death and already possesses a portion of land, divided off from his grandfather's or mother's plot. On the father's death, the youngest takes over his mother's compound, while the 'middle' sons must apply for land to the chief. The eldest and the youngest also inherit the cattle, for the Chaga argue that those who have the land must have dung to manure it with! Only a few animals are distributed among the 'middle' sons. As to a man's private possessions, the eldest gets the clothes, shield, and spear, the middle ones the knives and ornaments, and the youngest the sword and belt.

The daughters of a man remain with their respective mothers. The eldest son or his legal substitute negotiates about their marriage. All the sons of a man by his various wives have a right to share in the edible portions of the bride-price paid for one of their half-sisters. Some of the live stock paid for her goes to her mother's family, but those animals which would have gone to her father are received by his heir. Thus, the father's tutelary power over his unmarried daughters descends, like his economic and ritual authority, in the male line.

The mother's death results in even greater ceremonial, but the officiants are her daughters and female relatives. The fire burns four days in the yard instead of three, and after it has been extinguished it is rekindled in the yard of her own people. Beer is brewed, female animals are sacrificed to the deceased, and milk libations offered. The prayers spoken ask her to continue to protect and prosper her children. The sense of her continued

[1] The complicated rules governing inheritance are of legal, not educational significance. They are described in G., *R.*, pp. 27–68, and in Dundas, op.cit., pp. 304–9.

presence is maintained by the custom of not allowing the fire to go out in any hut which has been used as a mother's burial ground. Otherwise, the dead mother would freeze and revenge herself by killing her children. Here a domestic duty, the regular supply of cooked food, is sanctioned by making it appear as a service of love to one's mother.

This extension of the facilitation of conduct through the imagined presence of the parents is the theme of the remaining customs centring round their relics. After a year, the skeleton is exhumed. The bones are thrown into the grove; the skull is placed in a clay pot and interred in the clump of dracaenas which is the place where henceforth the sacrificial share of meat will be offered to the parents, in the same way as to other ancestors. Thus from the grave, father and mother still control their children's conduct with blessings and curses, and the children reciprocate with offerings of thanksgiving or of atonement. The influence of a father and a mother extends indeed beyond death.

PART VI

CONCLUSIONS

1. *Theoretical Summary*

OUR journey has come full circle. Starting with the definition that education is the relationship between successive generations, we have watched the vicissitudes of this relationship from the birth of an individual to the death of his parents and the moment when he himself is about to become a parent. This involved reference to the relationship between parental and grandparental generations because the grandparents control the conduct of parents through granting them, or depriving them of children. The suggestion of bipolarity lurking in the definition is not an essential characteristic for two reasons. First, parent and child are not only members of different generations, but they are units in a relationship that is at least triangular owing to the duplication of parenthood in father and mother. Secondly, the ethos underlying the educational relationship is based on a diffusion of responsibility. That is, any disturbance in the well-being and harmony of the family is attributed to an offence committed by one of its members. It is because this principle underlies primitive morality that Chaga parents do not neglect their children. To maintain the continuity and prosperity of the family, children must be begotten and definite standards in their physical, mental, and spiritual care must be observed. Any set-back in the affairs of an individual is traced by parental conscience as well as by tribal tradition to a violation of these standards. This general moral tone of Chaga education is partly inherent in their social organization. But it is also consciously inculcated during initiation in the training for the begetting and educating of offspring which teaches that the success of parenthood depends on the continued fulfilment of filial piety, and that the proper rearing of progeny is one of the foremost duties towards the forebears.

Absolute parental control over the child is thus not countenanced by custom. Besides it is a practical impossibility. The parents, realizing how weak their power of shaping their offspring

to their liking is, transfer certain aspects of control over the child to facilitators of conduct and educational specialists: nurse, elder sibling, grandparents, secondary parents, teachers, and chief. Such facilitators ensure the conformity of the child to tribal standards by their mere presence, by direct disciplinary interference, by threats of such interference, by rewards and by appeals to the child's ambitions. The specialist educators employ elaborate didactic techniques, such as songs, mystifying language, tests of knowledge and of physical strength, and mnemonic devices. Even then lapses occur, and they are guarded against by the imaginary spectators of juvenile conduct, the ancestors, whose superior power of control appears in a heightened form in the deity. As the human facilitators employ blame and praise, reward and punishment, so the religious controllers of conduct direct the children through curses and blessings.

The interactions of the facilitators and the child vary in intensity. Periods of passive supervision are interrupted by the employment of certain linguistic controls, such as conditioning words, bogy terms, commands, and stories. The latter place before the child either an ideal virtue, or the natural consequence of actions, but they may bring magical threats into play as well. Conformity of behaviour according to membership in age, kinship, and sex divisions is brought about by disciplinary action, various devices of food control, and magical checks and incentives. Habituation to patterns of behaviour appropriate to such divisions is achieved by avoidances and positive actions involving a constant redocumentation of the individual's status and his relationship to others. A series of ritual shocks accentuates the child's passage from infancy to adolescence. These developmental rites at intervals call the whole kindred into action on behalf of the child; they gradually raise his status and are accompanied by an adaptation of the authority of the facilitators to his new rights and duties. In this manner, behaviour becomes increasingly differentiated as it approximates to adult standards. The rites are of educational importance, because they heighten the anticipatory tendency of childish behaviour, and are purposeful measures of the parental generation aiming at moulding the child physically, mentally, and morally. The rhythmical repetition of the rites shows that their educative effect is only temporary. This is due to the fact that the admission to full adulthood, which is promised before most rites, is

always made dependent on new conditions after the rites. Thus neither enlisting in a regiment nor marriage does away with parental control which is gradually transformed into a magical and religious authority.

It must be realized that the events of the educational relationship and the motives and effects of educational measures form subjects of reflective thought among the Chaga, and probably among all primitive peoples. Such reflection moves along traditional tracks as laid down in proverbs and stories. But it also enables individuals to comment on the success or failure of educational efforts in particular instances. In the opinion of the Chaga, the nature of education resembles a moulding process. The many metaphors that express this belief (e.g. hammering red-hot iron into shape, carving wood, bending a stick into a bow, castrating rams, &c.) sound strangely like the assumption of the empiricist Locke that education is an engraving of letters upon the *tabula rasa* of the child's mind. The moulding process is not believed to be limited to childhood and adolescence. The chief is considered to be the *makipatsha*, the carver of his men, the husband the moulder of his wife, and the ancestors are assumed to be shaping the embryo. This educational 'theory' implies that the Chaga hold definite views regarding the moral qualities a tribesman ought to possess.

The moral education in the family consists in the inculcation of practical ideals, such as diligence, hospitality, courage, and worldly wisdom. If these seem sometimes to clash with European notions, this is not due to a lack of ethical ideals, but to their limited sphere of application, and the different values accorded to them. Thus a universal observation of the ideal of truthfulness is prevented by inculcating suspicion of outsiders, through which the cohesion, and thus the welfare, of the family is increased. Informal conversations and definite courses of instruction stress the importance of these ideals, and they are epitomized in proverbs, riddles, and songs. These, in turn, underline the ridicule and contempt in which non-conforming individuals are held. Two characteristic devices of moral training among the Chaga are based on a deep understanding of human nature: making the realization of worldly ambitions appear consequent on obedience to moral precepts, and representing a violation of them as directly affecting the well-being of persons, especially the mother, with whom the

offender lives in close emotional and situational contact. The one device might be looked upon as the transfer of the consequences of a good deed from the moral to the utilitarian sphere, and the other as the participation of intimates in the fatal consequences of an evil act committed by the weaker of them.

