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HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY

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HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY

An Introduction to Societal Evolution and Culture

By

VERNON BRELSFORD, F.R.A.I.

THE SCIENTIFIC BOOK CLUB
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PREFACE

THIS book consists, for the most part, of a selection from a series of lectures on Anthropology and Sociology which have been given to members of Adult and Tutorial Classes, H. M. Forces and other educational organisations. They have all, however, been considerably revised for publication, so as to embody, as much as possible, the latest researches on the subjects dealt with. In addition to personal archæological and museum work, the authors and works referred to in the text have been used solely for the basis of what is fundamental and distinctive on each subject, only so much being selected as considered necessary within the limits of an introductory text-book, for the general reader and home student.

In a work of so wide a range and which needs authoritative treatment, it will be evident that my indebtedness to others is very great. Thanks are due, especially to certain Oxford tutors and friends who have given me valuable assistance on the subjects in which they are specialists. I withhold their names, as they must not be held responsible for any transgressions of mine against current orthodoxy which may be recorded in this book.

My obligations to other writers and their publishers are, I hope, adequately acknowledged by including their works in the bibliography.

VERNON BRELSFORD.

BRIMINGTON,
October 15th, 1942.

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ERRATA.

Page	61	Line 17	for '*d*ead' read 'head.'
,,	90	,, 11	delete '*o*' in basileous.'
,,	104.	,, 30	delete '*e*' in 'further*e*'
,,	106.	,, 19	for 'ad*a*ntage' read 'advantage.'
,,	121.	,, 15	for 'crakling' read 'crackling'
,,	124.	,, 13	for 'impor*a*tnt' read 'important.'
,,	217.	,, 19	for 'Tap*e*ing' read 'Taping.'
,,	239.	,, 9 and 15	for 'sacr*e*' read 'sacer.'
,,	269.	,, 21	for 'S*he*bak' read 'Sebek.'
,,	304.	Bottom line	delete '*B.C.*' after 37.
,,	306.	Line 28	for '*95* B.C.' read '59 B.C.'
,,	306.	,, 31	delete '*A.D.*' before 43

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Page 314, chapter v, for 'Farnell, L. R.,' read 'Fowler, W. W.'

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INTRODUCTION

SOCIOLOGY arose out of philosophy. The germ is to be found expressed in the writings of the old thinkers, such as Plato and Aristotle, and may be also traced in the works of Aquinas, Hobbes, Locke, Vico, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hegel, Bentham, Burke and others, although Sociology as a science is a product of the nineteenth century, the word 'Sociology' being first used by Comte to designate what he called 'Social Physics' or the 'Science of Society.'

The fact that Comte made the study of society a part of physics, has had a marked effect on later sociological writers. Buckle, for instance, over-emphasised the naturalistic interpretation of social differences, by endeavouring to show in his 'History of Civilisation' how Climate, Food, Soil and the general aspect of nature were the dominant influences in early societies, which determined their numbers, mode of life and economic conditions, omitting to recognise the influence of culture, contact, mentality and race.

The evolutionary basis of Sociology found its fullest exponent in Herbert Spencer, who regarded social development as a super-organic evolution. All attempts, however, to subject Sociology wholly to physical laws have proved inadequate. Man is something more than a physical body. He is a conscious and moral being. Personality—with all our modern knowledge of psychology—cannot be thoroughly dissected by scientific analysis, like a piece of rock or a flower.

Sociology has to deal with aims and subjects not allied to physics. The social structure, ethics, law, the state and the individual, the family, religion and so

forth, are not wholly the subjects of physical science, as are mathematics and chemistry. As a science, Sociology is to be classified rather with History. A fitting definition of Sociology would be 'The Science of Human Society' as it includes a study of all the institutions established by man in all ages and conditions of society. Anthropology, ethnology, language, ethics, theology, psychology, economics, politics and history, as embracing all human thought and activities, are all linked up with Sociology, and essential for understanding its nature and development.

There are two methods of studying the subject—the static and the dynamic: the static method views things at rest, the dynamic considers them in motion. The difference has been illustrated by comparing "the former to a photograph, and the latter to a moving picture." In sociology the statist is concerned mainly with the social structure, while the dynamist is occupied chiefly with the social process.

The social and political upheavals which have taken place in recent years, both in the eastern and western hemispheres, have thrust the constitutions of human societies into the forefront, so that, whereas at the early period it was the tendency of the evolutionary sociologist to emphasise 'man's place in nature,' the distinguishing features now are on the social processes. It is necessary that we should know something of man's origin, but it is not enough to determine his place in the brute creation. What he is, what he has done, what he has become and whither he is tending in societal evolution are now the questions of important interest and of momentous significance.

Doubtless, there will always be differences of opinion as to the underlying causes which are responsible for the radical changes which have, and still are taking

place in the constitution of societies and states. Are the sources of social change due to the individual innovator or to changes outside the individual? Is it a question of individual or collective psychology or 'utility'? Probably there is no one criterion determining the changes which the group or state prescribes for the common good. The main test is pragmatic—does it work?

A study, however, of the order of succession of the social stages in the life of humanity may help us to understand some of the root causes which are exerting so significant a change in the constituent parts of society in their varied groupings which range from the family to the state. For despite the diversity of individuals and the ends they pursue, social facts continue to fall into great resemblance classes. The cultural uniformities among widely separated groups of peoples is evidence to that effect. In our studies, therefore, we shall note that both savage and civilised alike have many fundamental ideas, which although expressed in different form, are yet linked together from an evolutionary standpoint. The use of the comparative method enables us to trace the chief motives which cause men to live and work under certain conditions, and the causes which lead to changes in the social, economic, religious and political life of communities. Why certain stages of culture prevail among certain types of people, as well as the reasons which cause others to have a more advanced culture, also how economic conditions determine, to a certain extent, the use to which men put their hours of leisure.

The subjects dealt with are worth studying, as they affect the lives of human beings in every type of society. Economic conditions, marriage, law, religion, are not merely individual acts, but also factors in the wider

phases of societal evolution, which at the present time is oscillating in a strenuous contest between progressive and retrogressive forces. Sociology is not wholly academic, it includes 'ethics'—the science and art of living rightly with one's neighbour. This is the pressing problem in all ages, and how to apply it successfully in the international sphere is a problem, which once solved, will result in equality of rights and liberty amongst the nations. A complete survey of the subject is, of course impossible, for as stated by Lester F. Ward, nothing less than "the sum total of human achievements constitutes the subject matter of sociology."

We can see, therefore, how the subject lends itself to be treated historically, seeing it is inclusive of man in his social capacity whenever and wherever he may be found, from the lowest stages of culture to the highest forms of civilisation.

This brief introduction to one of the most comprehensive of human studies must suffice. An extensive literature exists on the subject to which the sociological student can turn for further information on any phase of the subject he may be inclined to devote his thought and research.

CHAPTER 1

Primitive Society

In discussing the subject of Primitive Society, the first question which naturally arises in the mind is, how did society originate? Like many other questions, it cannot be answered easily or definitely. It is not known when human life first appeared on the earth ; nor whether man or woman was the dominant sex in the beginning ; but that the ' food-quest ' and the sex-passion were two of the great motive factors in social organisation is evident when we begin to examine its elements. Mankind cannot exist in solitude, seeing that the union of the two sexes is necessary for the propagation of the human race, while the offspring of the human species go through a period of helpless infancy for many months, and could not reach the age of self-help, if human couples did not hold together, if only temporary, while the mother regained her strength.

Again, man's struggles with the wild beasts and with members of his own species outside his own family or pack would tend naturally to draw men together for mutual protection and help. " Aggregation is the normal tendency of human beings." Primitive society as depicted by Hobbes and Rousseau does not coincide with anthropological and sociological research, as obtained by observation of savage and barbarous tribes. Neither in savage nor barbarous areas do men normally live under ' club law ' or in ' isolation. Members of tribes are subject to the authority of chiefs and customary law ; nor do they live in isolation like

Rousseau's primitive men, the smallest wandering savage units are usually composed of several families.

F. H. Giddings, in his book 'The Principles of Sociology,' states: "That the original and elementary subjective fact in society is the 'consciousness of kind,' and it acts on human conduct in many ways." Man has a social mind, and it tends to make him link up with others whose mode of life, aspirations and thoughts are similar to his own, as seen in his groupings in the social, economic, political and religious spheres. Some of these phases of societal evolution will be detailed in subsequent chapters.

There are several ways of determining approximately the conditions which prevailed in primitive communities in early times, namely, by a study of the biological, geological and archæological evidence which reveals many things concerning the mode of life lived by the earliest men of whom we have any knowledge. Current biological and geological evidence assumes, that man in an early stage of his existence was arboreal, and that he lived on nuts, fruits, roots, grubs, insects, small animals, eggs and wild honey, and the geological strata in which his earliest flint implements, and the fossil remains of his skeleton have been found, indicate a climate of tropical or sub-tropical conditions as the place of his origin. The archæological evidence afforded by the remains of human handiwork in the use of flint, bone and ivory show that early men practised the same art and industries as many existing societies of savages do at the present time.

Without pressing the parallelism which may have existed in the life of early men and present-day savages, it is reasonable to conclude, from the accumulating evidence of ethnology and archæological research, that man commenced his career at zero as regards culture,

and worked his way upward from savagery to civilisation through the slow accumulation of experimental knowledge. There is no satisfactory evidence of human primeval glory, and existence in an earthly paradise when men were immortal, or of an 'Age of Gold,' when there was no pain or misery, and an ideal culture instituted by divine civilisers.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the grounds on which these theories have been held have generally been based on mythology and theology. Traditions may be used to support either the progressive or the degradation theory. The problem is one which has occupied the human mind in all ages. Chinese records relate how that in olden times their ancestors dwelt in caves, ate raw flesh, clothed themselves with leaves, until under certain rulers they were taught to make fire, build huts and prepare skins for garments. The Latin poet, Lucretius, in well-known lines describes how early men lived on acorns and berries, lived a roving life, overcame the wild beasts with stones and clubs, and afterwards developed a worthy culture.[1] E. B. Tylor, in his book 'Primitive Culture,' states: "Under proper limitations, the principles of both theories are conformable to historical knowledge, which shows us, on the one hand, that civilisation has been reached by progression from a lower state, and, on the other, that culture gained by progression is primary and degradation secondary; culture must be gained before it can be lost."

Assuming, therefore, that all civilisation is secondary and only developed in course of time, it is clear that primeval man, in his natural state, must have approximated to a similar condition of some of the so-called present-day savages, whose state, though not absolutely

[1] 'De Rerum Natura,' bk. v, lines 925-1,457.

primitive, more or less approaches it. There is another circumstance to be noted, namely, that man has nowhere been found in the actual earliest primitive state. No section of the human race has yet been discovered which does not possess a more or less fair vocabulary, rules of conduct, artificially pointed weapons and various implements, as well as the use of fire. It is the possession of these things, seemingly nowhere absent, which indicates a great antiquity for the human race, as some primitive tribes seem to have been in this lowly condition for thousands of years ; and in the majority of cases, where such tribes have occupied a certain habitat from time immemorial, they have naturally considered themselves as the original natives of the land they inhabit.

As to whether mankind spread gradually from one particular area on the earth, and was descended from one and the same stock—a single pair, or whether mankind had a multiple origin, are matters of controversy, and need not detain us. We may say, however, that as a general rule, the early migrations of people must have proceeded slowly, for communities rarely voluntarily leave their native dwelling places, unless pressed upon by famine, enemies or the ' good news ' of some better land they can occupy.

On imagining man, therefore, deprived of everything which is the result of civilisation, the first thing to be noted would be his utter dependence on surrounding nature for the food he needed. The mode of securing it and protecting himself from the attacks of wild animals and human enemies would tend to develop his inventive powers, while the gradual improvement of his implements of labour and weapons would, in course of time, give him periods of leisure from physical labour, and how he applied the time not devoted to

food-gathering and production, hunting, fishing or fighting is a highly important factor in the character of uncultivated man. It is not so much that in some places man is forced to make great efforts to support himself, so that rest affords enjoyment, for in some areas, man finds in nature without much labour, sufficient food for the requirements of himself and family. It has been stated that " in the isle of Ceram, a single sago-tree will yield sufficient to nourish a man for a whole year." One cause of indolence appears to be that man by nature shuns physical labour which is not absolutely requisite for his well-being. Though idleness and carelessness may bring him to want, and experience enable him to foresee his fate, natural man is often careless about the future as regards the preservation of his food supplies. Where there is an abundance of game, the primitive hunter frequently kills indiscriminately and uselessly the game he chases. Another example of utter carelessness for the future is recorded of the Caribs, South America, " who sell their hammocks cheaper in the morning than in the evening."

That uncultivated peoples, however, are capable of industry and perseverance is proved in many instances. When hunting, the savage is particularly distinguished by the zeal with which he tracks the game he seeks to kill. Long hours are frequently spent in the decoration of the person by tattooing, painting, or making articles for adornment. " The Indians of Peru sometimes spend two years in the weaving of a blanket, and devote five to six hours to painting their bodies." The decoration of household utensils, engraving designs on weapons, tools, etc., is characteristic with most primitive tribes. Man's material and mental culture is not only due to the pressure of natural conditions, causing him to

invent means to supply his pressing necessities, but also to increased desires and the development of his psychic life.

It has often been stated that mankind has passed through three successive stages to civilisation. The Hunting, Pastoral and Agricultural. This statement is not strictly accurate with all races. It is best to think of them as phases in the life of mankind, rather than as successive rungs in a ladder. The external life of human beings does not admit of a description common to all. Some are food-gatherers, berry-collectors, root-diggers ; some are hunters ; others are fishers ; others have a rude kind of cultivation which they use as a means of augmenting their diet. Some communities carry on these different occupations, alternately, according to the seasons. Some peoples have passed from the hunting stage direct to agriculture. On the other hand, many peoples are still in the pastoral stage, with implements and utensils belonging to the Iron Age. The continent of America furnishes a striking example of rude nomad hunters in a pure Stone-Age culture, inhabiting large areas of the continent at the time of the first European invaders, who were using iron implements. Australia, when first discovered, was inhabited by natives without any knowledge of the use of metals. The stages of cultural development may overlap or exist side by side.

The lowest grades of culture are usually assigned to the Australian aborigines, the Bushmen of South Africa, the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Fuegians of South America, the Botocudos of Brazil and the Pygmies of New Guinea and Central Africa. There are also other primitive tribes, while the Tasmanians were, until their recent extinction, the most primitive people existing up to modern times. As it will assist us to

have a sketch of what man is in the lowest phases of culture known to us, a brief summary of what is known of some of these people is here given.

We will take first the extinct Tasmanians:—When first seen by Captain Cook, during his third voyage, he described them "as being quite naked as a general rule". Occasionally, as in winter, an opossum or kangaroo skin might be worn over the shoulders. Most of them had their hair and beards smeared with a red ointment, and some had their faces also painted with the same composition. Large ridges on different parts of their bodies, some in straight and others in curved lines, testified to a rude kind of scarification. The women sometimes adorned themselves with chaplets of flowers or bright berries; while bracelets, necklaces and armlets composed of shells, teeth and bones, were often worn by the men. They had no fixed abode, but wandered from place to place in search of food, which consisted chiefly of kangaroos, opossums, seals, stranded whales, birds, lizards, snakes, ants, grubs, eggs, shell-fish, seeds and some few fruits.

Their cooking was of the most primitive kind, animals being roasted whole in their skins and cut up with stone knives; the ashes of the wood fires were sometimes used as a seasoning for lack of salt. They were ignorant of the potter's art, the only vessels they had for holding water were pieces of bark or shells, hence cooking by water may have been unknown to them. They usually slept in the open air, or in temporary shelters, rudely constructed of boughs or pieces of bark, which formed a screen rather than a rude hut. On their journeys they always carried with them fire-sticks, or burning torches of vegetable fibre. It was the special duty of the women to tend and keep alight the torches and the fires, which seems to indicate that

the kindling of a fresh flame was difficult to them ; although there is evidence to show that they produced fire by means of friction, using a pointed stick rubbed in the groove of another piece of wood, or by the drill method.

The women were expert tree-climbers. The trees they rapidly climbed by means of a grass rope looped round the trunk and held firmly with the left hand, while with the right hand they would cut a notch in the tree with a chipped stone, into which they would put their great toe, thus by alternately adjusting the rope and making notches, they would rapidly mount heights as much as 200 feet up the smooth gum trees after opossums. They never cultivated the ground and had no domestic animals, not even the dog, which is found in Australia and most of the Pacific Isles. They had no bows or arrows, neither boomerang or throwing stick ; their weapons were only two, both made of wood ; the waddy (a short stick used as a club or missile) and a long spear, sharpened at the end and hardened with fire ; it could be thrown for a distance of sixty yards with sufficient force to pass through the body of a man ; the spears were sometimes as much as fifteen feet in length, and were kept straight by being tied to straight trees with their points at some distance from the ground. They crossed rivers and small arms of the sea on logs, roughly-constructed rafts, or bark canoe-shaped floats from seven to nine feet in length. When crossing the sea on rafts, a fire, carried on a hearth of earth or ashes, was kept burning on a little-raised platform at one end of the raft.

They were divided into numerous small tribes under a head who appears to have gained the position by extraordinary prowess. The boundaries of various hunting-grounds belonging to each tribe were acknow-

ledged, and trespass in search of food was the frequent cause of tribal wars. They were able to count up to five, and were fond of singing and dancing, and accompanied their singing by beating upon kangaroo rugs, which were rolled upon their knees in a peculiar manner, so that when struck by the open hand the sound resembled that of a muffled drum ; others beat time with two short sticks.

As far as is known, they had no initiation ceremonies, practised polygamy and used charms against sickness and premature death. The only taboos appear to have been the avoidance of certain kinds of food, such as the wallaby, some tribes would eat the male, others the female ; scaled fish was also tabooed, as well as avoidance in conversation of the names of all deceased, or even absent relatives and friends, and the avoidance of their burial places. The dead in some cases were burned, and the ashes and remains covered over with a cone-shaped shelter made of poles and bark ; in other cases, the dead were placed in hollow trees surrounded with implements of war and the chase. Some buried their dead in the holes made by upturned trees, covering the bodies with earth and stones ; some were buried in an upright position, a spear usually being left in an upright position for use by the deceased. Their religious ideas were very meagre and uncertain. They believed in good and evil spirits, and that the future life was a continuation of the best of the earthly.

Of their bodily characteristics, we know that the colour of their skin was almost black—inclining to brown, their hair was black and grew in close corkscrew ringlets, the men had moustache and whiskers, the borders of the whiskers assumed a curled or frizzy form, like pellets of peppercorn. The eyes were small, deep-set and sunk beneath heavy prominent brows, the

nose was short and broad, the mouth wide, with thick lips, and the teeth larger than those of any existing race. The stature of the men ranged from 5 ft. 1 in. to 5 ft. 7 in. (twenty-three measured giving an average of 5 ft. $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.). The stature of the women ranged from 4 ft. 3 in. to 5 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (twenty-nine measured giving an average of 4 ft. $11\frac{1}{4}$ in.). These measurements were made by Mr. G. A. Robinson, who was known as the 'Conciliator' because of his sympathetic treatment of the natives; he was for a short time Commandant over them on Flinders Island. The cranial capacity of these people is the lowest yet met with in recent races and averaged 1199 cubic centimetres (average for the men 1306 cubic centimetres, for the women 1093 cubic centimetres). The skull shape is (mesocephalic) neither long nor short. They appear to have been native to the soil and were probably an original branch of the Melanesian race. It is recorded that Tasman, the discoverer of the island, never saw the original inhabitants.

March 1772 is stated to be the date of the first meeting of the Tasmanians with Europeans, namely Marion du Fresne, a Frenchman, with two vessels, who visited the island. At the beginning of the eighteenth century they were supposed to number about 7,000. In 1803 the first European settlement was formed; the following year, the English in a panic, shot down unmercifully a party of aboriginal men, women and children, which was approaching them with every sign of friendship. From that time hostilities continued until in 1835, when the natives numbering a few hundreds (210?) surrendered and were transferred to Flinders Island. Twelve years later they were transferred to Oyster Bay, near Hobart, they then numbered just over 40. Here in March 1869 Wm. Lanney, the

last Tasmanian male aborigine died, and with the death in June 1876 of the woman Truganina, or Lalla Rookh, the race became extinct. Their extermination and treatment is a blot on English colonisation, and a loss to scientific investigation of an ancient race of primitive Stone-Age culture.

Let us now turn to another type of culture, namely that of the Australian aborigines. So much has been written about these people within recent years, that a brief summary of their social status is all that will be given, as fuller particulars may be obtained from a perusal of the writings of A. W. Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, N. W. Thomas and others.

These aborigines are hunters pure and simple, their chief weapons are the waddy, boomerang and throwing stick ; they also use shields in fighting. They possess implements of stone, their stone axes have shafts and their stone knives are provided with a wooden handle. Some fishing is also done, their fish-hooks are of shell or wood, and they use a special spear for fishing. When hunting, the men usually wear a hip girdle, and skin cloaks when in camp or in cold weather. The seeds of certain plants are collected by the women, and crushed and made into a paste for cakes, which are eaten raw, or cooked as occasion or desire arises. Sharpened stakes are used as digging-sticks to unearth natural roots. They have no permanent abodes, but occasionally, as required, erect huts of a somewhat superior quality to the rough windscreens of the late Tasmanians. They have no system of writing but use message-sticks.

Like many other primitive races, they pierce the septum and wear a nose peg and adorn themselves with necklaces of shell and teeth of animals. The women frequently sever off the joint of the little finger

(this custom prevails amongst other primitive people and dates back to the Palæolithic Period). The hair is smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, and at festivals and totemic ceremonies, pigments of various colours are applied to the body. They also have a custom of imprinting the hand on the walls of caves by means of powdered charcoal and red ochre. This ritual was also practised by men of the old Stone Age. An elaborate system of initiation is practised on the youths. Fasting, scarification and the knocking out of one or more front teeth are some of the things which the youths have to undergo, before they are admitted to full fellowship in the tribe or totemistic group to which they are assigned.

They have an elaborate tribal organisation which varies from tribe to tribe. They have chiefs and medicine-men who exercise authority in their respective callings. The local groups, each possess exclusive rights over well-defined hunting areas. They have also a very elaborate system of class-marriages, which vary according to tribal, clan and totemistic groupings. They have an extensive range of crude myths and legends, as well as a belief in a superior spirit who takes precedence over all spirits, whether living in the sky or inhabiting the earth. Reincarnation is a prevailing belief, and birth is considered not as the main result of sexual intercourse, but as being also a preparatory act, connected with the entry of a departed spirit into the woman for rebirth.

Two objects are associated with their initiation ceremonies, namely, the ' bull-roarer ' which is whirled round to produce a humming noise, and is regarded as the voice of a god ; and the ' churinga ' made out of wood or stone, and bears an incised or painted device of totemic and spiritual significance. Like most

primitive people they believe that death is not natural, but due to evil spirits or magic. At death, the deceased may be eaten, burned, or buried in full dress, with his ornaments and weapons, his body being wrapped in an animal skin.

This race appears to be doomed to extinction, as they are gradually decreasing in numbers, but fortunately in the interests of science as well as humanity, an attempt has been made to mitigate their lot more successfully than in the case of the extinct Tasmanians, so that we possess a fairly accurate and extensive knowledge of a type of people, who in many respects appear to be in physique and culture, somewhat similar to certain men (The Neanderthals) who lived in the Palæolithic Period of culture.

By way of contrast, we will give a brief description of a primitive community, who may be classed as ' food-gatherers ' rather than hunters.

V. Meik, in his book ' People of the Leaves,' gives a description of certain primitive communities living in the forests in a particular area in the heart of southern India, who appear to be even lower in the scale of culture than the Botocudo people of eastern Brazil, South America. He depicts for us a primitive people whose only covering is a girdle of leaves ; their sleeping shelters are under the roots of trees covered with interlaced leaves and creepers. Their food consists of birds eggs, berries, roots and small animals ; while the root of the bamboo is considered their greatest delicacy. Although they know how to make a fire, they never use it for cooking, and their only knives are pieces of sharpened flint.

They have bows and arrows, the bows are made out of roots which have little resiliency, the strings for the bow being made out of thinner roots or plaited grass ;

the arrows are barbed with flint. As weapons, they are useless against large animals ; a bird or an old rat were practically the largest animals brought down by their pitiable weapon.

In manners, they are a harmless and very frightened people, being very difficult to come in contact with, living in dense parts of the forest jungles. They cannot count, and have only two signals, both being bird-calls. One denotes the ' assembly,' the other is a ' danger note,' which causes them to vanish without delay. They keep no stores of food, have no form of marriage, mating together promiscuously as desire arises. They have no family names. They keep one festival ; on the night of the full moon they dance to the beating of a drum and finish off with liberal potations of mowa liquor. On death taking place, the drum is brought out and to its solemn beating a slow dance is carried on for a few minutes ; the body is then wrapped in fresh green leaves and buried under the roots of a tree. In appearance, they are a stunted and frail people, with a stature not more than 5 ft. in height. Their complexion is between a sable hue and an olive tint.

Having no traditions of their origin, these people appear to be in the condition of what some of the earliest men may have been tens of thousands of years ago. Living just for the day, with bodies handicapped by nature and their mode of life ; they appear to be dying off rapidly ; as far as is known they number probably just over two thousand. Soon these ' Leaf People ' of the Rairakhol forests, treated as pariahs and outcasts of Indian society, will have passed into the legendary annals of the East, leaving behind them but a fading memory as with other extinct and expiring people.

Another type of primitive society is to be found amongst the Bushpeople of the Kalahari Desert, South Africa. They are considered as the most primitive aboriginal race living in South Africa. They are a small, spare people with a stature of 5 ft. approx. Their chief occupation is hunting and trapping wild animals. Their weapons are the spear and the bow, the heads of the spears and arrows are usually poisoned. When hunting, they frequently use a disguise and imitate the movements of the animals they are chasing.

They possess stone implements of various types, scrapers, flakes, etc., while various tools of bone and ivory are also used. They possess stone mortars, and have a coarse kind of pottery, and a bone harpoon for fishing. They have a digging-stick formed by inserting a pointed stick through a rounded stone with a hole in the middle, and with which they dig up wild, edible roots. In addition to many kinds of game, roots, seeds, grasses, eggs, etc., are eaten. Locusts are eaten not only fried, but also preserved for times when food is scarce, being pounded, mixed with honey and made into cakes. Their wearing apparel consists of a short apron of skin, bast or skin sandals, and the use of skins for sleeping in. The men sometimes wear a skin or fur cap. Both sexes adorn themselves with necklaces of shells and teeth, paint is also used of various colours ; fire is produced by friction. Their chief abodes are rock-shelters and caves. When in the bush or on the velt, however, they sometimes erect a hut formed of a framework of bent sticks, covered over with mats made of reeds.

Certain customs are associated with birth and marriage. The boys undergo an initiation ceremony, before being admitted to the status of manhood. The women have a custom of cutting off one or more joints

of the little finger, in some cases it is done as a sign of mourning. They are in a very marked degree 'steatopygous' (namely, possess an excessive accumulation of fat on the buttocks), a physical feature, which from the finding of figurines carved in this manner in Aurignacian times, implies a very ancient peculiarity. They are very fond of music, singing and dancing; their musical instruments include drum, reed-pipes, and a kind of stringed harp.

In spite of their low culture, they have an extensive knowledge of plants and of vegetable and animal poisons. They are also distinguished by having a remarkable sense of pictorial art, and possessing a copious folk-lore, which have been reproduced and recorded respectively in several magnificent books. A certain amount of tribal organisation exists, they have chiefs and sub-chiefs. They possess the idea of a 'Supreme Being,' and their burial customs suggest that they have a belief in a future life.

They are, however, a decaying race, the process of extinction being hastened by the war of extermination which was carried on by the Boers, because they would not willingly yield up their hunting lands. On the whole, the Bushpeople appear to be far more advanced mentally and possess a higher culture, than the recently extinct Tasmanians, the surviving Australian aborigines, and the 'People of the Leaves.'

The American continent contains many primitive races of a low type of culture. In South America, especially, there are various tribes living in pure savagery. Some of these, like the Yaghans, one of the Fuegian tribes, who are probably true aborigines, are rapidly dying out. These aborigines who numbered about two thousand fifty years ago are now stated to

number less than one hundred. They are of low stature, with a large head, angular face, short nose depressed at the root and wide at the nostrils, and large thick lips. Their food consists mainly of mussels and animal food, but berries are eaten in summer and roots in winter ; they formerly practised cannibalism. Their kitchen-middens indicate a remote Stone-Age culture.

They have no kitchen utensils or pottery, but use bone and flint implements. For clothing they wear a skin mantle over the shoulders, and the women have in addition a skin apron. For shelter they use rude wind screens, and huts made of logs and branches. They live in small groups of three or four families, and monogamy is the general rule. There are no chiefs or clan organisation, and justice is entirely a matter which the individual must carry out for himself.

Another primitive tribe, the Botocudos of eastern Brazil, are pure nomads. They call themselves ' Nac-nanuk,' namely ' Sons of the Soil,' and undoubtedly represent the aboriginal element in eastern Brazil, as they have no traditions of having migrated from any other land. They are of low stature, 5 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. average ; they are distinguished by round, flat features, rather oblique eyes, and a general Mongolic expression, heightened by a dirty yellowish complexion. They have a custom of flattening the bones of the nose, and the wearing of plugs, ' botocs ' in the lower lip or ears. They are naked, and roam the forests in search of roots, berries, grubs, frogs, honey and what game they can secure. They know how to cook, but often eat their food raw. Their water vessels, mortars and implements are made out of wood and vegetable fibre. Their weapons consist of spears, bows and arrows, and their shelters are formed by fixing branches in the ground, bound together with bast.

Like some other South American tribes, they were addicted to cannibalism, and wore the teeth of those they had eaten as necklaces. Their women are constantly subject to ill-treatment, beaten with clubs, or hacked with bamboo knives. Although they do not live in a promiscuous state, their unions are usually temporary, but are jealously guarded while they last. As to their ideas of the supernatural, they are very limited. At the graves of the dead, fires are kept up for some time to scare away bad spirits ; all good influences are attributed to the sun, and all bad things to the moon. During storms and eclipses arrows are shot up in the air, to scare away the demons. In short, most of the tribes living in eastern Brazil, are generally more primitive than the Amazonians, and the other tribes inhabiting the remainder of North and South America.

With this brief summary of the cultural status of certain extinct and decaying primitive societies we may fittingly close our survey of the cultural conditions which probably prevailed, approximately, in the early human groups, who laid the rudimentary foundations of primitive society, in the prehistoric ages, for which, at present, we have no exact chronology in term of years.

CHAPTER II

Marriage

In defining the word ' marriage ' from the standpoint of its natural history, and leaving aside its legal and ethical bearings, it should be sufficient to say, that by the word marriage we mean the ceremony by which a man and woman become husband and wife ; this more or less durable union between male and female, enables them by their joint efforts to produce and rear a family according to the customs of the society in which they live, the man usually being the protector and supporter of the family, the woman being his helpmate and the nurse to any offspring born unto them. Marriage is a universal institution and exists in various forms. Statements have frequently been made that in the earliest stage of human society family ties must have been unknown, and that men and women lived in a state of promiscuity, in which men shared the women in common, and there was no family tie as we understand it by the word marriage. Darwin states " that from what we know of the jealousy of male animals, who frequently fight for the possession of the females, promiscuous intercourse was unlikely to prevail among human beings in the early state of mankind." The researches of ethnologists amongst primitive tribes, and our knowledge of the life of civilised communities, bear witness to the fact that jealousy is still a powerful factor in married life.

The evidence from the study of savage communities shows that the apparent freedom in sexual relations,

which occur among many tribes on certain occasions may co-exist with the most strict and elaborate rules, controlling family organisation and marriage. Among the lowest types of people, marriage not only exists, but is much more frequent than among ourselves, betrothal often taking place at birth ; among some races arrangements are even made before birth, as to whom the child of a pregnant woman shall be assigned, according to its sex, showing how deeply rooted is the idea of the individual right of a man to a woman in the primitive mind. Even in tribes where the youth can freely gratify his sexual desires, marriage is always looked forward to as a necessity, the man must have a wife to work for him and bear him children ; the childless couple are always looked upon as objects of pity, in some cases almost of terror, for surely they have offended the gods, and must be treated with suspicion. Even among peoples of ancient culture, marriage was regarded as a duty.

In China, to die without leaving a son to perpetuate the family cult is considered the greatest misfortune, and an offence to the family ancestors ; for who could carry on the ancestral worship and perform all the rites and ceremonies connected with the dead? The same idea is met with among the Semites ; while the Hebrews looked upon marriage as a sacred duty. Islam enjoins marriage on all capable persons as a binding duty. In ancient Greece and Rome, marriage was regarded as a matter of public as well as of private importance. In India the idea also survives of marrying to beget children to perform the funeral rites.

As to its duration, the conjugal union varies so much among different peoples, that no general rule can be laid down regarding it. From unions of a night to the indissolubility prescribed by Christianity, there

is quite a scale of conjugal relations more or less durable. There is a reasonable presumption that, with primitive man, pairing would be easily dissolved, he discarding his mate when she ceased to please him. In the lowest existing societies of human beings, temporary pairing is frequent, sometimes it occurs through desertion, or exchange, but whatever the cause, the social group in its composition is still that of family groups. Where life is hard in obtaining food and shelter, there is a tendency for the human pair to hold together longer ; but in tropical areas which afford abundance of food, a woman and her infant can often find subsistence without the husband's help.

It is possible, therefore, that the economic condition of the lowest communities, not only determines the duration of marriage, but also the line of descent ; the desertion of the father leaving the mother and children dependent on their own exertions, or the help of the mother's male relations, the children taking the mother's name or classification ; for in almost all primitive and barbarous communities, marriage is above all a social convention, and the form which it takes in different ethnic groups is based on the social and economic constitution of these groups. The position of woman, the relationship of the children, the line of descent, as well as the ideas which prevail about property are entirely subordinated to the prevailing social constitution.

In discussing the question of sex and marriage, it is essential to bear in mind that there is a distinction between sexual relations and marriage. If marriage were decided by sexual relations, it would be difficult to understand for what reasons marriages were and are contracted in communities where sexual intercourse is permitted to the unmarried. In Oceania,

Malaysia, among the Samoyeds, Mongols and certain Negroes, sexual intercourse between the young unmarried people is by no means prohibited. The loss of virginity is treated with indifference amongst some tribes; in others, defloration is obligatory before marriage; it is effected artificially or naturally by the parents with the Bataks of Sumatra, and the Pelew islanders of Micronesia; by the matrons with the Bisayas of the Philippines, and by the priests in Cambodia, Indo-China; and even by persons hired for this purpose in some tribes.

The girls in some communities have a better chance of a husband if known to have had a child, or to be pregnant. In others, no girl can secure a husband unless she has acquired a dowry by prostitution. Where marital looseness is observed in sexual relations it is usually connected with group-marriage and polyandry. In some cases it is due to the contact of a lower with a higher culture, or with the loose livers of it. The so-called prostitution of women required by certain cults of antiquity, such as the cult of Aphrodite at Abydos, Ephesus and the cult of Mylitta in Babylon, where every woman was bound, once in the course of her life to sit in the temple of Venus and have intercourse with a stranger . . . are more of the nature of a sacrifice and offering to the powers of generation.

Group-marriage, which has often been taken for promiscuity, represents an attempt to regulate sexual relations, and to define ties of kinship in the bringing up of children. According to Westermarck ('History of Human Marriage'), group-marriage exists only side-by-side with people who practise polyandry, namely, the marriage of several men with one woman. The most notable of these areas are Thibet and in certain districts in India; it existed also at one time in Ceylon

among the Cingalese, where it was not only frequently the custom for one man to have at the same time a number of wives, and for one woman to have at the same time a number of husbands, but it was also a frequent custom for two or three men to have two or three wives in common. Among the Todas, of the Nilgiri Hills, southern India, who practise polyandry, " two brothers, who in former times would have had one wife between them, may now take two wives, but as a general rule, the two men have the two wives in common " (Rivers). This is also the case among the Nairs of the Malabar coast. The same holds good in Thibet and the Himalayan region, where there are numerous households containing several husbands and wives.

It is possible that Cæsar's account of the marriages of the ancient Britons may refer to a similar combination ; he states : " In their domestic life they practise a form of community of wives, ten or twelve combining in a group, especially brothers with brothers, and fathers with sons. The children born of such wedlock are then reckoned to belong to the member of the partnership who was the first to receive the mother as a bride into the household." There are other peoples who have a kind of sex communism in which several men, under certain conditions, have the right of access to several women, though none of them is properly married to more than one of the men ; as amongst some of the Central Australian tribes, where wives are freely lent within the group and enjoyed promiscuously at certain festivals.

In the ' Dieri ' tribe of the central Australians, there is both individual and group-marriage. In the latter case the headman, or elders of the tribe, allot certain men and women (subject to their class or clan

restriction) to one another as 'Pirrauru,' namely, a group relationship in which the men and women have the right of sexual intercourse with one another, when they meet in groups. When they separate, the right of the 'Noa,' namely, the potential husband or wife predominates as in the individual marriage. As this type of marriage is closely connected with what is called 'exogamy' and 'endogamy,' it is necessary to briefly explain these two sets of rules.

Exogamy signifies the prohibition to contract marriage with members within the group or clan, while endogamy forbids marriage outside the group. It is necessary, however, to point out before discussing these rules further, that sometimes endogamy prohibited within the limits of the group, class or clan, is practised within the limits of the tribe of which these clans, etc., are the components. There is then, in such cases, exogamy in relation to the clan and endogamy in relation to the tribe. Exogamy is usually associated with what is known as the 'totemic' organisation of society. The totem is usually some species of plant or animal which the members of the totem group regard as their ancestor, etc. (see further details in chapter iv) and it is treated with superstitious respect as an outward symbol of an existing intimate unseen relation. This totemic custom forces men and women to contract unions with the members of distinct food-groups. Thus supposing the Cockatoo and the Crow people are food-groups of a totem-class and are exogamous, then the Cockatoos must intermarry with the Crows.

The exogamous rules of the Australian aborigines are particularly interesting, yet somewhat complicated to those who have not made a careful study of the system. Some of their tribes are divided into two, four, or eight classes, or sub-classes, the members of

each of which are bound to seek their wives or husbands in a class or sub-class different from their own. In one tribe known as the Kamilario, there are four clans, let us call them A B C and D, if the parents of the clans A and B marry, the children of the union may not intermarry, they belong to the clan C, the members of which may only marry with the members of the clan D. By the existence of these classes, close marriages between near blood relations is practically reduced to zero. A similar organisation is to be found among many other people, North American Indians, the Melanesians, Arabs and various African tribes.

The prohibition of marriage between near blood relations, which is found among some of the lowest types of primitive people extends to our modern civilisation, though with not so elaborate classification. Marriages between uncles and nieces, and between aunts and nephews are absolutely prohibited in various European countries. In Europe, marriages between first cousins were forbidden at one time in countries under the influence of ecclesiastical law. The Roman Catholic Church even now, forbids marriage to third cousins, and marriage with a deceased wife's sister ; such marriages were also condemned by the canon law of the English Church until 1907, when an Act legalising this in the United Kingdom was passed. Many futile attempts had been made previously to legalise such marriages, and the Act met with very strong opposition in its passage to the Statute Book.

Endogamy which forbids marriage outside the group or clan is the essence of the caste system. It is found among savage and civilised peoples, and existed in ancient Rome and elsewhere. Marriage within the family was frequent in ancient royal families ; marriage with a sister was prescribed to the Inca of the kingdom

of Peru, nor could the Pharaoh of Egypt select a more fitting mate than his own sister—sister marriage being common in ancient Egypt during the Ptolemaic Period. In ancient Persia marriage with a sister was allowed, and intermarriage of relations looked upon as a meritorious act. The patriarch Abraham married his half-sister. Among the Caribs of Venezuela and in equatorial West Africa, the eldest son inherits all the wives of his deceased father, with the sole exception of his own mother. On the Gold Coast the vacant throne was occupied by the prince who gained possession of the paternal harem before the other brothers. This throws light on certain incidents mentioned in the Old Testament. Absalom took possession of his father's concubines before all Jerusalem, in order to proclaim himself as king to the throne.

Under the Hebraic system known as the 'levirate' it was a duty enjoined on the Hebrew brother-in-law to raise offspring to his brother's widow. Moses ordered the daughters of Zelophehad to marry the men of their father's tribe, so that their inheritance should remain in the tribe of the family of their father. This is a very widespread custom, exists in Africa, India and America ; while there are several peoples, Crees, Eskimo, Nufoors, Papuans of New Guinea, who consider the 'levirate' a duty.

Other peoples practising endogamy are the Botocudos of eastern Brazil, the Garos of Madagascar, the Maori of New Zealand, the hairy Ainos of Japan ; in some cases a hill, a valley or a stream which divides one village from another is sufficient to prevent intermarriage between the residents of the respective villages (Peru, Brazil). At one time in China, play-actors, policemen and boatmen married only in their own class ; while among the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills,

southern India, the smiths form an hereditary caste to themselves, and are obliged to marry solely with members of their own caste. In India, the home of the caste system, there are many instances of tribe or clan endogamy, as with the Abors, the Tipperah, the Karens of Burma and many others. The Sanskrit word for caste is 'varna,' namely, colour, which shows how the distinction of high and low caste arose in India. The country was inhabited by dark races before the Aryan-speaking invaders, and the bitter contempt of the Aryan for foreign tribes helped to give rise to pride of class and caste distinctions. In the Vedic hymns we find reference to four classes, Brahmans the priests, Kshatriyas the warriors, Vaisyas the farmers, Sudras the slaves. The physical features of the so-called higher and lower orders of the natives of India, as seen in the difference of shape of head form, build of body, colour of skin, reveal the higher and lower castes into which the Hindu population is divided.

In many cases class endogamy is evidently due to racial, national, as well as religious differences. We may say that nearly every race considers it a disgrace to marry into a race of a different colour from its own. This feeling is particularly strong with regard to white men marrying coloured women. American Indians do not usually marry Negroes whom they despise. The Veddahs of Ceylon, although they have long associated with their neighbours the Sinhalese, have not yet intermarried with them. Not even a common religion and country can extinguish the hereditary aversion of the Arab to the Turk, or the Magyar to the Slav. Marriages rarely occur between Lapps and Norwegians, and it rarely ever happens that a Lapp marries a Russian. In Africa the Hottentot usually marries within his own kraal. Indeed, marriage

within the clan or tribe is very prevalent in Central and East Africa.

In Rome plebeians and patricians could not marry with each other until the year 445 B.C. nor could a senator marry a freed-woman, nor a patroness her liberated slave. In ancient Wales marriage was within the clan, while at various periods in English history there were various aristocracies among the Saxons, Danes and Normans, who as a general rule married only within their own class. The German conquerors of Gaul, until the fifteenth century, confined the higher grades of the nobility in France, to those of Frankish or Burgundian origin. Religion, in many cases, has been a bar to intermarriage, such as between Christians and Jews, Christians and Mohammedans, Roman Catholics and Protestants ; even to-day such marriages form comparatively a small percentage. Modern civilisation, however, tends to pull down the barriers caused by birth, caste, social position and foreign birth or race. To-day there survives but few traces in European civilisation of the former class-endogamy ; where it still lingers on it is under the shelter of fashion or prejudice.