As the training in crafts does not consist in theoretical instruction, but implements a self-acquired skill by allowing the child to participate in vocational activities, so the moral training but emphasizes the interdependence of the generations to which the individual is being habituated in a variety of ways. Primitive education thus not only exemplifies the necessity of formal moral training advocated by Herbart, but shows that such teaching is useless unless it is put into action through corresponding conduct in a small social unit to whose members the educand is bound by strong sentiments, and which is affected, like him, by the constraint of moral ideals. Primitive education therefore bears out the truth of Pestalozzi's axioms of moral training: firstly, it must consist in a training through personal relationships; secondly, it must be an education through immediate personal relationships, immediacy being defined by the urgency with which loving help is required; thirdly, it must comprise an habituation of the educand to a wise order of life, through the emotions of love, gratitude, and trustfulness.[1] But primitive education, being an actuality, not an ideal system, is not so much driven forward by love but by a sense of the mutuality of obligations and privileges, and it cannot do without deterrents that become effective through fear and suspicion.

The family is thus not only the dominant unit of social, religious, and economic life, but also the educational community *par excellence*, the basic pedagogical agency. It is true that the tribe takes hold of the child in the rites, but even during initiation the family is never completely replaced. Anthropologists discuss whether the claims of the individual or those of society are superior, whereas primitive life simply places individuals in definite relationships to one another, prescribing how each is to behave, and reserving for each his share of rights and duties. So much is this so that if one pole of the relationship is eliminated by death, or other circumstances, custom ordains that a substitute be found. Thus in the educational

[1] Cf. Wilhelm, T., 'Pestalozzis Vermächtnis', 'Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehung' (*International Education Review*, 1937), pp. 85 *seq.*

relationship parents may be replaced by secondary parents; the place of the deceased father is taken by his brother or eldest son; the motherless child is nursed and reared by the sister of his mother, or a female relative of the father's. On the other hand, when a marriage remains barren children are adopted or some other social fiction is employed to supply the missing partner of the relationship.

Besides the principles of substitution, and reciprocity, a third fundamental factor of educational importance in the family is the classificatory identification of distant kindred with close relatives. This is what one would expect from the practice of substitution. But the principle is not simply derived, for it makes possible the forming of new relationships, such as marriage, one of whose poles falls outside the kinship circle. Through it the family prescribes conduct in new extra-familial relationships, and extends its influence beyond its own narrow confines. This is not done by an automatic extension of complex attitudes, but by the projection of one of the traits present in the original pattern. For instance, the relationship of a boy to his sister is made up of many emotions, rights and duties, prohibitions, and liberties. These are not called into play in the boy's relations with a classificatory sister in kinship group or clan, with the one exception that sexual indifference is projected from the blood-sister to the classificatory sisters.

Close observation of the educational relationship reveals that the juvenile generation wields mechanisms similar to those used by their elders, and that they attempt to influence them thereby. Thus over and above the social and religious significance of the child which is due to the reciprocal nature of the relationship, and which so strongly contrasts with the child's physical helplessness, a spontaneous tendency is discoverable in childish behaviour that leads to the formation of a semi-independent juvenile society. Through presuming behaviour patterns pertaining to higher age-grades, the child assimilates the cultural essentials of his tribe from which legally he is still excluded. Hence, parents have to be continually adapting themselves to spontaneous juvenile activities. At adolescence these activities approximate the privileged behaviour of adults, and accordingly lead to conflicts between parents and offspring which are resolved through the ritual admission of youths and maidens to full adulthood. The concept of anticipation

has been introduced to comprehend the complicated nature of these activities, which are more than imitative. They are of autonomous value both with regard to social and psychological function, and as creative reactions to the environment.

The anticipation theory enables us to explain many apparently puzzling observations of primitive education. It resolves the contradictions of those investigators to whom primitive man appears to be both precocious in childhood and stagnating in adolescence. The interpretation of certain behaviour as premature is due to the fact that attention is paid only to the external points of identity between adult and juvenile conduct, so that the significant functional differences, which are less obvious, are neglected. The faulty conclusion that adolescence does not result in a further development of behaviour is indeed necessary, if one infers from such superficial identification that the child's behaviour is imitative of the adult's.

Another important corollary of the anticipation theory is the realization that childish behaviour cannot be satisfactorily explained as an expression of abstract psychic factors, be they called 'instincts' or 'motives'. It is, on the one hand, determined by the physiological and psychological necessities of the growing organism, and, on the other hand, it refers to, and is shaped by, the cultural environment. It acquires its full significance, not alone because it indicates stages of individual maturation, but because it increasingly engages the child in creative co-operation with his surroundings.

The anticipation theory further allows us to deny that the opposition between the child and civilization is irreconcilable, as Rousseau maintained. The French pedagogue contrasted the *amour de soi*, the tendency towards the unfolding of the self in a spontaneous manner, with the *relations* of social life, such as family, profession, denomination, and State. In his opinion, the *relations* exercise an arbitrary restraint upon the natural development of the child and disregard its specific value. Juvenile spontaneity does not work itself out *in vacuo*, as became apparent in studying education in a primitive tribe. It defines itself from a very early date by reference to the cultural environment and can only thrive in it. Individual nature and society are not at educational poles. Society exists only in individuals and individuals realize themselves only in society.

With the collapse of the antinomy child-culture, Rousseau's didactic proposal for delaying maturation has also to be given up. For the process of maturation, in its physiological, psychological, and cultural aspects alike, is a spontaneous process. Yet such spontaneous unfolding can only take place in an environment which is capable of supplying the child with a set of stimuli that are able to call all his innate capabilities into action. Isolation from society, besides resulting in delayed maturation, would cripple mental growth and frustrate the gradual evolution of social adaptations. That the child would attempt to break down such isolation, if it were imposed upon him, is clear from the fact that the play-group elaborates its own type of culture through organized co-operation among its members and successful adaptations to the physical environment.

Finally, the anticipation theory removes the inconsistencies of the current hypotheses of play. Those explanations which identify play with an overflow of energy concentrate upon the aspect that play is a specifically childish quality. This is not denied, but the anticipation theory in addition explains why play expresses differences of age, sex, race, and class. Those hypotheses which see in play a preparatory exercise are based on the fact that the maturation of a peculiar organ is preceded by the exercise of it. Anticipation is indeed a condition of growth. Yet some play seems to hark back and represent tribal activities of the past. Tylor's assumption that certain games are survivals of former serious adult occupations does not suggest the mechanism by which the transmission took place. In fact, so abstruse are the ideas held in this respect that play has been explained as the recapitulation of the hypothetical evolution of the human race in a biogenetic manner. The anticipation theory refers the antiquated features of play to the independent tradition of the play-group. Theories which point to relaxation as the essential quality of play confuse it with adult sport. But when Bosanquet shows that the difference between play and work is not so much one of definition but of the subjective attitude of the individuals concerned, he is confirmed in his analysis by the anticipation theory. For most of the primitive technique of industry and its organization are acquired by the child through make-believe before it is even apprenticed.

Among the factors of educational significance in the play-group, the most significant is that it regulates and controls

childish conduct like the family and that it employs similar mechanisms. It may be asserted that the age-group is more successful than the family in making the individual conform to its standards, for undoubtedly the effectiveness of such educational devices as praise and blame is very strong among contemporaries. Another important conclusion from our observation of Chaga play-activities is that the age-group carries out a kind of practical self-education. This process, in contrast to autodidactic efforts in European society, is an affair involving the co-operation of many individuals, each of whom contributes his share to the general advancement. A third point which can be made is that the juvenile age-group evolves its own social organization and creates its own culture to satisfy its needs. From the practical point of view it is very important to realize that the fundamental sentiment of loyalty to social groups and their leaders, upon which life in all its various organizations depends, are not necessarily formed by teaching and the giving of instruction. They emerge naturally from the free co-operation of children in their anticipatory institutions. Finally, it became apparent in our survey that the juvenile state which youth creates for itself is pervaded by a powerful feeling of solidarity and of hostility towards adults. It was argued that initiation was a typically primitive device to resolve this conflict between the generations. However, not even the extreme measures of the initiatory training succeed in bringing the educational process to an end. The parents attempt to extend their authority over the rising generation through a system of magical and religious beliefs in their controlling power over future generations. The young people, on the other hand, strive to assume control over the concrete manifestations of authority, viz. the management of property, the ownership of a homestead, and the exercise of a profession.

Besides family and age-group, the tribe urges the young Chaga to co-operative efforts. Tribal education grows out of the inadequacies of both the family and play-group as formative agencies. The former requires the support of a powerful authority in critical situations. And the self-made culture of the play-group remains in important respects illusory, as it is a make-believe affair. Tribal education results in deepening the children's sense of loyalty; it increases their knowledge, and multiplies their aptitudes by providing a wider scope for their ambitions. At the

same time, it succeeds in achieving its aims without antagonizing the family and the youthful age-group. During initiation, the tribal authorities unite with the parents to make the measures taken as impressive as possible, and to give them the seal of official recognition. But the juvenile age-group is not cold-shouldered, either. In labour regiments and military organizations the tribal authorities utilize the effervescent energies of adolescence.

The male age-group was at one time looked upon as *the* political organization of primitive people. This view forgets to take account of the political effect of the economic intercourse of women. It also neglects to observe that the rising generation can only be understood by reference to its educational background. Such reference reveals that the independence of the rising age-group is the result of the antagonism between the generations. But this very antagonism makes co-operation between the generations possible, as it differentiates their interests in a complementary manner. Thus the military exploits of the rising generation are not only competitive trials, but important preliminaries to admission to married status, and they are utilized by the tribal elders for furthering their political schemes.

The political organization of society on the principles of sex-exclusiveness and age has, from time to time, been proposed as conducive to an ideal education. Fichte, 120 years ago, at a time of national emergency, suggested that children should be trained in juvenile communities completely cut off from the influence of their corrupted families. Two thousand years before, Plato had cast similar ideas into a great system. It is interesting to note that, in his proposals for the training of the guardians of the State, he uses two principles of selection for the grades of political leadership: seniority and suitability, which is defined according to various criteria. For Plato, as for the Chaga, the task of youth is that of fighting external foes and disciplining the internal enemies of the people. The work appropriate to old age is that of guiding the affairs of State.

Apparently, then, Plato's great discovery that the organization of personality is won by each individual through the gathering of experiences, and that such experiences necessarily differ according to age and cannot be transferred through training, is embodied in the social organization of the Chaga. The educationalist of to-day does well to be reminded thereby that training during the

period of immaturity does not exhaust education, but that it is a process lasting throughout life. Furthermore, in a certain sense, the Chaga system contains a correction of Plato's scheme. For, important though the relationships between contemporaries of the same sex are, the educative effects produced by the inter-relationship between generations and the sexes cannot be neglected if public life is to be healthy.

Among the Chaga, three main educational agencies can thus be distinguished: the family, the age-group and the tribe. Although it might be possible to assign to each of them a particular educational ideal, such as tradition and solidarity to the family, creativeness to the age-group, and the organization of co-operation to the tribe, it is obvious that their educational functions are both interdependent and inevitable. The problem—raised by Krieck, Schurtz, Todd, Webster and others—as to which social organization carries out education on the primitive level is thus answered: No social organization monopolizes education to the exclusion of all others, but every social grouping strives to secure its continuity by enlisting new members from the rising generation and inculcating solidarity upon them.

In conclusion, one word may be said with regard to the question how and where education originated. The problem resolves itself into one of definition. If we mean by education the training of the young that is carried out in special institutions, such as the initiation camp, it may perhaps be possible, by comparing the tribes of a large area, to define a common core, and, by applying the methods of the school of culture history, to outline the hypothetical migrations of this core, and to discover the race to which we owe its creation. This investigation, however interesting it may be, is primarily an historical one, and cannot assist us in visualizing the educational reality in a particular people. To do this, we must define education as a process of interaction between certain types of people, study the effect of this interaction upon their behaviour, and describe the particular qualities which it assumes in a certain race or nation. For such interaction must have been taking place since the emergence of the human family; it is indeed indispensable because the individuals of every filial generation, whatever their race or time, have to undergo a process of physical and cultural maturation, and the parental generation has to adapt itself to this process. Education, viewed from this angle, is not an historical accident,

but an inalienable and fundamental fact of human life. It alone makes possible the continuous biological and cultural regeneration of society.

2. *Practical Corollaries*

A

While the importance and urgency of any practical conclusions that might be derived from a study of indigenous mechanisms of education cannot be denied, it is wiser to draw them only after such study has been carried out with the greatest possible thoroughness; further, in view of the magnitude of such a study, an exhaustive investigation into the practical applications ought to form an independent subject of research. Such research must be based on a realization that primitive education is a system of interaction between traditionally defined types of human beings belonging to a kinship group and its extensions. For extraordinary occasions, this is supplemented by the training on a tribal scale. It contrasts strongly with the one-sided scholastic education which is offered in schools on the European pattern. Primitive education is a natural and continual function of a complex and complete society. Through schools, a foreign element is introduced in an artificial, transitory, and intermittent manner. In the kinship group the standards to be achieved are mutual adaptations, with a view to co-operating for common ends, so it is a type of moral education; in the school the criterion of success depends on individual feats of memory, skill, and intellect in an organization of formal instruction.

It may be argued that this contrast is exaggerated; that the indigenous system of moral education cannot dispense with an inculcation of knowledge, as is exemplified in the initiation lessons; and that the alien school organization is part of a wider process which brings native society into touch with a higher civilization and which involves the elaboration of ideals of co-operation among them.

But when this is conceded, the theoretical difficulties seem to be multiplied rather than reduced. In culture contact, two societies come indeed into touch with each other, but by no means in an all-embracing manner. Co-operation in one sphere (which may take the form of economic exploitation) is accompanied by exclusiveness in others—for instance, in social and political matters. Some such exclusiveness is also known in the primitive

educational relationships, but there is no doubt that the contact between the generations is much closer and permeates all spheres of life. Moreover, unless the questionable analogy of society as a growing and decaying organism is to be employed, native culture cannot be considered as being in any way a necessary preliminary stage of Western civilization. Both cultures are autonomous expressions of the biological needs and historical aspirations of the societies that produced them. Finally, education provides for the biological and cultural replacement of the parental by the filial generation; whereas culture contact should result in satisfactory and lasting co-operation between the two social complexes.[1]

When all is said to contrast culture contact and family training, it still remains possible to look upon acculturation[2] as a derived educational relationship, like that between husband and wife and that between chief and subject, which are modelled upon the primary relationship between father and son. This analogy enables us to take up a definite attitude to the most important problem arising from a discussion of whether the colonial educationist can profit anything from a knowledge of indigenous education. This problem is to discover the sound and healthy elements in native social life,[3] in order to adapt them with a view to co-operation between the two races. Now, such an attempt cannot possibly start with a listing of those details in native culture which seem to answer this criterion. For concerning this selection the greatest divergence of views would be revealed, not only among natives, administrators, missionaries, and anthropologists, but also among the various sections and individuals represented in these groupings.[4]

[1] For a discussion of school, kinship group and culture contact as educational agencies, cf. the author's 'Education of Primitive Races', *Education Outlook* (summer, 1935).

[2] As the culture contact situation is called by American anthropologists. Cf. Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago, 1930), p. 138.

[3] Cf. The White Paper of 1925, 'Education Policy in British Tropical Africa', Command Paper No. 2374, p. 4, in which the educational policy of the British Government is laid down as follows: 'Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations, and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of the social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution.'