The degrees of relationship which exist among people who practise group marriage and exogamy are very different from our own. Lewis Morgan, an American sociologist, published in the nineteenth century a work in which he classified such relationships in 139 languages, including America, Asiatic, Malayan and European tongues, which according to his researches in the matter, represented four-fifths numerically of the entire human family. When compared with our own system of blood relationships, this system appears somewhat confusing, as by it most of the kin in the same generation are grouped under one general term ;

for example, a man designates as his brothers, not only the sons of his father, but also the sons of his father's brothers, and all the grandsons of his great uncle. A man will address as his sons, not only his own children, but also the sons of his brothers, all the grandsons of his father's brother, and so on. The children of his sister, however, he speaks of as his nephews or nieces, and the brothers of his mother as uncles, as we do. On the other hand, a woman addresses as mother, not only her own parent, but also her mother's sisters, and so on, through the various relationships, but the children of her brother, she calls nephews or nieces as the case may be.

This system of nomenclature, to a certain extent is to be met with among certain tribes in India, and frequently causes much embarrassment to English judges newly landed. E. B. Tylor gives an example of a witness who said " that his father was at home at such and such an hour ; then, a few minutes after, he affirmed that his father was in the field." The judge was perplexed, until he found out that the witness meant his ' little father,' equivalent to our term uncle.

Morgan thought that this system of reckoning degrees of relationship was a proof of primitive promiscuity. The researches of later scholars, including Rivers and Westermarck, have proved that the classificatory system of relationships do not prove the existence of communal marriage. Although not accepting many of Morgan's theories in this type of nomenclature, his researches are regarded as one of the most important contributions made to ethnological sociology.

A temporary type of marriage, which existed in Arabia for centuries, was characteristic in that the woman was free to choose her own husband, receive him in her tent, and dismiss him at her pleasure. If

the entrance to the tent faced east, and the husband saw it turned with the entrance facing west, he knew that he was dismissed, and did not enter. In what is known as 'mota' marriage, the contract specifies how long the marriage shall hold. The marriage, however, could continue after the fixed time if both parties were agreeable. Mohammed is stated to have said concerning this type of marriage, " If a man and woman agree together, their fellowship shall be for three nights ; then if they choose to go on they may do so, or if they prefer it they may give up their relation." In a large number of cases, the woman only received occasional visits from the man on whom she had fixed her affections ; any offspring from such temporary unions always belonged to the woman's kin, and grew up under their protection. Samson, the Hebrew judge and warrior, when he took a wife of the Philistines had to visit her, for she remained with her people.

This form of union is known as 'beena' marriage in other parts of the world, as, for example, among the Arawaks of Guiana, the Dyaks of Borneo, Ceylon and elsewhere. Among the Nairs of Malabar, as soon as a girl is marriageable, she goes through a wedding ceremony, which consists of winding a silken cord, to which a coin is attached round the necks of the girl and the nominal bridegroom ; the man then hangs the coin round the girl's neck. He is then entitled, if so disposed, to regard her as his wife for one day, after which he has no conjugal rights over her. She is then allowed to cohabit with any man she chooses, usually she may have two, four or even ten lovers (one cannot call them husbands in our sense of the word) who cohabit with her by agreement amongst themselves. She lives apart from them, and any children she bears belong to her kin. The paternity of the offspring thus

appears to be rarely known. This, I think, is one of the loosest forms of union practised.

Among the Scottish Highlanders, there was a custom of ' hand-fasting,' that is, two fathers would agree that the heir of one should live with the daughter of the other, as her husband for a year and a day ; if at the end of that time, the woman had become a mother, or, at any rate, if she was pregnant, the marriage was regarded as valid, even if unblest by a priest ; but if there was no signs of pregnancy the connection was dissolved, and each was at liberty to enter into another connection, either by marriage or ' hand-fasting.' Even towards the latter part of the eighteenth century in the county of Dumfries, there was an annual fair held, at which it was the custom for unmarried persons of both sexes to choose a companion, with whom they were to live till that time next year. This ' hand-fasting,' or hand in fist, as they called it, was continued for life, if they were satisfied with each other ; if not, they separated, and were free to make another choice. The offspring of the connection, if there were any, was always attached to the disaffected person. When that part of the country, where the fair was held, belonged to the Abbacy of Melrose, a priest, to whom they gave the name of ' Book i'bosom ' either because he carried in his bosom a Bible, or perhaps a register of marriages, came from time to time to confirm the marriages.

Among other widely diffused practices having a connection with marriage, we have the abduction of woman, as with the Arabs, Australian aborigines, Caribs, and others. It also existed among the ancient Semitic and Indo-European people. Reminiscences of it are found in the traditions of the early Greeks and Romans, the ancient Picts and Scots, the Teutons, the Slavs, while in Higher Albania, forcible capture of a

girl occasionally takes place in these days. In some cases, it has become a simulated and symbolic rite forming part of the marriage ceremony, as in Morocco, the Punjab, the east coast of Greenland, the Bedouins of Sinai. Ethnologists are not agreed as to the origin of this custom ; some see in it the last relics of exogamy, others the relic of warfare or the slavery of woman. In the genuine form Pro. E. B. Tylor has stated, that it occurs in forty cases, and as a matter of form in some forty-six cases.

With some tribes we have the method of exchange. Among the Epe of Africa, if a man of one clan marries a girl of another, the man's clan changes one of its male members for the girl in order to keep up the numbers of each clan. Among the Australian aborigines, it is sometimes the exchange of girls for men, or girl for girl, and so forth. In other tribes the girl is purchased. This is very frequent in Africa, where it is considered disgraceful to a girl and her family if she is given in marriage for nothing. The Kaffir women call a woman who has not been duly bought by cattle 'an old cat,' because the cat is the only animal that the natives consider unworthy of being sold. In many cases the exchange of presents between the bride and the bridegroom's people is the prevailing method. Among some North American and African tribes, the bride price gives the husband no claim over the children born. In some cases should the woman die before bearing a child, prove barren or unfaithful, the man is entitled to the return of the bride price, or to demand another woman as substitute, generally her sister, if she has one. Laziness and growing infirmity causes the Dyak husbands to coolly dismiss such wives and seek a fresh woman.

Service is another form of securing a wife. This is

familiar to us from Hebrew tradition, as in the case of Jacob who served seven years in the house of his kinsman Laban, to have Rachel to wife, but was outwitted by his crafty uncle and given Leah instead, so that he had to serve an additional seven years to secure Rachel. In some cases, as among the Koryaks of Siberia, a man has to serve his intended father-in-law through many humiliating tasks, before he is given the girl. He is sent on long exhausting journeys, is ill-fed, made to pass nights with the cattle without sleep, and so on, and only gets the girl for his bride if he has stood the probation period satisfactorily. Among the Micronesians (Oceania area) a man must serve if he cannot buy a wife ; so also with some of the Californian tribes ; while in the Malay Archipelago, a husband is purchased by the wife's family, and enters in a dependent position, the children belong to the wife's family, and she can divorce him at any time.

Polygamy (Polygyny), or plurality of wives, is widely practised in many parts of the world. It is found most frequently among pastoral and agricultural peoples, where women labour and children are highly valued because of the services they can render. Africa is the leading country in this respect, both in point of frequency, and in the number of wives possessed by a man. The king of Benin had several hundreds ; in Ashanti the king was limited to 3,333 wives, and king Mtessa of Uganda is reported to have had several thousand. The ancient Hebrews had no limit to the numbers, although there was a distinction made between a wife and a concubine. King Solomon is recorded to have had 700 wives, princesses, and 300 concubines. In Arabia, Mohammed limited a man's legal wives to four, although he might have as many concubines as he liked. Certain Christian sects have

openly supported the practice, while the Mormons regard polygamy as a divine institution.

There are records of European kings and princes contracting what are known as morganatic marriages, in addition to possessing an acknowledged wife. In the case of these morganatic marriages, neither the wife nor the children can inherit the husband's possessions, nor enjoy his rank, though the children are accounted as legitimate. Philip of Hesse and Frederick William II of Prussia contracted bigamous marriages with the sanction of the Lutheran clergy. In 1650, after the Peace of Westphalia and the close of the Thirty Years' War, owing to the depopulation of the country, the Frankish 'Kriestag' at Nuremberg, passed the resolution, "That henceforth every man should be allowed to have two wives." In the East, the possession of many wives adds to a man's social importance and authority, and is regarded as honourable and praiseworthy. It may have its disadvantages, as in Fiji, where owing to jealousy, the women are known frequently to cut off or mutilate each others' noses; while in Morocco, if two wives share one tent, there is frequent scratching of each other's faces and pulling of each other by the hair.

There are many causes which lead to the prevalence of polygamy. Excess of females, need for children and workers where male labour is not available, prevailing ideas concerning pregnancy, whereby the woman may be isolated for months, and forbidden sexual intercourse; weaning customs with some tribes, result in sexual continence being imposed on a woman, for periods ranging to two or three years in cases of long suckling; it is due to no one cause, just as there are various reasons why many civilised peoples practise monogamy.

MONOGAMY.—In many cases it is due to the man's inability to support several wives. In most civilised countries where the Protestant and Roman Catholic religions predominate, monogamy is looked upon as a sacrament divinely ordained, and is supported by custom and current views on sex-morality. The modern tendency is to regard marriage as a contract in which each party should have equal rights. Monogamy will best survive by adjusting itself to modern conditions with the aid of easier facilities for obtaining divorce.

CHAPTER III

Family and Children

The regard with which children are held in the family life varies among the different peoples inhabiting the earth. Some of the factors which determine their status and survival include that of the food supply, their economic value, the strength of the maternal instinct, tribal requirements as determined by custom or necessity, and so forth. In addition to these factors, it is probable that in the earliest stages of human society, natural selection in regard to infant mortality, diseases and epidemics, were important operating factors in determining the number of offspring which could be successfully reared. It is quite possible too, that in the earliest phases of human society, the physical bond between the father and child was not fully understood ; for even to-day amongst many tribes sexual intercourse takes place at an early age, often long before puberty, having thus no result in childbirth. Even when conception does take place, the birth of a child is often regarded, amongst certain tribes, as due partly to some other, than the real cause, coition being regarded as merely a way of preparing a woman for conception, the discharges from the male and the female being regarded but as lubricating the membranes and a source of mutual pleasure.

Many primitive myths record the primeval woman as bearing children without having coitus with a male partner. Elsewhere, we find traditions and primitive beliefs which ascribe conception, to demons visiting

the woman, to ghosts of the dead, to bathing, or the entry of ancestral spirits into the woman's womb as she passes near their haunts. That the ancient Semites and Hebrews believed in divine intervention to give them children is evident from the Old Testament. V. Meik, in his book 'The People of the Leaves,' states: "They believe that children come somehow through the mother having eaten berries of a particular kind." A full knowledge of the connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy is not to be expected among low types of savage life, as copulation does not always result in pregnancy. The ignorance concerning paternity, stated to exist among the Trobriands, and sections of the Papuo-Melanesians of New Guinea, may merely mean that they have the tendency to complicate the functions existing between sexual intercourse and conception. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that 'matriarchy' is considered by many students to have been the earliest form of tracing descent; while the prolonged infancy and helplessness of the human child, is doubtless one of the chief factors which helped towards establishing a fair degree of permanency in the marital relations.

The birth of children, as a rule, in most countries is generally an occasion of joy and congratulations. In primitive communities and the early civilisations it was regarded as a token of favour with the gods. Barrenness in woman throughout the ages has frequently brought women into contempt and misery. Livingstone records that in Angola, when anyone wishes to deride a woman, the words "So-and-so has no children, and never will get any" is sometimes sung before the unfortunate woman, who feels the insult so keenly, that it is not uncommon for a woman to rush away and commit suicide.

The desire for offspring is most noticeable in Eastern countries, and is abundantly evidenced in ancient hymns and literature. "Bring us to-day, the blessing of many children" cries the votary addressing the deity Savitar, who represented the quickening and vivifying principle. "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth" was the divine injunction to the early Hebrews; yet Abraham and Sarah his wife found little joy in the divine promises while they were childless. "Behold to me Thou hast given no seed," cried Abraham. The life of Abraham's grandson, Jacob, was also embittered for years owing to the long barrenness of Rachel, who ultimately cried out to Jacob, "Give me children, or else I die." The legend of Niobe, indicates that it was not wise to boast of one's numerous offspring, which were the gift of the gods. Niobe, the mother of six sons and six daughters, presumptuously deeming herself to be superior to Leto, who had only one son and a daughter, is punished by having her twelve children slain, and herself turned into a stone statue.

When we think of the prevalence of the maternal instinct, and the longing for children which usually prevails among women, uninfluenced by the modern tendencies for small, or no family; we are not surprised at the various practices, which may be traced back into antiquity, which have been adopted by women in order to try to bear children. With this object, often sanctioned under the prevailing religious cults, women have visited the temple, seeking the aid of the priests, made offerings of fruits, flowers, sacrificed animals, vowed their first-born to the gods, bathed in sacred pools, springs and rivers, worn phallic amulets, offered wax, wooden or stone images of the phallus to the gods or goddesses of generation. To promote

fertility, women have eaten special foods, and drunk various liquids, and well on into the Middle and later Ages, have drunk potions which have been mixed with scrapings from the genital images of a god or a saint ; and rubbed and stretched themselves on horizontal male figures. In India, for centuries, the worship of the phallus, under the names of the Lingam and the Yoni has persisted, and still has its thousands of devotees. All these and other rites, some of which may appear repulsive to fastidious modern minds, have been performed with all sincerity and zeal, by women in the hope of bearing children, or increasing their fertility.

There are circumstances and times, however, when the birth of children has brought no joy to the household, clan or tribe, they have been foredoomed to perish. Infanticide, having been practised amongst practically all peoples, at various times in their history. It was sanctioned in ancient Greece by such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle. It was practised in India quite openly up to the British occupation, and it still prevails in China, as well as amongst many primitive and barbarous peoples.

Many factors have operated to cause this practice. Lack of food in times of famine or war ; the encumbrance which too many children constitute among hunting and migratory tribes. It is, however, chiefly upon the female race, and the deformed on whom this has been practised. Again, pride in being the possessor of more sons than daughters, has often been the cause, especially in patriarchal societies, and where ancestor worship prevails. A son preserves the family name from extinction, and upholds the family worship and the rights of the family.

Some of the ancient Vedic hymns contain expressions of this desire for sons : " A daughter give to someone

else, grant me a son," " Daughters are a sorrow ; sons are the fathers' pride and glory." In China, if a man is asked the number of his family, he will only give the number of his sons. The same custom exists among the Lithuanians, where daughters are ignored. Even male children, however, did not always escape the liability of death, sometimes by exposure to wild beasts, burial or starvation, if they were deformed, or considered superfluous to the needs of the family, clan or tribe. History records many such cases, while the classic myths and early dramas frequently refer to this custom. Persian history records the exposure of Cyrus, and Roman history that of Romulus and Remus, being exposed and suckled by a wolf. Unnatural as such conduct may be to us, infanticide still exists, although to a lesser degree than formerly.

When, however, amongst savage and barbarous people it is decided that the child shall live, many quaint and curious customs are carried out, not only at birth, but during the woman's pregnancy. Among the Ashanti, when conception is apparent, the woman goes through a ceremony of abuse, she is pelted down to the water, where she is cleansed. Charms are then bound on her wrists, spells are uttered over her ; she is then set aside, and her husband is not allowed to cohabit with her, from that time until she has finished nursing her child. With the Trobriand islanders, at the sign of a girl's first pregnancy, she is fitted with a petticoat, and a long cloak, which has been made under a ritual ceremony ; these are put on the woman after she has publicly bathed and washed in the presence of other women. Among these people a child born in wedlock, even after twelve months absence of the husband, is recognised by him as his own child. Among the Todas of India, about the fifth month of

pregnancy, for the first child, or after obtaining a new husband, the woman leaves the village, and lives in a secluded hut, her wrists are burnt in four places, while ceremonial washing, the drinking of butter-milk, and the putting on of a new mantle, at a certain period, are also associated with the first pregnancy. About the seventh month of pregnancy, a ceremony is performed of giving to the woman a bow and arrow by her husband (if she has several husbands, by the one who has been chosen as the father of the prospective child for all social purposes, and he is regarded as such after this ceremony, even if he has had no sexual contact with the woman before the ceremony).

Pregnancy rites vary, of course, according to the customs of the tribe or country. In many cases the woman is isolated in a hut, both before and after the birth of the child, and is usually attended by one or more women during her period of isolation from the community.

Another custom which prevails amongst certain tribes at the birth of a child is that known as 'couvade.' According to this custom the father of the child, behaves as if it was he who was confined ; he takes to his bed, is carefully nursed, abstains from or partakes of certain foods and drinks, is waited upon, receives congratulations, and is sometimes given the baby to nurse. In some tribes the man fasts several days, must not smoke, nor handle weapons, lest he hurt the child. In southern India, among certain tribes, the Erukala and the Vandhu, directly the woman feels the pangs of child-birth, she informs her husband, who immediately puts on some of her clothes and goes to bed. In Borneo, among the Dyaks, the father of the newborn child eats nothing but rice for eight days, must not expose himself to the sun, nor bathe for four days.

Among the Caribs, the father for some few days fasts and lies in his hammock, above all he must abstain from eating sea-cow, lest his infant should get little round eyes like it. Among the Abipones, beside fasting, the father must avoid draughts, must not take snuff, lest his sneezing hurt the baby ; should the child die during the first few days, the women accuse the father of some frivolity, or of breaking some taboo, or omitting some particular ritual. With the ancient Irish, especially in Ulster, the laying up of the father was for five nights.

The custom may be traced in most countries, where it lingers on under various symbolic practices associated with sympathetic magic. In the English Midlands, when a man is ill during his wife's pregnancy, and she enjoys fairly good health, the neighbours may be frequently heard to say " he is carrying the baby." The custom of couvade dates from a remote antiquity, and is mentioned by such old writers as Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and others. Travellers like Marco Polo have mentioned it, and reports of the custom as existing in many parts of the world, with various modifications, come frequently to hand.

The birth of twins gives rise to suspicion and fear among some tribes and is considered unlucky ; with others it is looked upon as being a favourable omen. Among the Indians on the Orinoco, if a woman gave birth to twins, it was assumed she had committed adultery ; this idea prevails also in parts of West Africa, as well as elsewhere. In Sierra Leone, among the Korankos and the Simbas, twins are killed and the mother driven out into the bush. In the Nile Delta, one of the twins is killed. In other parts of Africa, with the Fans, the first-comer is spared. In some cases mother and twins are cast out and exiled.

Twin boys in some cases are welcomed with singing, dancing and the beating of drums. Among the Hausas, in the Sudan, twins are credited with possessing special powers, such as to pick up scorpions without injury. Among the Ashanti, when one or both of the twins are girls, the chief has the right to claim them as wives ; while among the Damaras (Africa) twins are regarded as sacred.

In primitive communities, the rearing of the children is generally accompanied by many strange rites and customs, and from the earliest days the child is usually provided with the most varied assortment of amulets and charms, to protect it from illness, witchcraft and other evil influences. Frequently a great clamour is made as soon as a child is born, all present shouting and beating anything which will make a great noise, so as to drive off evil spirits. With some tribes rattles and bells are shaken. As to the protective charms and amulets, they consist of rags, shells, bones and so forth, which are fixed round the ankles or wrists, or they may be attached round the waist or girdle of the children.

In some cases there is a ceremonial washing and anointing with oil (East Africa). Among the Arabs a ceremony of dedication often took place, which consisted in shaving the child's head and daubing it with blood. Sometimes a sheep was offered in sacrifice ; in cases of no sacrifice, the child was named, and its gums rubbed with masticated dates on the morning after its birth. The Arabs were also accustomed, at one time, to hide a newborn child under a cauldron till the morning light. Among the Salish and Dene tribes of N.W. Canada, the child is washed in tepid water, and then rolled up in the inner bark of the cedar beaten fine and soft. It is then placed in a cradle in

which it passes practically the first whole year of its life, being taken out only once, or at most twice in every twenty-four hours to be washed and cleaned.

The naming of children is a matter of importance in most countries, and is frequently determined by priests or medicine-men in savage communities. In other cases the name chosen is determined by some unusual circumstance which may have occurred at the time of the child's birth. In the Old Testament we have numerous instances of this, as in the cases of Moses, Samuel and Ichabod. In Central Africa a man may have just finished making a canoe on the day of the child's birth, so the child is named 'Ngalawa' (canoe). In another case the boy was called 'Chipululu' because, as his mother explained, "he was born at the time of the 'hunger' when people had to go out in the bush to gather food." At the time of the Boer War, many English children were named after towns in South Africa: Pretoria, Mafeking . . . as well as being named after popular soldiers (Buller and Baden-Powell were very popular birth names for boys at this period). In various parts of the world, two names are frequently given to a child, one being made public, the other whispered in its ear. Sometimes the name given to a boy at birth is only temporary, being changed later on at puberty, or on the performance of some brave deed, in early manhood, when he has attained to the position of hunter or warrior. In some cases the child's name may be that of a plant or animal, as in the case of tribes possessing a clan totem (North American Indians, Australian aborigines).

In childhood, there are practised also among numerous tribes in various parts of the world, those mutilations and tattooings which in many instances, apart from personal adornment, constitute the indivi-

dual's totem or tribal mark. They vary according to custom and locality. They include perforation of the nasal septum, the lobes of the ears, the wearing of discs which transform the lips into various shapes, such as spoon-shaped, duck's-bill, etc. Deep incisions, or scarifications are made on the forehead, cheeks, arms, chest and stomach ; the teeth may be filed or some knocked out, the eyelashes, or eyebrow hairs plucked, or the joint of a finger cut off. As to circumcision, the age at which this takes place, varies throughout the world ; it may take place at birth, or after a few days, or may not take place until a boy is seven or up to fourteen years of age. Among the North American Indians, and the Australian aborigines, it is performed at puberty, or at the time of the youth's initiation into full membership amongst the men of his tribe.

Artificial deformation of the dead dates back to a very remote period, and is met with in both the Old and the New World. Herodotus, Hippocrates, Pliny, Strabo and others make mention of it. Artificial distorted skulls have been found in ancient graves in Crete, Cyprus, Egypt. It has been found in France, but the most classic region in which head deformation is practised is in America, where several different types of deformation are to be found. In some cases the head is lengthened by the process, in others it may be broadened or increased in height. Among the Salish and Dene tribes, as soon as a child is a few days old, bands for deforming its head are applied, the effect of which is to flatten the cranium, or elongate the head, or give a lateral extension of the head. In some cases, as amongst the Salish, the type of deformation marked the social status of the individual ; a normal head was a sign and badge of servitude (slaves being forbidden to deform the heads of their children) while the children

of chiefs had their heads severely and excessively deformed. The suckling of children amongst savage and barbarous people varies considerably and may continue for years.

The physical training of children in some tribes assumes a Spartan tendency. In the case of a North American Indian boy, from the age of about four years, he had to take a cold bath in the river or lake every morning and evening throughout the year. He was whipped daily with rods, and on entering his teens was often made to lie out all night without any clothing, so as to inure him to the cold. Games were played with the object of rendering the boys insensible to pain ; holding lighted fir needles on the backs of the hand, or between the fingers, dropping burning needles on the back and letting them burn down ; ripping each others' legs with bone needles until they bled ; such were some of the tests they had to endure to make them able to endure pain and hardships.

In contrast to this, the children of most negro races in Central Africa grow up without any systematic training ; when not sleeping or eating, the boy spends his time in play, chiefly in imitating the actions of his elders. He has no masters, except to obey the whims of his elders and relatives ; the cuffs of those who are stronger than himself are his chief punishments, while in turn, he vents his own malice on those who are weaker and smaller. As he grows up he gradually shares in the labour of the community, hunting, fishing or paddling the canoe with the men ; while the girls help the women to fetch wood and water, cook and keep the household going.

With the majority of primitive races, however, towards puberty, the youth is initiated into the duties and privileges of adult life ; whereas in civilisation

manhood is a phase of growth, with the savage it is a question of initiation, he is made into a man. In some tribes the youth is 'born again' by a symbolic rite into the status of manhood. Objects jealously guarded from the women and the uninitiated are shown to the youths, and their significance and sacredness pointed out. Masks are frequently worn by the men who are in charge of the youths, who are generally in a state of privation and weakness at the time of the ceremony. The instruction given under such mysterious surroundings has a lasting impression on the youths. The information imparted to them is supposed to contain all that it behoves a man to know and to do, in his dealings concerning the social life of the community into which he is born. With girls, tattooing, special treatment of the lips or the hair takes place, sometimes the hymen is perforated, and the wearing of particular clothing or girdle are put on denoting their womanhood. Usually, at the close of the respective initiation ceremonies, the young people are brought back into the camp or village with triumphal processions, and feasting and dancing may be carried on for several days.

The wisdom of the separation of the sexes in early youth, and in the value of the initiatory rites, is seen in the discipline it gives in connection with sexual control and restraint, as well as the permanent effects in the increased respect of the youths and girls for their elders, and in the maintenance of the customs of the tribe. From these standpoints the initiatory customs prove to be an effective system in social control in primitive societies.

Social Amusements—No description of the family and social life would be complete without mentioning the use to which hours of leisure are put. The subject is too vast to be adequately treated in detail in our

present survey ; put briefly, we may state, that in all sections of society, both primitive and civilised, play, dress, dancing, adornment, feasting and organised games, are to be found which tend to foster the social spirit, and give periods of pleasure, which are greatly appreciated by both performers and those who constitute their audience.

Play, in brief, may be defined as a natural and inherited instinct ; and from the biological standpoint, develops the youth's crude powers, and so helps to prepare him for the more serious tasks of life, while in team games, the boy learns to socialise his skill for the benefit of the whole. The games of children in many cases are based on imitating the actions of adults. Toy weapons, the spear, sling, lasso and the bow and arrow, are found in use, in both primitive and civilised communities. Catching and throwing the ball, string games, wrestling and fighting are practically universal ; and as boys tend to imitate the deeds of their fathers, so the girls play at house-keeping, weddings, funerals and so forth, and treat rag or wooden dolls as though they were children. The boy's propensity for catching and hunting bees, butterflies, beetles and robbing birds' nests, are all reminiscent of the hunting instinct of his ancestors who lived by the chase. Even in civilised countries his elders perpetuate the instinct by chasing the hare or the fox, or train dogs to chase the rabbit and so forth.

The concentrated effort to excel in skill or speed all others taking part in a game or race, so as to receive public applause and financial gain, becomes such a passion with some people, that men frequently devote their best energies to excel in some particular sport or mental contest. Hence, the rise of a professional class, from the days of the earliest savage drummer, dancer,

wrestler and acrobat, to the modern jazz-drummer, dancer, footballer, cricketer, tennis or golf player ; so, too, with the whist, bridge, billiard or chess professional. In such cases as these, the activities cease to be pure play and relaxation, they become a profession and a means of earning a living.

The arts of drawing, painting, carving in wood, stone, horn or bone are practically universal, and date back to the days when Palæolithic man lived in caves and carved designs and animals on stone, horn and ivory, while the roofs and walls of caves, still shows traces of his artistic skill.

Singing and Music are practically associated together, and form the basis of many social gatherings, in all classes of society ; while poetry and the drama may be traced back to the savage, who in speech and action, portrayed to his fellows assembled round the camp fire, his own exploits or those of his tribal ancestors in the chase or war. There can be no doubt that games, dancing and feasting have played a great part in cementing together savage and barbarous communities in harmonious unity, as well as the more highly civilised communities with their more elaborate meetings for sports, dinners, dances and concerts. The influence of these functions in welding together the participants in the spirit of goodwill and companionship, as well as strengthening the social bond in the community, cannot be fully estimated.

Old People.—In their treatment of the aged, uncivilised people differ ; in some cases, the aged and infirm are well treated, as amongst the Andamanese, the central Australian aborigines, and other tribes. In other cases as amongst the western Eskimo, and certain African tribes, they are often abandoned or put to death. In the New Hebrides the old people were

often buried alive. The old people belonging to the tribes of the Koryaks, E. Siberia ; and the Tshuktshi, Behring Straits, allowed their own children to kill them believing that they would enter on a new life at the exact age at which they left the world. Therefore, why should they leave this life at a too enfeebled age?

The desertion of the sick, infirm and old people, however, amongst hunting peoples, is frequently due not to inhumanity, but to the difficulty of attending to them and supplying their wants. Hunting and nomadic peoples must travel as light as possible, when on the march. Further, the primitive belief that there is a better life awaiting them beyond the grave, often causes the sick and old people themselves to ask to be deserted or put to death. Catlin (' North American Indians ') records the case of an old Indian chief, whom he saw left behind at his own request to die, while the tribe marched on. The old man crouched beside a fire, with a dish of water and a few half-picked bones, said with a certain dignity and pathos to the members of his tribe, " Go where you can get meat, my days are nearly all numbered, and I am a burden to my children, I cannot go, and wish to die " . . . the old man further stated that he had left his own father to die, when he was no longer good for anything. The old classic authors record similar practices of exposing or otherwise disposing of the old and infirm. Herodotus describes it as existing among the un-Aryan Massagetæ. Strabo ascribes it as existing in Ceros (one of the Cyclades islands in the Ægean Sea) where a law existed requiring all over sixty years of age to take poison. Heraclides Ponticus also states : " Old men do not wait for their end, but before they fall sick or become cripples, take themselves off by means of poppy or hemlock juice." In all these cases we see the power

of custom at work. The Wends in Germany also sacrificed the aged.

E. B. Tylor ('Anthropology') states: "That in Sweden there used to be kept in the churches certain wooden clubs, called 'family clubs', of which some are still preserved, and with which in ancient times the aged and the helplessly sick were solemnly put to death by their kinsfolk." In contrast to this, we find that the early Hebrews and the ancient Chinese, were centuries ahead of the early European nations, in treating with reverence their aged sires and dames. In China as early as the seventh century A.D. public assistance and hospitals for the aged and infirm were organised by the Emperor.

In brief, there is abundant evidence that the humanitarian spirit is not the monopoly of any special race either ancient or modern. Monasteries in medieval times, and the Elizabethan Poor Law in England, did something towards relieving the distress of the aged poor and infirm. Most of the almshouses which exist for the aged poor, and the 'charities' which distribute money or clothing to the aged poor and infirm are, in the main, legacies left by private individuals. It is only in the twentieth century that the State, in some countries, has acknowledged the right of the aged to an 'old age pension.'

HOSPITALITY.—To what extent hospitality is innate amongst any tribe or community is a debatable point. We are all familiar with the maxim that "the hospitality of the Arabs is proverbial," while it is recorded that certain savage communities, such as the Yahgans of Tierra-del-Fuego, the Veddahs of Ceylon and certain Hill tribes in India, have always regarded hospitality to the stranger a duty. In the earliest stages of society, however, of which we have any

records, it appears as if the stranger was treated as an enemy, or at least, with suspicion ; he was one who had, maybe, come to spy out the land, hence, he was usually treated in an hostile manner.

The solidarity of the family and kindred, as well as the larger units of the clan and tribe, would doubtless be an incentive to this mode of treatment to outsiders. The stranger had no rights, whereby he could command hospitality at the hands of those with whom he came in contact ; to ill-treat, rob or kill the stranger incurred no penalty within the tribe or primitive community. Even in England in Anglo-Saxon times, a stranger approaching a village, had to blow his horn, or shout, to show that he had no evil intent, and so preserve himself from being attacked or made prisoner.

The exclusiveness which prevailed amongst tribes and nations may be traced in the meaning of certain words, which have become common in our everyday speech. The word ' barbarian ' which we associate with brutal (barbarous) treatment, was originally applied to those who were strangers to Greek and Roman culture. The Jews called strangers ' Gentiles.' while the Latin word ' hostis ' is the root of our word ' hostile ' which we often use instead of ' enmity ' concerning the acts of those not friendly to us. The ill-treatment meted out to strangers in the early maritime periods, is clearly seen in the stories recorded of men shipwrecked and cast ashore on foreign lands. They were usually killed, or made slaves or sacrificed to the gods. Violent tempests were often regarded by sailors, as due to the presence on board ship, of some stranger who had offended the gods. Hence, at the least signs of a vessel showing a tendency to sink, or to be driven ashore by the gale, lots were drawn to discover the offender, who was then thrown into the sea.

The Biblical stories of Jonah and Paul are familiar examples ; others are recorded in the ancient classics, and medieval stories.

What brought about the change in the treatment of strangers and foreigners was probably due to the beginnings of barter and trade between people of alien races ; the strangers offering gifts and making peaceful gestures, where language was not translatable. The desire for a new food, materials for dress and ornamentation, or fresh weapons by the strangers, would naturally lead to the development of some sort of compromise in the matter of showing friendship or hospitality, if only for a temporary period. Under these conditions of mutual benefits to be exchanged, it is quite feasible to maintain, that in course of time certain rules of conduct would become customary, and exercise a great coercive and restraining power in dealing one with the other, which would eventually extend to other affairs of life beside barter and trade.

Sexual hospitality, which was more prevalent centuries ago, and which still exists amongst many tribes, would also help to cement friendliness ; while the adoption of the stranger into the family, clan or tribe, or the settling of the stranger in their midst, in some cases as hostage or as an agent for his own kin or countrymen, would be an additional reason for treating the stranger with friendliness. Hence, in course of time, we find in the early civilisations of Babylon, India, China, etc., hospitality to the stranger incorporated into their laws, and ultimately recognised as a sacred duty. Many inscriptions on the tombs of the wealthy in Eastern countries, record that the deceased was famed for his kindness to the sick, poor, aged and the stranger within the gates. In one of the early Mosaic laws it was enjoined on the

Israelites, "Not to vex the stranger." (Ex. 22. 21 ; Lev. 19. 33.)

The weight of historical evidence, however, seems to bear out the theory, that the first contact of alien people with each other, was 'hostile,' whether amongst savages, barbarians, or civilised. Even to-day, the cult of race and nationalism still keeps the hostility simmering throughout the world, as witness the ruthless and savage warfare waged by so-called cultured nations.

CHAPTER IV

Social Organisation

When in primitive and savage communities the association of related families becomes stabilised, the question of descent becomes all important, and it accordingly resolves itself into a choice between the maternal and paternal groups. In what is known as Matriarchy, kinship and descent are reckoned through the female line, and in patriarchy through the males.

Much discussion has taken place as to which was the earliest method. Those who believe in the early promiscuity of the human race, naturally hold to matriarchy as the earliest ; where the sexual bond is loose, and the means of ascertaining the fatherhood is difficult, descent reckoned on the mother's side may appear natural, as it is in our own country with the illegitimate child, which takes its mother's name. Yet this method of reckoning does not always hold good, for in many tribes, where fatherhood cannot always be definitely arrived at, descent is frequently on the male side. Most frequently the group to which a child is assigned is not necessarily the family, but the clan (or its equivalent under different names according to locality or country), hence the question of paternity cannot fully explain why the female line of descent takes priority with many communities. Among the Australian aborigines, for example, the male line of descent is held by some groups, and the female by others. Both methods of descent are to be found also among many other communities in other parts of the

world. (India, Africa, also among many Red Indian tribes.)

It may be, that one of the reasons which affects the method of descent, is the view which is held concerning the status of women and the form of marriage ; for among certain peoples it is a remarkable fact, that where both customs prevail side by side, where the man takes up his abode with the woman's kin, descent is traced through the female line ; but where the woman takes up her abode with the man, descent is traced through the male (early Arabians, Sumatrans, Sinhalese, etc.). It does not always follow that if descent is reckoned on the mother's side, she was, or is, the head of the family. Where the matriarchate system prevails, the natural protector of the children and the family is the mother's brother. This explains the heirship of nephews, which exists among many tribes, to the exclusion of a man's own offspring. (Gold Coast, chieftainship among the Tuaregs, throne of Ashanti, coast tribes in the north-west of America, Kolushs, etc.) How father-right arose we can only surmise. In practice, both methods often exist side by side, and it is probably impossible to determine which of these two methods of reckoning descent holds the prior claim.

Patriarchy can be traced back to primitive times, among the Aryan and the Semitic peoples, and it is still the mode under which live most of the uncivilised and barbarous tribes. It is specially noticeable among pastoral peoples ; there the father is supreme. In ancient times he was the priest who offered the sacrifice, bought and sold his women and children ; he enlarged his household by raiding or by purchase and adoption. With the extension of the family, conditions become favourable for the evolution of the clans or gentes,

each frequently distinguished by its totem in the tribal organisation to which they respectively belong, whatever be the mode of reckoning their descent.

The words "Gens, Yevos, and Ganas in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, have alike the primary significance of kin, thus implying in each the theory of a common descent of the members of a gens." This organisation appears to have been widely spread and a popular method of grouping amongst large populations based on tribal organisation. It may be traced in its historical and existing forms amongst a large number of tribes and races. Commencing in primitive communities, it continued until the establishment of political society. Especially is this seen in the rise of the city-states of the Greeks and Romans. The ancient gens, curia and phratry, have a certain correspondence with the Irish sept, the Scottish clan, and the phratries existing amongst many tribes and peoples. Divisions called 'moieties' exist among some tribes, as in Australia, North America and Melanesia, and are frequently associated in the regulation of marriage. In addition to the above, there are totem-septs, frequently called totem-gens or totem-clans. Frequently totem-septs are grouped into phratries.

As totemism is closely connected in many parts of the world with the clan system, it will be fitting at this stage to discuss the subject a little more fully than we did in dealing with the family and marriage, bearing in mind, however, that almost everything that might be asserted in general about totemism is open to criticism. Frazer often changed his views on the subject and stated: "That my conclusions on these difficult questions are final, I am not so foolish as to pretend. I have changed my views repeatedly, and am resolved to change them again with every change of the evidence."

('Totemism and Exogamy.') This is the correct attitude to adopt, as nowhere do we find exogamy and the totemic system in their original forms. Further, it must be noted with regard to totemism, that the grouping of primitive society called in their collective aspect by this name are not the same element amongst the Australian aborigines as with the North American Indians.

The word totem is a North American Indian name applied to some class of natural objects, such as a species of plants or of animals, to which they as members of a clan considered themselves to be related. In certain cases the totem is looked upon as a protective being, and is itself protected by the group from harm. The totem animal is sometimes eaten ritually, while certain rites and ceremonies are occasionally performed for its multiplication, and it is nearly always subject to taboo. The totem is sometimes represented on different objects belonging to the clan, or by marking an image or sign of the totem on the bodies of the members of the group, or weapons may be marked or other approved objects. Totemistic divisions may have an elastic extension ; the inhabitants of a territorial district may belong to several clans, and on the other hand, the members of one and the same totem may inhabit places distant from each other. All men marked with the same totem were necessarily comrades although they might be widely separated ; the totemic community, therefore, consisted of both visible and absent members, who, when coming in contact, conformed to the totemistic sanctions, both as to mutual protection and marriage prohibitions.

As to the origin of totemism we can only surmise. A. H. Keane suggests that " it was at first a mere device for distinguishing one individual from another, one

family or clan group from another " (' Man, Past and Present,' p. 397.) A. Lang suggests " that for the sake of distinction, groups gave each other animal and plant names. . . ." (' Secret of the Totem.') Nicknaming, fancied resemblances and accidental associations, have been suggested by other authorities (H. Spencer, McLennan, Giddings, etc.). It is a well-known fact that with children and adults whether savages or civilised, nicknaming and imitation of animals is frequently practised. Many of the surnames prevalent amongst us to-day are the names of plants, trees, birds, beasts and fishes which have become hereditary family names (rose, thorn, ash, crane, hawk, crow, fox, salmon, herring, whale, etc.).

By adopting the theories just mentioned as a working hypothesis, they afford a rational interpretation of the reason why men named after a certain bird or beast, adorned themselves with its feathers, beak, claws, teeth, horns, or even animal heads and skins as the case may be. It enabled them to conceive that they were sharing or imitating the life of the animal. The man who was named eagle, bear, or wolf, may he not have naturally felt, that in some degree he shared its spirit. " The Abipones of Paraguay eagerly devour the flesh of the jaguar, bull, stag and boar, so that their strength, boldness and courage may be increased." That ' like begets like ' is a prevailing belief in primitive societies. Animal ' mascots ' are frequently worn by civilised persons, and are attached to many of the motor cars we see on our roads. (It has been suggested, that our blazons and armorial bearings, to a certain extent, may be relics derived from the totemistic idea.)

Under such conditions naming assumes a new significance. To primitive man it was a kind of spiritual kinship which influenced a person's actions in almost

every circumstance of daily life. In the case of children, sometimes the selection of a totem was a matter of chance ; for example " in parts of the world so widely separated as Samoa and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in Mexico, it was the practice when a birth was expected, for the relatives to draw and erase on the ground figures of animals, one after the other, and the animal that was drawn when the infant was born, became the child's totem." In some North American Indian tribes, " the boy usually took as his medicine or totem the first animal of which he dreamed during the long and solitary fast that he observed at puberty." With the Arunta tribe, Australia, a totem name may be given to a child who may be considered the reincarnated Alcheringa ancestor.

The totemic ancestors of some of the American Indians are to be understood as somewhat different from the animals of the sort seen to-day. They were regarded as mythical ancient beings of supernatural attributes, who used these animal forms for their own purpose. The Iroquoian legends, relate how the tortoise, their totem and ancestor, got rid of its shell and became a man. Other tribes claim that their totem ancestor, was transformed by the Great Spirit from the animal into the human form. Totemism thus has two sides, a social grouping which deals with the relations in which the members of the same totem stand to each other, and to the members of other totem groups, and a system of religious beliefs and practices, which embraces the mystic union of the members with their totem. (For further details on this latter phase of totemism, see chapter xi. on Religion.)

The clan may be described as a grouping formed on a kinship, totemistic, exogamous or a territorial basis and is well adapted to small groups, enabling them to

carry on family traditions as well as hero and ancestor-worship which frequently continues right through tribal organisation into early political society. Indeed, there are still many families who make a fetish of their ancestry. The clan system exists in tribes tracing descent through the mother, as well as those which trace descent through the fathers, but in studying the phases of social organisation, both types of the clan will be used as one class.

A. W. Howitt, in his book 'Native Tribes of S.E. Australia,' uses the terms clan and phratry in a different sense from some writers. By the term 'clan' he means the principal geographical and territorial divisions of a tribe in which descent is in the male line, and the word 'horde' to denote the divisions of a tribe in which descent is in the female line. W. F. Skene, in his book 'Celtic Scotland,' suggests that it is through "the breaking up of the tribe that the clans are formed." E. Jenks, in his 'History of Politics,' suggests that "the domestication of animals converted the savage pack into the patriarchal tribe, and that the adoption of agriculture broke up the tribe into clans." As the clan system is found in tribes who have never practised agriculture (Australian aborigines, etc.), Jenks theory does not hold good for all cases. The real difficulty in the various theories which are held by these and other sociologists, lies in the fact that clan exogamy, female kinship, and residence, all have to be considered in deciding on any one theory. In short, the clan derived from the family seems the most suitable theory. F. H. Giddings, in his 'Principles of Sociology," states: 'It is best therefore to use the generic name 'clan' for all forms of kinship organisation larger than the family, and differing from the family by including only the relatives, real or nominal in one line of descent."

The gen, or clan system, is well illustrated amongst the North American Indians by L. H. Morgan in his book, ' Ancient Society,' and although it is one of the earlier classics on sociology, many of his investigations into the constitution of ancient society are considered by many authorities to be of lasting value, hence some of his conclusions regarding the social organisation of the North American Indians may be helpful in further developing our present study.