[4] Cf. the widely differing views held by three experienced missionaries concerning the value of initiation schools and the possibility of incorporating them into the ritual of the Church: Bishop Lucas, 'The Educational Value of Initiatory Rites', *IRM.* (April, 1927); Millmann, 'The Tribal Initiation Ceremonies of the Lokele', ibid. (July, 1927); and J. Raum, 'Christianity and African Puberty Rites', ibid. (October, 1927).

In defining the value of cultural features, we are dealing with a problem which, like the question of the nature of the Moral Law, cannot, as Kant saw distinctly, be decided by an agreement as to its contents. For all such agreement would have to be based on individual experiences, which are by nature contingent and contradictory. Quite the same dilemma arises, of course, in discussions concerning the aim of education. In a similar manner the question, 'What is a good African?' which puzzled the Portuguese delegate of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, and the equally haunting one, 'What constitutes a good African village?' cannot be satisfactorily answered by an enumeration of qualities or by cumbrous definitions. The only generalization that can be drawn from a study of indigenous education must therefore be concerning the form which the relationship between the two races in contact should take if it is to be educational.

The relationship should be reciprocal in the sense that both societies have to be educated for the process of co-operation. From our knowledge of the educational relationship between parents and children, for instance, we may expect that the control mechanisms of the stronger party are to some extent insufficient, while the weaker side, by a process of anticipatory behaviour, assimilates the more powerful culture independently of formal educational efforts. These two tendencies expose the speciousness of certain patterns of behaviour on the European side and on the African. The limitations of white control lead to attempts at bolstering up prestige, at explaining privileges of circumstance as of divine origin or, more crudely, inalienable, and at developing what has been called 'the double mind in African education',[1] which is satisfied with inculcating certain ideals upon the native without affording opportunities for their realization. On the other hand, the African's presuming above his station may in certain cases be merely imitative and thus a deviation from that genuine function of anticipatory conduct, which is to create a new culture.

With these dangers of the extended educational relationship between Europe and Africa in mind, we shall examine briefly how teaching methods, school organization, and political relations between the two societies might with advantage be fashioned, and how in these three spheres, a knowledge of African childhood and

[1] Cf. Clarke, F., 'The Double Mind in African Education', *Africa*, vol. v, pp. 158–68.

adolescence can be usefully applied. These three spheres roughly correspond, on the one hand, to the three propositions set out in the White Paper of 1925, and they can, on the other hand, be discussed with reference to the three educational agencies in the Africa of to-day—the school, the kinship group, and the political authorities.

B

Questions of teaching method are traditionally defined by reference to two factors: the logical nature of the subject-matter concerned and the psychology of the child. But both factors cannot be described in isolation and without reference to the cultural matrix within which the child's mind works and from which the subject-matter should be derived. The neglect of this factor has led to much confused thinking. For instance, all the efforts spent on elucidating whether the African pupil is educable are futile. It is quite impossible to be certain that in the future the Bantu will have a lower cultural potential than the European because he did not progress in the past. It is unscientific to assert that such isolated factors as malnutrition, social or biological isolation, histological peculiarities of the brain, or even the production of a special colour pigment account for the cultural distance between white and black and make it inevitable. Nor are purely psychological explanations, such as theories of mental retardation or prelogical thought, more convincing.

All these assumptions disregard the fundamental difficulties in the measuring of racial mental traits. The drawing up of scales for measuring individual performances depends on the investigator's group membership, and no objective evaluation seems possible. With this is directly connected the danger of expressing standards of achievement in ethical terms, such as inferior or superior. It also seems difficult to devise a system of sampling whereby individuals truly representative of their groups may be selected. Finally, statistical complications arise from the fact that group averages mean little unless combined with an analysis of the distribution of a certain trait.[1] Until the time when satisfactory racial intelligence tests will have been invented, it seems convenient to assume that mental growth in all races becomes increasingly

[1] Woofter, T. J., 'Difficulties in Measuring Racial Mental Traits', *Social Forces* (March, 1935).

defined, and differentiated in its expression, by the cultural medium.

The African child's mental reactions may therefore be expected to adapt themselves progressively to the culture-contact situation. That this has not been sufficiently realized is apparent from the constant complaint in colonial educational literature that African children are obtuse, that their attention is fickle, and that they altogether lack the power of abstract and scientific thought. Statements like these ignore two facts: first, all processes of reflection depend on behaviour; no scientific thought can therefore be expected from Africans until such changes have been wrought in their culture as will force them to argue and generalize like a white man. Secondly, mental acuity is not an abstract faculty; it expresses itself with reference to biological and social necessities. What is really wrong with the absent-minded schoolboy is that he is preoccupied with problems which the conventional school tries to exclude from his thoughts. The teacher who is annoyed that his pupils find the learning of tables boring has a different response if he derives the principles of arithmetical grouping from tribal activities in which the children are interested.

Ignorance concerning, or incapacity for making use of, environmental data is at present the most glaring mistake of teaching method in Africa. In the following paragraphs are outlined the methods tried out by the author in teaching arithmetic. By traditional consent, it is most difficult to make this subject appeal to natives.[1]

These methods centre round the following three principles: African traditional behaviour exemplifies in the concrete the generalizations concerning the nature of number advanced by mathematical philosophers. Adult and juvenile activities with a numerical bearing are the most suitable media for teaching the child to handle the system of numbers and to carry out operations in it. The more advanced arithmetical processes must be developed from the numerical problems of culture contact, if generalizations and abstractions are to be acquired as lasting instruments of thought.

[1] A more detailed treatment is contained in *Arithmetic in Africa* by O. F. Raum, with the collaboration of J. A. Lauwerys (London, 1938). A Swahili arithmetic method for teachers of sub-standards, written by the author, was published under the title, *Hesabuni Kwa Furaha* (Vuga, T.T., 1935). Cf. also an article by the author in *O.Ed.* (July, 1935), pp. 166–70, 'The African's Gift for Mathematics'.

With regard to the first proposition, it can be shown by an examination of Bantu linguistic and manual symbols of number that they are based upon certain fundamental mathematical concepts. These symbols show great uniformity with regard to the first five units, and the symbol used for 'five' is unique in that it stands for the whole group of similar preceding tokens. The recognition that collections of similar objects are required for counting is fundamental to the development of number concepts. For all counting involves the grouping of objects in classes.

The use of a word for hand, or a gesture implying hand to denote five, illustrates the fact that counting proceeds with definite pauses at rhythmical intervals. The idea of rhythm is closely connected with another fundamental concept of mathematics, that of *order*. Convention has tied us down to a decimal order of numbers. In the economic life of African peoples, other principles of grouping are found to be more convenient. Exercises making use of the possibility of re-grouping the number series are of great importance for the development of arithmetical ability. For the processes of arithmetic are the same whatever the distance between units of consecutive positional value.

Finally, the Bantu words and gestures for the numbers from six to nine are formed according to one or two principles. Either they are formed by quinary addition, i.e. by the addition of units to the fundamental measure five, or they are expressed by adding approximately equal terms. The quinary-addition symbols express the fact that larger numbers may be looked upon as repetitions of the measure group, i.e. five, and that any number can be defined by its relationship to it and its multiples. The adding together of approximately equal terms is based on the operations of doubling or pairing and halving. With odd numbers, the pairs are made as nearly equal as possible. Moreover, the operations of complementing, and of subtracting from, a measure group may be expressed in linguistic or manual symbols of number. From the standpoint of teaching method, it is, of course, important to realize that operative processes are embodied in indigenous symbols.

This leads on to the second proposition that adult and juvenile activities with a numerical bearing are the most suitable media for teaching the African pupil to handle the system of numbers and

to carry out operations in it. For example, the learning of the number system is facilitated by exercises in laying out and reading off numerical amounts represented by palpable symbols first, and replaced later by graphic symbols. African child life offers many suitable examples of palpable symbols. Chaga boys use the round, yellow fruit of a species of Solanum to represent cattle. The exercises suggested consist of stories of purchases, raids, attacks of wild animals, &c., into which numerical alterations can easily be introduced. The teacher may lay out the numbers concerned, so that the pupils have the pattern of the counters vividly before them. Simultaneously, the pupils themselves learn to group counters quickly in such a manner that the reading of the patterns is done, not by counting unit by unit, but by surveying convenient decimal or subsidiary groupings.