Among the Iroquois, all were forbidden to marry within the clan, which were eight in number, and divided into two phratries as follows: First phratry, divided into four clans or gentes named: Bear, Wolf, Beaver, Turtle. Second phratry, clans or gentes named: Deer, Snipe, Heron, Hawk. All were bound to help and defend a clansmen and to avenge his injuries. All shared in the right to bear the clan's totemic name, to inherit the property of deceased members, to adopt strangers into the clan. All participated in the common religious rites, and had a common burial-place. Each clan elected its own sachem and chiefs. The office of the sachem was essentially that of councillor or petty justice ; he interpreted the duties and administrated the judicial traditions of the clan. The chiefs in each clan were usually proportioned to the number of its members. Among the Seneca-Iroquois there was one chief for about every fifty persons.

The land belonging to the tribe was apportioned among its clans, who then allotted it to the several households for purposes of cultivation. It also regulated trading or barter, asserted its authority in serious personal quarrels and in feuds. In time of war the clansmen fought in each others' company. In inter-tribal warfare and small skirmishes, any brave

might call for volunteers from among his clansmen to follow him on the warpath, and would announce his project by giving a war-dance. This system of clansmen fighting together survives in the word 'war-cry' and has a parallel meaning in the word 'slogan,' the war-cry of the clans among the ancient Scottish Highlanders. Such are some of the ordinary features of clan-life as found among the North American Indians ; similar conditions with differences of detail are found among other people.

The 'phratry', as the word implies, is a brotherhood, and is a natural growth from the clan organisation ; it is composed of a union of two or more clans of the same tribe for certain common objects including social and religious purposes. The Iroquois with their eight clans divided into two phratries, have a tradition that the Bear and the Deer were the original clans of which the others were sub-divisions. It is thus seen that the phratry had a natural foundation in the kinship of the clans of which it was composed. Originally marriage was not allowed between the members of the same phratry ; but the members of either could marry into any gens of the other. This prohibition, however, gradually disappeared.

In the case of murder, when the slayer and the slain belonged to different phratries, as well as to different clans, one of the phratries would send a delegation with a belt of white wampum asking for a council of the two phratries to meet and adjust the crime. Whenever possible reparation would be made to the family and gens of the slain person by expressions of regret and in presents of value. At funerals, the phrators of the deceased in a body were the mourners, and the members of the opposite phratry conducted the ceremonies. If the deceased had been a person of importance, such

as a sachem, the chiefs and sachems, would form a circle round the grave for the purpose of filling it in. Each in turn, commencing with the senior in years, cast three shovelfuls, of which the first had relation to the Great Spirit, the second to the Sun, and the third to Mother Earth. When the grave was filled the senior sachem deposited 'the horns' of the departed sachem—emblematic of his office—upon the top of the grave over the head. There it remained until his successor was installed, which could not be for eleven days at least; in that subsequent ceremony, the 'horns' of the late sachem were taken from the grave, and placed on the head of his successor.

It was a journey of ten days from earth to heaven for the departed spirit, and for ten days after the death of a person, the mourners met nightly to lament the deceased. The dirge or wail was performed by women. It was an ancient custom to make a fire on the grave each night for the same period. On the eleventh day mourning ceased and a feast was held.

The types of social organisation just considered may be looked upon as spontaneous growths resting on the natural ties of blood-relationship, intermarriage, the exclusive possession of a dialect and neighbouring territory. The formation of a tribe, therefore, is a natural growth, through the combining of two or more clans in a tribal union; tribes could not exist without the clans or gentes, though they might without the phratries. To the stranger the tribe is visible but not the clan.

Concerning the North American Indians, the large number of independent tribes, which at one time existed, were all of natural growth, and the process was no doubt accelerated by the great expanse of the American continent. The transformation of clans into tribes may, in some cases, occur quickly, under

stress of external pressure. Changes in the distribution of food-supply, famine, flood, fire, etc., may compel clans to live in closer proximity than was formerly their wont. The pressure of enemies, is not only another method of consolidating clans and forming a tribe, but it may lead to a number of tribes uniting together for mutual defence or conquest ; such as the ' Iroquois Confederacy ' which included five tribes: the Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, the Cayugas and the Oneidas. (They were known later as the ' Six Nations ' when joined by the kindred Tuscaroras from North Carolina in 1712.) They resided in villages which were usually surrounded with stockades, occupied territories contiguous to each other, and spoke dialects of the same language which were mutually intelligible. The same totemic kindreds extended to all the five tribes ; the tribes, however, remained independent in all strictly tribal matters. Such was the social system as it existed among the North American Indians, and although for many years they have been in close contact with modern civilisation, the system still exists in many Indian tribes, both in north-west Canada and in the United States.

A similar type of tribal society exists in Siberia among the tribes of the Ostyaks who inhabit the northern country on the banks of the Yenisei and Obi rivers. Each tribe is constituted of clans and each clan forms a community which is exogamous. Each tribe have a head chief, who is the judge of the most serious offences, while over each clan is an elder who presides and judges small offences. Although the clans are to a certain extent independent of each other, yet they unite together for defence and other purposes in the larger organisation of the true tribe, which is endogamous.

In South Africa the Kaffirs, the Bechuanas, and the

Hottentots have tribal organisations. The Kaffir tribe is composed of many villages and is constituted of exogamous clans, while each tribe has its chief. The wandering tribes of Hottentots are subdivided into villages, or kraals of several hundred people each. These kraals are endogamous. Another example of tribal organisation is afforded by the Santals of the western mountains of Lower Bengal, India. The various tribes of whom they are composed are subdivided into kindred groups, reckoning descent through fathers. These kindred groups are exogamous. The evidence thus produced concerning the evolution of the clan, gentes and tribes prove that similar conditions determined, in many cases, the genesis of the tribally organised communities, which frequently developed into civilised states. The Old Testament story of the early Hebrews commencing with the history of Abraham and the subsequent formations of the twelve tribes of Israel, is familiar to most people, and needs no elaborate detail here, of their final welding into a political state under the Israelitish kings.

History affords numerous other examples of the wide prevalence of tribal organisations in all the continents of the world. The Britons and the Germanic peoples when they first come under historical notice, are described by Cæsar and Tacitus as being under a type of tribal government. Their several societies were held together through personal relations and were under chieftains. Tacitus refers to the practice of the German tribes to arrange their forces in battle with kinsmen placed side by side. The Celts of Western Europe retained in the Welsh, Irish and Scottish tribal systems, their organisation into clans, under the respective names of the gwely, sept and clan, well into late historic times.

The unit of society with the ancient Welsh was not the family or the individual, but a group of kindred known as the 'Wele' or 'Gwely,' namely, a family group of three generations under one headship. (The Gwely: a couch extending round the wall of the room in the house on which the family slept.) From the 'head' the tribesmen received their share in the cattle, and the grazing rights necessary for their dependence; agriculture being secondary and of an open-field husbandry. A boy at the age of fourteen ceased to be responsible to his father, and was dependent on the chief by 'kin and descent' for a tribesman right of maintenance. The rights and property of a tribesman dying without issue came into the common stock. The tribesmen had no manorial lord over them, but their chief, a sort of minor patriarch, i.e., the great grandfather, who was looked back to as the common ancestor, and whose name was still given to the family holding of his co-heirs. Even as late as the fourteenth century the land held by the tribesmen were called 'Weles' and 'Gravells,' essentially 'family' or 'tribal' holdings. The freedom of the tribesmen was such, that when Wales was finally conquered by the English the 'tune' paid instead of a 'food rent' to the chief of the family, was paid to the Prince of Wales, no mesne lord interposed between the tribesmen and the Prince.

Irish tradition and history shows the tribal system in full operation. The tuath or tribe consisted of tribesmen grouped by kinship into smaller communities called 'fine' or 'sept' corresponding to the clan which was subdivided into four hearths, or grades of kinship. The pasturage and plough-lands were shared out according to custom among the clans, and the wastes, moors, woods and mountains were regarded

as common property. Each tribe had its own chief, who was called 'rig' (righ) or king, hence, the reason for the numerous kings recorded in Irish history and tradition.

An old poem tells how ancient Ireland was divided into 184 tribal territories, each of which was subdivided into thirty 'bailes' (townlands) or clan lands. The numbers need not be taken as exact, but the description may be accepted as true of tribal organisation being in full force. The poem describes a baile as sustaining 300 cows and divided into four quarters, one herd of 75 cows for each quarter; thus 184 tribal divisions each containing 30 bailes, gives 5,520 bailes in all.

The Scottish clan system in particular, was existing in remarkable vitality in the Highlands into the middle of the eighteenth century. The use of lands in common, the blood kinship, and fidelity to the clan and chief, as well as their feuds and blood revenge, have been frequently mentioned in our books of history, as well as in the novels of Sir Walter Scott. It is a well-known fact, that the English Governments were compelled to break up the Highland clans—as military organisations—in order to bring the people under the authority of civil law, and the practices of political society.

In addition to the foregoing peoples enumerated, the Saxons, the Franks, the Germans, the Slavs, the Greeks and the Romans were originally tribally organised peoples, who by subsequent growth developed into political and national states. The government of the Grecian tribes, anterior to the formation of the city states, involved the principle of kinship as the primary bond of union, while the same plan ran through the organic series of the clan, phratry and tribe. First, the

gens and the common name ; second, the phratry, an assembly of gentes for social and religious objects ; third, the assemblage of the gentes or clans into tribes, descent being traced on the father's side. The Ionians in Attica were subdivided into four tribes ; the Dorians at Sparta were composed of three tribes. Community of property, the sacred hearth, the communal gods, co-operation of families and clansmen in warfare, all hold good as in our other examples. The experienced warrior Nestor suggests to the captain of the Greek host the arrangement of his men in phratries, " Separate thy warriors by tribes and by clans Agamemnon, that clan may give aid to clan and tribe to tribe " (*Iliad* ii 362). The description in the Iliad of the Rhodians in Agamemnon's army, who were of Dorian descent also confirms this practice, " His kinsfolk settled by kinship in three tribes," and again, " They dwelt in Rhodes, distributed into three parts."

The Roman organisation was on the same lines: First, the blood-kinship of the gens and a common name. Second, the ' curia,' the assemblage of the gentes for religious and social purposes. Third, the assemblage of the gentes organised in ' curiæ ' forming the tribe, etc. In the Roman gens descent was in the male line prior to the traditional founding of Rome by Romulus. Of the three names borne by a Roman the middle one was that of his gens. For example, the names Gaius Julius Cæsar ; Marcus Tullius Cicero belong respectively to the Julian and the Tullian gentes. The original gentes who concentrated on the banks of the Tiber at Rome were known as the ' Ramnes ' and were Latin gentes. The second of the tribes ' Tities ' were, in the main, Sabine gentes. The third tribe, the ' Luceres ' was formed from gradual accessions and conquests and contained, among others, a number

of Etruscan gentes. Community of property between the members of the clan is evidenced by a provision in the laws of the Twelve Tables regarding succession: "If there be no next of kin (on the father's side) the clansmen shall have the family property." The three-fold divisions of the Romans, like the Rhodians of Dorian descent in Greece, is testified by the words of Varro: "Thirteen horsemen or knights from each of the three tribes, the Titienses, the Ramnes and the Luceres."

It will be seen that the type of social organisation we have surveyed among different peoples, both ancient and modern as exemplified under the tribal system tend towards a certain outward uniformity in family relationships, social and religious usages, economic and warlike interests, theory of descent and form of government. Yet as a type of social organisation found in many countries, among peoples in various stages of culture, it holds an important position in the history of human progress, for in it lay, as it were, the germ from which has issued the political and civilised ancient and modern states.

CHAPTER V

Rise of the City-States

The development of the later and larger forms of social and political groupings, which finally resulted in what we term 'The State,' had their prototype in the city-states of the Greeks and Romans. In the history of such cities as Athens, Sparta and Rome, we can trace how tribal gradually gave place to local authority in government, and how this in turn developed into the city-state.

To use modern terms, the Greek and Roman city-states became political unities in which free discussion, oratory, diplomacy and administrative skill had full scope and opportunity to exercise themselves in the realisation of personal liberty, and the promulgation of constitutional laws, in place of the old customary and tribal law. What the Greeks achieved in philosophy, art and early democratic government, and the Romans in law, civil and religious freedom and military prowess, is well known to all students of history and the classics ; all that need be stated in this series of sociological studies is a brief account of the development of their democratic and political achievements whereby they became city-states.

In the creation of a city it is reasonable to assume that the main features which would be instrumental in bringing together village-communities into a kind of mutual social and political confederacy, would be a central and suitable place for providing means of

sustenance and defence, for barter or trade, and for worship, etc. In such a place, wherein resided the chief, with his attendant war-lords, and their retainers, slaves, etc., and the aristocracies, with farms in the neighbourhood worked by landless men or slaves, we can conceive one city in course of time attaining to eminence, and regarded as the chief among others in the same land. Such a one was Athens, where men sought to create a type of society which would enable them to live in security, freedom and enjoyment.

The glimpses of the early Greek settlements which we get in the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, suggest the foregoing assumptions. In these poems we have revealed to us an association of families which had extended into gentes, living apart in semi-independent village communities, who were united under an hereditary chief, who was priest, judge and military head. The centre of government was doubtless the council of Elders, whose approval of the business brought before them by their petty-king or chief was sufficient to enforce the decrees upon the people concerned.

This ancient organisation of government through the relationship of persons to their family, gens and tribe ultimately became extinguished as the growth of citizenship tended to absorb the original constituent groupings. The private interests and prerogatives of families, gens, phratries and tribes, were no longer sufficient to hold it together. Citizenship became more important than the family and the various phases of tribal organisation. In the rise of Athens and Sparta we may trace how the establishment of the Greek 'body politic' became possible.

In the seventh century B.C. we find Athens possessing an executive, consisting of three offices: the king, the archon and the polemarch, while the free population

of the Athenians was divided into three classes ; the nobles, the peasants who cultivated their own land, and artisans who lived by trade. In addition to these there were other freemen and labourers who worked for others, as well as the slaves.

This type of society had prevailed during the rule of the kings and the aristocracies, and was in existence in 621 B.C., when owing to the discontent of the lower orders, Draco, was empowered to codify and correct the existing laws. Of his legislation we only know the provisions of the criminal laws relating to the shedding of blood, and a few relating to penal offences. His name has become proverbial for severity (Draconic), owing to certain small offences (such as stealing a cabbage) being punishable by death. He was not altogether to blame for the severity of the code, as it was drawn up at the instigation of the aristocracy, and was bound to be in their favour. His task was mainly to decide on a set of laws, which could be written down, so that all classes could refer to them for guidance. The publishing of the laws, therefore, were of little help to the mass of the people, who still continued to be oppressed by the rich, who continued to pervert the law in favour of themselves. Many of the small landowners had to borrow money, and failing to repay, lost their land ; free labourers through poverty and debt, often became slaves. Under such conditions, the lower classes were verging on revolution. This was averted by the election of Solon (594 B.C.) as ' Archon ' for the city of Athens.

The creation of the office of ' Archon ' was originally a step towards the curtailing of kingly power. Codrus (died 1044 B.C.) the last of the Athenian kings, was succeeded by his son under the title of ' Archon,' namely, ' ruler ' and this office was held in strict

hereditary succession by the descendants for generations. The hereditary archonship, however, was in its turn done away with, and the tenure of office was held for ten years. Later on it was made an annual office (683-2 B.C.?) and its functions were divided amongst nine other officers; to all these offices only those who were of the old kinship of the 'family-state' were made eligible. The honorary chief of these nine archons was called 'Archon Eponymus' because from him the year took its name in all official records. The second, called 'Archon Basileous' acted as the city's high priest; and the third, was called 'Archon Polemarchus' and he was the military commander. The other six called 'Thesmothetæ' were the judges.

With regard to the reforms inaugurated by Solon, he first of all repealed the Draconic Code with the exception of those relating to manslaughter. The others were a combination of social, economic and political laws whereby he sought to improve the condition of the people and initiate the democratic spirit.

He struck off all outstanding debts which had been incurred by individuals and families on the security of their land, property or persons. A law was also passed which prevented a renewal of personal bondage, by forbidding the pledging of the debtor's person as security for debt. He also classified the people apart from descent, phratry or gen, by instituting four property classes according to their incomes from the land, reckoned in measures of grain, oil or wine. The first class had to have a minimum income of 500 medimni (measures), the second class 300, the third 200; the fourth class and lowest consisted of all those whose return from the land was less than 200 medimni. The members of the first class were known as the 'Pentacosio'; the second class were called 'Hip-

peis,' or knights, because they formed the cavalry branch in the army; the third class were called 'Zeugitai' or teamsters, because they had land enough to require the use of a yoke of draught animals; the fourth class were known as the 'Thetes,' who were for the most part, those with no political rights, labourers for hire, traders, craftsmen, etc.

On this economic basis, was determined eligibility for office and the franchise. The Archonship and the highest public functions were confined to the first class; the lesser magistracies and other offices were open to members of the three highest classes. The members of the lowest class, however, were given the power to share in the elections of the magistrates, and all over thirty years of age had the right to sit in an assembly which judged the conduct of the magistrates after their year of office was over.

In addition to the popular 'Assembly' Solon instituted a Senate of Four Hundred, chosen yearly from the first three classes, before which all business had to be brought before it was submitted to the Assembly. Over and above all, Solon still retained the old Senate of the 'Areopagus' the highest tribunal, which was composed of a body of experienced men who occupied their positions for life, and whose supervisionary powers consisted of watching over the administrative, the magistracy, the procedure of the popular 'Assembly,' public discipline, etc.

Great, however, as were the changes brought about by Solon, they did not constitute 'Democracy.' It still left noble families in power, and wealth as a standard for political offices and privileges. It did, however, introduce the new principle of basing the ruling authority on popular consent, and curtailing its judicial side, by the opportunity of appealing to popular jury

courts. On the whole, the reforms were a step nearer towards political expression in Athenian citizenship, for every Athenian had the power of lodging a complaint on behalf of any citizen whom he saw oppressed or injured.

Solon's constitution, however, did not live long. Shortly after 600 B.C., we find Attica showing the clash of parties. In the eyes of the nobles, Solon had done too much, and in the opinions of the ordinary citizens, traders, artisans and landed peasantry he had done too little. Hence, for some succeeding years we find Athens governed by tyrants. The discontent and oppression caused by these rulers, at length stirred the Athenians to call in the aid of Sparta to assist them in the overthrow of the tyrannical rule. With the help of Sparta this was accomplished (510 B.C.), and an opportunity was then found for another reformer, Cleisthenes (509 B.C.), to try to improve upon the work of Solon by laying the foundation of a new and great political reform.

The main achievement of Cleisthenes was the establishment of a new organisation in which birth, privilege and wealth, had to take their chances of political preferment in competition with all other citizens. All men living within the boundaries of any local subdivision of a tribal domain were enrolled as members of the local community which dwelt there. The political unit was now the township (demes) ; territorial unity thus superseded family, clan, tribe or wealth in qualification for election to office. Further, the citizen had to act in the interests of the whole 'state' and not of a particular region. Its ultimate result was the establishment of a genuine democracy.

The number of townships were limited by Cleisthenes to one hundred. Each of these had a governor and a

council at which the townsmen met. These towns (demes) were then combined by tens into ten tribes, each of which was named after eponymous heroes (Erechtheis, Ægeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Acamantis, Œneis, Cecropis, Hippothontis, Æantis and Antiochis) in such a manner that the demes of the same tribe were not contiguous. In these new tribes were included many inhabitants who had not hitherto counted as citizens, because they had not belonged to any of the ancient families. The number of citizens was also increased by admitting a number of manumitted slaves. The former original tribal units continued to exist, but only as religious organisations.

Cleisthenes also classified Attica on a geographical basis by recognising three areas, namely, the region of the city, the coast and the inland. These were called 'trittyes,' they had no corporate existence, but formed merely a link between the demes and the tribes. Each Athenian was therefore a member of a deme, a tritty and a tribe. From each of the ten tribes, fifty members were annually chosen to form a council of five hundred. The powers of the Areopagus, however, were not altered, but in order to prevent the recurrence of a tyranny, the law of 'Ostracism' was instituted, by which any citizen whose power seemed to threaten the peace of the city, could be sent into banishment for ten years, if six thousand citizens voted against him. He did not, however, lose his citizenship. Ostracism was a vital element in the constitution, giving it stability in its early days, and was a useful measure against designing persons. (Among those who suffered were, Aristides, Themistocles and Thucydides.)

The military forces of Athens were transferred from the Archon Polemarchus to ten generals elected annually, one out of each of the ten tribes. Each tribe

supplied a regiment of foot-soldiers, and a squadron of cavalry. When on a military enterprise, each general took turns, day by day, to command in the field. The finances of the state were in the hands of the Supreme Council, a finance officer—one from each tribe—acting under its direction.

Owing to the elective system, the majority of citizens, at some time or other, probably had some practical experience in local government. Every Athenian as soon as he attained to manhood was admitted on the city-roll, and could sit and vote in the popular assembly, while all over thirty years of age could sit and vote in the law courts. Without going into full details as to the numerous ways in which an Athenian could share in the government of his city, it is sufficient to state that, by the time of Pericles (*c.* 500-429 B.C.), the conception of the city-state had become a living reality to the Athenian, who looked upon his city as a place in which he could live an ideal life.

This idea is embodied in the speech of Pericles delivered by him at the funeral oration in memory of the Athenians who fell in the first campaign of the Peloponnesian War. In describing their efforts to produce a better type of man, he states that their ideal aim was to produce "a life beautiful without extravagance, contemplation without unmanliness . . . while wealth in their eyes was to be a thing not for ostentation, but for reasonable use," and, "it is not the acknowledgment of poverty we think disgraceful, but the want of endeavour to avoid it."

Certain it is that in no other State or age, have so many men of genius been produced from so small a population, or in so brief a period (within two centuries). Philosophy, drama, oratory, history, sculpture,

painting and statesmanship, are represented by over thirty names, which are world-renowned, and whose theories and systems we moderns still study and include under the term ' classics.'

It must be noted, however, that the efforts of the Athenians towards establishing a democracy was based, like so many other ancient civilisations, on slave labour. Slavery was defended by all the great Greek thinkers ; with Aristotle they thought that without it culture would be impossible, seeing that it gave leisure to a privileged class to develop intellectual and cultural pursuits, and was also one of the means of discipling the lower classes, by making them perform the laborious tasks necessary for the ease and comfort of their owners or masters.

The story of slavery is a long and saddening one, and yet in the minds of many of the world's greatest philosophers and statesmen throughout the centuries, they have regarded it as a necessary function in the social process, seeing that it initiated man into the method of sustained labour, the ' gospel of compulsory work,' was a means of curbing the wild unsettled nature of savage man. The coercive system of slavery has had an enormous influence in the history of human culture and development. As more humanitarian principles developed, slaves were frequently freed and became citizens. When the master was of a generous disposition, he doubtless dealt leniently with his slaves, Æsopus, the writer of fables, was originally a slave, and received his freedom from his master, judged by this test, Athens was probably more lenient to its slaves than either Sparta or Rome, for the Athenian slave was often allowed to hold property, found a family and buy his freedom.

SPARTA

During the period in which Athens was endeavouring to evolve a democratic State, the Spartan constitution remained much the same as it was in the early days of its recorded history. The life of the Spartan was governed by an iron discipline which accompanied him from the cradle practically to the grave. Every effort was made to produce a race of invincible warriors, and every man's life was subordinated to the service of the State. The constitution was rigid and conservative, and was attributed to Lycurgus, although his existence is regarded as legendary. Probably the early laws of the constitution were not made by one single man, but were consolidated under one name as a matter of convenience. In any case the government of Sparta was in great contrast to that of Athens.

The Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus had made Sparta, also called Lacedæmon, the capital of Laconia. In the height of its independence and military power, the city was not surrounded by walls, as the difficulty of access to it, and the bravery of its soldiers, were considered to be sufficient for its defence. In the formation of its Constitution, however, one of the things which survived the struggles between the aristocracy and the people was that of hereditary kingship. Later on we find this kingship had a dual character. Sparta had two kings who had equal rights and powers ; this was the result of a compromise, traditionally said to have been delivered by the Delphic oracle, on the birth of two twin brothers, the sons of Aristodemus (*circa* eighth century B.C.?), the mother having declared that she was ignorant which of the two was born first, and from these two brothers had sprung the two royal houses which reigned in Sparta.

The two kings were perpetual commanders-in-chief

of the army. They also held certain priesthoods and judicial functions and they possessed royal domains and other personal privileges. There was also a Council of Elders consisting of twenty-eight men over sixty years of age, with the addition of the two kings. The Elders were elected by the popular Assembly, but they were not chosen from the people, but from the noble families, thus forming an oligarchic element in the constitution.

The democratic element in the state consisted of all free citizens over thirty years of age. The most notable and powerful office in the state was that of the 'Ephors.' They were five in number and elected by the people. They could indict and judge the kings, and were the supreme civil court, the council of the elders being the supreme criminal court. The kings were obliged every month to take an oath before the ephors, that they would carry out the laws of the State in exercising their kingly powers ; the ephors, on their part, undertook to maintain the kings' powers, so long as the kings observed their oath. As supreme rulers of the State, the ephors had full powers of investigation and punishment relative to both the private and public life of the citizens. One thing which tended to keep them from being tyrannical, was that their office lasted but for one year, when, on becoming private citizens again, they would be liable to accusation and punishment by their successors.

As every Spartan was destined for the service of the State, no deformed child was allowed to live. If puny or ill-shaped, they were taken into a cave on Mount Taygetus and left to perish. At the age of seven every boy was taken away from his mother and trained to hardship. He wore the same scanty clothing in summer and winter and one coat had to serve him for

a year. At the age of twelve the boys slept on the ground on beds made of rushes, which they had to get themselves. They were allowed to steal. If caught, they were whipped for thieving so ill and awkwardly, and made to go hungry, their ordinary food allowance being reduced. So seriously was stealing considered, that a story is told that a youth, having stolen a young fox, hid it under his coat, and suffered it so to tear and bite him with its claws and teeth, that he died rather than let it be seen.

Every year the older boys were whipped in public before the altar of Artemis, in order to train them to endure pain without crying out, and it is recorded that some boys died under this whipping rather than cry out. They were trained in hunting, gymnastics and the use of weapons. The shield that every Spartan carried when he went to war was so heavy, that if he wanted to flee from the enemy, he would have to throw it away ; hence, Spartan mothers when bidding good-bye to their sons who were setting out to war, bade them return home with their shields, or upon them ; for if a Spartan died in battle, he was carried home on his shield, whenever possible. At the age of twenty, the youth was enrolled in the army. At thirty, after his military training was over, he acquired the full political and social privileges of citizenship. Even when he married, home life was denied him. He must still keep up his athletic mode of life, and live and eat with his comrades, visiting his wife only occasionally and then by stealth. Only when he had passed his sixtieth year, could he in any measure live to a certain extent as he wished.

The women, too, were trained in gymnastics during their youth, and were noted for their beauty, shapely figure and heroism. Music was produced by a simple

stringed instrument, and the flute, these, with the singing of war songs, were the chief relaxations in their rigid system of providing a warrior race.

In order further to carry out this ideal, it was necessary that the Spartan citizen should be exempt from the work of providing for himself and family. They were enabled to do this by their system of land tenure. Wealth in Sparta consisted chiefly in land, gold and silver being forbidden for use as money, or for accumulation as a sign of wealth.

Although there was a certain amount of private property in land amongst the Spartans, the State authorities asserted their powers in allotting to every citizen a plot of land which passed from father to son, which could not be sold or divided. Further, in order to avoid inequalities which might arise, the authorities frequently reapportioned estates which had become too large, by placing additional people on them ; they also married rich heiresses to men who were in need of a patrimony.

The duty of working the land was the lot of the Helots,' who were regarded as the descendants of the conquered population and had been reduced to slavery by the Spartans. These helots were really considered as the property of the State, and were attached to the soil which they cultivated. They also rendered personal service to the citizens when required, and served as troops and camp followers in the Spartan army. As to the cultivation of the land, every owner of such was entitled to receive seventy medimni of corn for himself, twelve for his wife, along with a stated portion of fruit and wine. The remainder of the produce over this amount was allowed to the helots for their own use. The helots were always regarded with suspicion by the Spartans, as they were more numerous

than the citizens ; as slaves they were naturally discontented with their lot and ready to rebel at the first opportunity. These revolts were a serious menace to the Spartan State, hence, a secret service of watchers was formed to deal with them, and any young Spartan could kill a helot whom he had reason to believe was dangerous to the State.

In addition to the helots, there were a class of people known as the ' Perioeci,' who, although subject to the Spartans, enjoyed a large measure of freedom. They were composed of traders, mechanics, small landowners and others who followed occupations which were despised by true-born Spartans. They had no political rights, although they were free and managed their own business affairs ; they also served in the Spartan armies when required, and were absolutely under the power of the Spartan government.

In brief, we may say, that Sparta furnishes us with a concrete example of an ancient conception of a State which considered its functions to be all embracing over the life of its citizens. Life, liberty, land and property were all subordinated to the thraldom of its conservative ruling. It may be considered as a standing army as much as a State. Individuality was lost in the State, and subdued by the drill-sergeant ; in short, she made no contribution to what we term democratic government. Sparta may have given Greece the warriors to resist the Persians, but the revolutions and constitutional reforms of Athens did promote the democratic spirit, and provided a splendid culture which has been bequeathed to the world in what is termed ' the glory that was Greece.'

Both Athens and Sparta, the one with her conception of the ' good life ' and the other with its rigid military discipline, showed that they had not in them the

elements which make for permanence. With all their wisdom and military skill, they were unable to learn one of the first important factors which makes for stability, namely, co-operation. Their cities were frequently at war with each other, while within the cities themselves, rival parties hated one another to such an extent, that the various factions to gain a party victory accounted all means as lawful ; slander, treachery and appeals to foreigners for aid against political opponents were often resorted to.

True it is, that in Athens especially, we first find human society debating such questions of what was the 'highest good,' what was 'virtue' and how they could be taught, as well as trying to realise and express itself in democratic government, while at the height of her fame, she was the embodiment of all that was most advanced in Greek political ideas, asking from each citizen according to his ability, giving to each according to his need—that is—such as needed support, for the revenues of the city supported the citizens and guaranteed a livelihood to all ; possessing as she did the so-called 'liturgies' which took from the rich to give to the poor and less fortunate. Another relief included a daily payment for public service. This and other State aids made Athens a 'socialistic type of organisation,' limited, however, only to those who were admitted to be citizens of the State.

Yet renowned, although she was, for her passion for liberty, beauty, truth and culture, we find in the utterances of Grecian historians, orators and philosophers, that they did not consider the Greek society of their time as altogether satisfactory. They saw that with many fine moral qualities there also existed side by side with them, the vices of party spirit with its lack of compromise and toleration, which would result in the

fall of a people in this state of mind, before the power of some nation, maybe with far less culture, but much more disciplined than themselves. The conquest of the Greek city-states by the Macedonians, and after them the Romans, proved the truth of this forecast, which may be summarised as follows :

In the sixth century B.C. we have Sparta as the head of a league which included nearly all the states in the Peloponnesus, with others such as Athens outside. Accordingly Sparta headed Greece against the Persian invasion (480 B.C.). Her conduct, however, subsequently disgusted many Greeks, and so the Athenian confederacy (478-7 B.C.) was established as a rival to that of Sparta. The Peloponnesian war (431-404 B.C.) restored the supremacy in Greece to Sparta ; but again her domineering treatment of her allies caused her to lose her power. Finally, in the fourth century B.C., we find Alexander (356-323 B.C.) King of Macedon, sweeping down on Greece and conquering it. After the death of Alexander, his empire broke up, and across the Mediterranean, in Italy, we find another power—more disciplined—making headway ; Rome was in the ascendant, and she ultimately brought Greece under her sway (146 B.C.). If the gifts of Greece to the world's progress were democracy and culture, the gift of Rome to the world was summed up in one word, 'Law.'

Rome

Turning to Italy in our brief survey of the rise of the city-state, we have to note that our knowledge is confined to one city, namely Rome. There is good reason to believe that prior to the legend of the foundation of Rome by the brothers Romulus and Remus, the earliest settlers on the Palatine and other hills were a

pastoral people, living in small village communities, possessing a place of refuge with fortifications, and a central place for worship and trade. Homer's account of the early Greek communities may, therefore, also serve as a sufficiently accurate description of the early Roman societies. We must remember that the early records of Rome, except those engraved on stone, were destroyed by the Gauls when they captured and burned Rome (390 B.C.), so that our knowledge of the early regal period, and the acts of the kings are shrouded in legend and obscurity.

To Romulus (753-716? B.C.) are assigned the making of the first fortifications of Rome, the formation of the Senate, and the division of the people into two classes—patricians and plebeians. He is also credited with separating the patricians into thirty wards (curiæ) and each curia into ten families (gentes) ; while for military purposes, he divided them into three tribes, the Ramnes, Tities and Luceres ; he formed a coalition with the Sabines, instituted the observance of divine omens (auspicia) and subordinated the whole State to the guidance of the gods.

Under the reign of his successors to the reign of Servius Tullius (578-534? B.C.) various religious institutions and ceremonies were introduced, military expeditions extended the areas of Rome's influence, the Tiber was bridged, the harbour town of Ostia was founded, the valleys between the Palatine, Capitol and Quirinal were drained, the Circus Maxim, for racing and sports, was laid out, and the construction of the great temple of Jupiter on the Capitol was begun.

In the reign of Servius Tullius great constitutional changes were made. The Roman problem, as with Greece in the days of Solon and Cleisthenes, was how to incorporate in a tribal state a heterogeneous multitude

of unrelated men. There were the Roman patricians consisting of members of the gentes, to whom were attached certain clients or dependants as well as slaves. But there were other people living in Rome who had a different status, namely the Plebeians, who were composed of traders, settlers and captives who were not slaves ; they could not vote, nor hold any office, nor marry any Roman citizens ; in other words, they were disenfranchised. They helped to carry the burdens of the State, without sharing in any of the privileges of citizenship.

In the reign of Servius Tullius (the sixth king?, 578-534 B.C.) a change was made which recognised the plebeians as part of the Roman people, though not on an equality. First of all, he divided the whole of the people, patricians and plebeians alike, into twenty-one tribes according to where they lived, four being city tribes, seventeen country tribes, for the purposes of taxation. All were then arranged in five classes, according to wealth. All who possessed property valued at 100,000 asses (the unit of the early monetary system of Rome, originally a pound of copper—12 ozs. —later reduced to half-an-ounce) were in the first class, those with 75,000 in the second, those with 50,000 formed the third, those with 25,000 formed the fourth, and those with 12,500 formed the fifth class ; all who had less than 12,500 asses were grouped in one century and formed the proletarians " those blessed with offspring " (capite, censi), namely, " numbered by the head." Furthere, everyone who owned not less than two ' jugera ' (a little more than one acre of land) had to contribute to the defence of the State.

The people were also divided into 193 ' centuriæ ' for military service. The first class contributed eighty centuries of footmen and eighteen centuries of cavalry.

The second, third and fourth classes each supplied twenty centuries of infantry, and the fifth class supplied thirty. One century was drawn from those who were shown by the census to have less than 11,000 asses. To these were added four centuries of musicians and workmen drawn from the masses who were not included in the census. One half of the centuries of infantry supplied by each class consisted of men from forty-five to sixty years of age, and the other centuries were made up of men from seventeen to forty-five.

The whole body of people, although thus organised, did not possess equal rights. The old distinction of patricians and plebeians still persisted, though all were regarded as citizens. The people when called together to vote on questions relating to law, peace or war, were known as the 'Comitia Centuriata'; each person voted with his century, the majority of each century determining the vote of that century, and the majority of the centuries decided the final result of the vote.

The line of kingship was abolished in 510 B.C.? during the reign of the seventh king—L. Tarquinius Superbus—whose tyrannical conduct made him unpopular, not only with the nobles and people, but also with the army which rose against him, and he and his family fled into exile.

With the fall of the kingship a Republic was formed, two magistrates to be elected annually were appointed to take over the duties which the king had been accustomed to perform. They were at first called 'Prætores' and later on 'Consuls.' One of the functions of the late kings the 'Rex Sacrorum,' namely, that of the sacrificial king, was transferred to a newly-created high priest. Apart from this office, the duality and yearly election were retained in all the republican magistracies. Only in the event of a supreme crisis—

war, etc.—was a period of dictatorship resorted to ; even then the person elected to the dictatorship only held office six months, and had to select an assistant called ' magister equitum ' who resigned with him. Two ' quæstors ' were also appointed to manage the treasury. In other respects, the constitution kept mainly to the lines of its original forms only the Senate receiving increase of powers.

Throughout most of Roman history, the number of Senators was limited to three hundred, holding their office for life. It was associated with the Consuls as it had been with the kings—namely—to give them counsel when they were requested to. Containing as it did, the most prominent statesmen, lawyers and soldiers of the State, it had a knowledge of State affairs and traditional authority, such as magistrates elected only for a year, could not possibly have ; hence, it formed a valuable and compact body of reference which was of great adavntage and help to the consuls and magistrates in directing the policy of the State in home and foreign affairs. It was in a sense the forerunner of all modern parliaments and legislatures. The regard with which it was held was such, that the letters S.P.Q.R. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus) were emblazoned on the Roman banners.

Although the reforms of Servius had given the plebeians a share in the citizenship of Rome, the patricians alone possessed full constitutional rights and privileges. They only could attain to the highest offices, because of their qualifications of birth or marriage. These conditions were most unsatisfactory to the plebeians, who had to pay taxes and share the burdens of military service. Hence, with the establishment of the Republic, we find the plebeians still continuing their struggles with the patricians for a

greater share in the government, and for additional privileges. Although under the first two Consuls the plebeians had been granted access to the Senate, it was only in limited numbers, hence for the first hundred years of the Republic we find constant struggles between the two classes.

As the plebeians, however, began to realise more fully their own increasing military importance, they used it as a means of gaining a concession. In 494 B.C. during a campaign, they left the city with their weapons in their hands, and encamped on a hill beyond the Anio (afterwards called the Sacred Mount) where they purposed forming a settlement. This step so alarmed the patricians that they arranged that the plebeians should be protected by special magistrates of their own election, namely, Tribunes. At first there were two appointed, then five and finally ten in 457 B.C. Their persons were made sacred, and to obstruct or injure a tribune, put a man under a curse. Their power was limited to the protection of the plebeians, and could only be exercised within the city and a mile beyond its walls. Further, in order that their aid might always be available, they were bound to have the doors of their houses open, and not to be more than one day absent from Rome during their year of office. In the same year (494 B.C.) two new officers were also elected from the plebeians, called 'Ædiles' who acted as magistrates in minor causes, superintended the city police, the corn market and the public games. By 471 B.C. the plebeian assembly which elected the tribunes and ædiles, was known as the 'Comitia Tributa' because they voted by tribes and not by centuries.

By 451-50 B.C. ten specially selected magistrates, the 'Decemvirs' made a series of laws which were engraved on 'Twelve Tablets' of stone, or bronze.

These were codified in short trenchant sentences ; they condemned sorcery, excessive usury, inflicted punishment on the insolvent debtor, etc. They did not, however, constitute any change in the law, nor relieve the grievances of the plebeians. They were merely a public record which was available for reference on penal and civil law. They formed the foundation of all Roman Law, and for centuries after publication, the children had to learn it in the schools.

In 449 B.C. a law was passed recognising the Plebeian Assembly as having power to pass rules (plebiscita) binding on the whole of the populus. In 445 B.C. a greater gain to the plebeians was the passing of the 'Lex Canuleia' which permitted marriage between patricians and plebeians, thus opening a way to the consulate. The value of this law, however, to the plebeians was lessened by the patricians, who in their unwillingness to see the highest office of the State occupied by plebeians passed a regulation by which it was allowable to elect each year, in place of consuls, 'Military Tribunes' with consular power (the tribuni militum consulari potestate) the number varying from three to six. Yet so great was the influence of the patricians, that no instance of a plebeian being elected to this office occurs in the first fifty years of its promulgation. The patricians also at this time transferred from the consuls the functions of the census and purification (lustrum) of the people to two new patrician officers called 'censors' who were to be elected every five years. From this time onward the contests between the patricians and plebeians, still continued with increasing gains to the plebeians, in securing a greater share in the government of the city. A brief summary of some of the succeeding triumphs must here suffice.

By 421 B.C., the plebeians gained access to the old patrician office of the quæstorship (four being appointed instead of two). In 367 B.C., the Licinian laws relieved debtors, regulated the holdings of public land (ager publicus), no one was to hold more than 500 jugera (about 300 acres), a plebeian was admitted to one of the consulships, which was, however, deprived of its judicial functions by the appointment of a patrician prætor—the military tribune being done away with. By 351 B.C. one of the censors was a plebeian ; in 341 B.C., both consulships were thrown open to the plebeians. In 339 B.C. it was enacted that one censor must be a plebeian. In 336 B.C. the first plebeian consul was elected, and in 334 B.C. the first plebeian prætor. In 326 B.C. the 'nexum' by which defaulting debtors became slaves of their creditors was abolished. In 296 B.C. the sacred colleges of the Pontifices and the Augures were thrown open to the plebeians. By 286 B.C. the binding nature of the 'plebiscita' passed by the Comitia Tributa was confirmed, the votes passed in the Assembly having the force of laws binding the whole State. The consent of the Senate not being required, the plebeian assembly thus became a sovereign legislature.

By 266 B.C. plebeian ædiles and tribunes obtained entrance to the Senate ; thus every office of the State, practically, was now open to the plebeians, and the old-time inequalities and disabilities between them and the patricians were well-nigh swept away. The only political distinction between the two orders remaining was in favour of the plebeians, who alone were eligible for the Tribunate. With the conclusion of the contest between the two orders, there gradually arose a new grouping of parties. The patriciate still lived on, but without their old political influence. while the word

'plebs' was for many years still used for all under the degree of a knight.

During the years 509-266 B.C., which witnessed the internal struggles of the plebeians for political and social equality with the patricians, Republican Rome during this period, had conquered all Italy south of the Rubicon. After 264 B.C., we find her founding colonies and building up an Empire beyond the seas. This was not accomplished suddenly but of gradual growth, and continued until the establishment of the Augustan monarchy 30 B.C—A.D.14.

The history of the development of the Roman State is one of the admission of a constantly increasing number of its members into full citizenship; but this democratic process was in part deceptive, for in later days Rome discovered that she had herself to submit to a ruler supported by the military legions. The choice of the Emperors frequently was almost entirely that dictated by the army. In the case of (Augustus) Cæsar, he retained the old forms, Senate, Consuls and Comitia, but they merely allowed him to consolidate his powers as Imperator, and Emperor of the known world.

This brief survey of the rise of a citizen class, as seen in the rise of the city-state of the Greeks and Romans shows that, with Greek and Roman alike, life in a common local centre, i.e., the city, was the only place where the early confederacy of families, phratries, gens, tribes and other non-citizen classes could be eventually welded together into a compact social and political organisation. By free discussion concerning local affairs, and representative participation in municipal and national affairs, they laid the germs of modern political life, and what we term self-government.

The very words we use to-day, hierarchy, monarchy,

oligarchy, plutocracy, despotism, plebiscite and democracy show the lasting influence of Greek and Roman political thought. These, with the addition of the legal system of Rome, have enabled the nations of Western Europe to make use of a framework, which has resulted in the political and constitutional development of the modern state as we see it to-day in all its multiform manifestations.

CHAPTER VI

Man and His Environmemt

It is impossible in one chapter, to discuss thoroughly the subject of man's reaction or acquiescence to his environment. The subject has been discussed for centuries, and has resulted in a vast library of books which is still accumulating at a rapid rate, as 'human geography' must be considered as a study of the continuous relations between the two associated elements of man and the earth. We can, therefore, only glance at a few outstanding features of the subject.

Under the influence of Bodin, Montesquieu, Buckle and others, the tendency of geographical interpretation had been towards establishing a sort of environmental determinism, namely, to exhibit man as the product of his physical surroundings. More detailed study of the subject, however, has revealed the insufficiency of this idea. Much depends on the mentality of the various human types, who may be living in certain areas, and the cultural contact of such groups with other groups. The reactions of a human society to the environment which a particular region offers, does not inevitably exert its influence with the same force on all types of humanity. There are regions on the earth now inhabited by highly-civilised people, which, but a few centuries ago, were inhabited by roaming savages, with a low type of culture, and where, as far as we can ascertain, the climate has not greatly altered for centuries. (North America, New Zealand, Tasmania, Australia.)

In the course of the ages, men have freed themselves more and more from the tyranny of physical surroundings, by means of increased knowledge in chemical and mechanical skill, medicine, hygiene, etc. The fact that plants, fruits, grains, animals, and so forth, have been introduced by man into regions which were not their original 'habitat' for his pleasure or economic uses, proves that man is capable—to a certain extent—of curtailing climatic and geographical influences. In other words, man can exercise 'choice' and is capable of making adjustments to suit his environment.

On the other hand, man, with all his skill and knowledge, has never been able to free himself entirely from physical forces at work on his environment. Such effects as earthquakes, inundations, sandstorms, drought, as well as climatic influences, still tend to impress their grip on man. Let us examine a few of the factors which have been emphasised as operating in the theory of what is known as 'climatic control.'

Take the question of 'Rainfall.' It has had an important bearing in determining the density of a population. It is not merely a question of the amount, but also as to whether it falls in a month or two, or is spread over many months. In the former case, there will be a short-lived luxuriance of vegetation, followed by a dry season which is detrimental to prolonged plant, grain or vegetable life. In the latter, a regular vegetation though not so profuse, will have a tendency to develop throughout the year and be more suitable for continual residence in such areas.

Again, the time at which rain falls is also of prime importance. An insufficiency of moisture at the time of sowing may result in poor crops and bad harvests; especially is this the case in countries like India and China which have the monsoon system of rains. Again,

it is a point worth noting, that wherever water is fairly abundant, in the form of lakes or navigable rivers, there are frequently large groupings of humanity. It was in the fertile valley of the Nile, and the irrigated lands bordering the Tigris and the Euphrates where the earliest civilisations (as known at present) arose ; while for thousands of years dense populations have existed in the valleys of the Indus, Ganges and the deltaic plains of China watered by the rivers Hwang-Ho, Yangtse-Kiang and the Si-Kiang ; while the ancient Swiss Lake-Settlements show that they had comparatively large populations ranging in time from the Neolithic to the Iron Age.

In the Tropics, the rainfall gives us a clear-cut distinction between two alternate seasons ; one wet and hot, the other dry and cooler. As we move north and south from the Equator, we find the temperature fairly high and constant, with rainfall abundant and spread nearly equally over the whole year. This zone includes great rivers like the Amazon and the Congo, with their exuberant vegetation and mighty forests of great trees.

Outside this climatic zone, as we go north and south, we find areas which verge into what are called savannah, velt or steppe lands. Passing from these conditions we encounter both north and south of the equator a region of increasing dryness, a lack of rain and a subtropical heat. The herbage becomes scanty and ultimately disappears, so then we get deserts, with here and there conditions forming oases, which aid men to cross and live in desert surroundings.

Beyond these areas, especially in the northern hemispheres, which have a much larger land area than the southern, we have land favourable to large populations, as they are the regions of temperate climate, irregular

winds, abundant rain, and with soils which induce a diversified cultivation. These areas often contain large forests which are continually being thinned and vast grass plains, which are being turned into rich cornlands, etc. ; all these varied conditions prevail both in the Old and New World, where the hand of man is continually changing the face of the landscape, and extending his settlements.

Further north, we have the Russian and the Eurasian tundra and the ' barren plains ' of North America, which gradually fade away into the frozen lands of the Arctic regions, where even there, men are found living and making it their permanent home, although it offers but a meagre support for human life. Yet even there we find races with no desire to change their habitat ; the Esquimaux extend from Alaska to eastern Greenland, a distance of some five thousand miles.

Such being the climatic conditions in various parts of the world, it has been customary to assert that the geographical and climatic conditions of these respective regions produce and perpetuate special types of human society and culture, due solely to their respective environment.

Now it is quite feasible to maintain, that in the early days of human society and its migrations, climatic and physical factors must have had an important bearing on the lives of men. Climate determines what men's food supply shall be, especially before tillage, barter, trade or commerce had been developed ; and in the establishing of a home, food, water, shelter and security must have been vital factors, which caused men to settle in various regions, and take up ways of life in harmony with their environment. The habits, thus formed, would naturally tend to become fixed, and so constitute types of human society which have been

grouped and classified geographically ; so that anyone taking a comprehensive view of the world and its inhabitants could affirm, with a certain amount of reasoning, that there are large areas on either side of the Equator which having a certain climate with its distinctive flora and fauna, have various types of human societies, having many things in common, as regards their occupations and characteristic ways of living.

It may be assumed, therefore, that apart from accident or caprice, that in general, primitive communities would take the easiest direction in moving into fresh country. It would be simpler to skirt the base of mountains than to cross them. Fens and swamps would naturally cause them to use the 'ridgeways.' Virgin forests would be difficult to penetrate and prove bewildering. On the other hand, rivers and the sea-coast would be useful guides, in providing a way of return if necessary.

We may take it, as an axiom, therefore, that climate and physical surroundings like mountains, deserts, islands, rivers and seas, would not only form natural boundaries and barriers in isolating tribes and nations, but would have, also, an enormous influence in fixing their occupations, much more so than in recent centuries, when human initiative and skill have to a certain extent modified their influence.

Geographical conditions, therefore, may either promote or obstruct the spread of culture, and have a positive or negative bearing on the life and occupations of men. The nature of the soil either on or below the land surface, is an important factor in promoting or retarding economic development, according as tools or beasts of burden are available or not. The desert, prairie or the ocean, are limits which are favourable or otherwise to man, according as the camel, horse or

ship are available for service. There are islands, which isolated in the oceans for centuries from the trading routes, have condemned their inhabitants not only to isolation, but also to a low type of culture (Australia, Tasmania, etc.). On the other hand, islands like Crete, Malta, etc., showing continuous communication with seafarers from early times, have had in turn many dominant peoples and types of culture replacing one another.

In Europe, the Alps, the Carpathians, the Pyrenees, etc., have exercised an isolating factor in preserving ancient dialects, dress and customs, as in the case of the Swiss, Tyrolese, etc. In the Scottish Highlands we can still find Gaelic spoken, the wearing of the kilt and tartan, and a strong clannish life. So, too, in the Welsh mountains, we have the old native language spoken, while the picturesque national dress is still worn on many occasions. Indeed as a general rule, life in mountainous regions is more simple and backward in material progress than in the Lowlands.

In England until well into medieval times, the Fens were a formidable obstacle in isolating East Anglia from the Midlands. Man, by drainage and exercise of his mechanical skill, however, has overcome many of nature's barriers. Holland, has been made what it is by human labour transforming its former water areas into dry land. Prairies, once roamed over by savages, have become golden corn-fields and cotton plantations. Ceylon, formerly known as the 'Isle of Spices,' has successfully turned from the cultivation of cinnamon and cardamom to coffee, from coffee to tea-planting, and now also produces rubber.

That geographical conditions do operate in the life of man is undeniable, but we must not overrate them. They are valuable as an aid to a better understanding

of the possibilities of a certain environment and its effects on the economic, social and political life of men, but there is no 'inevitability.' Men may simply conform to their environment, or they may modify its effects in their lives.

In all ages there must have been men of an inventive turn of mind, or civilisation as we know it could never have been attained. Even in the Palæolithic Period of culture we can trace improvement in various kinds of stone tools at various stages, as well as in artistic development, until in the Neolithic Period, we find man polishing his flint implements, domesticating animals, practising agriculture, weaving and making pottery. Indeed, to a great extent, the subsequent stages of civilisation, have been, in many cases, mainly an extension in the further development of the arts of life, which originated in the mind of man while he was a savage and barbarian. Man doubtless, in his early days, must have been bound down closely to his environment, but with advancing mental development and mechanical skill, he has irrigated the barren land, reclaimed the marsh, made trackways across the desert, tunnelled through the mountains, made canals, turned the course of rivers, and, to suit his own convenience and interests, changed the flora and fauna of districts. Even the earth fails to hold man, for he skims through the air with a speed exceeding an express train. With civilised man, there is no 'necessitas' type of life. Such factors as the intellectual and the psychic life of man cannot be ignored.

Again, ignorance, custom, religious prejudice, etc., may make all the difference as to the use made by a community of its plants, animals, soil and mineral resources. People living in the same environment may be of differing physical and mental types and have

different ways of living ; as for example, in the Sahara, which contains the Tuaregs and Moors. Although they share the same climate, soil and geographical conditions, there is between them the greatest differences in language, customs, manners and equipment. Some cattle-using tribes have ignored the use of milk for food, while others, like the Todas of India, have a special ritual associated with the drinking of milk. The old Mosaic Law enjoined the Israelites to abstain from eating certain animals which their Canaanitish contemporaries ate.

Many present-day savages have certain foods and animals which are totally forbidden, or placed under taboo at certain times. Not long ago, no meat was eaten by the natives of Madagascar, although cattle were kept until too old, or too fat to walk. Vineyards once so flourishing in parts of Asia Minor, have vanished in areas where Mohammed's strict command to abstain from wine has prevailed. On the other hand, Monastic Christendom encouraged the cultivation of the grape and the drinking of its juices. Parts of Palestine have degenerated into stony desert, partly by the destruction of the groves and green trees, which were used by the Israelites in their periods of idolatry, and which were ordered to be destroyed by their prophets. Not only is the produce, food and animals often determined by the type of its inhabitants, but peoples having the same natural advantages and living on similar food and practising the same crafts may advance in civilisation at unequal rates. In other words, in spite of his physical surroundings, man has done, and still continues to exercise ' choice ' in his modes of life.

In taking a retrospective view of the geographical and climatic conditions just enumerated, it is possible for us to indicate in general terms how these conditions

may influence the development of civilisation, owing to the way in which certain types of men may respond to their environment. In warm countries where nature is lavish in her food supply, there is little need for man to exert himself in supplying his daily wants. Hence there is a tendency for man to lead an indolent life. Under such conditions, apart from some hunting or fishing—where obtainable—mental activity tends to languish, as seen in certain tribes, who at the present day are living in tropical areas. But as stated previously there is no ' necessitas,' the ruins of Guatemala and Yucatan are evidence of a civilisation which developed in a tropical zone.

In the cold regions, nature usually bestows her gifts very sparingly, hence, life is mainly a perpetual struggle to maintain existence, as with the Esquimaux. The Tundra also offers but scanty opportunity for the development of culture. Vegetation is scanty, and for two-thirds of the year is buried beneath the snow. Man has to roam about in search for food. Here, the reindeer, dead or alive is the most valuable animal to man. Dead, it provides food, its skin clothing, its bones and horns implements. Alive, its milk provides food, and as a beast of burden it is most useful. Agriculture is impossible, fish caught in the summer is dried for the winter. Travelling is by sledge or ski. Life with such people, which includes the Lapps and Finns, the Ostyaks beyond the Urals, Indians of the North American tundra, and other tribes elsewhere, is such as to furnish only a bare existence. In winter the elk, the stag and furred animals are hunted on the edge of the forests. In short, life in such regions leaves little margin for culture and improvement in the arts of life.

Life in the equatorial forests consists chiefly in hunting the not too abundant game, and fishing in the

rivers, with a little agriculture carried on by some tribes, in clearings and on the edge of the forests. In some areas the collecting of vegetable produce, as well as rubber and gum are the chief occupations. A. L. Cureau, in his book 'Savage Man in Central Africa,' gives a vivid description of the monotony and difficulty of life in the dense, sombre forest, with its thick growth of bush alternating with plants, which form an obstacle to the traveller. The track winds between enormous trees, walking is a toil, one must stride over projecting roots, climb over gigantic tree trunks felled by age or tempest. The foot sticks in a soft paste of rotten wood, and trips over dead branches covered with leaves. There is a feeling of intense life, but it is concealed, shy chirps, furtive steps on the dry leaves, the crakling of dead wood, the chatter and calling of birds, the frolic of monkeys. The heavy vapid humidity oppresses, and the sun is obscured by the thick ceiling of the evergreen foliage. The type of man who dwells within the forest depths is a wary and suspicious creature. He leads a restless life, disturbed as he is by incessant alarms. There are secret paths which lead to shelter, or to places of ambush. When taken from his native thickets and brought into broad daylight, the native seems dazzled and confused, and is soon in haste to return to his damp and gloomy forest recesses.

Most of the pygmy races, which are found in various parts of the world, are forest dwellers. The Andamanese, the Semang of the Malay Peninsula, the Tapiro pygmies of New Guinea, the Pygmies of the Congo. In the Kassai region in Africa, are whole villages of pigmies known as the Batwa. Most of these tribes have many characteristics in common. They are hunters, and fishers in some cases, live in primitive dwellings or shelters, produce fire by friction, use bows and arrows,

live chiefly on game and vegetable produce of the forest. Whether the pygmies are to be considered as early primitive groups, or as harassed and degenerate types, we cannot say, as they are found widely distributed in various countries, and were mentioned by such ancient writers as Homer, Hesiod and Aristotle ; while the negroid pygmy type, has been found in the Grotto du Grimaldi, Mentone, in strata which date back to the Palæolithic Period of culture. Other small primitive hunters are also found amongst the jungles of Ceylon and India. In short, these small people constitute a class to themselves, and fall short of the culture standard as lived by other hunting tribes, who roam the steppes, prairies, tundra and other more favourable areas, such as the North American Indians, the Mongols, Kirghiz, the Bedouin and others. Pure hunting tribes have a tendency to decrease in numbers, owing to needing a large area, which is often depleted of game owing to indiscriminate slaughter.

Steppes, plains, savannahs and the fringes of the desert are areas in which the domestication and breeding of animals forms the usual occupations of men, for their isolation from the settled agricultural parts of the country compels them to depend chiefly on the produce of their flocks and herds. It is an occupation of great antiquity, dating back to Neolithic times. The remains of the goat, sheep and ox can be dated back for thousands of years ; while the camel, ass and horse were probably domesticated later.

Men who follow the nomadic type of life have to march and ride long distances, endure hardship and often protracted privation of water. Of old, they were always considered great fighters. In their wanderings for fresh pastures and water, they were often brought in conflict with other clans and tribes, who were on

the same quest. In the Old Testament, we have an unequalled picture of pastoral man. Glimpses of strife over wells and pastures are seen in the clashes of the herdsmen of Lot and Jacob, as well as of others. The nomadic life of the shepherds and herdsmen had a tendency to promote barter and trade. We read of the ancient Ishmaelites carrying into Egypt spices, balm, aromatic gums, etc., as well as selling occasional captives and slaves (see the story of Joseph, etc.).

From the shores of the Caspian Sea, there was practically a continuous grass and steppe route leading through parts of Russia, Mongolia, Manchuria and on into South-west China. Along this route swarms of nomads consisting of Tartars, Mongols, Manchus and others have passed in countless migrations to feed their flocks and herds, to plunder, and in some cases, to colonise other countries. In Europe this type of man has roamed through Rumania into the valley of the Danube, and along the valley of the Inn.

In later days, in South Africa, the trek of the Boers with their ox-waggons, led them to form settled cattle ranches, as also in the case of other Europeans who trekked and settled on America's vast prairies ; the decaying nomadic life out there, however, is carried on now chiefly by the half-breeds, and on a minor scale by the cowboys, who often take long journeys with their cattle. The grass lands of Australia now contain large sheep and cattle ranches, often in charge of native stockmen. The huge pampas of the Platte basin in South America, still perpetuate the nomadic life of the Gauchos, whose whole lives are spent in the chasing, capturing and training of wild horses.

Mentally, the nomadic life tends to a sameness of outlook, it is the ' Will of Allah.' We have, however, one well-known example of a culture introduced by a

people of nomadic origin into a conquered country, namely, the invasion of Spain by the Arabs ; the complicated system of ornamentation which they introduced in the mosques which they built in that country, has given rise to the word 'Arabesque' in the world of art.

The spread of civilisation, however, is tending to the stabilisation of society, and is causing the decline of nomadism. The defining of boundaries, the enclosing of land, and the spread of industrialism is causing many nomadic tribes to take up a more settled mode of life. Which once more emphasises, as stated previously, that there is no 'necessitas' type of life ; the human factor is very often more imporatnt than the climate and geographical conditions, in determining the occupations of men.

In mountainous regions we often find a variety of occupations concentrated in a small area. Agriculture may be met with on the open spaces on the lower slopes, pasturage on the higher, and hunting in the forests. The altitude and the latitude determine also the fauna and flora, so that different types of hunting and agriculture are met with according to climate. Population is also more restricted than on the plains and lowlands. Mountains have tended to preserve primitive types of people, especially when covered with dense forests or jungle ; while as places of refuge for hunted and persecuted peoples, they have always been valuable retreats in all ages of human history.

The influence of the sea and its shores in the development of culture and civilisation depends partly on the nature of the coast-line. Good harbours, anchorage and mouths of navigable rivers have a tendency to promote human settlements, which in many cases have led to the development of various industries and colonisation.

The sea-coast must have had an attraction for primitive man, as soon as he became aware of its food supply. That the men of the old Stone Age were accustomed to fish not only on the coast, but also in rivers and inland lakes, is evident from the finding of their flint implements in the old river gravels and in lake-dwellings, while harpoons have been found in caves along the seashore as well as being dredged up from the sea-bed. Drawings of fish have been found on the walls of caves, while large shell-mounds, dating back to the beginning of Neolithic times in Europe, have been found on the sea-coasts in various countries. The 'harvest of the sea' was apparently one of the chief means of subsistence for the early dwellers by the Baltic Sea, when judged by their vast 'kitchen middens.'

Fishing may be considered either as the staple employment of a special group, or as a seasonable occupation, allied to hunting, or a rudimentary agriculture. Sea-coast fishing in course of time tends to widen men's outlook and leads them to quit the shores, and venture out on to the more open sea, and so become deep-sea fishers. As men improved in the making of their sea-crafts commencing probably with a mere log, then raft, dugout, boats of wicker-work covered with skins, and so on to more seaworthy vessels, the means for taking longer journeys along the coast, or crossing to some nearby island would be possible. Later the advent of the pointed bow, sails and rudder, along with vessels capable of being driven by many oars, and the knowledge of how to lay a course out of sight of land, provided the means for longer journeys, and making contact with fresh people; hence, as occasion or desire arose, the one-time sea-coast fishers became pirates, traders or colonisers, or remained deep-sea fishers. Eventually man by means of the compass, sextant, chronometer

and chart, was able to steer his ships to the uttermost parts of the world. We may assert, therefore, that the fishers and sailors have made in the course of the ages, a greater contribution to the development of culture and civilisation, than the hunter or pastoral type of man.

A great step towards civilisation is taken when a people become settled in a definite area and endeavour to make a living out of tilling the soil. Agriculture, however, can be carried out in many parts of the world by people possessing but a low standard of culture. Especially is this the case in certain tropical areas, where people often abandon a place when the soil begins to show signs of exhaustion, and move on to another area which they exhaust in turn. Agriculture to be successful needs patience and perseverance. It is only as a people become familiar with the methods of irrigation, manuring, ploughing and changing the rotation of crops, that agriculture becomes a specialised industry. When this is attained we have the basis of civilisation. There is the incentive to permanent homes, furniture, and an increase in personal property.

Further, improved methods and implements tend to produce a superfluity of the products of the soil. This forms a basis, first for barter, then for trade, which introduces new articles and luxuries. A change in social conditions also occurs ; as agriculture produces wealth in the case of applied skill or richness of the soil, some men become wealthy, and others dependent on them. There then arises the establishment of over-lords, masters, servants and an increase in slavery, which helped in the establishing of the early civilisations, and the city-states of Greece and Rome, and continued throughout the manorial and feudal systems of medieval Europe.

The importance which the possession of land held through the ages is evidenced by the strict laws which were promulgated relating to its inheritance, tenure, sale, and punishment against encroachment, which are to be found in the records of all civilisations, as well as the customary rights concerning same, which exists among primitive and barbarous tribes.

In our next chapter we shall see how the economic and social life of various peoples have been affected, according to the methods of ownership prevailing, with regard to the land on which they have settled.

CHAPTER VII

Economic Organisation (Land)

We must naturally expect considerable variety in the effects produced on different communities by the adoption of a more settled life. The change from a pastoral to an agricultural type of organisation was probably more gradual in some cases than in others, and we should naturally expect that the results would depend upon the type of people, the climate and the locality chosen, as having a great share in moulding the life of the community when it adopted an agricultural mode of life ; the proportion of flocks and herds still retained by them would also have a bearing on the amount of labour devoted to the land. This form of society in its early stages is usually called the Village Community. It possesses certain features peculiar to itself, according to the countries in which it flourished, and also in the countries where it still exists ; so that it is difficult to decide whether indeed there is one sole cause of its origin, adoption and growth.

In every country a long and unwritten history lies behind the current laws which deal with the acquisition, use and disposal of the land. The individual right to use, to hold, to dispose of it, by gift or sale to others, to transmit it by will or descent, and its general distribution among the various classes and members of the community, comes to us hoary with age. Complicated by time and usage, it has had an immense influence in deciding the destinies of men and of nations. Food-gatherer, hunter, shepherd, herdsman or agriculturalist,

each has had his ancient prototype in tribes and races throughout the world, in that to each of them the land presented a common feature, namely, to be used as they willed and suited their temporary wants and convenience. But as soon as tillage begins to predominate, even in its earliest and rudest form, there arises the idea of proprietary rights to the soil.

Concerning the origin of the 'village community,' much controversy has ensued. It does not necessarily mean a socialistic or a collectivistic group who do work and hold the land in common, for even in the tribal organisation, we find a large class of servile bondsmen and strangers, who were inferior and below the free-tribesmen. Tribal and patriarchal society had its grades and castes, while the chief or headsman was endowed with special privileges and received gifts and service from the tribesmen.

Two views which have been widely held as to the origin of the village community are as follows: (1) "That it was formed originally by a band of kinsmen working for themselves" (Prof. Vinogradoff and, with reservations, Prof. Maitland). (2) "That it was originally a band of serfs, or slaves, working for a master" (F. Seebohm, and M. F. de Coulanges). Prof. Vinogradoff considered it more ancient than the manorial system in England, and that it probably consisted of a mingling of freemen and unfree elements, and that it is not a primitive institution, because of its division of arable land into strips. The village community is therefore, what the tribal system became when agriculture was introduced. Seebohm believed that, in eastern England the agricultural village existed, and in western England the tribal system, in a pastoral stage, with a periodic distribution of lands, which had no place in the village community so far as regards arable land.

When, however, the village community comes within the range of history, as seen in the Irish, Welsh and Teutonic tribes, we find the soil is periodically apportioned among the households, but the cultivators are servile, they no longer own as clans or tribes, the land they till, they render service and pay tribute to a lord. It must be borne in mind, however, that we have no existing institution exactly resembling the early village communities ; we meet with it only after it has undergone considerable modification, and we have to try to reconstruct it from such modified forms and traditions as remain to us. It was a typical feature in the early tribal stage of the Greeks and Romans. Many villages in Greece revealed their origin by the patronymic termination of their names. Likewise in England, the name given to a village was often that of the first settler, owner or lord.

The village community may, however, still be found in various forms in several countries. It is still a marked feature in India, where we may see crystallised by the force of custom conditions, which in Europe have passed away. The village is the unit of all revenue arrangements in India, and over large districts cultivation is carried on by village groups. The peasant and his family work the holding. He pays no rent for his hut of sun-dried bricks and thatch, which he builds and also repairs. He pays no rates or taxes. But should he be a tenant-farmer, he will have to pay rent, or if he owns his land he will have to pay land revenue to the State. Below the peasant class, there is a large class of landless folk who also find support from the land, by working for the well-to-do cultivators for a daily or monthly wage. They form a well-recognised part of the village community, and it is the traditional duty of the land-owning class to help them in bad

times. Other residents in the village who do not actually cultivate the land, but yet are indirectly supported from it are the village potter, the carpenter, blacksmith, barber, cobbler, basket-worker and the watchman. All these receive doles of fixed amounts from the grain heap at harvest-time, and other dues and perquisites. It is also a religious duty to help the infirm and the aged poor of the village, as well as its destitute orphans and beggars.

The Indian village community with its self-contained society of cultivators, labourers, artisans, officials, money-lender, etc., with its bond of joint responsibility, its curious customs about common lands, and the distribution of the arable land, has been the subject of much discussion, as the system of land tenure differs somewhat in the various provinces, Oude being at one extreme with an aristocratic system of land ownership, while Madras and Bombay, at the other, have a system where the peasants are the proprietors of the soil, subject only to payment of revenue. It may be pointed out that the strongest and most democratic village communities in India are found in the Punjab territory. The community is managed by a council of elders who conduct all negotiations with the government. The community, as members of the village, are proprietors and cultivators at the same time, every man holding a certain share of the plough-land. The waste and grazing ground is held in common, the community exercises a certain limited control over its members, and have a reversionary right to the land of members who cease to cultivate or fail to pay common charges ; servile labourers of some inferior race are almost invariably attached to the village, but they have no share in the village management.

A similar type of village life is found in Ceylon, where

the smith, the carpenter, and even the doctor are bound to do services to the head of the village, and they may be repaid by assistance rendered in the tilling of the plots of the village land that are allotted to them, or by a quota of paddy from the payer's threshing floor. When the village has to be fenced in order to keep out wild beasts, or when roads and bridges have to be made or repaired, all the villagers work together for the common good.

The peculiar features of the Indian village community are, to a certain extent, repeated in certain details, in that which prevailed during the Middle Ages in France and Germany. In France village communities were jointly liable for the payment of the King's taxes, and apportioned the amount among the individual members. They also had village watchmen and herdsmen who were paid by contributions from the peasant occupiers in proportion to their respective incomes. We must remember that it was not the lack of landed property that brought the French peasantry to destitution and drove them to furious vengeance in the days of the Revolutions ; it was the confiscation of its produce by the merciless taxation and feudal oppression, along with atrocious national misgovernment.

The Russian ' Mir ' has often been referred to in economic treatises as a system under which the Russian peasantry lived under a common village ownership in which land was held in common. More recent evidence shows that the ' mir ' has always in historical times (until 1861) been a village serfdom under a lord. The lords themselves received the rent, either in money or in kind. The only peculiarity about it is that up to 1906, when the ' mirs ' were partially dissolved, they cultivated the land collectively and periodically divided the land among its members ; as far as we

know at present the 'mir' only came into existence with the feudal period.

The Russian village community as a social unit was most in evidence, where a body of villagers would move off and form another village on virgin soil, sometimes hundreds of miles away from their 'mother-village,' a name which used to be attached to the village of which they formerly formed a part. As a consequence of this isolation, the village necessarily was self-sustaining. A clearing of the forest by common labour furnished the acreage necessary for cultivation, and provided the building material for the block-houses along the two sides of the broad village street, shut up at the two ends by stockades or block-houses placed across for protection's sake. The enclosed space of the village street was the common workshop in summer, for carpentry, for making the hemp and flax ready for spinning and weaving, for bleaching the cloth, etc. The cattle stands, the threshing floors and barns all tended to make the village as far as possible self-sustaining.

In 1861, when the serfs were emancipated, the landlords were indemnified and the village lands were released from their seigniorial obligations. Of the land in European Russia prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, 34.6 per cent. belonged to the State, 21.2 per cent. to private owners, 38.5 per cent. to the peasantry. Popular poetry in Russia kept alive the memory of St. George's Day, 1597, as the day on which Boris Godunov (1551-1605), Czar of Russia from 1598-1605, published his decree (ukase) by which he virtually converted the peasants into feudal serfs. The Russian peasant was forbidden to quit his village without permission and passport, either from the proprietor of the estate, into which the village had been formed, or,

where it was still a free village, from the authority to which it was submitted. Later on a large part of the peasantry were bought and sold with the land, whenever it changed owners. (This system is vividly depicted in the novel 'Dead Souls,' by the Russian writer, Gogol.)

Attempts to relieve their fate began with the Emperor Nicholas who, in 1842, issued a 'ukase' permitting the proprietors of private estates to transform by treaties their serfs into farmers. Later on he issued regulations defining how much labour, or how much payment in lieu of labour, in a variety of cases and places, the peasant-serfs owed to their masters. When Emperor Alexander II, 1855-1881, announced his resolve to do them justice, he found that nearly one half of them, forming with their families more than one-third of the population, were practically slaves, tilling a soil which did not belong to them, without being paid for their labour during about three days of the week, their other three days' labour in the week was for themselves and their families' sustenance. Under the Soviet Regime, the Russian land system has been rigorously dealt with. The land is normally free for the use of peasant farmers, while leases are granted for not more than three sowings under crop rotation, and not more than twelve years for the three-four field system. Recent figures for agriculture (for 1940) stated, "There were 4,000 State farms, 250,000 collective farms, and 1,300,000 individual farmers."

The early agricultural village community among the Germans was known as the 'Mark.' In its origin the word was first used in the sense of boundary, and was later applied to the land cleared by the settlers in the forest areas in Germany; later still, the name was used for the system of land tenure in that country, which,

according to some authorities (notably G. L. Von Maurer), indicated a tract of land held in common by a village community, which was self-governing, the affairs of the village being ordered by the markmen, who met at stated times, and divided the land into equal lots, each member having common right of pasturage in meadows and forest, and a certain individual share of the arable land, which was redistributed every year, each holder changing his plot each year. In the 'mark' therefore, each individual was a joint proprietor of the common land, and an allottee in the arable mark, controlled by the minute customs and usages of the community ; such was supposed to be the early conditions of Teutonic village communities.

This theory of associating the German 'mark' as a combination of free peasants cultivating land in common, in virtue of their joint ownership, has received severe criticism from certain writers, notably M. F. de Coulanges, who holds that the majority of the lands within the 'mark' were held as private property, and that it was in many cases a landed proprietor who divided the soil into holdings among his rustici, a common usage according to which every peasant received three lots (probably the three-field system). This does not mean there was no land held in 'common' in primitive agricultural communities, but that a too liberal interpretation of the word has been read into it by certain writers. It was more frequently community of tenure, not of ownership, as is proved by early documents, where the cultivators of the soil are merely tenants, or slaves under a single proprietor.

In some cases several persons were joint-owners of a forest, who gave to their peasants the right to cut wood for building, for fires, and also to send in pigs to feed on the acorns. The existence of great estates in the

early centuries of the Middle Ages amongst the Teutons is abundantly proved from documentary sources, the proprietors of whom had under them free-tenants as well as freed-men and slaves. Concerning the German 'mark' as representing a stage of 'agrarian communism,' we may say, not proven, tenure in common has frequently been confused with ownership in common, and the fact that peasants often cultivated the soil in common for a lord is no proof of agrarian communism.

The origin of land tenure in England is exceedingly obscure. Cæsar, who had abundant opportunities of observation, seems to imply with the exception of Kent, that the Britons were chiefly in the pastoral stage stating "Most of those in the interior sow no corn, but live on flesh and milk." Britain, however, was a corn-growing country long before and during the Roman occupation. Pytheas, who visited Britain in the fourth century B.C. comments on the abundance of corn he saw on the land in the south-east districts. He also comments on the necessity of threshing it out in covered barns, instead of using the unroofed threshing-floors to which he was accustomed in Marseilles. "The natives," he says, "collect sheaves in great barns, and thresh out the corn there, because they have so little sunshine that our open threshing-places would be of little use in that land of clouds and rain." Pliny, further describes the inhabitants of Britain as being so far advanced in agriculture as to plough in marl in order to increase the fertility of the fields.

Even in the early Iron Age, prior to the invasion of Britain by the Romans, in the more hilly districts of Wales and Britain, rectangular plots of land known as 'lynchets' are to be traced, and show signs of having been cultivated from that period on through the Roman

occupation up to the fourth century A.D., while 'strip lynchets' in the North of England (Upper Wharfdale, Yorks, etc.) preserve to us the actual common fields of the Anglo-Saxon village communities of the seventh to the ninth centuries.

There is also evidence of 'common intermixed arable acres' in the 'Dooms of Ine,' King of the West Saxons (issued between A.D. 688-705). In these laws, there is a section which refers to open common fields divided into acres and to common meadows also divided into strips, "If ceorls have a common meadow or other divided land to fence, and some have fenced their portion, others not, and stray cattle eat their common acres or pasture, then those who are responsible for the opening shall pay the others who have fenced their portion for the injury that is done, and take such compensation as is due from the owners of the cattle."

It is quite probable, therefore, that the open field system in some form or other was in existence in Britain prior even to the Roman invasion. After the Norman Conquest we are able to distinguish quite plainly on what principle the village land tenure was organised, whether on the two-field or the three-field system of husbandry. The three-field system was most prevalent in the Midlands, eastern and northern counties; and the two-field system most usual in Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire, Dorset, etc. Between the ends of the strips were often small plots of land forming awkward corners for ploughing (many are still in existence); these are known under various names such as 'no man's land,' 'Jack's piece,' 'any man's land.' In Scotland they are frequently dedicated to the devil, under the name of 'Clouties Croft' or 'the gudeman's field.' This nomenclature may also

be a relic of plots of land known in the West of England as 'gallows-traps,' a belief which grew out of the primitive custom of setting plots of land apart as sacred to the gods or sylvan deities whose land had been invaded, and sacrificing those who unwittingly set foot upon them.

The system of common cultivation is recorded in the Prologue of the 'Vision of Piers the Plowman,' where we have a fourteenth-century picture of the villagers working in the open fields with their divisions into furlongs, acres and half-acres, which they must plow and sow. Even to-day at Laxton and the neighbouring village Eakring (Notts) the three-field system with the common field is still in existence. In the village of Yarnton about three miles north of Oxford, distribution by lot takes place on Lammas Day, of the lammas-meadow which is devoted to the growing of hay-crops; rights of common exist on these lands from August 12th (old Lammas Day) to March 25th (Lady Day). Land is still under strip cultivation at Haxey, in the Isle of Axholme, Lincolnshire. Another example of this method is also found in the 'Great Field' at Braunton, North Devon. The wide prevalence of the open-field system which existed in Great Britain may be estimated by the fact that in England alone, nearly 4,000 Enclosure Acts were passed between 1760-1844.

Evidence from the Domesday Survey reveals that, even centuries before the Norman Conquest, the cultivation of the soil although carried on under the open-field system by village communities, was mainly, a system of serfdom, there being very few free-men in proportion to the rest of the population. The free economic independent men, who were found in the village groups at the Domesday Survey, were found to chiefly consist of dwellers in the old 'Danelagh.'

The existence of these men known chiefly under the names of 'liberi homines' or 'libere tenentes' was most numerous in the eastern counties which were more completely under Danish influence, as were also those of an allied class called 'sochemanni' (had land in 'soc' or franchise of a great lord) they were inferior land-owners, of fixed service, and various privileges (could not be put out of their tenements unwillingly, held the pleas of the manor-courts, etc.). There were probably more free village communities, prior to the advent of the Romans, among the Celtic tribes, among whom the rural economy was more pastoral than agricultural, bound together as they were in clans, by the strong ties of blood-relationship and adoption.

With the advent of the Romans, and the subsequent invasions of the Saxons, the 'manorial system' became the predominant form of land ownership. The manor evidently had a complex origin, for the Roman 'villa' and the Saxon 'ham' or 'tun,' which was frequently a large village, appear to be synonymous with the word 'manor' which implies, not a free village community, but an estate under a lordship with its various grades of tenants, slaves and serfs. It was not the Normans, therefore, who first reduced the English village communities to serfdom; serfdom on the manorial system they were familiar with, and it was continued (not instituted) by the Normans into the 'Feudal System,' under William the Conqueror, who in 1086, at Sarum, received the submission of all the principal land-owners to the yoke of military tenure, thereby becoming the king's vassals, and doing homage and fealty to him. The lord, thegn, or thane, in Anglo-Saxon times held his manor direct of the king, in return for certain duties, military and otherwise.

The land around the lord's castle, or place of abode, was worked under two systems. There was the demesne land of the lord which was cultivated chiefly for the benefit of the lord by the work of his villeins, theows or slaves. Secondly, the land let out in villeinage being land held from the lord by his tenants, known as villeins. They were the highest class of villagers on the lord's manor, and held lands in return for certain services. Their holdings were hereditary, and passed from father to son, on payment of the customary 'heriot' or relief.

The greater part of the land worked by the villeins was held in two grades, known as the 'virgates' and half-virgates; other land on the lord's demesne, they sometimes held as free tenants at an annual rent; they also formed the jury at the 'Halimote' or manorial court. Amongst their services was 'week-work' or so many days in the week, generally three, of labour for the lord regularly all the year round. 'Precariæ,' or boon-work, which was special work, as occasion demanded, probably counted as extra, in times of haymaking and harvest. In addition to this there were often small tributes, or payments in kind to the lord, fowls and eggs, carting, Hearth-penny and Easter dues. Other rules more servile consisted in asking the lord's permission to marry his daughter to anyone, to sell an ox, to leave the village and so on; failure to comply with these rules involved a fine, etc. An inferior class of villagers were those known as 'bordarii' or 'cottarii.' They were typically cottagers who possessed neither oxen nor plough, sometimes they had a strip of land in the open fields of one or more acres. Their position and services depended on the pleasure of their lord to whom they rendered customary services, they were the drudges, hewers of

wood, drawers of water, and so forth. Below the cottarii was the still more abject 'servi' or bondman equivalent of the Saxon 'theow' or 'esne,' an unfree hireling.

The slaves at the time of the Domesday Survey, are rarely mentioned in the eastern and Midland shires. In the south-west and on the Welsh border the percentage rises. This class was frequently recruited (apart from the Conquest) from both higher and lower grades by debt or crime. Freemen unable to discharge a debt became serfs, while the criminal, who could not raise his fine, became the serf of the plaintiff or the crown. The slave became part of the live-stock of the estate, to be willed away at the lord's death, with horse and ox. His children were bondsmen like himself; even the freeman's children by a slave-mother inherited the mother's taint. "Mine is the calf that is born of my cow," ran the English proverb. If a stranger slew him, his lord claimed damages, if guilty of wrong-doing, his skin paid for him under the lash. Occasionally they were able to obtain their manumission, by their lord's favour, on being supplied by the lord with an outfit of oxen and yardland, the slave rose then to a kind of serfdom.

What constituted freedom is hard to say. A man might be a serf by status, and yet hold a piece of land on condition of paying rent; while another, free by status, might for his own convenience take a holding to which payment of services was attached. 'Molmen,' men who paid rent or 'mol' in place of service, were sometimes reckoned as free and sometimes as not. Tenants by charter were undoubtedly free, while those whose tenure was entered on the manor rolls, or who had copies of such entries witnessed by the steward, began in course of time to be called tenants

by 'copy of court roll,' and their tenure itself a 'copyhold.' The evidence to be obtained from the Anglo-Saxon documents and the Domesday Survey clearly show that the villeins and the cottars formed the bulk of the agricultural community, but that there also existed on the manorial estates a considerable number of bondsmen or slaves proper, as well as numbers of free tenants or socmen.

We see, therefore, that even before the Conquest the classification of the English people was becoming gradually more and more territorial in its character. This no doubt rendered the feudalism of William I more natural. It was hastened on, however, mainly owing to the revolts of the English in the earlier years after the Conquest; and the consequent confiscations of land, which thus afforded William an opportunity to grant to his more immediate and distinguished barons the land previously held by the deposed or slain Saxon thegns. The barons in their turn made grants (subinfeudations) to their own retainers, on similar conditions to those imposed upon themselves by the king. In addition to homage and fealty, and assistance in the field, namely, 40 days military service, the lord was entitled to receive from his military tenants certain aids or contributions in money, such as towards making his eldest son a knight, providing a suitable marriage portion for his eldest daughter, and to ransom the person of his lord if taken prisoner. The immediate tenants of the king were known as 'Tenants-in-Capite' or in chief. All the land which either the king, or a lord, retained in his own hands, instead of granting to a vassal or a dependant, was called 'dominica terra' or demesne land.

The relation between landlord and tenant, though at first merely life-long, soon came to be regarded as

hereditary, the heir becoming entitled on the death of the tenant, to occupy his land on the same terms. (The Pipe Roll, fifth year, King John, 1202-03, records that Robert fil Peter de Briminton paid 50 marcs for having the manor of Wichenton as his father held it, with its appurts, by the Charter of the King). If the heir was under age (21 years, males ; 16 years, females) the lord became the guardian (in chivalry) with a right to receive the profits of the land for his own benefit until the heir became of age. If it happened that the ward was a female, the lord had the right to choose a husband for her, and could demand a sum of money by way of forfeit if she refused to marry as directed by him. (Pipe Roll, fourth year, King John, 1201-02, records Hugo de Steton paying 200 marks that his daughter and heiress should marry whom she pleased.) On attaining full age, the ward paid to the lord a fine usually of half-a-year's profits of the land. If the heir was of age at the time of the tenants death, the lord received a 'relief' or pecuniary fine upon his succeeding to the property ; and the king was also further entitled from the heirs of his tenants to 'primer seisin' or the first year's profits of the estate. If a tenant died without heirs, the land was liable to escheat, or return to the king, or lord, as the case might be. Feudalism, as a military system, received a great blow in 1159 when Henry II called for a tax called 'scutage' of two marks upon every knight's 'fee' or fief, which excused the knight from attending the king in his expedition to France. It was used on various occasions during the reign of king Henry and later kings, and the amount of the scutage demanded varied.

It must be borne in mind that the monastery, like the castle, was in the possession of vast estates. To endow a church atoned for many sins and offences,

hence kings, earls, barons and others made large grants of money and land to various religious houses so that by the time of the Norman Conquest, nearly one quarter of the land in England was in the hands of various churches, abbots and bishops. The Conqueror also granted much land to the great churchmen. The tenant of ecclesiastical land could sometimes hold his land by 'frank-almoign' or free-alms, instead of military tenure. By this method the tenant was obliged to pray for the soul of the donor.

The monasteries, on the whole were the best landlords, and it afforded probably the most secure life for the peasantry. Doubtless the pressure of serfdom varied from place to place, and from century to century, but as late as 1280 in England, it was still possible for the Abbot of Burton to argue, that in strict law "his bondmen had no belongings save their bellies" (nihil præter ventrem). Certain concessions to the peasantry, especially to women in cases of pregnancy and child-birth, are found more frequently on Church lands; but monks and bishops exploited their peasantry in much the same way as the laity, they took heavy tallages, resorted to rack-renting, evicted tenants, enclosed common lands, and were as ruthless as the lay lords in exacting heriot, etc., while the rector followed in taking the second-best beast for a mortuary (a gift claimed on the death of a parishioner).