From such exercises, it is easy to advance to others in which graphic, i.e. pictorial, symbols are used. They are gradually made more abstract and finally become merely lines, rings, &c., representing a great variety of objects. As a result of such exercises, children no longer look upon numbers as necessarily associated with concrete objects. They are enabled to form generalized psychic representations of numbers, which are of fundamental importance in more advanced arithmetical thinking. Africans have many elaborate games in which use is made of such mental representations of numbers.[1] Astonishing as many of these games are, it is even more surprising that younger children are deliberately trained in them by their elder playmates. Among the Chaga, small children are sometimes made to count ten objects arranged behind their back. For nine objects, they must answer each time, 'It is not', but for the tenth, 'It is'. Among the Pare, who live to the south of Mt. Kilimanjaro, a similar game with as many as forty counters is played. One child counts mentally, while others point to the counters. When the number 40 is reached, the player must shout, '*Mzungu*' (i.e., European meaning: end, plenty, top). Such customs can be made use of to enliven the teaching of arithmetic.

The applicability of the second proposition to arithmetical operations may be illustrated by activities in which a multiplicative grouping of objects occurs. For instance, when introducing the two-times table, the following custom can be used. The Chaga

[1] Cf. the game *tarumbeta*, described in Part IV, last section.

believe that a sheep can be influenced to bear first two male lambs in succession and then two female ones. The children know of this belief, and are quite eager to set out a symbolic series of future lambs. While this is being done, it is well to pair off the tokens in different colours and to count them in twos. For fours, the widely known custom of tying maize cobs together for storing may be used. For eights, as well as for threes and sixes, the tribal ways of sowing seeds may be utilized. In this manner it is possible to derive the tables from activities which the class first performs in the concrete, later with palpable and graphic symbols, and finally by visualizing them. The process of mechanization thus becomes one of great interest and loses the dreariness of drill.

The third proposition—namely, that the more advanced arithmetical processes must be developed from the numerical problems of culture contact—must also be treated cursorily. The African of to-day is faced with a variety of problems of an arithmetical nature. They are the outcome of two influences. First, the old economic system, with its bride-price, gift exchanges, barter methods, and non-monetary standards of value, continues. Upon this ancient system strike our economic forces, with their wage-labour, domestic and public budgets, and fluctuating prices for products and commodities.

Many of the indigenous activities, though not directly usable on account of their arithmetical indefiniteness, may yet serve as analogies of mathematical problems—that is, they can help to illustrate the principles underlying certain operations. For instance, in trying to make Chaga pupils understand the fundamentals of principal and interest, the author discussed with them the agistment system. In order to prevent complete loss in case of fire or theft, the farmer distributes his live stock among his friends. By developing this idea of securing themselves against loss, we can explain the working of an insurance company. Another interesting feature is the fixed ratio used in the sharing of the progeny of the animals. The owner receives, according to Chaga law, every first and second calf, the herdsman every third. In this widespread custom, and in the time element connected with it, we have the analogues of 'principal', 'interest', and proportional division. The fact also that in many tribes the number of cattle is not divulged might, in places where cattle

distribution obtains, be paralleled with the secrecy of a banking account.

But the ultimate success of our arithmetical training depends upon how we succeed in linking it up with the life and death problems of the native peoples at the present day. We prepare for work of this wide scope by making the smaller children discover numerical relations in their own environment. They should be guided to find natural groupings in their cultural activities, to collect number stories and operation stories and to enter in a number book prices of commodities, measures, and other items of arithmetical significance. From such simple facts as these the advance is made in secondary schools to subjects of more absorbing interest, which may be described as statistical arithmetic.

In citizenship, before we investigate facts such as taxation, revenue, public expenditure, investment, and wages, we try to tackle such ticklish problems as: Does polygamy pay? This leads us to questions of private budgets. In hygiene, the following problems would give opportunities both for developing a scientific method of collecting material and for expressing and comparing it arithmetically: How many children per 1,000 people are born every year in the tribe? How does the size of a polygamous compare with that of a monogamous family? What are the data of infant mortality? What measures can be used to reduce the death-rate? What is the relation of birth-rate to death-rate? The investigation becomes more stimulating when comparative material is known. For this purpose, not only should the material collected by district schools be interchanged, but the central school of the area should work up the partial results, compare them with European material, and circulate its findings to the district schools. Graphs with a few symbolic indications, for instance, of causes of excessive infant mortality would be most helpful in driving the results of the lessons home.

It is obvious that the arithmetical interpretation of native civilization cannot be carried out by itself. It has to develop out of a general scientific approach. For many of the numerical data which our class is to collect and work upon can only be obtained after an analysis of the sociological situation or else the physical conditions of the phenomena concerned. It is believed by most educationalists that 'proper scientific education will help considerably in destroying the prevalence of magic and witchcraft

among the natives'.[1] To test this assumption, it is necessary to examine whether science and magic are interchangeable cultural entities and what is meant by a scientific education.

It has become apparent in our investigation that magic is far more than a fallacious way of thinking. It is a system of control of man and Nature. The pregnancy rites, for instance, imply that the personal relations between the members of the kinship group affect the welfare of the foetus. This is not a conscious belief; it is a principle underlying the conduct of the persons concerned, and does not exclude the employment of practical measures of infant care. In other affairs of life, such as agriculture, the appeal to magic similarly coexists with the application of traditional knowledge and acquired skill. The special function of magical rites is to act as controls of unforeseen dangers and the element of chance. Now, science is in an analogous manner a method of controlling natural forces. For the majority of us, it is a convenient way of behaving or using devices which in many spheres of life have shown their efficiency. Only to a few of us is science, in addition, a way of thinking, a method of planning action, a system of thought. But in this abstract sphere unanimity is much less evident. Theories, hypotheses, and schools of thought sometimes stand in irreconcilable opposition. It is not for this reason alone, but also on account of the limitations of human behaviour and thought, that the problems of chance and of mutual moral responsibility lie outside the pale of science. Hence the continued need for religion—and mascots!

If science and magic are contrasted ways of behaviour, it becomes clear that the fight against magic must be fought on a much wider front than the schoolroom. The battle line extends far beyond what can be said to fall within school education, and comprises the political relations between white and black and the occupational and religious guidance of the natives. From all these sides must take place a continuous and concerted elimination of the elements of chance and danger in native life, so that its morality may be secured on non-magical foundations.[2]

Another inference that can be drawn is that scientific modes of behaviour should be taught with reference to the everyday

[1] Huxley, Julian, 'A Biological Approach to Education in East Africa', *O.Ed.* (October, 1930), p. 9.

[2] This aspect of the derived educational relationship between white and black has been dealt with in an article by the author: 'Magic and a Christian Policy', *IRM.* (1935), pp. 358–65.

activities of the peoples concerned. Since for the greater part of the African continent these activities are agricultural, and, on the other hand, the most urgent need for a change from magical to scientific behaviour exists in the sphere of hygiene (including its sexual and reproductive aspects), the curriculum should stress the biological side of science.[1] In addition, as magic is believed to influence certain human relationships more than others—for instance, that between a child and his grandfather—sociological studies, such as anthropology, should be taught.

In biology, as in arithmetic, the three propositions hold that African traditional behaviour exemplifies fundamental principles, that tribal activities are the most suitable starting-points, and that the more advanced knowledge is best obtained through working out pressing practical problems of the present day. It is true that, with regard to the first principle, the evidence is often by contrast—that is, native disregard for biological laws shows disastrous effects. On the other hand, the fact that seed selection, rotation of crops, the regulation of breeding through castration, and the prevention of promiscuity in marriage through incest and exogamy rules are known illustrates the proposition positively. To illustrate the application of the second proposition, it may be pointed out that a teacher who does not scorn to examine tribal agricultural activities will find that they are dependent on meteorological and geological conditions.[2] From the admittedly vague notions connected with them, he could derive a more systematic exposition of the causal factors involved, and expose the contradictions inherent in non-reflective behaviour through experiments in the school garden.

The most interesting part of biological training in Africa is the working out of pressing practical problems. As this is of more than scholastic importance it has received attention from social reformers. An American missionary, for example, describes the

[1] Herbert Spencer's complaint that our schools use a curriculum for celibates (cf. *Education: What Knowledge is of Most Worth?*) is acutely felt also in Africa. In a society, where all behaviour, religious as well as economic, centres round procreation, this problem must be dealt with in a scientific manner. Here, too, the primitive idea of the magical responsibility of the kinship group for the child should not be denied but clarified—for example, with reference to heredity and the influence of alcohol on the offspring.

[2] Professor Malinowski has pointed out that the calendar of the Trobriands is determined by meteorological, seasonal, and social indices (s ch as festivities). This holds true for all primitive peoples. For geological indices, cf. Part IV, Sect. 3.

following community programme.[1] Two married couples intensively trained, the one in agriculture, the other in hygiene, are placed in a backward community to introduce by their example improved scientific methods. The standard reached by these leaders is not so high that imitation would be made difficult. Besides setting a practical example, they spend some of their time in the school. Here they follow the project method by discussing in turn certain central ideas round which all the subjects of the term are grouped. For instance, in the Home and Social Life project, the following subjects are dealt with: the making of a drum, social dress, adequate housing, fun, farmer's food, beautifying the home surroundings, responsibility for sick strangers, &c.

Without doubt, some such plan will have to be adopted for the teaching of biological subjects in connexion with the practical work in the school garden, school farm, the sick-room, and school sanitation. But it requires a type of teacher that is capable of gathering round a central theme enough material to make its treatment worth while and of sufficient breadth and depth to be of service to the pupils. Smaller projects are of greater use in the average school than all-embracing monster themes. And the right approach would be to let the pupils solve practical problems without giving them a recipe, and without putting them through 'exercises in pure observation and description' previously.[2] In preliminary experiments or investigations, pupils should be allowed to follow different plans. The faulty methods would be eliminated as they reveal themselves as failures. In subsequent thought experiments dealing with similar situations, such experience should gradually be crystallized into a safe method.

The ideal African school is thus one which teaches tribal subjects, in the sense that all culture contact problems are reflected in the syllabus. European subjects enter naturally into the sociological studies. They should not take the form of systematic treatises on citizenship or courses on phases of the history of

[1] Helser, A. D., *Education of Primitive Peoples* (1934).

[2] An interesting list of problems is contained in Field, M. J., 'Science in African Secondary Education', *O.Ed.* (October, 1937), p. 7. Dr. Field, however, believes that it is possible to teach science by drilling the pupils to think out and write out simple experiments, under four heads: formulation of aim, experiment, observation, and conclusion. What is actually done in this respect is linguistic, not scientific, training, as becomes abundantly clear from the examples he gives. A plea for linking science courses as closely as possible with ordinary activities of the people is also contained in an article by Lauwerys, J. A., 'The Teaching of General Science', *O.Ed.* (July, 1937).

England. Rather they should be treated as projects dealing with typical representatives of white infiltration. For instance, pupils would come to understand the historical background of the rival missions working among the Chaga and the motives which activate missionaries by comparing and contrasting their methods, organization, attitudes towards native customs, nationality of the personnel, and so on. Or, to choose another example, there are small settlers, managers of large plantations, and well-to-do individuals who seem to farm for pleasure. They use different methods and plant different crops; their labour policy is not uniform, nor are their relations with missionaries clear cut. Such a project would reveal much regarding European economic tendencies and organizations.

Culture contact not only provides us with an interesting variety of projects, but creates tendencies which may guide us in planning our methods. For instance, most natives somehow acquire a smattering of English. The anticipatory tendency is sufficient to bridge the gap between native and European behaviour, for the swarthy tribesmen pick up their linguistic knowledge without having direct intercourse with the white world. Moreover, the function of their jargon is not to facilitate communication with the whites.[1] Rather it serves as a legitimation for exercising authority in native society. No wonder, then, that one of the great difficulties of teaching English to Africans is their almost inveterate tendency to faulty diction and pronunciation. It can only be combated if the nature of this type of anticipatory speech is examined and the drive behind it satisfied. The case is not entirely met by teaching natives English with a reduced vocabulary. Such a vocabulary may be arrived at by simple word counts (West), or by a study of word values which not only takes account of the frequency, but of the range of words (Faucett), and by logical reduction (Basic: Ogden). Although of value for the receptive purposes of language learning, that is reading, these methods are less satisfactory in training pupils to use speech as a means of expression and control.

School life would be dull without art. In tribal life singing and dancing are universal, while wood-carving and the fashioning of

[1] In many parts of the world such lingoes have become recognized means of communication: *bêche-la-mar* in Polynesia, pidgin English in China, and French jargons in the Congo and Mauritius. Cf. Jespersen, O., *Language* (1922), chap. xii.

metals, clay, and fibres are almost everywhere limited to certain families or clans. This distinction is far-reaching. For whereas the ordinary school seems a suitable place for the revival of the muses, this is not the case with the crafts.[1] It has been doubted whether primitive music can survive because, on account of its penta-tonic character, its intervals clash with the tempered scale. But the latter is a comparatively recent invention, and vocal music, the stringed instruments, the gramophone, and wireless are not bound to follow slavishly the piano. Modern technical devices can preserve records of indigenous music, and there is a definite possibility of utilizing the airs and the rhythmical cadences of African song in church and school. Some missions have successfully introduced them into their liturgy, replacing the original words by simple Christian texts. There is no reason why similar attempts should not be successful with a secular aim.

C

If local adaptations are to be carried out effectively, and an equal standard of scholastic and practical achievement is to be attained, a certain decentralization of the school system seems necessary. The Tanganyika Education Ordinance of 1927 envisaged the establishment of Provincial Committees with the duty of advising the Director of Education on all matters pertaining to African education in the provinces. Regional syllabuses are obviously desirable for village and secondary schools. In Tanganyika at least four natural regions can be distinguished: the coast, with its hinterland, the mountain ranges bordering the central plateaux and such isolated mountains as Kilimanjaro, the central plateaux, and the countries bordering on the central African lakes.[2] That the training must be adapted to the environment

[1] While the school is in a position to keep alive the style of African ornamentation in drawing lessons, the preservation of indigenous crafts largely depends on economic arrangements which would secure a steady demand for the goods produced. The slowness of native methods of work makes it necessary to replace them by modern techniques. What can be done in this direction has been shown by the French in West Africa. After an investigation into the methods used in indigenous crafts, they trained leading craftsmen in improved techniques, and made them open their workshops near market places to act as centres of dissemination.

[2] For a general discussion of the principle of environmental adaptation of the syllabus, cf. memorandum on 'Consideration for the Tribe as Lacking in the Syllabus', in the *Proceedings of the (Tanganyika) Advisory Committee for African Education* (November, 1929). The memorandum was presented to the Committee by the Rev. J. Raum.

can be demonstrated from the facts that the tribes living near the coast intensively cultivate the cocoa palm, which is not known elsewhere; that, as regards introduced crops, they plant cotton, while in other districts the staple crop is ground-nuts and coffee; that their history has been shaped by the Arab occupation, and their culture and speech by Mohammedanism, influences which have remained negligible in the interior.