As to the attitude of the Church towards manumission, in the fourteenth century we have priests like John Wycliffe and John Ball condemning the serfdom of the peasantry. On the other hand, the Cluniac statutes of 1310 threaten with excommunication all abbots, pious and other administrators who "holding sway over serfs, bondmen, bondwomen, or women of servile condition, pertaining to the monasteries of our

Order, grant to such persons letters and privileges of manumission and freedom," and in the next redaction of the statutes, in 1458, such administrators are, on entry into office, to take an oath not to manumit serfs on pain of suspension. Indeed no proper understanding of the social history of Europe is possible without a clear grasp of the manorial and feudal systems.

England, France and Germany all began their political life from a similar agricultural basis. In each of them there were similar elements contending, the king or prince, the nobles and the people. But the combinations differed. "In England, the Norman Conquest made the king so strong, that in later reigns the nobles were compelled to unite with the people, to procure liberty. In France, it was the feudal lords who were strong, and the king and the people who united to achieve a greater liberty. In Germany, the feudal system lasted longer than in other countries. One of the chief reasons was the frequency of the royal line dying out, and the feudal chiefs took advantage of the situation, to use an expression of the times, they 'plucked a feather from the imperial eagle.' As a result, there were finally hundreds of princes in Germany, and many states and principalities."

With regard to the land tenure in each of the three countries just mentioned. In England, freedom from manorial and feudal serfdom was aided by the Black Death, peasant revolts and the help of other favourable agrarian and economic changes (sheep-farming, stock-and-land leases, etc.) whereby they gradually commuted services for money rent. In France, the peasants, in many cases, became rich enough to buy their economic freedom, often 'en masse,' whole villages paid a lump sum and secured general emancipation.

In Germany, the peasant in return for clearing forests and draining marshes, often received his land on practically freehold terms.

By the end of the fourteenth century, the feudal system was in a period of rapid disintegration. Allied to the rebelling of the villeins and serfs against lordly authority, was the growing power of the medieval towns, which, with their merchant and craft guilds, organised for developing trade and industry, were frequently strong or rich enough to secure their emancipation from feudal dues, from their over-lord or king, by the payment of an annual or lump sum ; as for example : in the eighth year of King Henry II, 1161-62, " The men of Derby paid 40 marcs to have the town fee in their own hands " (see Pipe Rolls of the various counties, etc.). Further, a charter might be secured from the king granting the burgesses freedom from military service, from paying the expenses of knights going to Parliament, power to elect their own town officials, freedom from various tolls, stallage, lastage, passage, pontage, rights of markets and other privileges. In the fourth year of King John, 1201-02, " The men of Chesterfield paid 2 marcs that they might buy and sell dyed cloth, as they were accustomed in the time of King Henry. The men of Newark paid 2½ marcs for the same privilege " (Pipe Rolls).

The acquisition of these liberties gave an impetus to commerce and industry, especially as the inter-municipal systems of trading became more national in their scope. They also helped in building up a stronger foreign commercial policy. Both in England and on the Continent there was a constant interchange of merchants visiting the great towns and principal fairs with their respective merchandise. Some of the continental towns became very wealthy, and rose to

great political power and self-government, such as Venice, Milan, Genoa, Bruges, Antwerp, and others.

In due course, the rise of new industries, inventions, sea-borne commerce and the application of mechanical power, brought in their train increasing freedom to the peasantry of Europe, who had for centuries been regarded by kings, nobles and the landed proprietors as mere bondsmen and serfs, to be treated as though they were part and parcel of the land on which they laboured.

CHAPTER VIII

Early Cultural Stages

As the early cultures of mankind are associated with questions of chronology, man's antiquity and evolution, it may be useful, by way of introduction, to state as briefly as possible, how they are linked up with each other, so as to get as clear a picture, as is possible, of the life of man and his physical surroundings, in the far-distant ages for which, as yet, we have no definite chronology in terms of years. The evidence consists of correlating man's fossil remains, his tools, and the geological strata in which they have been found.

The geological strata which have a bearing on man's antiquity commence in what is known as the Tertiary Period, which has been estimated at anything up to sixty millions of years by physicists, using the radio-activity time scale ; while lesser figures are given by geologists (1½ to 5 million years).

The strata of the Tertiary Period commencing with the oldest are named: Eocene, Oligocene, Miocene and Pliocene. The evidence of man's antiquity based on his physical relationship to the higher apes is as follows: In the Eocene are found the earliest fossil remains of the lemuroids and tarsioids, which some leading authorities take as their starting point. In the Oligocene are found the earliest forms of the proto-apes, as represented by the teeth and jaws of Propliopithecus. In the Miocene are found the fossil remains of Dryopithecus and Pliopithecus, anthropoids allied to the great apes ; while in the Pliocene, we have the generalised

ancestors of the great apes, including Dryopithecus, whose remains consisting chiefly of teeth and jaws, have been found in deposits in Europe, Asia and Africa.

As to man, physically, he is allied to the higher apes by the most perfect of homologies. These are traceable in bone and muscle, in blood-vessels and glands, in vestigal remains, in dentition, in structure of the brain and nervous system, in embryological affinity, as well as in the behaviour of the serum of the blood, thus showing blood-relationship. This does not mean that man is developed from the apes ; for the differences which do exist begin early in the fœtal life, showing that the branching must have taken place long before the development of the existing man-like apes. Especially is this seen in the early differentiation of the hands and feet, as seen in the human embryo and that of the gorilla. The scientific doctrine of the affinities which exist between man and the higher anthropoids, only indicates that the apes and man had a common precursor, from which man developed in an independent line, and from which the branches of the apes also developed in independent lines. The influence of effort and physical surroundings, along with the sifting processes of natural selection, have acted upon the apes as well as upon man, with varying results.

To the Tertiary Period are also assigned the flints known as ' eoliths,' which have been found in the Pliocene, Miocene and Oligocene strata in France, Belgium, Portugal, etc. In England they have been found at Foxhall, near Ipswich, below the Red-Crag (Upper Pliocene) ; in the Cromer Forest-Bed, and on the Kent plateaux (Mid-Pliocene), and elsewhere. Some of these flints are of natural origin, but others are maintained by an increasing number of experts, to

have been shaped by man. Some of these flints appear to have been chipped as if for use as scrapers ; another kind known as ' rostro-carinate ' have beak-ends. There are also other types, as well as some named after the place where they were found. They can only be distinguished by experts, and even they are by no means in agreement as regarding all types as the earliest tools used by man, as in some cases the disputants have to rely almost entirely on questionable artifacts. Flints similar to those in dispute have been shown that "they may be produced by natural forces, such as earth pressure or torrent action" (Prof. Sollas, M. Commont, Abbé Breuil, etc.). The controversy will probably continue until such flints are found in association with human skeletal remains in the Tertiary strata. Meanwhile, nothing remains for the layman but to preserve an open mind.

Taking, however, into consideration man's physical relationship to the higher apes, and the eoliths, we may say that the evidence points to a semi-human type, or pithecoid precursor—as yet undiscovered—living at the latest in the latter part of the Pliocene period, which has been estimated at anything from one to six million years.

The earliest cultural remains of man are usually divided into three periods, namely, Eolithic, Lower Palæolithic and Upper Palæolithic. These, again, are divided by experts into other subdivisions and intermediate stages, which need not be detailed in this brief survey, for the culture of the ' Old Stone Age ' as it is frequently called, possesses such a vast literature of its own that it may be considered to form a complete study in itself. It will be sufficient, therefore, for our purpose, to mention, very briefly, the main stages of its culture in their chronological sequence, as they

appear in most popular accounts of Palæolithic culture, which are usually based on the French classification, namely, on the names of various places, in France, where typical flint implements have been found which reveal a successive advance in culture, this method of classification has proved so useful, owing to the absence of positive chronology, that the French names have been applied to flint implements of similar types found in other countries.

These cultural terms, stating them in their sequence from the oldest to the latest (omitting the eoliths) are: Chellean, from Chelles, on the Marne, eight miles east of Paris (river gravel deposits) ; Acheulean, from St. Acheul, near Amiens, valley of the Somme (river gravel deposits) ; Mousterian, from Le Moustier, right bank of the river Vezere (a cave) ; Aurignacian, from Aurignac, Haute-Garonne, Pyrenees (a grotto) ; Solutrean, from Solutre, Saone-et-Loire (open-air encampment) ; Magdalenian, from La Madeleine, Dordogne, right bank of the river Vezere (a rock-shelter).

It must be borne in mind, however, that these divisions are chiefly of a chronological value, as nowadays, for purposes of typology, the fundamental division is into hand-axe, flake and blade cultures. These in turn are constantly being subdivided into newer and more numerous classes. Indeed, the craving for classification gets so intense, that to take for example, the Acheulean culture, there are at the present time, no less than seven stages of typology associated with the flint tools of this cultural stage. The same method is also extensively applied to the other stages of Palæolithic culture. Even the Eolithic and Pre-Chellean flints have been given several subdivisions.

Commencing then with the Chellean culture, which all authorities recognise as showing signs of man's

handiwork, we may note the chief implement of this period is known as the 'hand-axe' (coup de pong) or 'Boucher,' so-called in honour of Boucher de Perthes, who was the first to call the attention of the scientific world to these flints as being the work of man. In shape, it is usually pear or almond-shaped, and is formed by chipping pieces of flint from a large piece, until the core is of the required shape. In size it may range from three to nine inches, or more, in length. In addition to this general tool, well-defined flakes, scrapers, borers and hammer-stones have been found.

In the Acheulean period, the hand-axe is distinguished by finer workmanship and more flaking. It is not so heavy and thick, being finished with a series of little chippings round the edge, such as are not found in the Chellean forms. They have been subdivided into various types, almond, oval-almond, elongated-oval and sub-triangular; the edges are often curved, the reverse S-curve being frequent. Towards the end of this period, what is known as the 'Levallois flake' came into use. They are of a triangular shape, the tool has on one side a number of flake scars, and on the other a single flake surface with a large bulb. A small chipped stone axe with a lance-point known as the La Micoque industry, is assigned also to this period (the Upper Acheulean) so named from a rock-shelter near Les Eyzies, Dordogne, south-west France.

The 'hand-axe' and other early associated Chellean and Acheulean implements are usually found in the old river gravels, along with the bones of extinct animals, whose descendants now live elsewhere. Some of these old river gravels, or terraces as they are sometimes called, such as the Ouse and the Thames in England, the Somme in France, etc., range from 20 to over 120 ft. in height above the present river

levels. A result which demands an enormous antiquity for the implements thus found ; for their age is to be calculated, not by the few feet of surface deposits accumulated upwards from the level of the finds, but by the extent of the erosions from that level downwards to the present levels of the rivers. Further, some of the old river banks are many miles apart ; hence the height of the old river gravels, along with the wide distances between the opposite banks, shows how greatly the rivers have meandered from side to side, and that an immense period of time has elapsed, while the rivers have been widening and deepening their valleys, thus also indicating the great age of the flint implements thus found, as well as the long period of time which has elapsed since men roamed along the sides of the old river banks. (The average time based on the estimates of such famous geologists as Lyell, Dana, Sollas, Penck, Geikie and others, is 400,000 years.)

Some examples of the Chellean and Acheulean flints, have, however, occasionally been found in caves, in some of the deepest layers, as in Kent's Cavern, Torquay, Devonshire, etc. In Kent's cavern, bouchers of the Chellean type have been found at a depth of 24 ft. below the present level of the cave. The three lowest deposits consist of granular stalagmite 5 ft. thick, then a layer of cave earth, 4 ft. thick approximately with a layer known as the 'Black Band' intermingled with it at various depths, then comes a layer of crystalline stalagmite, in places nearly 12 ft. thick, below which were found flint implements ; a result which demands a great antiquity for the presence of man even in Devonshire, not only because of the slow rate of stalagmite deposit, but also because of the presence of cave earth between the two layers of stalagmite deposit, showing that depression and elevation of

the land had taken place since man first made use of the cave.

It is reasonable to infer, that the men of the Eolithic, Chellean and Acheulean cultures, were food-gatherers rather than hunters, and augmented their diet with vegetable food. The early Chellean climate was warm and damp, the woodlands would provide man with various nuts, acorns and wild fruits ; roots and plants would be available ; birds' eggs, honey, grubs and insects, small animals and other edible food. The wide range of the Lower Palæolithic implements in western Europe suggests that at this period there was a fairly uniform culture and climate, as well as of fauna. Typical animals were the elephas antiquus, rhinoceros merckii (soft-nosed, which bore a horn sometimes as much as 3 ft. in length), machairodus (sabre-toothed tiger), hippopotamus, cave-bear, etc. England at this period was separated from France, only by a broad forest-clad valley, with a river flowing down its centre towards the Atlantic.

No accurately dated remains of human skeletons have, as yet, been found in association with the implements of the earliest Palæolithic culture. The only fossil remains dating probably from this period, consists of skull fragments and jaws showing a combination of ape-like and human characteristics, in each specimen ; a brief summary of each find is as follows :

One relating to the early Pleistocene age is the ' Ape Man of Java ' (Pithecanthropus erectus), found by Dr. Dubois in 1891. The find consisted of the top of a skull, several teeth and a thigh bone. The skull fragment is different from all ancient and modern forms, hence, it has led to the promulgation of various points of view, namely, as being that of an ape, or a semi-human or a human being. As its name suggests, the

skull cap shows ape-like characters, while other characters of the skull suggest the possession of a human-like brain, while the thigh bone suggests that its possessor could walk erect. The brain capacity suggests it may be an intermediate type between man and ape. The discovery of another Java skull in 1937 (a woman), and a baby skull two years earlier, has given strong support to those who hold that Pithecanthropus is the most archaic humanoid type of whom we have any knowledge.

Another find consists of a lower jaw with all its teeth, (Homo Heidelbergensis). It was found at a depth of over 70 ft. in a sand pit at Mauer, near Heidelberg, in October, 1907, in association with the remains of such animals as the elephas antiquus, rhinoceros etruscus, etc., which enable us to assign it with a certain degree of accuracy to the early Pleistocene Age. The teeth are typically human, but the jaw is chinless, and ape-like, hence it may represent an early type from whom branched off the genus Homo.

Piltdown Man (Eoanthropus Dawsonii) : these fossil remains were found in 1912 in a gravel pit, near Piltdown Common, Fletching, Sussex, by Mr. C. Dawson, hence its technical name. The finds consisted of fragments of the frontal, occipital and temporal bones sufficiently complete to render possible a reconstruction of the skull ; the left half of a mandible and two molar teeth were also found, which reveal ape-like characters. The skull reconstruction shows a high forehead with an estimated skull capacity of 1,300 cubic centimetres, which bring it well within the limits of modern man.

NOTE.—In June 1935 and March 1936 parts of a fossilised human skull were found at a depth of 24 ft. in the middle gravels of the Thames 100 ft. terrace at Swanscombe, Kent, in association with implements of

the Acheulean type of culture. Whether it represents a more primitive type and is older than the Piltdown finds, cannot be definitely stated, at present, owing to the skull being incomplete.

SINANTHROPUS.—The discovery of human fossil remains in China (the first skull was discovered in December, 1929) including several skulls, numerous jaws and many teeth, has revealed the presence of a lowly human type existing in the Far East, at the beginning of the Pleistocene period. Although possessing ape-like features in size and conformation of brain the Pekin skulls appear to be of an evolutionary status slightly higher than Pithecanthropus erectus.

To sum up, the association of simian features with human, in the earliest fossil remains we possess, at the present time, from areas lying thousands of miles apart (England, Java, Germany, China) is of special significance, and adds weight to the evolutionary theory of man's relationship to the higher apes.

Towards the end of the Acheulean period colder conditions had set in, which heralded in the advent of such animals as the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, reindeer, etc., so that in the Mousterian period of culture, which is the next in chronological order, we find man living under glacial conditions and sheltering under overhanging rocks and in caves. This phase of glacial conditions, is considered to be the last of several glacial episodes which occurred during the Pleistocene Period, with intervals of warm climate in between. At its greatest maximum in England, the ice-sheet reached a line drawn somewhat north of the Thames and the Bristol Channel. Prof. J. Geikie claims from the end of the Pliocene Period to the close of the Pleistocene four to six glacial phases ; other geologists such as Prof. Sollas and Penck, reduce the number to

four, while Prof. Boule claims three, namely, one of Pliocene age followed by two Pleistocene glaciations.

Many authorities hold to four glaciations, named in the following sequence, the first named the oldest: Gunz, Mindel, Riss and Wurm, named from four small rivers flowing northwards from the Alps. Many authorities, however, when using the term 'inter-glacial man' for the Chellean and Acheulean cultures, refer them to the Riss-Wurm inter-glacial, thus placing Mousterian man in the Wurm glacial. The duration of the Pleistocene Period, including the glaciations is estimated at anything from 100,000 to one million years.

Man's chief implement during the Mousterian (cave) period was a scraper made of the flakes of flint, which were worked on one face only; such a tool would be very useful for scraping the skins of animals used for clothing. Man, during this period, was acquainted with the use of fire, and the remains found in his ancient hearths in the caves, show that he cooked the flesh of animals, and used stones for heating water. A series of almond-shaped tools pointed at the end, Levallois flakes, and a few chipped stone axes were also in use. No doubt traps and pits were used as well as wooden weapons, in order to kill such large animals as the mammoth, rhinoceros and cave-bear.

It is worthy of note that the men who lived in this period are the earliest of whose bodily remains we have any complete skeletons. At Le Moustier itself, from which the culture gets its name, a complete skeleton was found in 1908 which had been buried in the attitude of sleep. In the same year was also found the fossil man of La Chapelle-aux-Saints, France. The find consisted of an almost complete skeleton, carefully buried with flint implements of Mousterian culture. He was of short stature, 5 ft. 2 in. or 3 in. in

height, he possessed a relatively long back, short legs, with thigh bones massive and rather curved, suggesting that he walked with bowed legs ; his forehead was low and retreating, with thick bony brow ridges, his jaw was chinless, yet his brain capacity has been estimated at 1,600 cubic centimetres, exceeding that of the average modern European.

Many other remains of this type of man have been found, it ranges from France to Palestine, and they are known as the ' Neanderthals ' so-called, from their similarity to the first remains of Mousterian man to receive serious study, which were found in a cave at Neanderthal, in Prussia, in 1856. That man at this period was beginning to have a wider mental outlook, is denoted by the fact that he sometimes buried his dead with food and implements, and the bones are sometimes stained with red ochre ; probably the painting of the body was prevalent, as in the following stage of culture (Aurignacian) ' paint tubes ' containing ochre, and pigments made up into crayons have been found.

The term ' Neoanthropic ' is now frequently used for the Upper Palæolithic people, known respectively as the Aurignacian, Solutrean and Magdalenian. The earliest of these cultures, the Aurignacian, shows an amelioration of climate had taken place, as open-air sites as well as caves were used as settlements, and the presence of Arctic animals is on the decline, with the exception of the reindeer, as is proved by the animal bones found in the deposits of this culture. Animals such as the horse, cave-hyena, cave-lion, bison, oxen, etc., now prevail, as well as other animals whose species are still in existence.

The most significant feature, however, is the apparent disappearance of the Neanderthals at this period, and

the appearance of a new type of man of whom we possess skeletal remains. One found in a rock-shelter near Combe-Capelle, Dordogne, France, in 1909 is that of a man whose long bones are straight and slender, the skull has a high and well-developed forehead, with a curve similar to modern man, the chin is more developed than that of the Neanderthals, and the brain capacity is estimated at 1,440 cubic centimetres. Another type known as the Cromagnon, were big-brained and particularly tall. One found at Les Eyzies, France, was over 6 ft. in height, and had a brain capacity of over 1,800 cubic centimetres. The skeleton of a man found by Dr. Buckland in Paviland Cave, Gower, South Wales, England, in 1823 has also been assigned to this period ; it was buried in red ochre, and is preserved in the Museum at Oxford. Skeletal remains of this type have been found in various parts of Europe. These Cromagnons are considered by some authorities, as the earliest representatives of the modern type of European.

Where these different Aurignacian types of people came from has not yet been fully solved, but they also brought with them a new type of culture. The 'hand-axe' culture is practically absent, and the flint industry appears to be based more on blade-like tools than on flakes. The typical tools are the keeled scraper, the beaked graver and the 'shouldered point.' In addition many different forms of pointed and blade forms were used. Tools of bone, horn and ivory now begin to appear. As a whole their tools reach a high degree of technical skill and specialisation.

In this period, we witness the birth of art ; sculpture, engravings on stone, horn, bone and ivory are found, as well as drawings and paintings on the walls of caves. Animals such as the mammoth, rhinoceros, cave-bear,

horse, wild cattle as well as a few rude representations of the human figure are depicted. The Aurignacian art as it developed, reveals an increasing skill and artistic sense, which in the later examples reveal a high pitch of excellence. The culture is found in many places in Europe ; in England it is not very widely spread. The chief stations being Kent's Cavern, Cheddar Caves, Paviland Cave ; specimens have also been found in the Langwith and Creswell Caves, Derbyshire.

The Solutrean culture which followed, is somewhat puzzling in its distribution, although it follows the Aurignacian in French chronology. In some stations the Magdalenian culture follows the Aurignacian, the Solutrean culture being missing.

In short, there is evidence to suggest that Aurignacian and Magdalenian influences were active all through this period, and it is reasonable to infer, that the Solutrean industry in north-western Europe, with the exception of Solutre itself, was due to culture contact, and it is questionable whether Solutrean man ever seriously made his way into England. At Solutre, their flint-working exhibits its highest and finest workmanship, the flaking is exquisite. Their typical implements are known as laurel-leaf and willow-leaf points. They are delicately chipped on both sides, are evenly flat and so thin in some specimens, as to be almost transparent. Another characteristic flint tool is the ' shouldered point ' ; besides these special forms, there are others which are classed as drills, burins and scrapers. Bone and ivory were in use for needles and simple spear points. Lumps of pigment, ochre and graphite have been found in the Solutrean hearths suggestive of painting. The Solutreans' place of origin and their mysterious disappearance are problems which, as yet, are not definitely solved.

The last of the Palæolithic cultures, known as the Magdalenian, was very widely spread in Europe, open stations, as well as caves and rock-shelters have revealed this type of culture. The flint implements show new types for engraving, and delicate awls for piercing the eyes of small bone needles. Bone, horn and ivory were abundantly used for tools, and animals were frequently engraved on them. Barbed harpoons and a probable spear-thrower indicate greater efficiency in fishing and hunting. The outstanding feature of this period, however, is the high development of their art ; their carvings of animals and the human form in ivory are fairly numerous. Drawings and paintings on the roofs and walls of caves reveal an accuracy of design, technique, and a blending of colour, which is masterly in its expression. The colours used were chiefly red, yellow and black. The commonest engravings and drawings are of the horse, reindeer, bison ; others consist of the red-deer, bear, as well as those of the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros. The animals carved and drawn give us a good idea of the fauna and climate of that period, which was of a sub-Arctic character.

The men of this period as indicated by skeletal remains and skulls found at such places as Laugerie-Basse (France), as well as elsewhere, reveal a type of man with forehead full and lofty, chin well formed, a stature of 5 ft. 2 in. to 4 in. The Chancelade man (France), with a skull capacity of at least 1,650 cubic centimetres, is also referred to this period, as well as a skeleton found at Duruthy (France). It is quite possible they were probably of the same stock as the Aurignacians, and modern in physique and mentality in many ways, especially as seen in their burial ceremonies and artistic achievements.

At the close of the Pleistocene Period, the valleys east

and south which united Britain to the Continent, were gradually depressed beneath the sea-level and the North Sea, Irish Sea, English Channel, as well as the Atlantic coast line, began to assume their present outlines. An examination of the submerged forests round the English coasts, and the old inhabited land-surfaces now submerged, shows that the downward movement had not ceased until well into the Neolithic Period of British culture. Owing to this subsidence of the land, there was supposed to be a break in England between the Palæolithic and Neolithic stages of culture. Later researches, however, have proved that there was a transitional stage of cultures, the chief of which are known as the Azilian, from Mas-d-Azil, Ariege (Pyrenees), and Tardenoisian, from Fere-en-Tardenois, Aisne (Northern France). These cultures are frequently grouped under the term 'The Mesolithic Age.'

The typical Azilian implement is a flat harpoon made out of deer-horn, with barbs on each side and a hole at one end. Painted pebbles are also associated with this culture, which has been traced as far as Oban, on the west coast of Scotland. The Tardenoisian culture is associated with pygmy flints or microliths. In France these flints have been found inserted into wooden handles or harpoons, in straight rows with some kind of gum or cement. The commonest type of the industry is a blade worked to a point of between 1 and 1½ in. long. They have also been found in Belgium, Spain and other countries. In Britain they are found in the eastern and south-western counties; they have also been found in some of the inland counties, Derbyshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, as well as in south-west England, Wales and Scotland.

Another type of culture which is included in the transitional period, is known as the 'Maglemose'

(Mullerup, west coast of Zealand, Scandinavia), where microlithic flints and bone harpoons have been found. Typical harpoons with a single row of barbs have been found in England (Holderness, East Yorks ; Royston, Cambs ; and the Thames ; while one has been dredged up off the Norfolk coast).

Some of the Danish kitchen-middens appear to be of the age of the latter part of this transitional period, because of the type of harpoons and flint axes found in them. At Campigny, on the Lower Seine, Inferieure, France, there have been found, at a hut settlement, flint implements known as the ' tranchet,' or axe, which are characteristic of those found in the Danish middens, but they are hardly widely enough diffused to give name to a definite epoch.

The mode of life in Mesolithic times owing to the changes of climate, vegetation and alteration in sea-level (as seen in submerged land-surfaces in Southern England, and raised beaches in Scotland), seems to have tended in North-West Europe for settlements to be on the edge of lakes and on the sea coast, as indicated by the type stations just enumerated. In the case of microliths found inland, they are found chiefly on the sandy wastes and hill country. A few, however, have been found in caves (Creswell, in north-east Derbyshire, and the Mendip Caves). Apart from the dog, domestication of animals appears absent, although some progress had been made in pottery—as found in the Danish Kitchen-Middens—the majority of these ' middens,' however, are usually assigned to the Neolithic Period in Scandinavia, as in the upper layers there have been found, polished stone celts, the grains of cereals, as well as the bones of domestic animals.

With the advent of Neolithic culture, we find man beginning to make more rapid advancement in the

arts of life. He polishes his stone implements, fits shafts to his hammer stones, axe, lance and arrow-heads. He domesticates animals, becomes potter, weaver and agriculturalist, constructs houses on piles along the borders of lakes ; erects stone monuments, such as menhirs, dolmens, alignments, stone circles, such as Arbor Low (Derbyshire), Avebury (Wiltshire). (Stonehenge may date towards the end of the Neolithic Period or the beginning of the Bronze Age.) Altogether 200 stone circles, or more, are known within the British Isles. Some of the stone monuments are associated with a religious cult, as well as being monuments to the dead. The dead are buried in long barrows formed with rough heavy stones, covered over with earth. The dolmens, some of which were covered over with earth, also contained burials as well as some of the stone circles.

In Britain the Neolithic culture was introduced by several different routes from the Continent. This has been deduced from two types of pottery which are usually assigned to this period. One named ' Windmill Hill ware ' (the name of a camp near Avebury, Wilts, where it was first discovered). The pottery is of a dark-faced fabric, sparingly decorated on the neck and rim, with incised lines, punctures, grooves and flutings. It has been found in various parts of Scotland and Ireland, and is associated with similar pottery found in Western Europe.

The other type of pottery is called ' Peterborough ware ' (found on the outskirts of that city). Its decoration consists of cord and comb impressions and pittings, Its distribution ranges from the Fen district, Thames, Dorset, Wiltshire, to Wales and parts of Ireland. It has affinities with early pottery in Denmark and the Baltic regions. Settlements in the form of fortified

hill-top camps belong to this period ; they consist of a system of ditches and ramparts. They have been investigated in Wilts, Sussex, Berks, Dorset and elsewhere ; some were reoccupied in the Iron Age.

The type of men associated with Neolithic culture in western Europe, are known as the ' Mediterranean Race ' whose skulls were long and narrow, viewed from above (dolichocephalic). It must be borne in mind, however, that to assert a definite type of skull to men of this period is somewhat impossible, as many countries have possessed a Neolithic phase of culture, and in Europe at this period, there were already human types corresponding to the three modern races known as the Mediterranean, Alpine and Nordic.

In the Neolithic period, trade routes and lines of communication were opening out. Trade was beginning between the Baltic and the Mediterranean, while the Mediterranean lands were in close communication, with Egypt and Asia Minor. Flint, amber and shells, were in wide demand and were carried into various countries, the former chiefly for implements, the latter two for ornamentation. The pottery and cloth fabrics of the Swiss Lake-dwellers were probably carried far and wide, while copper and gold began to make their appearance in various countries in Europe towards the end of this period. The finding of dugout canoes in raised river banks and beaches in Britain, Scotland and on the Continent, suggests that rivers such as the Danube, Elbe, Rhone, Rhine, as well as other rivers in Europe, were at this time water-ways of trade and communication ; it is probable that boats were being used along the sea-coasts of the Baltic and elsewhere. Civilisation, we must remember, was far older in the Orient than in Europe ; while south of the Alps and on the borders of the Mediterranean coasts, it

appeared earlier than in the northern countries, and in Britain.

Concerning the historic periods known as the Age of Metal, with regard to Copper, which occurs frequently in association with many Neolithic and Bronze cultures in various countries, an independent phase cannot always be placed in the usual sequence of cultures ; but that there was such a phase of culture, though not universal, is clear. Definite regions include Egypt, Mesopotamia, Hungary, Cyprus, Italy, Sicily and probably Ireland. In North America and in parts of Central Africa, ores containing copper in the metallic state were made by the natives into axes, knives, bracelets, rings and spear-heads long before the advent of Europeans. Further, it must be borne in mind, that there is no exact line of demarcation between the cultures of any of the periods ranging from stone to iron. Some regions received and developed Bronze- and Iron-Age cultures, while others were in the Stone Age. Sumerian and Egyptian metal ages were many centuries earlier than the European.

Tentative dates for the Bronze Age in Britain (which has been divided into three periods) are approximately 1800 B.C. to 500 B.C. Many types of tools and weapons, formerly assigned solely to the Neolithic period in Britain, either survived into the Bronze Age, such as polished stone axes and leaf-shaped arrow-heads, or were first used in the Bronze period, such as tanged and barbed arrow-heads, polished flint knives and flint daggers. In the early Bronze Age, daggers and flat axes were very rare ; in the middle period, the palstave, rapier, long dagger and spear-head with loops at the side, were of remarkable finish and form. Typical implements and weapons of the later Bronze period, are the socketed axes and gouges, leaf-shaped spear-

head, socketed bronze sickles and the leaf-shaped sword of various shapes. Jet necklaces and gold ornaments, such as lunulæ and torcs have also been found in the Bronze period.

The men who introduced bronze into England, are frequently called the 'Round Heads,' from the shape of their skulls, which when viewed from above are more circular in shape than those of the Mediterranean Race. They are also known as the 'Beaker Folk,' from the type of their earliest pottery vessel, known as the 'beaker' or 'drinking cup'; they are hand-made, and average 6 to 8 in. in height; they have been classified into three groups: Globose, Oval and Low-brimmed. The whole surface is usually ornamented, the designs in which the chevron predominates are arranged usually in three or more zones, separated by narrower plain bands. They are usually found with inhumation burials. Although these people are credited with the introduction of cremation into Britain, it is evident from the researches of Dr. Thurman in the south of England, Canon Greenwell and R. Mortimer in Yorkshire, and Thomas Bateman in Derbyshire, that both inhumation and cremation were carried on simultaneously.

Where cremation was carried out, the ashes of the dead were collected and placed in a 'cinerary urn' usually from 12 to 18 inches in height; many of them are ornamented with dots, lines or chevron designs. Other pottery used by these people, found generally, but not always, associated with cinerary urns, is a vessel known as the 'incense cup,' usually from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 in. in height and not much more in width; they vary in form and decoration, and are often pierced with holes, some were provided with covers, very often they have been found inside the cinerary urns. Their

use has not been solved, one idea is that they were used for carrying the fire to light the funeral pyre. Another vessel associated with unburnt burials, and sometimes found associated with cremation, is known as a 'food vessel.' They measure from 4 to 6 in. in height, they are often ornamented and are of various shapes, some being biconical or cylindrical, or have the form of a truncated cone.

The urns containing the cremated remains were sometimes covered with a flat stone over the mouth, sometimes they were placed mouth downwards, or laid sideways and placed in a cist made of stone or slate slabs. They have also been found laid in a shallow depression on the soil and covered with loose stones. Articles of personal use were frequently deposited both with cremated and inhumed burials ; such as stone-axe hammers, flint or bronze daggers, bronze pins and brooches, amber beads and jet necklaces. Soil was then heaped over the remains to a height in some cases of over 20 ft., and in diameter ranging from 20 to 100 ft. (the average height out of hundreds of British barrows investigated, is about 5 ft., average diameter 30 ft., denudation must be allowed for). These 'barrows,' as they are called, were usually round. Their diversity of shape, however, gave rise to such descriptions as 'oval,' 'bell-shaped,' or disc barrows.

In cases of inhumation, the dead were frequently buried in a contracted position and laid on the left side, or in a crouched sitting position. Cases are on record where coffins made out of a tree trunk, split and hollowed, have been used. Such burials are chiefly restricted to Wiltshire and Yorkshire ; many, however, are recorded in Denmark, and belong to an early phase of the Bronze Age. The chronology of the barrows is somewhat perplexing, for the banks, ditches and small

stone circles surrounding some and absent from others has puzzled many investigators. Some of the barrows contained secondary burials, a primary inhumation burial lying below cremated remains on the top in some cases, while others have been found with several urns in various parts of the barrow. With regard to habitations, pit-dwellings and stone-built huts are characteristic of this period.

The earliest Bronze-Age culture associated with Europe, arose in the island of Crete, in the Mediterranean Sea, where a Bronze-Age culture developed from the Stone Age without a break. The Cretan Neolithic Period is considered to have lasted several thousand years before 3000-2800 B.C. approximately, which marks the transition to metal. The Minoan Bronze Age has been divided by Sir A. Evans into three periods: Early, Middle and Late Minoan. Each of these periods have been further subdivided into three phases of culture, namely, I, II, and III, representing the rise, culmination and decline of each phase. The whole Bronze Age covers a period from 2800-1200 B.C. (approximately). During the Bronze Age Cretan pottery, painting, carving, metal work and jewellery, exhibited an originality and taste of the highest order. Inlaying was done with crystal and precious metals; gold ornaments were beautifully designed, being made into pendants, chains, rings, bead necklaces and hair-pins, some of which had daisy-shaped heads; necklaces and armlets were worn by both sexes. Bronze swords, daggers, razors, mirrors, brooches, tweezers, knives, cups and basins were numerous. Delicate vases of alabaster, coloured marble and steatite in a great variety of forms were made, some were worked as thin as a china tea-cup. Seals of stone and ivory were engraved with figures of men, women and animals. By

the Middle Minoan II large jars as big as a man were made ; one at Knossos measures 7 ft. in height and 15 ft. in girth (they were used for storing oil, wine, fruits and grain).

In the early Bronze period the pottery was painted black with white decoration, while buff-coloured ware had black decoration. By the Middle Minoan period, red and white decoration on black ground prevailed. Some vases depict marine life, such as sea-anemones, sea-snails, octopus, and corals. In many cases the potter used reeds, grasses and flowers as designs on the pottery, the lily, iris and crocus were favourite designs. Prof. J. L. Myres, Oxford, found at Petsofa, near Palaikstro, some remarkable clay figurines of female figures, depicted with open corsage, wide standing collars, high shoe-horn hats and elaborate crinolines ; the ground colour of the clay figures is painted over with a colour scheme of black and white, red and orange. Some of the palace wall-paintings show similar dresses and have a curiously modern look (tight waists and short skirts date back thousands of years).

The Cretan palaces, built of blocks of limestone, gypsum and columns of cypress, had splendid halls, chambers and staircases, as well as an elaborate sanitary system and bath-rooms. Some of the coloured frescoes adorning the walls depict, in addition to the dress of the men and women, scenes of bull-baiting, in which women as well as youths are taking part. One fresco shows a hare running, another a cat on the point of leaping on a bird, another a child putting saffron flowers into baskets, and one shows Temple and Grand Stand, thronged with spectators of sports, the front row showing ladies in fashionable costume. The fidelity to nature, the movement and life in some of the frescoes and pottery decoration are most admirable.

They had a system of writing, evolved in the early Minoan period, which was the source of the pre-Phœnician scripts of Greece and the Ægean civilisation. It started with simple pictographs cut on seals of steatite, which were later abridged into hieroglyphic symbols written on seal-stones and clay tablets. By the beginning of the First Late Minoan period, a full linear script was in use—known as Class A (Sir A. Evans) followed in the next era by a linear script, Class B (Evans), found on thousands of clay tablets at Knossos. The script, as yet, has not been deciphered, although the method of numbering is known. Units are indicated by vertical lines, tens by horizontal lines, hundreds by circles, and thousands by circles with four radiating lines in the form of a cross.

Many objects of a votive character have been found, especially at Knossos, revealing a 'Tree and Pillar worship,' a cult of the 'Double Axe,' 'Horns of Consecration' probably indicating a 'Bull cult.' One interesting figure is that of a woman carved in ivory, holding a golden snake in each hand, and may represent a 'Snake goddess' or some link with the great Cretan 'Mother Goddess' who was associated with doves and snakes, typifying her connections with air and earth.

An examination of the skeletal remains of the Cretans of the Minoan period, indicates that they formed part of the Mediterranean Race whose skull type is long-headed (dolichocephalic), with oval face, dark complexion, hair and eyes, and of short stature. Their weapons consisted of a long sword and dagger; their defensive armour was a large leather shield, and a conical leather helmet. Bronze spear heads have also been found. In the early period it was the custom to bury the dead in the contracted position. There

were various kinds of tombs and graves ; round and square stone tombs ; the shaft or pit-grave ; clay coffin and bath-shaped receptacles were also used ; most of them had painted decorations on them consisting of birds, fishes, etc. In late Minoan times ' pot-burial ' was prevalent, namely, clay funeral urns in which the dead were placed in a crouched attitude, the urns being inverted ; another form of burial was that of the simple grave.

With the fall of Knossos, which was raided and burnt about 1400 B.C., the mainland of Greece became the centre of Ægean culture known as ' Mycenean.' Before this time, however, mercantile enterprise, and waves of successive migratory and invading peoples, had carried the culture of the Bronze Age to the peoples of Europe dwelling even on its far western borders.

The earliest Iron Age culture in Europe is known as the ' Hallstattian,' from finds in a cemetery at Hallstatt, in Upper Austria, which revealed that inhumation and cremation were contemporary. This Hallstatt culture shows the transition from bronze to iron, and dates from about the ninth century B.C. to 500 B.C. (approximately). Typical objects are the Hallstatt swords in bronze and iron, with conoid pommel of ivory, inlaid with amber, and the horse-shoe hilted short sword. The swords and daggers had sheaths of bronze, or wood bound with bronze bands, the spear-heads were mostly of iron and all were socketed ; helmets and shields were very rare. Articles of adornment, included earrings, finger-rings, beads of bronze, amber and gold ; bracelets and various kinds of brooches, such as the ' drum-shaped ' bow, and the ' spectacle ' fibulæ, formed of two spiral coils or discs of wire. Cauldrons, cups, urns and ladles were all of

bronze. Many of the bronze vessels were ornamented with geometrical designs, triangles, crosses, stars, and zigzag lines. Later came ornamentation of vessels of the bucket type, by means of horizontal bands or friezes, on which were stamped rows of men, horses and birds. The pottery is painted in colours with geometrical designs similar to those on the bronzes.

The Hallstatt culture in its extension throughout Europe, was late in its arrival in Britain, and where Hallstatt relics appear they generally consist of isolated finds to which no definite date can be assigned, as to when they were introduced. A sword of the Hallstatt type found in the Thames is in the British Museum. France possesses a greater number of industrial objects, weapons and art products of the Hallstattian culture than Britain, while in Scandinavian lands the culture is but feebly represented. Some of the pottery found on British sites has lozenge patterns in black and brown, other wares have a finger-print ornamentation.

The second European Iron-Age culture, is known as 'La Tene' and dates from about 500 B.C. This culture takes its name from a pile-dwelling settlement of that name on the shores of Lake Neuchatel, Switzerland. The La Tene culture is best represented by iron swords, scabbards and brooches. The swords found at La Tene vary from 30 to 38 in. in length, some are even longer; the blade is double-edged, and scarcely tapers in its whole length until within a few inches of the extremity, when it gradually forms a round tip. The sheaths are formed of two plates of iron (rarely bronze), one of which overlaps the other at the margins where they are riveted together. Sometimes these plates are strengthened by one or more cross ridges; ornamented designs are found on some of the sheaths. The lance and javelin heads are all socketed, as well as

some of the arrow-heads. Many articles of bronze are also associated with the La Tene culture, as well as painted pottery with curved or spiral decoration. The polychrome pottery, however, of Central Europe is of a mixed type, some are ornamented with geometrical designs, others have figured scenes incised round the shoulder, etc.

The La Tene Culture has been divided into three periods, corresponding to the evolution of three types of fibulæ (brooches), according to the position of the foot or catch-plate end. The La Tene I type of fibulæ is a modified safety-pin, the pin forming one piece with the spring which has coils on both sides of the bow, while the foot, which forms the catch-plate for the pin point, is turned back free of the bow, or only just touches it. In the La Tene II type the turned back foot reaches the bow, and has a ring or collar for keeping the end in position. In the La Tene III type there is a complete junction of bow and foot, which forms a continuous curve making the brooch one piece. The open space above the catch plate is thus roughly triangular, which later on is frequently filled with some ornamental device—such as a step-pattern or crescent—finally it becomes filled in, thus forming a plate. (This summary is given as the brooch types are used as aids in deciding the stages of the La Tene cultural remains.)

The British Iron Age, as a whole, consists mainly of the La Tene culture. It has been classified into three types of culture, known respectively as Iron Age A, B and C. Indicating cultural areas or zones, where successive waves of invaders or immigrants introduced their various cultures. The Class A culture is applied to the development in south-east Britain of the later Hallstatt Culture. The Class B culture relates to the south-western and north-eastern parts of Britain, and

consists of a variety of cultural elements derived mainly from the continental La Tene cultures. The Class C culture, comprises the Belgic culture which entered south-eastern Britain early in the first century B.C. The evidence is derived from the cultural remains discovered in barrows, cemeteries, camps, hill-forts, lake-dwellings, along with scattered finds ; all of which are assigned as dating, mainly, from the fifth century B.C. to the early part of the first century B.C. The remains consist of skeletons, pottery, articles of domestic use and personal adornment, as well as implements and weapons.

Chariot burials with unburnt bodies have been found in England, and are assigned to the early part of the British Iron Age. Its inception is attributed to the invading Brythons known as the P Celts, who followed the Goidels or Q Celts.

Beehive-shaped huts of dry stone masonry, pit-dwellings, subterranean retreats, and hill-forts such as at Maiden Castle, Hod and Hambledon Hills, Dorset, and elsewhere, were still in use during the Iron Age. Lake-dwellings of the crannog-type, such as Glastonbury and Meare, Somersetshire (dating from the early part of the first century B.C. approximately), contained circular dwellings of wattle and clay enclosed by wall posts, while a centre pole helped in supporting a thatched roof. Tools of bone, horn and stone, brooches, mirrors, beads, amber, glass, jet, loom weights, weaving combs, mill stones, rotary querns, sling-bullets, plain and ornamented pottery, as well as numerous implements of bronze and iron have been found in these British Lake-dwellings, as well as in those on the Continent ; even dice and iron currency bars were found at Glastonbury. The Late Celtic productions of these lake-dwellers, have their counterparts in the

cultural remains found on numerous sites in many other parts of the British Isles.

Inhumation as well as cremation were both practised at this period. At Aylesford, Kent, cremated remains were placed in urns, which were then spaced at intervals in circular pits. Some of this Aylesford pottery is distinguished by having well-turned pedestal urns, which were wheel-made. On these and other jar and bowl types, cordon decoration prevailed. A fine bronze mounted bucket with embossed decoration in the La Tene style was found with the urns, as well as La Tene brooches. Bead-rim jars and bowls are also typical of the late Iron-Age pottery in Britain. To this period (sometimes called La Tene IV or late Celtic), two new methods of decoration are assigned. One was the use of coral for ornamental studs and bosses on shields, fibulæ, horse-trappings, and so forth. Another, was that of enamelling, in which a variety of colours were employed.

Our recent knowledge of the artistic skill and culture of the late Celtic inhabitants of Britain, prior to the Roman invasion, reveals them as being far above the stage of mere painted barbarians, as they were so often depicted in the early history books, before archæological research was brought to bear on the subject. They were so advanced in agriculture as to plough in marl, in order to increase the fertility of the soil, and the fields were still worked on the lynchet system, which was in use even in the late Bronze Age. Tin, corn, oysters, cattle and other various products were exported. In short, from a sociological point of view, the use of iron raises the economic and cultural status of a people.

It is worth while noting that some of man's earliest metallic tools and weapons were modelled on Stone-Age patterns. When, however, man had mastered

the idea of smelting, using moulds and sharpening iron, many new industries were developed. With wood, stone, baked clay formed into bricks, and his metals, man not only had more and better tools, but was able to improve his architecture, implements, and attempt to carry out more elaborate schemes of work in the expanding spheres of industry. This along with the birth of writing, enabled knowledge to be put on permanent records, so that each succeeding generation, inherits increasing accumulated stores of their ancestors' experience and skill.

From this brief outline of the early cultural stages of man, we may now turn our attention to the early civilisations of the East, which were the forerunners of Western civilisation.

CHAPTER IX

Early Civilisations

Egypt

These four outlines on ancient civilisations do not claim to be exhaustive, by any means, nor to give a complete account of the social conditions which prevailed in the early stages of their culture. Much of our information is due to archæological research in these countries, and new discoveries are continually taking place, so that it is impossible to be strictly up to date ; hence all that will be dealt with are the broad outlines of their cultural development. Their influence on subsequent generations will be easily recognised by the reader in the brief ' resume ' which follows.

In dealing with some of the features which are connected with the rise of ancient civilisations, one of the most significant facts to be noticed is, that civilisation appears to have first developed where there were large stationary populations, whose mode of life demanded that the community should be highly organised, and controlled in order to develop its resources for current and future needs. Such were the early civilisations of Egypt, Babylonia, China and India. The populations of these countries were massed along the banks of fertile rivers. The Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates, the Hwang-Ho, Yangtse-Kiang and the Si-Kiang, the Indus and the Ganges. River mouths and banks are still, in many cases, the habitat of dense populations.

Egypt, one of the earliest recorded civilisations, has been called ' The gift of the Nile,' and certainly the

Nile as a river is without parallel. Every summer, practically, from time immemorial, the Nile overflows its banks, and as its waters subside, leaves behind it a rich black silt, over which the husbandman casts his seed, leaving the results to the action of the sun. The fertility of the soil was the great contributing factor to the density of the population of the Nile valley. The ease with which the Egyptian made his living was recorded by Herodotus who states :—" They gather in the fruits of the earth with less labour than any other people . . . for they have not the toil of breaking up the furrows with the plough, nor of hoeing, nor of any other work which all other men must labour at to obtain a crop of corn ; but when the river has come of its own accord and irrigated their fields, and having irrigated them has subsided, then each man sows his own land and turns swine into it ; and when the seed has been trodden in by the swine, he afterwards waits for harvest-time ; then having trod out the corn with his swine, he gathers it in " (Euterpe II. 14).

The first contrivances of the Egyptians, therefore, were naturally connected with the regulation of the water-supply. They found that the flooding often differed in its yearly volume, sometimes it was excessive, at other times scarce, also, that some parts of the land had too much water, and other parts were left dry. So a system of irrigation was devised consisting of reservoirs, lock-canals and dykes to remedy the defects of the flooding, and the scarcity. With the flooding of the land, the boundary marks had a tendency to be obliterated, hence arose the system of surveying to settle disputes as to areas. The rise of the Nile has been carefully recorded from 3,600 B.C. to the present day. Rather more than ten centuries ago a Nilometer was erected on the island of Rhoda, opposite Cairo.

A square well is connected with the Nile, and from the centre a black graduated marble column rises. When the twenty-cubits mark disappears everybody is satisfied, but when the twenty-four-cubits mark disappears excessive flooding is liable, and this causes the Government to put in force 'The Law of 1887' by which they can call upon any able-bodied man to render assistance in regulating the waters. (It was put into force in A.D. 1916.)

Water-rights and land-rights, therefore, constituted early problems in public administration, which led to the passing of laws affecting the functions of the King and his officers; also, as to the duties of landowners and the masses of the people, in the cultivation of the land on which they all depended for their well-being. In early times much of the land and water-rights were held by powerful individuals and passed on to their families, but the priests, also, shared in some of these rights which they held as trustees for their gods. The first dynasty saw the transference to the king of the lands of the chiefs he had conquered. Egypt was the king's estate by right of conquest, and he assumed responsibility for its prosperity. This is illustrated by a sculptured mace-head in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, which depicts one of the early kings 'Narmer' going out, hoe in hand, to open trenches and inaugurate the irrigation season. Although this was the idea only in theory, in practice it was landowners and the people who had to do the work, while forced labour was used when necessary in controlling the Nile floods.

With regard to the arts and crafts of the Egyptians; reeds were used for the making of baskets of various shapes, fans and brushes for sweeping. Leather was used for sandals, shields, chariot work, ropes and other purposes. The earliest pottery was hand-made, and

pressed into form, some were adorned with white designs and later on the pottery was red-faced, often with a lustrous black top ; later still, it was buff with red painting of cordage, spirals and ships. By the First Dynasty (4000-3600 B.C.? approximately, scholars give various dates) pottery was wheel-made. Even in the early dynasties glazed tiles, stone bowls and cylinder sealings in clay were plentiful. Globular beads, as well as scroll pattern scarabs, are found by the thirteenth dynasty. After the eighteenth dynasty glass beads were abundant, while Ushabtis of stone or wood engraved are found in 1550-1450 B.C. Spinning and weaving were known in prehistoric times, as well as matting, which was used for laying on bed-frames by the first dynasty, and later on for hangings. By the first dynasty linen and cloaks were worn ; the women used wooden and bone combs, and a metal mirror when arranging their hair ; wigs and false hair were also worn, and the shaving of the head by men dates back to prehistoric times. (Joseph shaved himself and changed his raiment before he appeared before Pharaoh. Gen. 41 v. 14.)

Painting in various colours dates back to the early dynasties, and was used to imitate valuable woods, grained-wood patterning showing the knots and waviness was practised. Their carpentry, as with most primitive people, developed from the solid block hollowed out by fire or the axe. Wood was used for tables, chairs, bed frames, head-rests and houses for the chiefs. Wood was also used in the construction of the early royal tomb chambers, prior to the construction of the brick mastabas and stone buildings. Their furniture in later dynasties was excellent in design, and built on lines quite familiar to us, from the numerous illustrations which have been extensively shown in

daily papers and magazines of the examples found in the tomb of Tutankhamen. Carving in ivory dates back to prehistoric times. Toys for the children such as leather balls, ninepins and wooden dolls have also been found. Lead, copper, gold and silver were known in early times, but were not made much use of until the dynastic periods. Although iron was known as far back as the first dynasty, they did not make much use of it except for beads, charms or ornament. Until well into the dynastic times copper and bronze were the chief metals used by the Egyptians. Copper was made into beads, wire and chains, while thin copper vessels were hammered out. Bricks were made in moulds, as were also the castings of metals.

In the later dynasties, the large rock-tomb chapels and temples were painted with scenes showing the numerous activities of human life. A wall-painting in one of the tombs, shows men in the carpenter's shop using mallet and chisel, a copper saw, as well as using a bow-drill. Other paintings in the tombs show women weaving, the goldsmith, lapidary, potter and smith at work, men gathering papyrus reeds for making into writing sheets, oxen drawing the wooden plough, peasants milking the cows and donkeys carrying sheaves of grain, and so forth.

It is as the builders of the Pyramids, however, that the ancient Egyptians are best known to us, showing, as they do, that they had acquired at a very early period great skill in architecture, mechanics and engineering. Their religious belief in immortality led to the embalming of the body at death, and the development of all their art, as in the sculpture of the human form, the erection of their tombs, temples and pyramids.

Of the many pyramids to be found in Egypt, the best

known are the three large ones at Giza (Gizeh), they perpetuate the names of the Kings' Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura, who reigned during the fourth dynasty over 4,000 or 5,000 years ago. (Egyptologists differ widely in their chronology for the early dynasties.) The great pyramid of Khufu (or Cheops) is 755 ft. in length on each of its four sides, 481 ft. in height, and its square area is just over thirteen acres. The second pyramid that of Khafra (or Chephren) is but slightly smaller than that of Khufu, being 706 ft. in length, and 472 ft. in height. The third pyramid that of Menkaura (or Mycerinus) is 346 ft. in length, and 215 ft. in height. By the Egyptians they were known as 'The Glorious,' 'The Great' and 'The Countenance.' As is well known, the pyramids contained sepulchral chambers for bodies of the kings and queens after their decease, and with them were buried many of their personal effects, including jewellery and palace furniture of exquisite design and workmanship.

The labour and the material needed for the building of the pyramids was stupendous ; and is best conceived, from the account given by Herodotus of the building of the Great Pyramid. He states that 100,000 men were engaged at a time during three months of the year. Ten years were employed in making a road and preparing the site, levelling and cutting the underground passages and chambers, while twenty years were spent in erecting the pyramid itself. Some of the blocks of stone composing the structure averaged $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons each. The accuracy with which it was designed, and the almost imperceptible junction of the stones in the inner passages and chambers, is a marvel of skill and engineering for the third millennium B.C. The Egyptians, by means of the inclined ramp, wooden cranes and leverage could lift large stones to a considerable height,

as from step to step in erecting the pyramids (Herodotus), the rest was done by ropes and unlimited man power.

There is a relief on the wall of Queen Hatshepsut's temple at Thebes showing how she had two obelisks, each 97½ ft. long, and weighing 350 tons each, towed along the Nile for a distance of about 150 miles (from the granite quarries at the first Cataract to Thebes) to be erected in the temple of Karnak. They were laid on a barge some 300 ft. long base to base, and towed by 30 tugboats in three rows of ten each ; each tugboat had 32 oarsmen, making 960 oarsmen in all. Under each obelisk can be seen the sledge on which it was dragged to the boat, and on which they were ultimately conveyed to the temple. Pliny states that one obelisk, erected for Rameses, was 99 ft. in length, and adds, " And fearing lest the engineer should not take sufficient care to proportion the power of the machinery to the weight he had to raise, he ordered his son to be bound to the apex, more effectually to guarantee the safety of the monument."

The statues of the kings are often most lifelike portraits, the eyes were often inlaid with rock crystal, so that they shone with the glow of life, for it was the face, and not the body, which was the most important feature in Egyptian human sculpture. In some cases these portrait statues of the Pharaohs were cut out of a single block and weighed nearly a thousand tons, while the figures themselves were often over seventy feet in height. The statues of kings in temples, or of nobles in the tomb chapels, were erected there to receive the offerings of the living to the dead, and were considered an essential part of the architectural decoration. The ruined temples in the ' Valley of the Kings ' are evidence to the skill in architecture to which the builders had attained.

The science of geometry and mensuration, was, as we have previously noted, in early use among the Egyptians. As to arithmetic, fractions are dealt with in one of the oldest papyri known on mathematics, written by an Egyptian scribe 'Ahmes' and had its greatest utility in the development of their astronomical studies. They were aware that 365 days did not exactly correspond to the true solar year, as in every four years a day was slipped. However, they set themselves to work to try to overcome it. This was done by noting on what day a particular star could be first seen, at its emerging from the glow preceding the sunrise. In actual practice they observed the star Sirius (Sothic) and found out, that it was only at an interval of 1461 years, that Sirius was visible at Memphis at sunrise on the first day of the month Thoth. This led them to adopt the Sothic periods of 1461 civil years. This calendar and its introduction is one of earliest dated events in Egyptian history (4241 B.C., Meyer ; Breasted ; H. R. Hall suggests the deduction of a Sothic period making it 2781 B.C.), but though it was used to regulate the calendar, it was never used by the Egyptians as an era. The early Egyptians spoke of individual years as " the year in which such-and-such an event took place " ; later on they reckoned by the regnal years of each individual king.

The invention of writing was known in Egypt before 3000 B.C. First came the pictorial stage, which taking on a fixed form for the particular word, gave them the phonetic sign. Later the signs were grouped so that they represented syllables. From that the Egyptian scribe improved until he possessed a series of signs, each representing only one letter, that is alphabetic signs. There appears to be no inscription in which pictorial characters are used entirely, for the earliest inscriptions

now known to us contain alphabetic characters. The inscriptions upon coffins, tombs, statues, temples, etc., in which figures or representations of objects are employed, are called 'hieroglyphic.' For more rapid writing the hieroglyphic sign was abbreviated to one called 'hieratic' and was used by the priests for writing on papyri along with hieroglyphic, and corresponds to our handwriting. A still more rapid and abbreviated handwriting chiefly used for social and business purposes, arose about the eighth century B.C. and was called 'demotic.' The Egyptian wrote from right to left; vertical lines, that is, downward reading was also employed. One of the versions on the Rosetta Stone was written in demotic. This stone had two other versions one in hieroglyphic and the other in Greek, which enabled scholars to interpret the Egyptian writing, it is in the British Museum.

Potsherds were used for the beginning of writing with children, and later a board covered with fine stucco, which did not let the ink sink in. so that it could be washed clean. The Egyptians later on wrote on 'papyrus,' a river reed split into thin strips and made into rolls. The rolls of papyrus were usually packed in jars and kept in the houses of their possessors. Many of the rolls relate to medicine, geometry, etc.; while rolls of papyrus on which were written incantations, magical charms and prayers, were put in the coffins to aid the deceased in the hereafter. The oldest hieratic inscription dates from the eleventh or twelfth dynasties (2000 B.C. approximately) and is called 'The Precepts of Ptah-hetep,' and contains advice to his son, as well as his lamentations on the troubles of old age, and is written in the Prisse papyrus. The earliest hieroglyphic inscription is that found on the stelae of Shera preserved at Gizeh and Oxford; it

dates from the second dynasty. The longest papyrus is known as the great Harris papyrus, No. 1 ; it measures 135 ft. by 17 in.

The most important religious literature of the Egyptians is the collection of chapters generally called the ' Book of the Dead ' (Per Em hru) ' Coming forth by Day.' Some of the selections from this work were written upon coffins, also on the walls of tombs, while the people of rank had buried with them large rolls of papyrus inscribed with its principal chapters, and ornamented with vignettes explanatory of the text which ran beneath. After death the soul of the dead man was supposed to have many enemies to combat, these he vanquished by the knowledge and use of certain ' words of power.' The deceased was also supposed to be condemned to perform field labours in the other world, but to avoid this, stone, wooden or glazed ware figures, made in human likeness (Ushabti) were placed in his tomb to do the work for him. These figures are first found in the Middle Kingdom eleventh to the thirteenth dynasty) and continue till the thirtieth dynasty.

This belief in a future life, and that the soul after the various trials would return to its former body, led to the practice of embalming the body. Various methods prevailed at different times and at different places. It was not until about the fourth dynasty, however, that more precise and careful methods were used and it attained its highest perfection at Thebes. The internal organs of the body were also mummified and preserved in ' canopic ' jars used in sets of four. In the twelfth dynasty the lids of the jars are in the form of human heads, three bearded and one beardless. From the eighteenth dynasty onwards the lids were made in the shape of the heads of the four children of Horus, the

genii of the dead. Amset is human-headed, Hapi ape-headed, Duamutef jackal-headed, and Qebh-sennuf hawk-headed (description of four jars in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). The four genii were also the gods of the four cardinal points, south, north, east, and west respectively, and in the jars were placed the stomach, and large intestines, the small intestines, the lungs and heart, and the liver and gall-bladder.

The mummy was provided with an artificial heart in the shape of a scarabæus, generally made out of hard greenish stone in the image of a beetle, which was a symbol of genesis and resurrection ; underneath it was made flat and inscribed with magic formulæ ; they were placed either on the breasts of the mummy, or suspended from the neck. Some have been found worn like a ring stone on the forefinger of the left hand, or sometimes grasped inside the left hand. It is evident that scarabs may be classed under various headings, according to their varying inscriptions and uses, namely: Symbolical, Funeral, Amulets, Seals and Signets. The art of mummifying continued in Egypt for nearly 500 years after the birth of Christ, so it is quite feasible to say that the art of embalming may have been practised for over four thousand years.

Within the shadow of the Great Pyramids of Gizeh stands that unique figure of the Sphinx, which has aroused the wonder and curiosity of men for thousands of years. It is hewn out of the rock, but pieces of stone have been added where necessary ; the body is about 150 ft. long, the paws are 50 ft. long, its head is 30 ft. long, and the face is 14 ft. wide ; from the crown of the head to the base of the figure is 70 ft. The whole was covered with a limestone plaster. The face was coloured red and the eyes had a naturalistic colouring. The face was that of a man and the body represented

a lion ; around it a number of legends and superstitions have clustered in all ages.

Egyptology, however, inclines to the belief that the image was that of Ra-Harmachis, and therefore of his human representative upon earth (the king of Egypt who had it hewn). It was probably repaired by Cheops and Cephren, the second and third kings respectively of the fourth dynasty (2890 B.C. and 2860 B.C. approximately). Within recent years extensive repairs and excavations have been made around it by the Egyptian Government. The altar between the paws, which the Romans used in their sacrifices to the sun-god when rulers in Egypt, has been revealed ; also a second stairway leading down to the Sphinx as well as other interesting finds, but scholars are still uncertain as to the date of its origin. A stelæ found between the paws records that repairs were made in the temple of the Sphinx by Thothmes IVth, a king of the eighteenth dynasty (1420 B.C. approximately).

With regard to the dwellings of the early Egyptians, a pile of rough stones or a screen of reeds erected on the windward side to break the wind sufficed for the dweller of the desert or the plains. Their earliest houses were made of reeds. Later the mud of the Nile was used for plastering the reed shelters, thus instituting the wall, and later on baked bricks, while the use of lime plaster raised the standard of the building. Regular bricks were made as far back as the later prehistoric period. Wooden houses were also used which could be taken down at the inundation and erected elsewhere. The houses of the poor seldom had any upper storey ; the wealthier classes had a second floor. The soil of the floor was covered with a paving of bricks, and matting was used for screens and wall-coverings.

The earliest tomb yet discovered which was built of squared blocks of dressed stone is that of king Khasekhemui, first king of the third dynasty (3000 B.C. approximately). The first architect who built in stone is stated to be Imhotep (2980 B.C.), who erected a terraced structure of stone for the tomb of king Zoser. It was about 200 ft. high and was known as the step-pyramid of Sakkara. The temple of Karnak (twelfth dynasty) contains the greatest colonnaded hall erected by man. It is 338 ft. wide, and 170 ft. in depth, and contains 136 columns in 16 rows ; 12 columns in two rows forming the central aisle are 69 ft. high ; the capital on the top of each column is large enough for 100 men to stand on at the same time. On the temple walls are inscribed the campaigns of Thutmose III (1501-1447 B.C.) one of the greatest successful conquerors who reigned in Egypt. Another outstanding work is across the river from Karnak, where stand two gigantic portrait statues of Amenhotep III (1400 B.C.), 70 ft. high and cut from a single block.

The king in the early dynasties was considered as divine, for his people he offered sacrifices and presided over festivals. The land and the people were considered the property of the king, who granted to his nobles estates worked by slaves and others ; land was also allotted to the priests and the temple officials and was cultivated by serfs, who were attached to the land on which they worked. The shepherds, hunters and swineherds maintained themselves by wandering over the unoccupied land. The husbandmen held the land bordering on the river and canals, and were subject to taxation on their produce ; taxes being levied on cattle, honey, wine, corn, etc., according to local circumstances. Each village was supervised by a local chief, who controlled the irrigation trenches of the area, and

to whom the peasants took their produce of grain, flax, vegetables or whatever was assessed as their tax. The skilled artificers and mechanics could not change their occupation, while the lower grades of labour were organised in companies under a headman. The maintenance of earthworks, canals and emergency measures in times of inundation were a compulsory service, as well as the building of the pyramids and the temples.

The ox was used for ploughing, and the donkey as a beast of burden, the horse was not much in evidence before the eighteenth dynasty, and was used solely for chariots ; the camel was known to them from the earliest times, and the goat was common in all ages. The elephant and hippopotamus were familiar to them as figures of men and women in ivory were carved in prehistoric times. As early as 2800 B.C. ships could reach the Mediterranean and the Red Sea from the river Nile, the Red Sea being joined at its north end to the Nile by means of a canal. The regions of Arabia, Syria, Nubia, Punt, Sudan and Crete were in contact with Egypt by means of caravans and ships which brought supplies of gold, copper, slaves, fragrant gums, etc., by way of trade or tribute. Close contact with the Ægean was maintained from the first dynasty throughout the historic period, so that Ægean civilisation is brought into comparison with Egyptian and Mesopotamian on equal terms.

The oldest remains of man in Egypt are the Palæolithic flints which have been found in various areas. Modern archæological research shows that an unbroken line of civilisation may be traced from the Tasian culture (5300 B.C.?) and Badarian culture (5000 B.C.?), right through the Pre-dynastic and Dynastic Periods to our own times. The oldest graves known reveal a

settled pastoral people, possessing pottery and copper, while some early graves revealed slate palettes carved in animal forms. From the early burials showing the body wrapped in goat skins and buried in shallow circular pits, there is a great contrast to those of the Dynastic Period, where the body is embalmed, and buried under a pyramid or in a rock tomb, associated with costly jewellery and furniture. It is owing, however, to the care of the dead, that we see the work of the carpenter, stone-mason, sculptor and painter carried to its highest excellence.

Egypt in the course of her long history has experienced numerous invasions; Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Arab and Turk have in turn overrun her, to whom she has had, in turn, to pay tribute. And yet they have had no permanent effect on the physical characteristics of her people. Many of the Egyptians of to-day reproduce many of the personal features of their ancestors who lived 4,000 years ago. It is because of the long continuity of Egyptian life and the permanence of its ancient records in Art, Architecture, Sculpture, its inventions, writings and religion, that it possesses for us an important basis in the study of the history of ancient civilisations.

Babylonia

As in the case of Egypt, the early civilisation in Babylonia was based on agriculture, which was intimately connected with the overflowing of the rivers Euphrates and the Tigris, which spread rich and alluvial soil over a wide flat plain, where the fertility and ease of tillage had attracted generations of settlers and cultivators from very early times. Long before 3000 B.C. the land in the lower valley between the mouths of these two

rivers, first known as the plain of Shinar, was inhabited by an early unknown race, who, reclaiming the marshes around the southern section of the plain, gradually assumed complete control of the area ; they are now known to us as the Sumerians, and the region they held for some centuries came to be called Sumer. Two of their oldest cities, however, ' Ur ' and ' Eridu ' were situated, not between the two rivers, but on the Arabian side of the Euphrates. ' Ur ' stands by the main stream, while ' Eridu ' lay further down the stream, nearer the Arabian Gulf, and was a chief port of early Babylonia, but now owing to the silting up of the Delta, it lies 125 miles from the sea.

The whole of the joint delta of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates has been from very early times a network of canals, designed both to distribute irrigation water, and also to defend the cultivated lands against the desert. " In ancient times, it raised two or three crops of wheat a year." The date palm is indigenous, as was probably wheat. Rice, which is now the principal grain crop, was introduced under the Arab regime. Here then for many reasons, it was in the delta that the Babylonian civilisation developed. Their cities lay not many miles from each other, thus making suitable centres for distribution, storage and defence, a most essential feature in early cities.

Our first knowledge of the Sumerians in the fourth millennium (3500-3000 B.C. approximately) reveals them to us as a civilised metal-using people living in fairly populous towns (no really large cities until the Chaldean Empire 606-538 B.C.), which are now marked by a straggling line of mounds along the Euphrates. These city-kingdoms, as we may call them, were usually under a ruler or king, frequently called a ' patesi ' or priest, as his temple duties frequently kept him as busy

as his task of ruling the community under his charge ; he frequently had to lead out his people to defend their cultivated territory from the assaults of neighbouring cities ; as we infer from stone monuments, showing the ruler marching out at the head of troops armed with shield and spear and marshalled in rank and file.

They possessed cattle, sheep and goats ; oxen drew the plough, and donkeys pulled wheeled carts and chariots ; the horse was still unknown to them. The smith fashioned utensils of copper, moulds being in use before 3000 B.C., but they had not yet learned to harden copper into bronze by adding tin. Personal seals cut in stone, with tiny figures and engravings on them became highly developed, and silver vases engraved with animals (eagle, lion, etc). have been found. To what brilliant achievements in the world of artistic work the Sumerian culture arose in times still early, has been revealed by the recent astonishing treasures found at ' Ur,' where even the earliest graves bear witness to a civilisation already old, and which indicates centuries of development behind it. The antediluvian people were makers of painted pottery, buff and black at Ur and polychrome at Kish, which was found in association with hoes, sickles and querns, showing that they were familiar with agriculture. Iron was in use 3000 B.C. approximately, as evidenced by the find of a copper dagger handle containing the remains of an iron tang (supposed to have been smelted from the ore) discovered at Tell Asmar, Mesopotamia.

The Babylonian traditions preserved the memory of events, long ages before the Flood, and the trend of modern discovery is distinctly favourable to this outline of their history. The overflow of the Euphrates especially has had a significant importance in the history

and development of Babylonia. The river in its upper course descends so rapidly that for ages, it has blocked one bed after another and spread such disastrous floods, that the memory of one deluge recorded on the Babylonian tablets has found a place in the Book of Genesis, as we read, " All the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered, fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail." Even now, as in days of old, the river Euphrates in the upper and middle part of its course is so rapid, that traffic is exclusively downstream. Boats constructed of frame work covered with skins are still used in going down stream, and after reaching their destination, are folded up and carried back on beasts of burden to their original starting point.

The ability to cope with the water problem successfully, however, resulted in the establishing of a civilisation which is probably the earliest in point of time. The early settlers who dwelt in low mud-brick huts, early learnt to construct dykes and trenches, to irrigate the land from which they reaped large harvests, which in later times developed into the cutting of canals, the making of harbours, the building of walls, docks, cities and temples, and the keeping of records and writing. As in the case of Egypt the destruction of landmarks by flooding led to the measurement of land and early legislation concerning the thorny question of ' my neighbours' land mark,' for to remove same was one of the worst offences with ancient peoples. The Babylonians had a god called ' Oannes,' half-fish and half-man, who issued out of the Persian Gulf, taught men the use of writing, mathematics and other arts, hence he was called the god of learning. This god probably replaces an earlier one known in Sumerian and Semitic times as ' Ea ' the God of the Waters. In later times

Marduk was credited as the god who reduced the primeval chaos to order by the separation of land from water.

The most ancient names of the kings and rulers are on inscriptions written in Sumerian, although " there is reason to suppose that the early kings of the city of Kish, in Akkad, were Semites " (H. R. Hall). Tradition tells of a long line of semi-divine rulers each of whom reigned for thousands of years. The nine hundred and sixty nine years of Methuselah appear infinitely small when compared with the genealogies of these early kings preserved in the fragmentary history of the Babylonian priest Berosus, written about 250 B.C. One of the earliest rulers of whom we have any knowledge is one called ' Mes-anni-pad-da ' the first king of the first dynasty of Ur (fourth millennium B.C.). Before this were two dynasties the first of Kish and the first of Erech, their records partly overlap. During the rule of Utug of Kish, Nippur was the chief city of Babylonia. Later on, " Lagash appears as the chief city under the king Ur-nina who dedicated numerous statues, vases and tablets in the temples to his gods. He was a great digger of canals, builder of granaries, storehouses and restorer of temples. Some of the most ancient relics of Sumerian art date from the time of this king (3000 B.C. approximately). They are relief-plaques. One shows the king seated in a chair and holding a cup, the same plaque shows the king with a basket on his head. Another relief shows a meeting of chieftains." Some of the reliefs give a good idea of the dress and physical appearance of these early Semitic people. The old Sumerians are usually depicted with beardless faces, clean shaven heads and bare feet, and wearing some kind of cloak. On the other hand, the representations of the Semites usually

show them with long hair and beards, wearing sandals and a sort of cloth plaid.

The early history of Sumer for some centuries (3050-2750 B.C. approximately) witnessed much warfare not only amongst the neighbouring cities and nomads of the desert, but also with the surrounding countries, such as Elam and Syria. To the north of Sumer lay the region of Akkad with a mixed population. Here round about 2700 B.C. there arose at Kish a leader called Sargon of Agade, who defeated the whole of the city kings, and made himself master of the whole of the Plain of Shinar. He even extended his conquests to the shores of the Mediterranean. He built a new temple at Nippur, erected a new palace at Babylon, and he founded a new city (Dur-Shargani) with inhabitants drawn from Kish and Babylon. One of his successors 'Naram-Sin' (stated to be one of his sons) even extended Sargon's dominions. Both these kings have left contemporary monuments, vases, and relief-stelæ commemorating their deeds and military exploits; information concerning these reigns is also recorded by a Babylonian scribe, 'Nabonidus,' on 'omen-tablets' of the seventh century B.C. After a number of rulers whose order is not definitely settled, we find later on (2300 B.C. approximately) 'Ur' in the ascendant; Dungi, the second king of this dynasty (third dynasty of Ur), adopted a new title, in order to signalise his dominion over the whole of Babylonia. He called himself 'King of Sumer and Akkad,' and also arrogated to himself divine rights. He erected, or restored, temples at Ur, Erech, Lagash and especially favoured Eridu. He introduced standards of weight; examples have been found which state that they had been tested in the weigh-house of Nannar at Ur, in his time.

After some years we come in contact with the family

who founded the first dynasty of Babylon; the first king was named 'Sumu-abu' (2225 B.C. approximately). This dynasty is famous, for it includes the reign of 'Hammurabi' the most celebrated king of Babylon (2123-2080 B.C. approximately) through whose achievements Babylon remained the capital of the Mesopotamian world throughout the period which we term ancient history. He is usually identified with Amraphel, king of Shinar, named as the ally of Chedorlaomer the king of Elam (Genesis xiv).

The culture of Hammurabi's day is known to us chiefly from a collection of fifty-five letters of the king, and a splendid monument bearing his laws, above the writing is Hammurabi, in relief, receiving the code from the sun-god Shamash. The letters reveal his many duties, and watchfulness over the affairs of his realm. One letter deals with the flooding of the Euphrates between 'Ur' and 'Larsa,' and instructs the Governor of Larsa, to clear the channel and make it navigable for the boats which are temporarily held up. Another refers to the calendar being in advance of the proper season, so in a circular letter to his governors he states how it is to be put right: "Since the year hath a deficiency, let the month which is now beginning, be registered as a second (month of) Elul . . ." The king was notified by the astronomers when such a duplication was necessary. A school-house of his time has been uncovered, with the clay tablet exercises of the children still lying on the floor. One tablet which was found reads, "He who shall excel in tablet-writing, shall shine like the sun." The writing was done with the tip of a reed on a flat oval or disc of soft clay, which when dried in the sun or baked in an oven became an almost imperishable record.

In Hammurabi's famous code of laws, are collected

together all the older laws concerning business and social life and arranged systematically. No doubt he improved them where necessary and added his own laws. His code insists on justice to the poor, the orphan and the widow ; he insists on the law of retaliation ' an eye for an eye,' etc. Doctor's fees were graduated to the status of the patient, and the doctor could be punished for wrong prescriptions or careless surgery (see chapter on Law). Laws were enacted for regulating money-lending and interest, for the recovery of debt, regulating marriage, divorce, agriculture, the tenure of land, and its sale or letting. Leases were drawn up by lawyers, and for a document to be valid, it had to be attested by witnesses, and was usually impressed with the seals of the parties to the transaction. If one had no seal, he might impress the mark of his nail upon the soft clay tablet on which the deed was written. A wife could hold property apart from her husband and engage in business. Slaves were by law to be treated justly, and many of them worked at trades. They could also own property and buy their freedom. In short, the king's letters and code, give an excellent picture of the social and domestic life of the people as it existed over 4,000 years ago.

Writing was in use before 3000 B.C. The earliest signs show that they used at first pictorial signs, which afterwards developed into a wedge-shaped form showing no resemblance to the original picture writing. The reed used for making the signs was usually blunt and square-tipped at the end. The rows of signs were made in three positions horizontal, vertical and oblique. This system of writing is called ' cuneiform ' from the Latin word ' cuneus ' meaning wedge. They had over 350 signs, each sign representing a syllable, or word. The clay tablets which have been

found in thousands, many of which are in the museums in various countries, contain not only records of domestic, social and business life, but also myths, legends, hymns, religious and magical beliefs and practices.

In measuring time, in the early periods they based their chronology upon the phases of the moon, like many other races—this method is still used by the oriental Jews and Mohammedans. Later on they introduced a solar year of 360 days, every sixth year an extra month was added to make up the average of 365 days in a year. They also divided the year into four seasons, twelve lunar months and the week of seven days. The use of the sun-dial was known to them, as well as the clepsydra, or water-clock. The astronomy of the early Babylonians led to the development of 'astrology,' a world-wide belief which has continued until the present time. With the Babylonians it developed into a religious cult, whose theories were promulgated by a priestly caste, who exercised immense influence at the king's court throughout various dynasties. In later years towards the end of the Babylonian empire the name of Chaldean was applied to these astrologers and magicians. The Chaldeans also named the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and divided the circle into 360 degrees, and these again into fractions. Their system of numerals also had the unit of sixty as a basis.

The first unit of weight was called the 'minae,' which was divided into sixty shekels, and had the weight of our pound. The shekel, along with the talent, became the monetary standard of Western Asia. Prior to the establishment of a regular currency, taxes and tribute were usually paid in kind, cattle, sheep, barley, corn, oil, dates, etc. ; in the case of land and other items, weapons, slaves, leather, grain or

wool might be exchanged. The industrial element of the population included, carpenters, bricklayers, smiths, lapidaries, potters, weavers, dyers, etc., the skilfully embroidered garments and woven woollens were staple materials for the export market and were highly prized. The rich 'Babylonish garments' proved a snare to the Hebrew Achan (Joshua vii vs. 21-26).

The houses of the townspeople in early Babylonia were small, sun-baked-brick houses, and usually on one floor. The doorways were arched, while the front of the houses had vertical panels, and a crenated edge at the top of the wall. The towns usually stood upon an artificial mound, as a partial protection against flooding, in addition to the city walls. The city wall at 'Ur' in the second millennium B.C. had an average height of 26 ft., and an average thickness of over 60 ft., and extended for some two and half miles.

The use of bricks in their buildings, led to a great development of columnar architecture. The wooden columns which supported the roofs were in later centuries imitated in brick, while the frequent use of stucco and painting was employed in adornment. The prophet Ezekiel refers to the walls of the Chaldean houses being decorated with "images pourtrayed in vermilion" (23 v. 14). The late Assyrian art which was borrowed from that of Babylonia, however, made use of slabs of sculptured alabaster to line the king's palaces, as well as the use of coloured glazed tiles, while the doorways were guarded by sculptured monstrous human-headed bulls.

The early Babylonians were chiefly an agricultural people, whereas the later Assyrians were pre-eminently military. They were the first large armies to be equipped with weapons of iron, they also used the 'battering-ram.' A single room of Sargon II (722-

705 B.C.) palace was found to contain 200 tons of iron implements. In the earlier period Assur was the chief city which later on gave the name to 'Assyria.' Sargon II who raised Assyria to the height of her military power, built for himself a new city which he called 'Dur-Sharrukin' (Sargonburg). His son, Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.) of Biblical fame, who destroyed Babylon utterly, by burning the city and turning the waters of a canal over its ruins, made Nineveh the Assyrian capital. Its massive walls stretched for 2½ miles along the banks of the Tigris, and its destruction in 606 B.C. by the Chaldeans brought the Assyrian Empire to an end, so that even its language became forgotten, and Nineveh a heap of rubbish.

The rise of the Chaldean Empire brought Babylon once more into prominence, and it is the Babylon of King Nebuchadnezzar's reign that is the one best known, popularly, because of the numerous references to it in the Old Testament, and it was also the same Babylon whose marvels so impressed Herodotus, as given in his 'Ancient History.' The city was surrounded by a double wall, pierced by one hundred gates of bronze. Two chariots could pass one another upon the city walls, and the river flowed through the centre of the city. In the middle of the city rose the gigantic temple of Bel or Baal in eight stages; within the shrine on the summit was a golden image of the god 40 ft. high, and a golden table in front of it for the showbread.

The king's palace was on a scale equally as vast, and within its walls were the famous hanging gardens (one of the Seven Wonders of the World) formed of masses of rich tropical vegetation, raised on lofty arcades, and watered by means of a screw. On the western side of the Euphrates stood another temple, the building of

which was commenced in an earlier reign but completed by Nebuchadnezzar. It was built in seven terraces, each decorated with seven different colours, representing symbolically the 'Seven Spheres of Heaven' (Sun, Moon, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Saturn and Mercury). The temple tower was one of the chief architectural features of the early Babylonian cities, and may have given rise to the story of the building of the Tower of Babel. The reign of Nebuchadnezzar lasted from 604-561 B.C. and not many years later in 539 B.C. Babylon was taken by Cyrus the Persian king, and with the advent of the Persians the last Semitic rulers of Babylonia passed away.

Our knowledge of Babylonian myths, legends and religious beliefs is extensive. The story of Gilgamesh and the Deluge, and the Epic of Creation, with its parallelism with the account of Creation and the Flood recorded in Genesis, are known to most readers and students of ancient history. The 'tree of life' is a symbol often depicted on the monuments of Babylonia. Interesting also is the story of the shepherd, 'Etana' —the first man to fly. Owing to his flocks being stricken with unfruitfulness, he mounted on the back of an eagle, and rose to the heavens in search of the herb in which was the source of life, but venturing too near the dwelling of the goddess 'Ishtar,' he was hurled to the earth again and killed. Much of their literature consists of hymns to the gods and goddesses, penitential psalms, ritual texts and magical charms.

In the library of Assurbanipal 668-626 B.C., at Nineveh, thousands of clay tablets were found (many now in the British Museum) dealing with miscellaneous subjects; one tells the story of the flood, while many deal with magic and give directions how to use spells and incantations against evil spirits, wizards, witches,

ghosts, etc. A belief that little worms eat the teeth is current in Mesopotamia, and a cuneiform tablet has been found showing that this belief existed in Babylonia thousands of years ago. The ritual for the cure for toothache may be thus condensed: " Mix fermented drink, the plant sakilbir, and oil together, repeat the incantation three times, and put the mixture on the tooth." Tablet-collecting was a passion with Assurbanipal, a tablet dating back to the late Babylonian Empire is ascribed to the king which details several persons to " seek out tablets in houses, and all laid up in the temple of Ezida, etc., and seek out rare tablets such as are to be found on your route, but do not exist in Assyria, and send them to me, etc." Many of the tablets contain the king's warning: " Whomsoever shall carry off this tablet, or shall inscribe his name upon it, side by side with mine own, may Assur and Belit overthrow him in wrath and anger, and may they destroy his name and posterity in the land."

The Assyrians also compiled a systematic catalogue of birds, beasts and plants; they also left tablets on glass-making, and there is a tablet in existence, which provides exercises in calculating irregular areas; all their estates were carefully surveyed and drained. The oldest map of the world which has been found, is one accompanying a cuneiform inscription, and representing the plain of Mesopotamia, with the Euphrates flowing through it, with Babylon crossing it at the top, the world being indicated by two parallel circles representing the ocean, it is supposed to date to the eighth century B.C.

The religious ideas of the Sumerians and the Semitic Babylonians began soon to intermingle owing to their early contact with each other, while the later religion of Assyria borrowed from Babylonia the early principa

Sumerian deities, such as 'Ea' of Eridu, or 'En-lil' of Nippur. These were absorbed in the Semitic Baalim. With the rise of Babylon, Marduk became the chief Baal, and when Assyria rose to supreme power, Assur became the chief god. The Babylonian religion had little which was mysterious; the favour of the gods came from obedience; offences against the ceremonial law, or moral conduct, and offences against the gods, were redeemed by sacrifices and petitions whose amount and value were calculable. No ritual act for the forgiveness of sins, or the removal of a curse or spell could be obtained without the help of the priest. As to their view of a future life, when a soul entered the under-world, if it had been careless concerning the worship of the gods it was punished, but for all alike the future life was sombre and joyless, it was "the house from which none that enter come forth again"; if the body was left unburied, the ghost returned to plague the living until the burial rites had been performed. Their divinities were numerous, and in the main were personifications of the powers of nature, and most had a female consort. Most of the cities or districts had their own local gods and cults, which eventually became merged in that of one great female deity, the goddess 'Ishtar,' the 'lady of heaven,' who was adored far and wide.

Their method of disposing of the dead varied at different periods. In Sumerian times, the dead were often buried under the court of a house or the floor of a room; sometimes two large pottery jars laid with their open ends together served as a coffin. In Assyrian times, the dead were frequently buried after complete or partial cremation in cemeteries outside the towns, tombs and tombstones being erected over them. At Assur, a number of brick vaults were found under

pavements of the royal palace, containing stone coffins, in which were once laid the bodies of some of the kings of Assur.

The recent excavations in the cemeteries at 'Ur' reveal two types of burial: (1) The body either laid in a clay coffin, or placed on the ground and covered over with an inverted clay coffin; (2) The body wrapped in matting, and laid at the bottom of a grave shaft, itself lined with mats. Offerings were placed beside it, and another piece of matting was spread over the whole and the earth thrown back in the shaft. These are the two main types; but in the middle and later periods modifications were introduced, occasionally a wicker-work coffin was found, wooden coffins also were found; inhumation was commonest in the old graves, and the accompanying contents in some of the graves included painted clay figurines of women grotesquely modelled; model boats made of clay containing a cargo of small pots, and large pots, wheel-made and unpainted, were also found, as well as stone vases, etc.