To secure in the provincial syllabuses emphasis on such cultural peculiarities, each Provincial Committee should have an educationist appointed whose task would be to select suitable material for use in the various types of schools, and to adapt it to the changes wrought in the culture-contact situation by the building of a motor road, or the discovery of gold, or some other miraculous change of which his province is the scene. Such an official would also have the task of collecting much of the statistical material mentioned in connexion with the methods in arithmetic, and of arranging its distribution. His anthropological training would make him capable of advising the Director of Education on the nature and the placing of the special craft centres for adolescents who have already acquired a good general education. Thus, among the Chaga, three craft centres might be established; one in the west, where pottery-making is indigenous; one in the east, where one or two districts are populated with smiths; and one for training in dairy method and animal husbandry among the semi-nomadic tribesmen of the north-east.[1] This proposal does not, of course, affect the manual training in agriculture, hygiene, and carpentry, which should be compulsory in the ordinary schools.

Such a policy of regionalization would make it necessary for the official concerned to co-operate closely with leading Africans. It is indeed impossible to imagine a tribal school not controlled by the tribe. It has been stated explicitly in at least one of the reports of an East African Education Department that the older generation must be sacrificed for the sake of the younger. This is a mistake analogous to that made by African parents when schools were first opened in their country, and they used to ask the missionaries to pay them for lending their children.

It is obviously difficult to organize adult education in Africa.

[1] The principle that educational institutions should follow educational opportunities is exemplified elsewhere in Africa, e.g. in the cattle-post schools of Bechuanaland.

The quickest way of letting parents share in the benefits of the training received by their children is to allow them to take an active interest in it. Each district should have a board of African school wardens, representing the parents, the indigenous political authorities, and possibly the religious communities interested in education. Reactionary influences might be kept at bay by making it a condition that all board members must have children of school age. One or two teachers would act as co-opted members to advise on purely technical matters. The task of such a board would be to spread vernacular education. They would erect schools in the native style, select the teachers from a panel submitted by Government, control the efficiency of the teaching by visits to the classes, and maintain contact with the school by being responsible for the upkeep of the buildings and for the salaries with the assistance of the grant-in-aid.[1] Among the Chaga, where such a system has been developed by the Lutheran Mission, the school wardens also deal with extreme cases of misdemeanour, and check disciplinary excesses on the part of the teachers.

There is no reason why a similar governing body should not be established for the secondary schools. As they serve larger areas, the school boards would represent whole tribes and directly co-operate with European educationists. In certain cases the boards would advise on the nature of the syllabus to be adopted. For instance, when the Lutheran Mission opened a Girls' School at Moshi, the school board concerned insisted on the inclusion of animal husbandry and provided the necessary cows. Such a board would utilize the parents' educational experience and their inalienable interest in their children, and, in addition, it would provide a new type of joint committee so necessary for dispelling suspicion between the two races, and would assist in the training of African leaders.[2]

[1] Cf. Stowell, E., 'The Development of Local Enterprise in Malay Education', *O.Ed.* (October, 1937), ix, pp. 12 *seq.*

[2] The Prince of Wales College, Achimota, is governed as regards policy and finance by the Board of Governors, the majority of whom are non-Government Africans. Cf. Mumford, W. B., 'Some Growing Points in African Higher Education', *The Year Book of Education* (1936), p. 754. In a similar manner, the Native Administration Schools of Tanganyika Territory, whose aim is to produce educated native leaders and rulers, are maintained from native administration funds, and controlled by Africans, and the school courts are attended by tribal elders. Cf. Rivers-Smith, S., 'Education in Tanganyika Territory', *Educational Year Book of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University* (1931), pp. 190 *seq.* Surely there is justification for extending this principle to primary and secondary education.

The success of the tribal school depends on the teacher. The principle of regionalization applies also in the training of teachers. Whereas in culturally and economically advanced areas, like the Kilimanjaro, the teacher represents only one of the many agencies working for the improvement of the living conditions of the community, in backward areas the whole burden of raising the standard of life of a village may fall on the teacher and his wife. For he is not helped by agricultural demonstrators, health inspectors, midwives, well-informed native authorities, or parents, all of whom are enlightened, through co-operation with village committees and school boards, regarding the essentials and possibilities of education. The teacher suitable for work in backward districts should receive an all-round training, such as is provided by the Jeanes teacher training centres, and should be carefully selected from a leading family of the area where he is expected to work. Even then he must be kept conversant with cultural advances by travelling demonstrators of improved methods of teaching, agriculture, and hygiene. But obviously such a Jack-of-all-trades will gradually be replaced by the specialists who are trained by the various Government departments interested in native development. Even the co-ordination of these services through a central Native Department, as exists in some African dependencies, must be a makeshift, for the tendency is towards specialization, and the task of co-ordination is one of general policy.

It has been driven home to educationists in Africa that educational policy is part of a general social policy, that there is not only a 'necessity of relating the education of the young to the general advance of the community as a whole',[1] but a definite need for considering the process of co-operation between the two cultures as a type of education. There is a certain danger that the implications of this fact may not be fully thought out. Whereas

[1] 'Memorandum on the Education of African Communities', Colonial No. 103, p. 6. The difficulties in 'educating' backward *communities* are vividly illustrated by the fact that, since this memorandum appeared in print (1935), two further memoranda have been prepared by a sub-committee of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, viz. 'Memorandum on the Importance of Programmes covering all Social and Economic Activities', and 'Memorandum on some Factors in Community Education in Rural Areas'. The problems involved agitate not only educationists, but also anthropologists, cf. Malinowski, B., 'Native Education and Culture Contact', *IRM.* (October 1936), pp. 480–515, and missionaries. Cf. Oldham, J. H., and Gibson, B. D., *The Re-making of Man in Africa* (London, 1931).

in the past colonial education was rightly blamed for its literary bias, the present tendency seems to be to believe that school education can fashion the social and cultural future of the African tribes. But this is a matter of general policy, to which education must be subservient. However, what the educationist can do is to point out that it would be a mistake for colonial administrators to disregard the educational implications of culture contact. What he cannot do is to dictate what the African of the future should be like, for that will be the outcome partly of the kind of co-operation effected between the two races, and partly of the African's gifts and efforts, factors over which the educationist has no control.

While the school cannot thus direct the process of acculturation, it can in its own sphere make the co-operation between white and black as intensive, inspired, and considerate as possible. One of the pioneer efforts in this direction was Dr. Mumford's experiment at Malangali.[1] Its aim was twofold: to preserve the tribal genius of the Africans and to evolve native custom in a natural manner. To fulfil the first proposition, Dr. Mumford carried out a preliminary study of the people concerned. He appointed a board of resident elders whose function was not only to advise in the drawing up of the curriculum, but to teach traditional subjects —history and civics—and to assist in the collecting of native songs and myths for dramatization round the fireside. The pupils drafted to the school were chosen by the chief from the appropriate age-group. The second aim implied the preparation of the pupils for contact with the European world without spoiling them for their own. For this reason Malangali was made into a farm school in which improved native methods were used in cultivating subsistence and economic crops. In this self-contained world, the tools employed were such that they were easily assimilable in the tribe, and the methods were not so advanced that they were likely to be ignored outside the school.

Any one who has a knowledge of indigenous educational institutions among the Chaga may doubt whether the elders chosen for this experiment were really tribal teachers, and fit to pass on their tradition. Apparently the fact was not taken into

[1] Cf. Mumford, W. B., 'Malangali School', *Africa* (January, 1929), and 'Education and the Social Adjustment of the Primitive Peoples of Africa to European Culture', *Africa* (April, 1930).

account that Bantu historical records never centre round national ideals, but round the rival viewpoints of clans and kinship groupings. Considering, however, the times and circumstances in which Malangali was founded, we may say that it will for ever remain the first among the unfortunately few attempts at putting the high principles of the White Paper of 1925 into practice.