The royal tombs of the kings at Ur were built of stone or brick and stone, with a roof of bricks with true arching. That they were rulers of importance is proved by the sumptuous finds of gold and silver, as well as the jewellery found in their graves; bullock waggons with solid wheels and leather tyres were also found. The bodies of over sixty victims killed were found in a king's tomb, and the bodies of men and women were also found in the tomb of a queen. These human sacrifices appear to be confined exclusively to the royal personages. The culture and skill revealed in the implements, weapons, tools, necklaces, bowls, vases, exquisitely fashioned golden animals, daggers and beads, etc., found in the excavations at Ur is astonishing when we realise that they belong to a period dating

from 3500-3100 B.C. approximately ; even a limestone relief showing a chariot drawn by asses attended by men is dated as belonging to the first dynasty at Ur (fourth millennium B.C.) while hundreds of cylindrical seals were found showing impressions of mythical men and animals dating from 3200-2600 B.C. (H. R. Hall ; C. L. Woolley, etc.).

The ethnic type of the Sumerians was different from the races who surrounded them ; they called themselves ' the black-headed people ' which suggests that there were lighter types in the country ; most of the early skulls found at ' Ur ' and examined by Sir Arthur Keith are long-headed (dolichocephalic). H. R. Hall suggests that " they might have been an Indian race which passed certainly by land, perhaps by sea, through Persia to the valley of the Two Rivers." The articles (such as painted pottery, inlaid work on mother-of-pearl, ivory and seals) found in the graves at ' Ur ' indicate a connection with Elam, Babylon and north-west India. All this tends to reveal the remote antiquity of civilisation and trade ; the questions of whether the connection between the Sumerians and the Indus Valley was mere trade relations, or ethnic kinship, will probably be settled as more knowledge is forthcoming.

The unfolding of the great civilisations in Mesopotamia is still in progress, hence its chronology is still in the making. We may, however, summarise its outstanding features as follows. The first early settlements may range between 5000-4000 B.C. The first early Babylonian culture may range from 3500 B.C. or earlier to 2100 B.C. which included the outstanding reigns of Sargon I and Hammurabi. The Assyrian Empire, 750-606 B.C. The Chaldean, 606-539 B.C. After this the leadership of the Semitic peoples in the Mesopotamia

area declined, giving way to the advance of the Indo-Europeans.

To-day of all the glories which once centred in those ancient cities clustered on the Babylonian plains, little now remains, but the old city mounds, with their broken walls, and fragments of dingy sun-baked bricks. The region itself which once flourished like a watered garden, giving nourishment to thousands, is now an arid waste with stagnant waters, on which roams and camps awhile a few Arab tent-dwellers. Concerning its ancient civilisation it may be condensed in one word, 'Ichabod,' 'the glory is departed.' Yet, these people have made undying contributions to the culture of the human race. To them we owe the first highly-developed practical arts of industry, pottery, weaving, metal-work, architecture in brick and stone, the colonnade, the arch and the tower; writing, law, literature; in science, mathematics, medicine, astronomy; the calendar; the construction of canals, docks and harbours, etc. For these things, accomplished—most of them—while Europe still lay in barbarism, we are their debtors, and as our knowledge expands with the results of archæological research on these old-timed ruined cities, our admiration for the achievements of those men, who lived in those remote ages, is increased still more.

China

With the exception of vague reports, by the historians and geographers of early times respecting a people in the far East, who wove silken materials, the records of Arabian travellers (Sulaman and Abu Zaid, A.D. 851-916) are among the earliest notices which Western Europe possesses of China; these were later on further

elaborated by the Venetian, Marco Polo, born A.D. 1254, whose account concerning the density of population, the gigantic towns, and the standard of civilisation was received with scorn in Europe, so that he received the scornful appellation of ' Messer Milione ' (million prater). The passing of the centuries, however, has tended to substantiate to a great extent, the account of what the Venetian saw, heard and reported. It was he who first notified Europe of the name ' Cathay ' by which China was known in medieval times. Even in recent years, to many people, the word China, merely suggested a land peopled by a yellow race, where the men wear a pigtail, use a fan, and the women have artificially deformed feet. As to the colour of the Chinese, however, it varies from a light-lemon and almost white shade in the north, to deep brownish hues in the southern provinces. The pigtail was only adopted in 1644, and is now dying out, while the practice of compression of the women's feet is also decreasing.

The origin of the Chinese is shrouded in mystery, some suppose them to be intruders from south-west Asia already civilised ; others, that they are the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants ; if the latter, then the race dates back into remote antiquity for which we have no definite chronology, for the recent finds of the fossil remains of man (Sinanthropus) in 1928 in the cave deposits of Chou Kou Tien, near Pekin, in early Pleistocene times, reveals a type of man, whose skull in its general form " is intermediate between the conditions found in Pithecanthropus and Eoanthropus (these two are more popularly known as the Ape-Man of Java, and the Piltdown Man respectively), but is more primitive and generalised than either " (Prof. G. E. Smith). This evidence carries

us back in time to a period calculated in tens of thousands of years when man existed in China.

The Chinese to-day are a mixed race, at base they belong to an eastern Mongoloid stock, but have assimilated various peoples in the north and south. The Chinese of the central parts have perhaps best preserved the original type. According to the Books of the Shu-King, the primitive home of the Chinese was north of the present province of Kansu, thence they spread slowly along the other great river valleys, partly expelling and probably intermingling with other aborigines, so that even by the seventh century B.C. their territory scarcely extended beyond the valley of the Yang-tsi-kiang and that of Pie-ho on the north.

References to the Chinese early documents, although at first of a mythical character, depict three different prehistoric ages: The First of Wood; The Second of Stone; the Third of Metal (dates are fictitious). According to Chinese tradition, the earliest dynasty was that of the 'Five Monarchs' ruling from the twenty-ninth century B.C. These were successively followed by the 'Hsia' dynasty (2205-1766 B.C.), the Shang dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.), and the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.), of whom only the last dynasty is truly historical. It is known as China's Feudal Age, when the empire was split up into a number of vassal States, which owned allegiance to a suzerain State. Twenty-five of the Chou monarchs are stated to have reigned from 827-255 B.C. and are recognised as historical by Si-ma Ts-ien, who compiled the earliest reliable Chinese history in the first century B.C. and whose views are supposed to have been corroborated by certain 'bamboo books' which were found A.D. 284) in the grave of a northern-China feudatory lord who had lived in the fourth century B.C.

The Emperor Fu-Hsi (2953-2838 B.C.) is credited with being the first Emperor to organise sacrifices to and worship of spirits. The Emperor Shen Nung (2838-2698 B.C.) is credited with having taught his people to till the ground. Prior to this, the people are stated to have lived like animals in the wild, the children knowing only their mothers and not their fathers (this probably refers to a matriarchal state of society). This Emperor was deified as the tutelary genius of agriculture, and his name has been translated as the 'Divine Husbandman.' He is credited with revealing to the people the uses of the different species of grains and herbs, and when to plant them conformably with the seasons. He invented the implements of husbandry, and also taught them the medical property of plants.

The Great Yu, who is stated to be the first Emperor of the Hsia dynasty, 2205 B.C., was renowned as being the first to drain the country. Such is the dependence of the Chinese on their rivers and irrigation system, that their culture and history have been chiefly influenced by this controlling fact. The rich lands of China have for ages attracted the nomadic pastoral Manchu and Mongols, who at various periods have dominated the sedentary Chinese. It was as a safeguard against such aggressions that Shih-Hwang-Ti founder of the Tsin dynasty (246-210 B.C.) finished the building of the Great Wall. The first governor of Lechan, after it was annexed to the Northern Empire is remembered, not for his conquests, but for his irrigation works; while his son and successor, who was even more famous for this same reason, had one of the most magnificent temples in China raised to his honour. No wonder that the Chinese call such roads, as do exist, 'dry ways,' the rivers to them being looked upon as the natural means of communication, also their canals.

Here then, along the valley of the Hwang-Ho river and its tributaries opening out into one of the most fertile deltaic plains in the world, was the place where the dawnings of Chinese civilisation took place. As in the case of Egypt and Babylonia, river conditions demanding the use of spade culture and irrigation, formed the basis of Chinese culture, which has continued for thousands of years.

The culture of the Chinese, is therefore, to a great extent self-evolved, and has persisted with little change from its rise over 4,000 years ago, down to modern times. Despite repeated political changes, civil and foreign warfare Chinese civilisation is still as deeply rooted in the past as ever. What the Chinese were thousands of years ago, their descendants still are; occupied chiefly with tillage and trade, millet being associated with terrace cultivation, and rice with the low-lying plains. The silk trade still flourishes as of old, and the planting of mulberry trees is still encouraged, while tea and cotton are still extensively grown. The growth of opium is not encouraged under the Republic; at one time, owing to its lightness and value it was a medium of exchange. Ground-nut, colza, and other oils are made for lighting and for consumption. In Central China reeds (Arundo phragmites) are used as fuel and as material for the construction of huts and embankments. Frugal and hardworking, the mass of the people cultivate but few arts, beyond weaving, porcelain and metal-work. A knowledge of letters, and the use of written records, dates back for thousands of years.

The earliest hieroglyphics of the Chinese, ascribed by them to the Shang dynasty, second millennium B.C., reveal the Mongolic character of the people who invented them, by the decided obliquity of the human

eye, wherever it appears in an ideograph. The Chinese do not use an alphabet, but write all their ideas in separate characters, which were originally pictures or pictograms. Forty thousand characters are included in Chinese writing, which is always written in columns from the top of the page to the bottom, beginning on the right hand. (A new Chinese alphabet has been brought out in recent years, but whether it has been put into popular use throughout the country is not yet known.)

Another peculiarity of Chinese script is that the written system differs from the spoken word. Each province has its own mode of speaking ; and while the Chinese have but one literature, and one method of writing, which is understood alike by everyone capable of reading, and whose characters preserve the same power and order yet, because of the use of ' tones ' in the spoken language, the same sound may have a variety of meanings according to the way in which it is sung. For example, the various words with the sound ' hua,' ' chow,' ' fang,' are not actually pronounced alike, because their ' tone ' differs ; thus people residing in different provinces may read the same books and attach precisely the same meanings to the written symbols, and yet, may not be able to understand each other in conversation.

Although the different words and tones of the Chinese language run into many thousands, the names of the symbols in general use throughout the country do not exceed 1,320. The Chinese never conceived a smaller unit than the word, and prior to the art of writing, knotted cords were used as a means of recording events and state affairs. To most people who are only familiar with Chinese characters on tea-chests, vases and the famous ' willow pattern ' crockery, one would hardly

think that they had anything to do with accounting for the peculiar form of the ancient and modern cursive writing of the Chinese. The ancient Chinese scribe traced his characters on slips of bamboo and tablets of wood, by means of a bamboo pencil frayed at one end, like a brush, to carry the coloured liquid which stood in place of ink until about 200 B.C. Paper, one of their own inventions, was in use about A.D.153. Indian ink was used by the Chinese as early as the third century A.D., and printing by means of carved wooden tablets was invented by them round about A.D. 220-419.

The earliest literary products in China, took the form of verse, chiefly relating to the feudal period (1122-255 B.C.). Some of the verse and national lyrics are attributed to the eighteenth century B.C. and the latest sixth century B.C. Such is the 'Shu King' popularly known as the 'Odes'; it is one of the greatest in historical importance, being brought together and edited by Confucius (551-479 B.C.), over 3,000 were reduced by him to 311. They treat of war, love, eating and drinking, dancing, virtues and vices of rulers, and the misery and happiness of the people. A history compiled by Confucius, opens with the legendary Emperor Yao (2375-2255 B.C.). This is the ancient Emperor so renowned for his personal excellence and virtuous government. He appointed two astronomers, to make almanacs and instruments for dividing the time into seasons, and to supply an extra month to complete the year. When he toured his dominions, the boys came out into the streets and sang to him, old men played games and sang upon the roads, indicating the blessings of his peaceful and prosperous reign; simplicity of life adorned his days. He gave up his throne to a son of the people and died

full of honour in his one hundred-and-second year. Shun, his successor, is stated to have died at the age of 110 years. It is to be noted that during the whole of the legendary period, that the Chinese monarchy is dated back to a very high antiquity, and that many of the monarchs are stated to have lived to very great ages, beyond the ordinary span of human life.

Legend fixes the origin of painting in China as contemporary with the art of writing, both dating from about 2500 B.C. The early association of writing and painting is quite feasible, for Chinese writing is an art demanding no little skill with a brush ; the bamboo brush or pencil of the earliest period was in later times substituted by a brush made of rabbit-hair. Painting is one of their predominant arts, ink or water colours being employed, and sketches and paintings are usually made on silk. In landscape painting in which the full quality of Chinese impressions is displayed, material solidity is avoided, mountains and clouds having special conventional forms. No attempt is made to preserve true perspective.

One of the favourite forms was the long 'makemono' or 'hand roll' on which the panoramic landscape was revealed to the observer by the process of unwinding the roll. (Panorama shows were a frequent feature of entertainment in England in the Victorian Era. The forerunner of the later cinema film.) In the British Museum is a Chinese roll of faded brown silk, more than 11 ft. long and about 9 in. wide, on which is painted nine separate scenes, the roll is believed to date from the fourth century A.D. A number of paintings or copies dating to the time of the 'Tang' dynasty (A.D. 618-907) which was the greatest period of Chinese Art, are also in the British Museum, some though faded and worn, still retain

enough colour to give an idea of their original and glowing colour.

The Chinese, according to their early chronology, had earthern vessels as early as 2698 B.C. Long before the first century B.C. they possessed a highly-developed native art, their pottery and porcelain sometimes reached a very high standard, porcelain being in use in the second century B.C. Their early products in bronze (dating from the Shang dynasty, 1766 B.C.) especially bowls and vases, have a beauty of form and design, which in their simplicity of form far surpass the more ornate work of later periods. Besides the old sacrificial vessels in bronze, bronze axes, lance-heads, arrow-heads, sword blades, etc., were made. From the earliest period of Chinese civilisation, jade is met with and was a vital feature of sacrificial ceremonies and was highly prized. By the first century B.C. slabs of incised stone showing representations of horses and chariots, hunting scenes and legendary episodes were numerous. On one slab is the earliest known representation of that favourite symbol of Chinese art, the dragon. The dragon is sometimes considered as having an influence in producing rain. When rain is wanted they sometimes make a huge dragon of paper or wood to represent the rain-god, and carry it in procession.

With the introduction of Buddhism, third century B.C., after it became firmly established, sculpture assumed a new significance, old Chinese deities reappear in Buddhist guise. The earliest of these Buddhist sculptures vary from those of the normal human size of a Buddha to that of a colossal seated Buddha, 55 ft. high. A splendid example of 'Tang' sculpture (eighth century A.D.) in the British Museum, represents a 'Lohan'—one of the original disciples of Buddha—seated in contemplation, it is executed in glazed

pottery, coloured in tones of green and brownish yellow. Many examples of Tang pottery, figures of men, horses, camels, etc., all full of life and action, have been discovered in tombs which have accidentally been disturbed during railway excavations, etc. In the earlier periods, clay and wooden models, representing all kinds of everyday objects, were buried with the dead for their use in the next life.

Chinese architecture shows great independence of outside influence, the main features of their temples and palaces exhibit a massive roof, with decorated gutters and brilliant glazed tiles. Archways generally raised as memorials, pagodas, and graceful bridges are usually made of wood and brick, though marble is sometimes employed with wonderful effect. The most marvellous piece of architecture in China was the porcelain tower, which was built in 1430 at Nanking, and which stood till 1856, when it was destroyed by the Tapeing rebels. It took nineteen years to build, and cost £800,000, it was 260 ft. high, and was of nine storeys, each of which had a gallery on the outside. The face of the whole building was covered with porcelain slabs, coloured red, yellow, green and white. On the galleries of the building were arranged 152 bells, so nicely balanced as to be rocked in a breeze. The tower was built as a gift to an Empress.

The Great Wall of China extends from the 98 deg. to 120 deg. E. longitude, and has a length of 1,500 miles. The first portion of it was built about 326 B.C. as a defence against the Hiung-nu, but it owes its design as a whole to (Ts'in) Shi Huang Ti of the Tsin dynasty, and was enlarged and extended as late as the fifteenth century A.D. An inner wall, embracing the basin of the Sang-kau river, was built during the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644), and a branch extends for

some distance along the borders of Chihli and Shan-si. The eastern portion of the wall is composed of earth and pebbles faced with large bricks supported on a base of stone, with a width of 25 ft. at the foot, and 15 ft. at the top, and a height of 15 to 30 ft. The walls of Pekin were built between the years 1405 and 1420 A.D., and date to the Ming period. Nearly 1,500 towns are surrounded by walls of brick, many of them being from 12 to 20 miles in extent, having in addition populous suburbs outside the gates. As to the houses of the Chinese, tradition states that " in the early times men made their homes in caves and dwelt in the forests. In later ages houses were built with the ridge-beam above and the roof below, as a protection against wind and rain. The house consisted of one room, facing south ; on the east was the door, on the west a window. In the centre of the roof was an open vent through which the smoke could escape and the rain water enter and be collected " (The Book of Changes).

Of their outstanding inventions we may mention that the magnetic needle was known to them as early as A.D.121, although there is a tradition which states that in the twenty-sixth century B.C. one of their rulers, Huang Ti, when his army was bewildered in a mist, extricated himself by " a magnetic pole attached to his chariot, which always pointed south." At one period copper coins were cast, while later appears the circular disc with a square hole in the centre, for stringing on cord. Paper money was in use in the latter part of the second century B.C. Old bank notes have occasionally been found inside idols ; while paper for writing on was in ordinary use with them as early as A.D.153. They were the inventors of the abacus, and made use of spectacle-glasses earlier than the people of Europe.

More than a thousand years before our era, they

used chop-sticks of bamboo, and later on of ivory, for eating with, while other nations were using their fingers in eating, being unacquainted with forks. The Clepsydra (water-clock), used for measuring time, was known to the Chinese centuries before Europeans used it ; one which is reputed to be over 3,000 years old, consisted of four copper jars, on ascending steps, with small openings, and was filled every morning. Gunpowder was also used by them long before it was known to Europeans, though they used it only for fireworks—before the invention of cannon—'Chinese crackers' is a name familiar to us from the early days of childhood. The so-called macadamisation of roads was an ancient invention of the Chinese, which we began to imitate in Europe about 1820.

We may say, that of all the ancient civilised nations, Chinese culture owes the least to foreign promptings. The invasion of migratory peoples may have placed a fresh conqueror on the throne, but it has not destroyed nor advanced their culture ; the only thing changed was not the Chinese, but the name of the new governing dynasty. Nowhere in the world have we the case of a people numbered by hundreds of millions who have, for so many centuries, carried on the same type of homogeneous culture, and been subject to the same influences of nature. The great variety of climatic conditions to which the Chinese can adapt themselves is amazing. The Chinaman in Siberian localities, defies the polar cold, and works as well under the tropical sun at Hankow, where it has been said that " if the devil were to spend a summer there, he would need an overcoat on his return to hell." For this reason when the Chinese go abroad, whether into hot or cold countries, they can usually adapt themselves to the climate, as their presence in all countries testifies,

and the low mortality statistical figures as victims to climatic diseases.

The existence of China as a State has lasted longer than that of any European country. The old city-states of the Greeks and Romans, appear insignificant when compared with the duration of the Chinese nation. Her civilisation and economic resources have sufficed for herself without the interference of the 'foreign devils' with their 'barbarous culture.' The patriotic pride of the Chinese, and their contempt of the foreigner, therefore, is not necessarily something to be laughed at. The Westerners, who boast of their ancient name and lineage, must give way to the Chinese, some of whose family names go back well over a thousand years. In China, " there are descendants of Confucius, who are able to boast that they can trace their descent from the great philosopher who lived in the sixth century B.C." This explains the meaning of their contemptuous inquiry which the Chinese are in the habit of addressing to Europeans, " Have you got family names, too? " by which they mean, are they as ancient as ours.

Religions have sprung up around and inside China, Taoism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, etc., but the teachings of Confucius have remained in force for over two thousand years. He instituted no religious system, but enjoined the observance of the early forms of worship he found in existence in his own day. He was essentially a social and political reformer, who taught that the main inducement to virtue should not be based on future rewards or punishments in the hereafter, but on good living for its own excellence during the present life. His wisdom was of this world, and dealt with rules of conduct, duties to the State, filial obligations, etc. After his death, he became the object

of a national cult, which is still widespread. In over 1,500 cities temples have been erected, at the public expense, and dedicated to him, in which worship and sacrifices are offered in his honour.

The reverence for ancestors is deeply impressed on the Chinese character, filial piety is regarded as the greatest of all virtues ; frugality, industry and the desire for male children are outstanding features in Chinese family life. They have no ' Sunday rest,' nor ' eight hours' day.' With a capacity for trade and business, there is also a venal side in financial matters, as expressed in the popular saying: " With money you may move the gods ; without it you cannot move men." They often burn spurious money at shrines. Gambling, piracy and a liking for ' secret societies ' have in the past, been the cause of much civil strife. On the whole, however, their virtues far outweigh the faults charged against them by supercilious individuals or nations.

Chinese ideas of the future life vary with the various religions in vogue. The immaterial nature of the soul and the idea of God held by their early ancestors has long since ceased to have any meaning to them. Confucianism has no doctrine of the future life. Any ideas which are held concerning it, are derived from Taoism or Buddhism. Popular Taoist and Buddhist worship, however, are intermingled with magical rites and a system of divination, little removed from the animistic doctrine of spirits which preceded Confucianism. Astrology, palmistry and the wearing of charms and amulets all testify to the credulity of the masses of the people, while their polytheism is evidenced by their worship of the numerous nature-gods, whose temples exist all over the country.

Whatever her future, China has a great part to play

in the world's history ; her day of isolation, despite her economic independence, is over ; a people who number more than one-fourth of the world's population, cannot be ignored. At present there are two kinds of civilisation which present conflicting ideals. One with the stamp of the European, or Western ; the other, Asiatic, of which, probably the chief is Chinese. The way in which these two cultures meet and react to each other, is one which confronts the nations of to-day, and will have far-reaching effects on the future progress of the human race.

India

Our survey of the early civilisations would be incomplete if it did not include some reference to India. Owing to the recent archæological researches which have been carried out at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa in Sind, a hitherto unknown civilisation has been revealed which adds another 2,000 years, at least, to Indian history of which we had no previous knowledge.

Prior to these recent discoveries, our chief source of early India was obtained from the Vedic hymns. In the collection known as the Rig-Veda, probably the oldest literature in any Indo-European language, the compilation of which dates from about 1000 B.C. (although the hymns themselves are much older), we learn that they had already passed from a primitive state, and were passing from the pastoral to an agricultural stage of society, possessing cattle, horses, pastures and plough-lands. The family was the unit of society, the father was its priest, and his authority supreme within it. They also possessed pottery and metal in the form of copper.

Before 2000 B.C. and onwards, successive waves of

races of different stocks have come from the plains of Persia and Central Asia, and made conquests over the aboriginal races, those of Aryan speech being light-skinned. The Aryan invaders had a tendency to keep themselves separate from the dark-skinned natives (Dravidians) and so helped in creating the caste distinction—one of the most remarkable sociological features of Indian society. India, as a whole, we must remember, has never been organised from within, hence its various phases of civilisation exhibit several forms, having both before and since the days of Alexander the Great, been controlled by external forces.

With regard to the recent discoveries, the area now laid bare at Mohenjo-daro covers over thirteen acres, and belong to the three latest cities on the site. Ten super-imposed cities have been identified, the date of the latest (i.e., upper city) has been ascribed by Sir John Marshall, to about 2700 B.C., the second to about 3000 B.C., and the third to about 3300 B.C. The uppermost cities of Harappa, which is about 450 miles north-east of Mohenjo-daro, are approximately contemporary. The dates are determined by the discovery at Susa, and several sites in Mesopotamia, of typical Indian seals, in positions which suggest that they belonged to the period before Sargon I (2700 B.C., approximately).

The standard of culture of these Indian cities may be briefly summarised by mentioning a few of the typical relics found. The cities themselves were well planned with wide, straight roads. The houses were built of well-burned bricks, usually laid in mud, or occasionally in gypsum mortar, with foundations and infilling of brick. The houses had a system of drainage by which the sewage was carried by drains into street tanks. Many of the houses possessed baths, and there were also public baths. No remains of palaces or temples have

yet been found. Their wealth appears to have been derived from agriculture and trade.

They cultivated wheat and barley, as well as the date-palm. The domestic animals included sheep, pigs, a short-horned bull, the buffalo, dog, horse and the elephant. A most interesting object found in a low strata at Harappa was a model in copper of a two-wheeled vehicle, with a gabled roof and driver seated at front. This is probably one of the oldest known examples of a cart. Pottery for domestic use had various shapes. Very few of them, however, possessed handles. Most of the pottery is of a plain red ware. Some painted ware had the designs painted in black, on a darkish red slip. Copper, lead and bronze were in use for making domestic utensils, ornaments and weapons. Knives, chisels, sickles, hatchets and vessels were made out of hammered copper. Tin was alloyed with copper to form bronze tools and implements, such as saws, razors, chisels, etc. Copper swords, bronze spear-blades, daggers, fish-hooks and arrow-heads of thin sheet metal have been found as well as stone mace-heads. Bronze mirrors and ivory combs have been found.

Amongst the relics in one of the earlier levels at Harappa were found numerous seals, on which were depicted men and animals. From the inscribed seals, there are indications that the male attire, in some cases, consisted of a kilt or short skirt fastened round the waist, and a shawl drawn over the left and under the right arm. Some seals depict men with no clothing. Some seals show the men with short beards and moustaches, others, with the upper lip shaven. The hair was coiled in a knot at the back of the head. The women appear to have worn a narrow loin cloth only. A copper statuette of a girl is shown without clothing and with

long black hair. Necklaces and rings were worn by both sexes. Earrings, bangles, girdles and anklets were also worn by the women. The personal ornaments were of gold and silver, copper plated with gold, ivory, jadeite, carnelian and coloured stones of various kinds, as well as of shell and terracotta. The finding of spindle-whorls in the houses indicate that they were able to weave and spin ; scraps of fine woven cotton material have also been found.

Among the wild animals depicted on the seals are the elephant, rhinoceros and tiger as well as the crocodile. The most interesting factor in connection with the seals is, that each bears an inscription in characters which have as yet not been interpreted. The signs are not alphabetic, but a mixture of the phonetic and the pictographic. It has been suggested that the script is to be read from right to left. Other theories are, that the script has affinities to proto-Elamite, and also a superficial resemblance to the Minoan ; further, what is more wonderful still is, that it has links with the mysterious scripts found on Easter Island ; such are the present theories concerning the script of the Indus valley people.

Some of the finds suggest that the religion of these people may have been associated with the ' Mother Goddess ' who was worshipped far and wide from probably Neolithic times. Certain sacred animals and trees may have also been worshipped, as well as the worship of the ' Lingam ' or phallus, which is still widely spread in India. The inscribed seals suggest that the people were a thick-set stocky race, with narrow eyes, and full, fleshy lips. The skeletal remains found at Mohenjo-daro are, as yet, too scanty to admit of any definite conclusions, as to their race, place of origin, or time of entry into India. Sufficient evidence, how-

ever, exists to show that there existed in India a civilisation which dates back at least 4000 B.C.

Concerning later Indian art and culture from approximately the third century B.C., all that need be said is, that it was based on three great religions, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam, which have left us examples of their art, literature, sculpture and architecture. Before the fourth century B.C. architecture and the painting of frescoes had been carried to a high degree of perfection. The remains of the cave temples of Ajanta covering the first seven centuries A.D. are among the finest specimens in this style. The grotto temples excavated in the rocks such as at Ellora, and the celebrated rock shrines on the Isle of Elephanta, near Bombay, are most imposing monuments. Among the buildings erected by the Moslems, the best known is the 'Taj Mahal,' which is regarded as one of the world's masterpieces.

Except for partial glimpses of India revealed by the exploits of Cyrus, Alexander the Great, and a few historians and travellers, it was not until the Moslem era in India that the country became more fully known to the Western World, by the voyages of the maritime races, the Portuguese, Dutch and the English, who saw India, only, as a source of booty and tribute. Stories of her material riches, the magnificence and opulence of her cities began to circulate. The height of her material culture at this period may be estimated by the superb work of her goldsmiths and silversmiths ; while the exquisite work of her weavers in cotton, muslin, silk, brocades and cloths of gold and silver excited the wonder and admiration of all observers of their skill. The work of her brass- and copper-smiths, ivory workers, potters, basket-weavers, dyers and leather workers were sufficient not only to meet the needs o

her own people, but also to constitute a surplus for exportation abroad. The fame of her products and the richness of the country became so widely known, that as far as Europe was concerned, it was the reputed 'wealth of Ormuz and Ind' which first impelled them to search for a passage to the 'El Dorado of the East.'

Her chief lasting contribution to the world's culture, however, is mainly to be assessed from her literature, religion and philosophy. Further, it must not be forgotten, that she possessed her culture, architecture, sculpture, poetry and philosophy, long before the Western Civilisation in Europe made its advent. Hence her claim to a place in the records of early civilisations.

CHAPTER X

Law and Justice

One of the most striking features of primitive society is the extreme tenacity with which it adheres to its ancient customs, and one of the things which, above all, needs to be apprehended is, that in such communities the individual creates for himself few or no rights, and few or no duties. The rules which he obeys are derived from the society and station into which he is born. He is nowhere free ; customs, privileges, and prohibitions hem him in on every side. Nor must it be supposed that these traditional regulations are less stringent because they are unwritten. History testifies that such traditional principles handed down from generation to generation still suffice for communities which are still living on a primitive plane of culture. Further, what is also peculiar in these societies is, that over most of these customs there grows sooner or later a belief in a semi-supernatural sanction. The whole community becomes possessed with the idea that if the ancient usages of the clan or tribe be broken, harm unspeakable will happen in ways one cannot conceive ; in short, any breach of custom would produce certain retribution. Even to this day, many semi-civilised races have great reluctance to adopt any new method or arrangements, unless they can be brought to look on it as a forgotten old custom. The earliest source of Law, therefore, is custom.

Law may be defined as a rule of conduct for men living in society. By primitive law or custom, we mean

that people have the habit of acting in a particular way as laid down by ancient usage. How custom is formed, no one can say definitely, except that it is shaped by the co-operative action of the whole community, whether it originates accidentally, or in conscious effort we know not, but once established it was supposed to hold good for all time. Like the later " law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not " it became customary law. Reason suggests, and history confirms, that even the rudest assembly of men cannot live by what we call ' club law.' The strong savage does not rush upon his weaker neighbour with spear or club every time he wants to get his own way. The controlling forces of society are at work even among savages, which protects its members against the self-will of its own individuals, as well as against the attacks of its enemies. Primitive peoples do not admit the right of the individual to usurp the law of the community. Without some control beyond the mere right of the stronger, the tribe or pack would soon be broken up, whereas, in fact, savage tribes have lived on for ages.

In early ages, law and religion were intimately connected. Any breach of custom is an offence against the tribal gods, and as such must be punished with rigour. This partly accounts for the severity of the ancient customary codes. This theory is so general, that it is met with in the traditions of almost every race and nation, inasmuch as many of them record the names of some ancestors who had received the law by dreams, visions, angelic visitations or divine inspiration or revelation. We find the Egyptians assigning their laws to the teachings of Thoth (the scribe of the gods). The law-givers of Greece and Crete, Lycurgus and Minos, are inspired by the gods. Rome had her Numa ; Zoroaster is taught by Ahura Mazda ; Mohammed

receives the law from Gabriel by revelation ; while Moses receives the law on Mount Sinai from God. "Thou shalt not" is older than Sinai or Genesis. Under the name of 'Taboo' it shows in the clearest possible way, the power of public opinion in the most primitive of societies. Take away "Thou shalt not" from the codes of justice and legislation, and the world would be plunged in endless anarchy. "The soul that sinneth it shall die," and every serious breach of a taboo was a sin, the punishment of which was frequently death.

Tribal law and religion are in primitive society so inextricably intertwined, that it is almost impossible to unravel them in some cases. Accordingly in the early phases of law, the gods are constantly invoked to promote the ends of justice, and decide the issue of perjury. The blood of the slain cries to heaven for vengeance, not only in the case of Cain, but also in earlier and later ages. The plays of Æschylus are especially rich in expressions of the religious aspect of justice. The story of Orestes, who slew his mother because she murdered her husband, who was Orestes's father, is typical of the old clan system whereby the nearest of kin was bound to slay the murderer. In this story of early Greek society, we have the idea of the human and the divine associated together in the dispensing of law and justice.

In primitive law and custom, we find no regard paid to the moral state of the criminal, nor whether the crime or breach of custom were deliberately designed or an accident, the man was punished and there was an end of it. Private wrongs are avenged privately, by the nearest of kin ; how far a man's clan will step in and aid him depends on the nature of the case. Concerning the Yahgans of Tierra del Fuego, it is said,

"Every man is a redressor of wrongs, and does justice for himself, without knowing any law." In the case of murder, among most tribes, it is the near relatives who take upon themselves the duty of avenging it. As the culprit, however, in such cases usually flees the district, thus making the search difficult, the whole clan of the aggressor is frequently held responsible for the act committed. It becomes lawful, therefore, to kill anyone belonging to the murderer's clan to avenge the crime. The most serious breaches of custom in primitive societies, apart from murder, are violation of the marriage laws, witchcraft and food taboos; to infringe these laws is sometimes punishable by death. Further, with the majority of savages, when a person dies, it is supposed that the death has been caused by magic, hence the sender of the evil magic must be traced, if possible, and killed.

An Australian aborigine is educated from childhood in the belief that a departure from the customs of his tribe is invariably followed by one, at least, of many evils, such as becoming prematurely grey, being afflicted with skin eruptions, ophthalmia, sickness, or to the danger of death from sorcery. All breaches against tribal custom were all dealt with by the tribal council; the object of the tribe in taking action against a criminal was not so much to punish the wrong-doer as to protect itself against occult magic, the wrath of the gods, or to purge itself from a curse. The tribe makes its laws, not on the principle that an action is right or wrong, but for its own preservation. The slaying of a man is not held of itself to be a crime, as under certain conditions it is a praiseworthy act, especially in self-defence, war, retaliation or sacrifice. Thus until he had killed his man, the young Red Indian could not be a brave, or marry; neither could the Naga

warrior of Assam, or the Dayak of Borneo ; a scalp, skull, or the head of an outsider was the proof of valour and manhood ; and yet these people held manslaughter to be a crime in their own communities unless in blood-revenge.

In the contrast between the dealings of one's own people and strangers, we have a relic in the Latin word 'hostis,' which meaning originally 'stranger' passed naturally into the sense of enemy, against whom we act in an 'hostile' manner. In England, in the seventh century ('Dooms of Ine.' A.D. 688-705) the law concerning the stranger about to enter a village stated: "If a far-coming man, or a stranger, journey through a wood out of the highway, and neither shout nor blow his horn, he is to be taken for a thief, either to be slain or held to ransom." Amongst the Welsh, whereas every tribesman had his sword, spear and bow, with twelve arrows in the quiver, always ready for use, no weapons were allowed or permitted to a stranger until his third generation. The 'Triads' from which we obtain so much information as to ancient Welsh customs, informs us, that the object of these precautions was to keep the stranger class "weak and unorganised," to guard against treachery and ambush, "lest they and their adherents as alltuds (aliens) obtain the lands of the native Cymry."

A most significant feature in connection with manslaughter is the way in which retaliation is carried out, in some tribes, with the utmost literalness ; the wrong should be avenged in nearly the same form in which it was committed. It is the simplest and earliest of rules, and familiar to most of us from the Jewish legislation as given in the Old Testament, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," etc. Tylor ('Anthropology') quotes a case from Abyssinia, "Where some years ago a mother

prosecuted a lad who had accidentally fallen from a fruit tree on her little son and killed him ; the judges decided that she had a right to send another son up into the tree to drop on the boy who had unintentionally caused the first one's death, which remedy, however, the mother did not care to avail herself of."

In the code of Hammurabi, which is earlier than the Old Testament by many centuries, we find the law of retaliation in full force, " If a builder has built a house for a man and has not made strong his work, and the house he built has fallen, and he has caused the death of the owner of the house, that builder shall be put to death," also, " If the son of the owner of the house be killed, the son of the builder must die." The same literalness applied to other crimes, " If a man has struck his father, his hand one shall cut off," and so on, an eye for an eye, a limb for a limb, a slave for a slave. In Anglo-Saxon law the system of retaliation held good, and the same idea holds good to-day among most primitive tribes. Primitive vengeance, however, frequently leads to a blood-feud, which may unhappily go on for a long time.

In the course of human history, desolating feuds have arisen between family and family, clan and clan, leading in some cases, almost to the annihilation of one or other party to the conflict. The feuds between some of the Scottish clans continued well into what may be called modern times, until the British Government had to step in and stop them. Even within living memory popular sentiment in Corsica recognised these vendettas as permissible, if not obligatory. The fear of vengeance, however, frequently forced the manslayer to seek refuge in flight, and he became an outlaw. This was a most effective weapon. It not only cut the criminal off from his family and clan, but it delivered

him over to the hands of any person, or community without any protection. In the expressive words of Cain, "And I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth ; and it shall come to pass, that every one that findeth me shall slay me" ; or in the language of the Welsh Laws, the murderer became a "kin-shattered man." Kindred and kindness go together, they make an imaginary bond of union within the family, clan and tribe.

Since in accordance with early custom, all personal rights are dependent on having membership with a group united for mutual protection, it follows that the man excluded from the group is in the position of an enemy and stranger ; he is of no more value than a wild animal, whom anyone can slay at sight, or bind to slavery. Sometimes a man's crime or impiety would lead to his being exiled by the community as the most fitting punishment and of the least trouble to themselves. He might be turned 'into the forest' or, if the community lived near the sea, turned 'adrift on an open raft.' This was not always done as a more humane treatment than killing, but sometimes, as a means of preventing a 'blood-feud' in the family or clan.

The fear of a 'blood-feud' is a great restraint upon disorder in primitive society. In many cases where a combat takes place between the injured party and the aggressor, the chief, or leading men, after one of the combatants has been wounded, will intervene if a continuation of the fight threatens the general peace. This is especially the case with the Australian aborigines. In Queensland, if two men of different parties have a personal grievance, they will settle it by a duel, throwing boomerangs at each other, each defending himself with a shield ; the friends of both parties stand-

ing by to see that neither of the combatants is killed. In some tribes spears are used, or clubs at close quarters ; in others, a stone knife is used, each cuts the other's back until one gives in, or they are separated. The women settle their quarrels with their digging sticks, with which they belabour each other ; sometimes only one stick is used, each woman taking it in turns to hit the other on the head until one has had enough, or they are separated. On the other hand, the man whose death will excite no blood feud has no protection.

One of the most important steps taken towards regulating the blood feud, arose in historic times in the institution of 'sanctuary' which made it possible, through the temporary interval of protection which was possible to the manslayer, for his case to be dealt with by others, as well as the claim of the avenger of blood ; in determining whether it was a case of intentional murder or accidental homicide. The subject is well described in the Mosaic codes in the Old Testament, where six cities are set apart for refuge for the manslayer, three on each side of the river Jordan. " If the slayer kill any person unawares and unwittingly, he shall flee unto one of the cities, and at the entering of the gate, shall declare his cause in the ears of the elders of the city, and if he has killed ignorantly one whom he hated not in times past . . . such a man live " (Deut. xix., Numbers, etc.). Various examples are given, and in some cases, the accidental slayer is shielded by the congregation ; but he must abide in the city of refuge until the death of the high priest. The avenger of blood, however, might kill the slayer in some cases, if he was found outside the city of refuge, before the death of the high priest.

In the case of deliberate killing, or by guile, the avenger of blood might take the slayer even from the

altar, and put him to death. Joab was slain on the horns of the altar by the command of king Solomon, for the cold-blooded murders of Abner and Amasa. Yet with all these precautions, the unintentional slayer needed to be speedy in his flight to the city of refuge to save his life; for the Mosaic code assumed that the avenger of blood would pursue the slayer "While his heart is hot, and overtake him, because the way is long and slay him." No command is given that the avenger is to be punished in such a case. These laws were given that the blood should "not pollute the land."

The right of asylum existed in most countries. In ancient Greece, the slayer, by taking refuge at the altar, could not be slain without contaminating the sanctuary, but might secure purification. He was under the protection of Zeus, and held in his hand an olive branch as a symbol of his condition and claim. In heathen times, sacred groves often provided sanctuary. A runic inscription recently discovered on the face of a rock at Norrkoeping in the province of Oestergoetland, Sweden, relates how over 1,000 years ago, a man named Gunnar, after committing manslaughter, managed to escape into a sacred sacrificial grove, where he was inviolable and could not be reached by the arm of the law. From this sanctuary he opened negotiations with the relatives of the man he had killed and succeeded in reaching an agreement concerning the damages to be paid. This agreement was confirmed and recorded on the face of the rock by the keeper of the sacred grove, who signed his name across the other runes. The right of sanctuary in churches and even churchyards, continued well into the Middle Ages in Europe, and was not abolished in England until 1623.

A great step towards lessening the severity of vengeance, is the substitution of fines for retaliation in kind.

In pastoral societies, cattle and sheep formed a standard of value by which the life of a man, or a wrong, could be valued. In assessing injuries the rank, age, sex and gravity of the offence had to be taken into account. Generally speaking, a person of rank commanded the highest fine or fee, a freeman was valued more than a slave, a man more than a woman, and a grown-up person more than a child. Such fines are enumerated in the ancient codes of the Babylonians, Hebrews, Greeks and Romans ; fines were also in force among the Celts, the Teutons and in Anglo-Saxon and later times, the system is familiar to us under the name of 'wergild' ; the same principle was found amongst the ancient Welsh, Irish and Scots. The following extracts from the Codes of Hammurabi (King of Babylonia about 2123-2080 B.C.) reveal the system of grading: "If a man of gentle birth has struck the strength of a man of gentle birth, who is like himself, he shall pay one mina of silver." "If a poor man has struck the strength of a poor man, he shall pay ten shekels of silver." "If a man strike a man accidentally and he die of his blows, if he be of gentle birth, he shall pay half a mina of silver ; if he be the son of a poor man, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver." Under the same code, doctors, in performing operations with a bronze lancet, were to lose a hand if a gentleman lost his eye in the lancing ; in the case of a slave, he paid half his price in money. In the 'Iliad' we read of the ancient Greek accepting "recompense of his brother's murderer or for his dead son ; and so the man-slayer for a great price abideth in his own land, etc." Plutarch, refers to an old law at Tralles, in Lydia, which enjoined the payment of a measure of beans to the kinsmen of a member of a low class of citizen. In Italy the relatives of a murdered man took a sheep in place of the

murderer's life, if the act was unpremeditated. An early example of a fine occurs in the 'Twelve Tables': "If he has done another an injury, twenty bronze pieces shall be the composition."

In the 'Dooms of Ethelbert' (about A.D. 600) we read: "If a man slay another in the king's 'tun,' let him make amends with 50 shillings." "If a man slay another in an earl's 'tun,' let him make amends with 12 shillings." For the loss of an ear the fine was 12 shillings; for an eye, 50 shillings; for a thumb, 20 shillings; a thumb-nail, 3 shillings; the shooting finger (forefinger), 8 shillings; the middle finger, 4 shillings; the gold-finger (ring finger), 6 shillings; the little finger, 11 shillings; for every nail, 4 shillings. With the Saxons, as well as with the Welsh, almost everything of which a man could be wronged, from his life to the pulling out of his hair, was rated by law; even for a seizing of the hair the fine was 50 sceatts, and a penny for each hair pulled, besides a penny for every finger that had a share in the naughty deed, and twopence for any help which the thumb may have afforded its lawless coadjutors.