A more recent enterprise deserves notice because it aims at utilizing the tribal age-group for school life. A few years ago, Sobuza, the Paramount Chief of the Swazi, proposed the introduction into all native schools of a modified form of the *libutvo*, the indigenous institution through which Swazi youths had been trained for war and labour service. In its new form the institution was to aim at the unification of the tribe by counteracting centrifugal tendencies (such as sectarianism), at self-control by checking immorality, and at national discipline by preparing for communal and tribal services. On account of the opposition of the missionary societies, the *libutvo* was established only at Matapa, the Swazi National School. It was organized into four groups competing in games, co-operating in communal labour, and dealing with certain branches of discipline.[1]

The tribal age-group trained under the aegis of the chief is an educational institution of great force, but its effect depends upon the nature of his authority, which to-day is no longer ultimate, and which is definitely challenged in the religious sphere. It can only be utilized if two principles are adopted: first, that national educational activities, if tolerant as regards religion, should be allowed to compete with the educational efforts of missions, and, secondly, that the African is to enter into co-operation with the white world, not only as an individual, but as a member of an indigenous social or political unit.

Some considerations on these lines must have guided the Bishop of Masasi when making his well-known attempt at fitting the Yao initiation into the ritual of the Church.[2] He argued that the abrogation of initiation might lead to secret defiance destructive of character, especially where it was linked with circumcision. He therefore proceeded to purge the native rite of its evil parts and re-interpreted the rest from a Christian point of view. A cross

[1] Cf. Beemer, H., 'The Development of the Military Organization in Swaziland', *Africa* (1937), pp. 195–203.

[2] Lucas, W. V., 'The Christian Approach to Non-Christian Customs', in *Essays Catholic and Missionary* (ed. E. R. Morgan).

took the place of the phallic tree, the saints were invoked instead of tribal heroes, and expurgated dances preceded Holy Mass and public circumcision. During a period of seclusion, the teaching in duties of manliness was given by Christian teachers. It led up to confession, the shaving of the heads, the donning of new clothes, the burning of the old staffs, the censing of each individual as a potential bridegroom in a mass of thanksgiving, and the restoration of the boys to their waiting mothers at the door of the church. A similar transformation was made with regard to female initiation, in which case the teaching concerning marriage and motherhood was under the guidance of women missionaries.

Quite obviously there is justification for purging initiation. There is less unanimity with regard to the Christian interpretation of tribal symbols: it is a matter of taste. Everything turns upon the question: What are the typical native institutions that can be perpetuated? Are they the developmental rites with their sometimes obscene or cruel details, or are they not rather those sociological relationships, often considered intangible, which mutually facilitate conduct? It is impossible to arrive at a common ethical denominator with regard to the rites. On the other hand, the social relationships are both more natural and more permanent than the rites. Their persistence throughout life, their adaptibility to the changes of human growth and decay, the possibility of looking at them from a formal point of view, and, finally, the necessity arising in them of continuously working out ideals of co-operation makes them *the* native institutions which can be successfully adapted.[1]

Now, this is precisely the point at which Dr. Gutmann's proposals for activating native institutions have been aiming.[2] He believes that the Kingdom of God must be realized in the social relationships existing between men: Conscience, according to him, cannot be understood without the educational effect of these

[1] Cf. what Dr. Oldham has to say: 'Social forms have got to change. But whatever changes may take place, men will still have fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, children, blood relations, neighbours, companions of the same age, and fellow workers, and whatever changes may come, the vital thing is that the sense of mutual obligation and responsibility which is found in existing relations should be conserved and express itself in new conditions.' From 'Dr. Siegfried Knak on the Christian Task in Africa', *IRM.*, xx, pp. 551 *seq.* Quoted from *Educational Year Book of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University* (1933), p. 159.

[2] Gutmann's theoretical works are difficult to read. For a simplified view of his methods, cf. 'The Church and African Society', by the author, forming the first of two critical studies published in *IRM.* (October, 1937), pp. 500 *seq.* In it the educational implications of his proposals are described.

social relationships upon the individual. He saw in Christian sponsorship an office which had much in common with that of the Chaga *mngari*. Hence he gave sponsors authority to exercise a supervisory function in all matters concerning the Christian conduct and discipline of their wards, and vitalized the relationship through church ceremonies uniting both sponsor and ward at rhythmical intervals. Sponsorship is based on kinship, but there are other principles upon which human relationships are established. Hence he ritualized neighbourhood, age-group, and eldership in a similar manner, building up a congregation whose members were bound to each other by a network of ceremonially elaborated relationships.

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It is quite certain, then, that the policy of the White Paper of 1925 cannot imply the revival of native customs or an artificial prolongation of their life. It can only mean that certain fundamental relationships of native society should be given new tasks in order to adjust them to the white impact, and that they should function as channels of contact between Europeans and Africans. For this reason, it is necessary to interest parents in the education of their children and to enable them to share in it. For the same reason, the indigenous forms of adolescent comradeship has to be built into present-day school and Church activities. In a similar manner the relations between subject and chief must be gradually weaned from their past traditional intricacies and, without being ruptured, woven into the texture of the colonial system. This is not only the most important of the administrative problems of to-day; it is also the one whose educational character is most easily lost sight of.[1]

The political situation in Africa is distinguished by the urgency of the question to whom the representation of native interests is to be entrusted. In the early periods of colonization, this task was undertaken by the district officer and more recently by missionaries. Nowadays the choice lies between chief and educated natives. To make the latter voice the opinions of their fellow tribesmen is less satisfactory than to have the chief do it, because

[1] The literature of indirect rule is large. Some of it has been used in an article by the author, 'Indirect Rule as a Political Education', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehung* (*International Education Review*) (1936), vol. v, pp. 97–107.

he stands in much closer touch with the requirements of all sections of the tribe. Moreover, chiefs are not irresponsible individuals, but are part of the indigenous system of political relationships which comprises, not only the living members of the community, but also the dead ancestors, from whom the chief derives his authority. Moreover, he is held in check by two constitutional factors: the system of diffusion of power and the reciprocity of privileges and obligations. The former defines his sphere of influence with reference to subsidiary indigenous authorities, such as the headmen; the latter characterizes his connexion with the individual subjects.

There cannot be the least doubt that this tribal complex is still functioning to-day and that its incorporation into the structure of the European power is the most interesting enterprise in colonial politics. Whereas French policy is to absorb individual natives into the extended political system of France, and to leave the mass of the population politically unorganized, the British incline to the principle of indirect rule. It has three aspects: First, native political institutions are given statutory recognition. Secondly, the tribal character of the institutions is preserved—that is, there is no indication that native administration may be extended to inter-tribal affairs. Thirdly, the inherent possibilities of the native system are unfolded by the development of specializing subdivisions. For instance, the administration of civil law and part of the criminal law is entrusted to tribal courts, and native treasuries have been formed which finance minor 'public works' and tribal educational activities. The executive is formed by the chief-in-council and a host of minor posts are created for the new services.

The educational effect of indirect rule consists thus in engaging the traditional native agencies in activities through which they become habituated to the new order. These processes exercise formative tendencies in three respects. First, they preserve the historic political organizations. They thus submit turbulent elements to a disciplinary restraint that emanates from their own traditions, while allowing old natives to continue their allegiance to the established authorities on the basis of their magical beliefs. Secondly, the personnel of the old relationships is increasingly replaced by energetic and youthful persons who have the power of adaptation or the training to tackle the new tasks successfully.

The machinery of native administration, together with the many services organized—such as co-operative societies, peoples' banks, agricultural demonstrations, and sanitary inspections—absorb an increasing proportion of 'educated' natives. Finally, this modernization of the communal activities of the tribe makes possible its incorporation into the complex structure of the dependency, and gives it significance as an efficient unit of the colonial Empire.

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Printed in Great Britain by
The Camelot Press Limited, London and Southampton