There was, however, much local variation in the fines. At Lewes, the fine for bloodshed was seven shillings and fourpence; in Shropshire, the fine for bloodshed was forty shillings. There were, however, crimes for which there were no fines, no 'bot' or money payment could atone for them. Amongst the most prominent of these crimes, were those of treason, breach of the church or the king's-peace. When these were perpetrated, the whole community rose and raised the 'hue and cry' and either punished the offender or expelled him from their midst. In later times we find the State stepping in and making itself felt in the matter of 'botless' crimes, by imposing a heavy fine,

or outlawry. The latter was a profitable one with the State, as by it the outlaw's goods were forfeited to the king. (The Pipe Rolls of the various counties contain many references to the sheriffs accounting for the goods of outlaws.)

Crimes of a religious character have always been severely dealt with in all countries. In ancient Rome, the criminal, if his offence bore a religious character was 'sacre' and was either outlawed, or, if necessary, he was made to leap from the Tarpeian rock. The sacredness attached to the walls of Rome is explained in the story of the death of Remus, who for leaping over the line by which the walls of the foundation were marked out at its founding, was killed for sacrilege. The undutiful son was accounted 'sacre' and made over to the offended deities. The same law held good with the ancient Hebrews, where in the Mosaic codes the son is 'accursed' who makes light by his father and mother (Ex. 21 v. 17 ; Lev. 20 v. 9). Removing a neighbour's landmark was a criminal act amongst many of the ancient peoples ; while to touch or to take anything dedicated to the gods, incurred the penalty of death. The Hebrew Achan, his sons, daughters, asses, cattle, sheep, tent and all the material things he possessed, were stoned and burned, because he had taken the accursed things, which had been dedicated to Jehovah.

In this incident, we have an illustration of a custom, prevalent in primitive society, whether Semitic or Aryan, and also during the early stages of civilised people of most races, namely, the formal arraignment not only of the culprit and his family, but also of animals and inanimate objects. According to Pausanias, the ancient Athenian court of law would condemn to banishment the guilty axe which slew a man,

by solemnly throwing the axe over the boundary. " We banish," states another Grecian writer, " beyond our borders stock, stone, etc., if it chance to kill a man." Plutarch states, that a dog bit a man in Greece, and was delivered up to be bound to a log four cubits long ; Draco ordered that a process should be instituted against inanimate objects.

To the primitive mind, especially, all natural objects are regarded as possessing personality, magical power, or spirit on which he can vent his displeasure, if so disposed. The modern man often unconsciously exhibits this trait, by imparting personality to a billiard ball, when it does not run where he wants it, or to the stone that he accidentally kicks. Punishment on animals continued well into medieval times in Europe. " In 1595 the city court at Leyden sentenced a dog that had killed a man to be hanged, and to remain hanging on the gallows, to the deterring of all other dogs, and his goods, if any, to be forfeited " (Kenny, ' Outlines of Criminal Law,' p. 35).

The same principle is seen in the old English law of ' Deodand,' whereby, anything that caused the death of a human being must be purged from the stain of blood by being ' given to God ' in pious uses. It was exacted in a variety of cases, as in the case of a man on horseback accidentally riding over a man who was asleep on the highway, also in the case of a man falling from a boat and being drowned. A small boy fell into a pan full of milk and was drowned, whereupon the pan was forfeited. Whatever the medium of death, the horse that trampled, the ox that gored, the tree that fell, etc., the rule was, " Whatever moved to do the deed, is deodand and forfeited." Frequently the deodand was sold by the king's representative and the money received by it devoted to pious uses for the

soul that had died un-absolved. After the Reformation the money, if not needed by the relatives of the deceased, was usually given to the poor. "Even as late as 1716 at Yarmouth, a coroner's jury declared a stock of timber, which had fallen on a child and killed it, to be forfeited as deodand; it was ransomed, however, for 30 shillings which was paid over to the child's father" (Kenny, p. 107). Deodand was not abolished in England, until 1846. "The abolition being hastened by the fear of entire railway trains being forfeited," in the case of accidents.

We have noted that with the growth of order in barbarous society, there arose the tendency to substitute a system of fines as a means of composition for the blood feud and homicide; also, that with the provision of rights of asylum at sacred places, an opportunity was provided for the determination of the right and wrong of the matter; in other words, we have the emergence of the process of administrating justice by means of 'Trial's' to find out the truth; chief of these are the 'Ordeal' and the 'Oath.' We have seen in the case of the manslayer that on reaching the sacred place (grove, altar, city, church, etc.), he had the opportunity of stating his case to the elders, priests, accusers and so forth. In the case of the public trial, in addition to the personal evidence of the accused, we see emerging the system of allowing witnesses to appear on behalf of the accused. In the early stages of the administration of justice we frequently find that the judges decide that the matter must be decided by some sort of rude ordeal. This system existed in ancient Greece, Rome, as well as in other European countries well into the Middle Ages.

The Ordeal represents one of the most widespread methods of judicial procedure among savage and semi-

civilised peoples. In primitive communities the ordeal is regarded usually as an appeal to spirits, and is most frequently entrusted to witch-doctors or medicine-men, who by means of divination or magic, are believed to have the faculty of discovering the guilty person, by performing some rite, or spell, or administering some test to the accused. The magicians, soothsayers and priests in the early civilisations and city-states professed by means of auguries, ordeals and the consulting of oracles to discover if the accused was speaking the truth, or who was the guilty person, etc.

The most common ordeals were the trials by fire, water, eating or drinking. The details vary, but the resemblances appear in most countries during historical, times, as well as in present-day savage communities. The literature of Greece, Rome, India and Europe abound with examples. Take that in the 'Antigone,' of Sophocles, where the watchers over the corpse of Polynices which had been forbidden burial, declared themselves to be ready to appeal to the ordeal by fire (that they did not know who had taken the body away and buried it). "We were ready in our hands to take bars of hot iron, and to walk through fire, and call on the gods to witness none of us had done the deed, nor knew who counselled it, nor who had wrought it."

In the Dooms of Athelstan (925-940) we have a detailed description of the 'hot iron' and 'water ordeals' how that the priest arranges the witnesses on either side, to stand within the church on each side of the ordeal site. They must all be fasting, taste of the holy water, have it sprinkled on them, kiss the Gospels, make the sign of the cross and pray earnestly to God Almighty that He make it manifest what is most true. During the consecration service, the iron must lay on the embers until the last collect is said, the accused

must then carry the hot iron nine feet from the mark to the stake. If it be the water ordeal, whether the vessel be iron, brass, lead or earthen, the water inside must be heated towards boiling. If it be a single accusation, the man dives after the stone up to the wrist ; if it be threefold, up to the elbow, the accused then carries the stone from the mark to the stake, as in the case with the iron. The hand is then sealed up for three days, it is then opened to see whether it be foul or clean within the seal (i.e., to see if the blisters have disappeared or not). In some cases it was the custom to walk blindfolded over red-hot ploughshares (Russia); run on hot coals (Siam) ; lick red-hot iron (Dyaks, Khonds, Negroes in Sierra-Leone) ; dip the hands in boiling water (Burma, etc.).

The ' water test ' in Rome as well as elsewhere, took two forms: (1) plunging the hand in boiling water ; (2) being flung into a pond or river. In the latter ordeal (which occurs in the Hindu Code of Manu, and was prevalent in Germany and England, as being one of the best-known witch ordeals) the accused, bound hand and foot, was thrown into deep water, to sink if innocent, to float if guilty, and in the latter case, as it is humorously put in Butler's ' Hudibras,' " To be hanged only for not being drown'd."

The ' Ordeal of Eating ' bread as a test of guilt was practised in Rome. " If a slave was suspected of theft, he was led to a priest who gave him a piece of bread which had been tinctured with an incantation. If it stuck to the mouth, the priest condemned the accused as guilty." In England, in Anglo-Saxon times, the method was called ' The Corsned,' i.e., a consecrated piece of barley bread was eaten by the accused person, accompanied by a solemn oath that it might prove his last morsel, if his denial of the charge was false. The

memory of this ancient usage still lingers with us in the old saying, " the lie stuck in his throat." The death of Earl Godwin (A.D. 1053) is associated with the ' bread ordeal.' The story is probably one circulated by his enemies to blacken his memory, as the exact circumstances of Godwin's death are doubtful, the more authentic chronicles only state that he was struck speechless, and that he died within three days.

The taking of an ' Oath ' is closely linked with the ordeal ; it usually took the form of a curse, by which the one who made the declaration drew down, or invoked upon himself, the divine vengeance, either in this life, or after death. The oath was frequently accompanied by a gesture with the hand raised towards heaven ; as with the Greeks who called on Zeus to witness, the Romans to Jupiter. Examples of Semitic oaths are found in the Old Testament, Gen. 24 vs. 2-9; Gen. 47 v. 29 ; Job 31 v. 22 ; and the Psalms. Other personal objects which the swearer might touch, were the beard, arm, etc., or some sacred object, as touching the altar, a cross or some relic. The kissing of the Bible is a relic of this, although nowadays instead of kissing the book, it is usually held up in the right hand and the formula recited ' So help me God,' which is a survival of the old Norse Law.

The oath, from originally being a test of the guilt or innocence of the accused, came to be applied to his kinsmen or supporters who were called ' compurgators,' twelve of whom, under the old English Law could purge his character by formal correctness in taking the oath in his favour. The twelve jurymen of the present day have their origin in the twelve representatives of the ' hundreds ' in the old ' Shire-Moot,' the compurgators had to be of the same rank of the accused. ' On the other hand, the oath of an eorl was

equivalent to six ceorls ; while that of a presbyter was equivalent to those of twenty ceorls. Class distinctions in English law continued into the nineteenth century. The ' benefit of clergy ' which originally gave immunity to ecclesiastics from the secular courts, gradually exempted educated persons from secondary offences ; peers of the realm received the same privileges as clerks in holy orders by a statue of 1547. Benefit of clergy, however, was abolished in 1827, and as there were doubts whether the privileges of the peers ceased with it, the statue of Edward VI was repealed in 1841, and peers accused of felony became liable to the same punishments as other persons.

As an alternative to the oath and ordeals there was the ' trial by combat,' but this, of course, was not an altogether satisfactory method, as the most skilful warrior necessarily had the advantage of winning ; for in medieval Europe it was well remarked, that the battle was not always to the just. The duel which has lingered on into modern times, in certain countries, treats usually with so-called ' affairs of honour ' ; while ' trials by jury ' and advocates for the accused and the plaintiffs, have become an integral part of administrating justice in civilised countries.

In briefly reviewing the main phases of primitive law and justice, we note at the outset there is a collective responsibility for certain individual acts. Especially with the blood feud, the duty of exacting vengeance was not altogether a family affair, but was enforced by the clan or tribe to prevent its abuse, which might lead to the extermination of one, or even both parties involved in the conflict ; and so as time goes on, the community intervenes more and more by means of fines, sanctuary, outlawry, etc. While the voluntary exile says by his flight, if not in words, ' I did it, but

he shan't get me, I'm off,' society says, 'Good riddance,' and as law becomes more firmly established, society, by means of officials, relieves the avenger of the duty of pursuit, and defines the mode of punishment. If cattle have been stolen, the village must produce the thief or pay a fine. A man is found dead on the highway, if the murderer cannot be found, the surrounding villages must pay a fine; until finally, the custom of the clan, village and town is substituted by laws promulgated and enforced by the State.

The forms of public punishment have been various. Flogging or scourging can be traced back into antiquity, and exists to-day. Burning and burying alive, mutilation and quartering, and other horrible punishments have been practically carried out in every country, even Europe can testify to these punishments in the twentieth century, the broad facts being familiar to most people without further elaboration. Branding was not abolished in England until 1779, death for pocket-picking was abolished in 1808, horse- and sheep-stealing ceased to be a capital offence in 1832, and the pillory was in use for perjury until 1837. Women have been strangled, and sometimes burnt alive for killing a husband. Such offences as burglary, coining, arson, etc., were all capital offences at the end of the eighteenth century; while death was the penalty for all felonies except petty larceny and mutilation, from the Middle Ages down to 1826.

The general right to punish may be derived from the right of society to protect itself; but the morality of the question of crime and its punishment is very confused in the early times. Among the ancient Germanic tribes "Robbery beyond the bounds of each country had no infamy, but was recommended as a means of exercising youth and abolishing sloth." While Edward

III forbade " his right noble lords . . . to carry on piracy, highway robbery, etc,," not on the grounds of justice and morality, but simply " because these acts injured the revenues of the crown and deterred foreign merchants from visiting the country." The right of reprisal between European merchants residing in various cities continued well into the Middle Ages, by means of their city guilds, whereby they confiscated each others' goods in lack of payment. In the case of foreign trade, if a merchant in Hamburg did not pay for goods he got from a London merchant, the London merchant's guild would seize the goods of any other Hamburg merchant who happened to have goods in London, and so on.

Even to-day, commercial honesty in many cases is dependent not so much on its moral value as in the force of public opinion. With regard to the administration of justice, its development is strikingly seen from the crude " eye for an eye " to the lofty conception of forgiveness unto " seventy times seven." In between these two extremes we have the development from retribution to prevention and reformation of the criminal. There is also the economic and biological points of view to be considered. The former suggests that the labour of the prisoners should support the prisons and the administration as far as possible, as well as the punishment being designed on a reformative basis. The biological side, deals with the problem of whether a person of proved criminal instincts should be allowed to come in contact with law-abiding citizens.

The world as it stands to-day reveals a struggling and swaying to and fro of opposing forces in its stages of ethical development, and to many people the word ' Law ' and all that it implies has an unpleasing sound ; yet it is necessary for the maintenance of the common

good, and there are few studies which contain more information of the real progress of the human race than the history of its laws. With each fresh generation new needs, concepts and problems are born, but Law abides, and its ultimate aim may be expressed thus, "Execute true judgment and show mercy and compassions every man to his brother."

CHAPTER XI

Religion

It will be quite clear to anyone that it is impossible to do justice to such a vast subject as religion in one chapter, all that is attempted here, therefore, is to summarise briefly from the historical point of view the various phases through which the human race has passed in the development of what is termed the 'religious consciousness.'

Assuming man's animal ancestry, it is natural to assert that the earliest type of men could have had no religion, as we use the word, and that for a long period man's energies would be solely devoted to securing food, shelter and protection from wild beasts, and the satisfaction of his animal appetites and pleasures. Only as his mental capacities developed could there have come into his life the idea of what we call the supernatural. If this be the case, apart from revelation, the early ideas of mankind concerning spirits may have grown out of observation and contact with the world of nature ; indeed, it could hardly be otherwise. The mind of man operates on matter, and wherever matter is observed in motion independent of man, he naturally looks for a cause, nor does he rest content until he has satisfied his reason concerning it. If the cause is easily traceable, he soon tracks it to its source ; if it is too difficult for his apprehension, or in any way mysterious, primitive man usually ascribes it to a force greater than his own because it is incomprehensible.

Living under the influence of the perceptions of his senses, sight, hearing, touch, taste and smell, with the

development of his mental faculties, man became aware that he was surrounded by objects and powers which did not lie wholly within the grasp of those senses The wind blowing where it listeth, its whence and whither, its noise and power, must have been, at first, a source of mystery and astonishment. The rolling thunder, the flashing lightning, and the fury of the hurricane must have filled him with fear and terror. The movement of the sun, moon and stars, the alternating appearance of night and day, the change of seasons ; the sea with its waves and tides ; the shock of the earthquake, would all be to him elements of mystery and awe. What could be more natural than that early man should have regarded them as the expressions of some unseen mysterious power or powers. To the primitive mind, movement would be the test of life, and denoted the presence of an agent, and in so far as the ' Source ' or ' Mover ' was unseen and to that extent unknown, it became to him his unknown god or gods.

In using the expression ' God,' concerning primitive man, it must not be taken in our modern or Christian use of the word, as denoting a ' Spiritual Power ' the Creator, Ruler and Sustainer of the universe. Such a belief is the result of gradual development throughout the ages. We may assume, therefore, that as soon as there arose in the common consciousness of the ' pack,' ' herd ' or community the idea, however dim or confused, of powers superior to man, which aroused any emotion, whether of fear, awe or reverence, then was religion born, containing the germ from which have sprung all the various forms of worship known to us.

It will be seen, therefore, that a definition of religion is most difficult, presenting as it does various aspects of ritual, myth, creed, dogma and belief. It has been defined as a ' belief in spirits,' or in a superhuman

being or beings. It has also been defined as "An affirmation of what we may call broadly the supernatural" (R. R. Marett). A more elaborate definition would have to include numerous ideas and statements such as the following: Religion is a particular kind of activity, mode or type of behaviour, which manifests itself in certain acts, including rites of submission, propitiation, adoration, worship, etc. Its expression is multiform, and may be individual or communistic in its activity; yet none the less exercising a definite guiding and inspiring influence over the life of the individual or community. Its visible objects of worship or contemplation may be a person, a stone pillar, a graven image, a cross of wood, etc. On the other hand, it may take the form of mystic contemplation, or a willed relationship with the mysterious, indefinable power with whom the devotee feels that he is linked by sympathy of thought and feeling, and from whom he can derive help and strength to guide his life and determine his destiny. . . . Without dogmatising, therefore, as to questions of origin, we may commence our survey with a description of 'Animism,' which, if not the earliest religious belief of man, is doubtless one of the most dominant forms of belief held by peoples of a primitive type of culture.

Animism is defined by E. B. Tylor in his great work, 'Primitive Culture,' as 'the belief in spirits.' He also uses the term in a wider sense as 'a doctrine of universal vitality,' namely, "a belief in the animation of all nature rising at its highest pitch to personification." Thus any material object on earth, in the sea or sky, may be conceived by the savage mind, as the abode, or manifestation, as the case may be, of a spiritual agency. Thus of the Indians of Guiana, Im Thurm states that "not only many rocks, but also many

waterfalls, streams and indeed material objects of every sort, are supposed each to consist of a body, and a spirit, as in man." Among some American Indian tribes, even the household vessels fashioned out of clay, as well as the stone on which the maize is powdered, have their spiritual essence. The Tongan Islander, believed " that when an animal died, a stone was broken, an axe destroyed, or a house was taken down, its immortal part flies off to Bolotoo," they also assert that there is heaven even for coconuts. The Wanika tribe in East Africa hold the same belief that a spirit dwells in the cocoa-tree. This idea of a multiplicity of spirits no doubt had a tendency to involve the primitive mind in confusion, so that the border between 'naturism' and 'animism' must have been of a fluctuating nature.

It is probable that early man would feel himself to be a part of the other phenomena which formed his limited world, so that it is quite natural to assert—as certain authorities do—a pre-animistic stage, in which man had not realised his dual personality of flesh and spirit, nor conceived of phenomena as divided into the natural and the supernatural surrounded as he was by sights, sounds and movements which he could not understand. Hence fear, wonder and curiosity—which are the characteristic traits of childhood—were doubtless the predominant features in what we may term the mental childhood of the human race. In the old Hebrew story, the serpent aroused the woman's curiosity. Moses turned aside to 'see why the bush was not consumed.' 'Whence am I'? 'What am I'? and 'Whither bound'? are still vital questions with men even to-day. The 'Why' of the child is ever with us, and must always have been heard in the mental and spiritual evolution of the human race.

R. R. Marett suggests that before man became animistic he had numerous dimly lighted impressions of the awful, namely, the common plasm out of which religion and magic proceeded, and which he, Clodd and other anthropologists have identified with the Melanesian 'mana,' namely, a belief in a power, or influence, to which no personal qualities are attributed, and which can be conveyed in almost everything. Codrington, in his book, 'The Melanesians' defines 'mana' as "a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil." It is in a way, supernatural and shows itself in physical force or in any kind of power or excellence which a man possesses. If a man prospered in his daily pursuits, became a successful warrior, huntsman, or gained influence in his tribe, it was not because of his own efforts, but because he had 'mana' within him. Just as the Israelites believed that their great prophets and warriors were endowed with the "Spirit of the Lord" which enabled them to perform miracles and mighty deeds.

Tregear, in his 'Maori-Polynesian Dictionary,' defines the word 'mana' as 'supernatural power' and 'divine authority' "having qualities which ordinary persons or things do not possess." We may take the word, therefore, as meaning something immaterial and unseen, and which is, after all, closely linked with animism; as in Polynesia 'mana' from meaning 'indwelling power' passes into the sense of possessing 'spirit' or 'soul' (Tregear); while Codrington goes on to state that 'mana' is referred to one of three originating sources, namely, 'a living man,' 'a dead man's ghost' or 'a spirit.' Here we are brought back right into the realm of animism again; as ghosts and spirits are obviously animistic in

Tylor's sense of the word. However, in one form or another this idea is probably known throughout the races of lower culture ; this in turn brings us up against the problem of how man came to think that he possessed a soul or spirit as apart from his body.

Philology shows that the words for breath, shadow, image, soul and spirit, are similar in many languages ; while the form of the soul is usually expressed as a light, fluttering or gliding essence. The soul of the departed is frequently referred to in the ancient classic beliefs as a 'shade,' because it shared the attribute common to the shadow of being immaterial. Hence the soul or spirit has been symbolised by different races and tribes, under the guise of a bird, moth, butterfly and so forth, which in a sense, like them, can fly away. The soul as akin to breath is a favourite idea among primitive peoples. The act of breathing caused the body to move and enabled man to exercise himself in numerous activities ; when breath left the body for good the man ceased to move ; he was dead, so the 'breath of life' was the spirit of man.

Dreams, too, may have had a large share in producing the idea of a soul or spirit within man ; as in them the sleeper, although his body remained in one place seemed to visit distant places, engage in actions, or hold conversation with others. When the savage tells his dream to his fellows, they reconcile his statements by the thought that the spirit of the sleeper had left his body and carried out the adventures told. Hence it is a widespread belief amongst primitive tribes, that a sleeper must not be awakened, suddenly, lest he die, as his soul may be away on a journey, and not get back in time.

Other states of temporary loss of consciousness, such as fainting, trances, etc., would suggest the idea of

something within the body able to detach itself for a time from the body, and then return with the revival of consciousness. Further, man dreams of the dead, and although, in his waking hours, he knows that their body has perished, seeing them in his dreams, in a bodily form, he naturally thinks they are living elsewhere. It has often been assumed that the 'Ghost Theory' has its origin in dreams. That each man has a 'ghost' or 'spirit' is a widespread belief, even amongst present-day savages. Howitt states that certain Australian aborigines (The Kurnai) believe that each human being has within him a spirit called 'Yambo,' which during sleep could leave the body and confer with other disembodied spirits. If the dream of the savage wakens him in terror, he puts it down to the visit of an evil demon, as they believe that not only are there good spirits but also others of a malignant type, which need the help of a wizard or medicine man to bring it under control.

The belief in ghostly spirits and demons has been held in all stages of culture. The Old and New Testaments contain numerous references to this belief. In the book of Job, Eliphaz speaks of a spirit appearing to him in his sleep causing him to "fear and tremble and the hair of his flesh to stand up." Babylonian, Assyrian, Apocalyptic and Rabbinical records make frequent references to this belief in spirits and demons, and give details how to charm, or place them under a spell. Need we wonder, therefore, that the primitive mind should be imbued with the idea that the ghosts of the unburied or the wicked should need propitiatory rites performed? 'To lay the ghost' or keep it from wandering or doing harm to the living, the bones of the dead were sometimes broken; fire, food and drink were laid on the grave or offered at the burial with

some tribes, and the custom still prevails in some countries. In all ages, traditions and records abound of the worship of the ghost.

Ghost- and ancestor-worship was held by H. Spencer and supported by Grant Allen as "The origin of religion," This is simply the view of Euhemerus (fourth century B.C.) revived. His theory was "that the divinities of Greece were merely great men who had been deified after death." This theory does not give satisfaction, when we notice that the names of many early deities, were intimately connected with purely natural phenomena. Further, although it is an acknowledged fact that ancestor-worship has been, and is still found in some form in many parts of the world, China, Japan, India, Africa, etc., there is distinct evidence that there also exists with these peoples, the belief in a God or gods of quite a different order, who had never been regarded as men. Even in ancient Rome,, where "each family adored its 'Lares' and 'Penates' and the 'Manes' of the dead, they never associated the names of their ancestors with those of Jupiter, Juno, Mars" and others included in their 'Pantheon.' In China, when ruled by an Emperor, he, on one certain day in the year, worshipped the One, known as the 'Heavenly God,' while the members of every family daily adored their own ancestors. The more one examines this theory of ghost- and ancestor-worship, the more one finds a very broad distinction is made between the gods and the spirits of dead men.

The nearest approach to anything resembling the identity of the two, as is supported by those who uphold the theory of Euhemerus is in the doctrine of Divine Incarnations. But this, again, does not support the Euhemeristic theory, for the doctrine of Incarna-

tions distinctly teaches: "Not that the human became Divine, but that the Divine, for a time at least, became human or animal" (as the case may be), resuming its original form or state when it was necessary, or when its mission was accomplished. In short, Euhemerism as a theory to explain the origin of religion is found wanting; all of which tends to show that religious phenomena is a complex fabric, and that it is well-nigh impossible to discern its original threads.

MAGIC.—One of the most controversial theories connected with the origin of religion is that associated with magic. Many authorities, including Dr. Frazer, hold that magic preceded religion, "because religion, in assuming the operation of personal agents superior to man, requires more intelligence than the mind of primitive man possessed," and that the change from magic to religion may have been brought about when men discovered the inefficiency of magic. The priority of magic to religion, however, cannot be proved with certainty, several facts seem to point against it. Had magic preceded religion it ought to have been discredited and should have disappeared when man attained a more perfect knowledge of the world of nature, and of his own body. And yet, even in the great civilisations of the past, Babylonian, Egyptian, Grecian and Roman, it flourished, with numerous magical rites, along with the worship of the gods. It has not even yet died out in Europe. In London, 'dragon's blood' is still purchased by young women, and used with a ritual incantation to win back the waning affection of their lovers; while cowrie shells are still worn by young women (even in England) as a means to promote fertility. How we are imbued with magical ideas is seen in the long-continued use of such words as enchant, charm and bewitch in our daily speech. Can we wonder,

therefore, that magical rites and the casting of spells still permeates the lives of many savage tribes ?

Generally speaking, the difference between magic and religion is that in the former the supernatural powers can be made to help or act by performing the appropriate magical rite, or invocated by spell ; while in the latter the ' powers that be ' are prayed or sacrificed to for help. M. Durkheim makes magic stand for all maleficent and anti-social ways of exploiting the unseen and the occult, and religion as all such ways of dealing as are used in what are supposed to further the interests of the community. According to this theory (take the Australian aborigines) all totemic ceremonies, and the use of the ' bull-roarer ' and the ' churinga ' which tend to make men good and strong, would come under the term of religion ; while the use of the ' pointing stick ' which brings illness and death, would be ' black magic ' as it is anti-social. Among savage tribes unaccountable illness, disaster and death, are usually put down to sorcery, supernatural agency, or the violation of a taboo. The widespread prevalence of magic may be due to the primitive view of the universe, that the control of nature and of man may be obtained through the association of ideas, by means of similarity or contact ; the former is classified as ' Homœopathic Magic,' the latter as ' Contagious Magic.'

Homœopathic Magic is associated with such ideas as ' like begets like.' The waxen image of one's enemy is pierced with pins or melted, so that he may suffer pain, be stabbed, or wasted away by disease. The aborigines of India pour water on the ground in time of drought to cause rain to fall. The Zulus sacrificed black cattle to produce the black rain clouds. " In the Torres Straits the sorcerer points a spear in the

direction of his victim and 'sings,' 'Into body go, go,' etc."

In Contagious Magic.—The Dyak warrior abstains from eating too much of the flesh of the deer, lest he become timid. The Indian warrior wears the claws of the grizzly bear that he may be endowed with its courage and ferocity. The Tyrolese hunter wears tufts of eagle's down in his hat, to gain the eagle's keen sight. Some of the paintings on the cave walls which were the work of Palæolithic Man, were probably for a magical or religious purpose. When the artist painted arrow-heads piercing the vital parts of the bison and other animals he hunted, such as over the heart, near the kidneys, in the neck, and so on, we can imagine that he was imbued with the idea of sympathetic magic, and muttered 'May my arrow pierce him thus!'

Although there is a distinction between magic and religion, they frequently intermingle, as in the case of the wizard or medicine-man, who, by means of spells and magic ritual, seeks to coerce a spirit to do his will. The casting of the spell or charm is magic, but his belief in spirits is religious. But though we find this combination of magic and religion they never fuse into one creed or doctrine. Each is distinct and both flourished in the ancient civilisations, and have continued without a break into our times in most parts of the world.

Among other phases of thought and action which regulate man's attitude to the supernatural is 'taboo' which has a religious as well as a social function. In brief, it is the doctrine that a certain class of objects and actions are set apart from profane purposes, and any infringement of them incurs a physical or a moral penalty, which is strictly enforced by the local community or religious authority. Taboo spells 'fear,'

" Thou shalt not do this at thy peril," " Beware there is danger ahead," such are some of the warnings given for the guidance of humanity in evolving social and religious stability. Hence in the early stages of human society, certain acts associated with the daily routine of domestic, social and religious life, which might tend to involve the individual as well as the community in misfortune, or danger, either physically or morally, were placed under taboo. Thus on the social side, among many primitive people, such things as food, sex, marriage, hunting, fishing, agriculture, boat and canoe-building, are associated with certain prohibitions, which are strictly enforced, at certain stages in their production or use, or amongst certain people, times or places. To observe the taboos was a social obligation, good for the individual as well as the community; violation was disastrous to the individual as well as to the social unit.

When the taboo became associated with religion, it was regarded as a divine command, or spiritual mandate from a god, or spiritual beings, who could not only demand obedience but could enforce it, or punish severely any transgressors of the arbitrary command. The old Mosaic Code abounds with examples of taboo given for the training of the Israelites. We meet with it also in the old Hebrew story in Genesis concerning the fall and expulsion of man from Eden, " But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, ' thou shalt not ' eat of it, for in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die."

In its effect on the community, through the transgression of the individual, we may take other examples in Biblical history. The Children of Israel at ' Ai ' were routed by the enemy, because Achan had taken the forbidden thing. Uzzah was smitten down for

merely touching the Ark of the Covenant, while many Philistines were slain on each occasion they took the Ark, and thousands of the men of Beth-shemesh were slaughtered for looking into the Ark. Among many present-day savages, the accidental violation of a taboo has such an influence on their imagination that they have been known to die of fright. Many examples of taboos are to be found in the monographs of savage tribes ; while the Old Testament contains many examples of the food taboos enjoined on the Israelites. It may be as well to note, at this point, that the taboos placed on certain animals among the Israelites as being forbidden food, because of being classed as unclean, did not mean physical foulness, but that, in many cases the animals were those which were considered sacred by the idolatrous people by whom the Israelites were surrounded, and were occasionally sacrificed and eaten with totemistic or mystic rites.

FETISHISM.—This word has frequently been used to define ' the worship of inanimate objects.' The word itself is derived from the Portuguese word ' feitico ' which is applied in its native country to the charms and amulets worn for luck in that country. Some writers on the origin of religion even go so far as to state that fetishism was man's earliest religion (Comte); while others hold that, if not the primitive religion of mankind, it is the form of religion which is found " amongst men at the lowest stage of development known to us " (Hoffding).

It is somewhat difficult to believe with Comte, that fetishism was the original religion of mankind. For to believe in the independence of spirits capable of influencing events, and dwelling even temporarily in material objects, would imply that there must have been a great deal of reflection and practice before even

men adopted the attitude of apparently regulating the activities of spiritual beings. Fetishism, at least, would appear to be secondary phenomena in man's spiritual development.

A fetish may be any object whatsoever, common or uncommon. Man attaches an uncanny significance to all unusual appearances in nature, and a fetish may be a peculiar stone, or something rare or attractive. On the other hand, it may be an ordinary stone, bone, pebble, shell, beak, feather, claw, hoof or horn, and it is valued not as a thing in itself, but as possessing some mysterious power which is helpful to its possessor. A man merely strolling along may have his attention drawn to some material object, he picks it up and takes it with him. If the work of the day or his business is successful, fishing or hunting good, he may put it down to the object he picked up, and consider that it has brought him 'good luck,' there is virtue in it, so he keeps it secret and secure, it becomes his fetish. So long as it brings good luck it is treasured. Should, however, misfortune come to its owner, it is usually discarded, broken or thrown away, virtue has gone out of it, or its spirit has departed.

Here we see the distinction between fetishism and religion. The fetish proper is prized in the first instance, not for itself, but as the abode of a spirit who works in and through it. A fetish is not a god, neither is fetishism idolatry. Whereas E. B. Tylor includes in fetishism "The worship of stocks and stones," D. G. Brinton states that "Nowhere in the world did ever men worship stock or stone as such," and he quotes the following: "A South African negro offered food to a tree in the presence of an European traveller. The latter observed that a tree cannot eat. 'Oh,' replied the negro, 'Tree not fetish. Fetish spirit; not seen; live in tree.'"

('Religions of Primitive Peoples'). Fetishism is doubtless closely linked to animism; but whereas animism sees all things animated by spirits, fetishism is individual, it sees a spirit only in one object at a time. Spirit may be attracted to and incorporated in the fetish object, in some cases by means of ritual, or the aid of a wizard or medicine-man may be invoked. In short, the fetish is little better than a tool in the hands of its possessor, whereas an idol is regarded as superior in status and power.

Most of the Negro tribes, who are classed as fetish-worshippers, have a name for God quite apart from their fetishes. There is a tendency in the heart of Africa to turn a stone or a log of wood, by a dab of crude paint, or rough chiselling, into an idol. This is associated with the widespread 'stock and stone' worship, which in some senses, has been regarded as transitional between fetishism and idolatry.

H. Spencer connected all fetishism with ghost-worship. If a fetish may be animated by a ghost or ancestor spirit, where do we class the 'churinga' of the Australian aborigines (which are stones or a slab of wood bearing an incised or painted device of totemic significance) wherein the men of the Alcheringa, their ancestors of the long ago, had deposited their souls, and which are endowed with magical power? It would seem that fetishism is so closely connected with nature-worship and magic that it is difficult to point out where it ends.

TREE-WORSHIP.—The worship of trees has been almost universal in its range. A tree is so evidently a living thing, that it is easy to see how worship came to be paid to it. Man at the time of his appearance on the earth, had a close relation to forest life; he was arboreal, a tree was his home, and a place of shelter,

as well as giving protection from wild beasts. Some trees gave him nourishment, hence for many reasons there would be a tendency for trees to become associated with his early religious thought. A cluster of trees probably formed man's first temple, wherein dwelt his protecting deity when he was naked and without weapons, as sacred groves are frequently mentioned in sacred and profane literature ; while the poetry of Ovid and Dante contain references to the old myths of human beings being transformed into trees, while others were the abode of spirits.

The almost universal custom of present-day savages propitiating a tree-spirit before cutting down a tree, or planting a young sprig on the tree-trunk after it is felled, shows how strong a hold the tree-cult still retains among the lower races. In Genesis we read of the 'Tree of Life' and the 'Tree of Knowledge,' both being placed under a taboo. Later, Old Testament history records the Canaanitish 'Ashera' worship, a tree-cult which was occasionally practised by the Israelites. Many of the gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome were originally worshipped as tree-spirits, while certain trees were sacred to certain divinities. Our Celtic forefathers regarded the oak as sacred, and Scandinavian mythology tells of the sacred ash-tree 'Yggdrasil' which supported the heavens and earth. The ancient Irish believed that the first man sprang from the alder-tree, and the first woman from a mountain ash. In Saxon times our own King Edgar, issued an edict that "Every priest was to forbid tree-worship." The old oak trees venerated by the Norse invaders and known as 'Thor's oaks,' under medieval Christianity had their names changed to 'Gospel oaks.' (These trees are traditionally said to have been so-called in consequence of the practice in

early Christendom to read under a tree, which grew upon a boundary line, a portion of the Gospel on the annual perambulation of the bounds of the parish on Ascension Day). In the poem of Herrick called 'Hesperides' occur these lines:

To Anthea.

"Dearest, bury me
Under that holy-oak or gospel-tree;
Where, though thou see'st not, thou may'st think upon
Me, when thou yearly goest procession."

Classical literature embodies stories of trees inhabited by deities and uttering oracles, as in the case of the 'Speaking oak of Zeus' at Dodona, the laurel of Apollo at Delphi, from the whisper of whose leaves, the sybils interpreted the saying of the gods. King David takes the swaying of the mulberry branches in the wind as the token of the presence of the Lord, and the pledge that David would win the battle against the Philistines. Such names as Holyoake and Hollywood remind us of the old reverence paid to sacred trees and groves. Ovid in describing Ceres grove states: "There stood a mighty oak of age-long strength, Festooned with garlands, bearing on its trunk, Memorial tablets, proofs of helpful boughs." In some Semitic areas, trees are still adored, and decked with offerings, and in Southern Asia there are districts under strong Buddhist influence where a tree-deity is considered pleased with dolls set up to swing in the branches. This is a reminder that the hanging of men on trees was regarded as a divine offering, as with the Israelites and Norsemen.

When the Gibeonites captured the sons of Saul "They hanged them in the hill before the Lord," thus was the three years of famine brought to an end, by this sacrifice. In the old Northern Sagas, we read that

Odin was known as the 'Gallows god' not only because men were hung on trees as a sacrifice to him, but also, because he himself, once hung for nine nights on the ash-tree 'Yggdrasil,' hence a corpse on a gallows-tree might be moved by 'runes' to come and talk to Odin. When the Germans defeated the Romans under Varus, they hung up their captives as a thank-offering to Odin. The old May-day revels held round the maypole, the shape of the tassel on the umbrella, and the little wooden case that holds the cord of the window blind, which represent an acorn, are relics of the ancient tree-worship which has impressed its influence on the religious thought of mankind throughout the ages; while Asia, Africa, America and Europe still abound with evidence of this ancient cult.

SERPENT-WORSHIP.—Closely associated with tree-worship is the cult of the 'Serpent,' or 'Ophiolatry,' which seems at one time or another to have flourished in most countries. Not only do we find this cult still existing among the lower races, but it also held sway in the early civilisations, as well as appearing in primitive and classical times. According to the old Hebrew story the serpent was "more subtil than any beast of the field," and the lifting up of a brazen serpent at the command of Moses healed the people who gazed upon it of the plague. The serpent was the symbol of wisdom with the Babylonians as well as thousands of years later with the Aztecs of Mexico. The python slain by Apollo, the Apep of the Egyptians, the temples of Æsculapius at Alexandria, the Midgard of the Norsemen, the temples containing snakes in India, and the reverence paid by the American Indians to the snake, are all evidence of the widespread influence and persistency of this cult.

In Egypt, in the second century B.C., there arose the

'Ophites,' a sect who called themselves 'Naaseni,' or 'Followers of the Serpent,' and it is recorded that they kept a tame serpent in a box or sacred ark, out of which it was induced to emerge during the celebration of their mystic rites. In Dahomey serpent-worship is highly organised and has a numerous priesthood. In Central Africa if a youth displays unusual powers, he is stated to have had a snake for his father. The serpent was the oracle of the Ionians. The Romans made pets of them, while in India, as of old, the snake still haunts the shrines of Isis, and issues from its hole at the sound of a fife to accept the oblation of milk from the attendant priest, and its worship claims thousands of adherents. The Shoshini tribe in America go by the name of 'Serpentine Indians,' and one of their gesture-signs is rotating the hand from side to side in imitation of a serpentine movement. Whether the Serpent Mounds of Ohio are associated with serpent-worship is a matter of conjecture. Serpent and tree emblems occur frequently on Chaldean seals and bas-reliefs. The serpent emblem is also frequent in the early art of western Europe, and temples were dedicated to them in Finland as late as the seventeenth century. The old rulers of Abyssinia accounted the snake as the founder of their dynasty. The serpent cult has given rise to an extensive literature of its own which is almost world-wide in its range.

TOTEMISM.—The worship of trees and the serpent leads naturally to the cult of the use of plants and animals as totems. Totemism has two sides; it is not only a mode of social grouping (see chapter iv), but is also a religious or magical system of beliefs and practices. E. Durkheim believes totemism "to be the most primitive form of religion," and it is with its religious side that we are now to deal with, as in one of

its phases it may be regarded as a magical system of supplying the tribe with food.

Dr. Frazer defines totemism "as an intimate relation which is supposed to exist between a group of kindred people on the one side and a species of natural or artificial objects on the other side, which objects are called the totems of the human group." Whether the totem be a plant or an animal, there exists between every member of the totem an intimate and special relation, which is confined to the same totem clan alone. The clan totem is reverenced by those who call themselves by the name of the totem, and they assume that they have what we may call a spiritual connection with the totem plant or animal ; they believe themselves to be of one blood, descendants of one common ancestor, usually conceived of as a creative animal.

Strictly speaking, the totem group's main function is to maintain a supply of its totem for the benefit of the other totem groups. No member of a totem clan may kill or eat its totem, except under certain conditions ; such as at the Intichiuma ceremonies where it is part of the ritual necessary for keeping up the supply of the totem. Thus the Kangaroo men, after going through the customary ritual, which includes 'blood letting,' the painting of a rocky ledge with stripes of red and white, to indicate the body and skeleton of the kangaroo . . . finish up with a sacramental meal, in which the flesh of the kangaroo is eaten very sparingly, while certain portions of the flesh are left untouched. Similar ceremonies are carried out by the members of the 'Emu Totem,' the 'Witchetty Grub Totem,' and other totem clans with their respective totem animals. The underlying idea was that a common life circulated among the men and animals of the totem kin, and by killing and eating of the animal, that life was renewed

in all who partook of it. The reverence paid to the totem, the idea of the common ancestor, and the protection given by the totem to its human kinsmen, naturally led to it being regarded as a creative deity, in some cases, with both human and animal characteristics.

When totemism lost its power among the early civilisations, we can still conceive that the original totem ancestor would still linger on as a divinity, with probably super-human characteristics attached to the partial animal form, as in the case of certain Babylonian and Egyptian gods ; or he might be represented in sculpture or mentioned in myths, as accompanied by an animal as in the case of certain Indian and Grecian gods. Relics of totemism in Egypt may be inferred from the fact that many of their gods had a favourite or sacred animal associated with them. Thus the bull was sacred for Osiris, the cow for Isis, the lion for Ra, the ibis for Thoth, the hawk for Horus, the jackal for Anubis, the viper for Amon, the vulture for Neith, the crocodile for Shebak, and so on ; each province had its local divinity and its sacred animal. Nothing surprised the Greeks more than the worship paid by the Egyptians to animals, and yet they, themselves had once passed through such a phase of worship.

In many primitive traditions and classical myths, the gods often revealed themselves to men in the form of some animal, or spoke through their agency when making some revelation or uttered oracle, as evidenced by such stories as Homer's reference in the Iliad to the speaking horse ; Livy, the Roman, tells of the speaking ox ; then we have such well-known stories of the serpent speaking to Eve, and the ass speaking to Balaam. How such beliefs linger on is shown by the phrase ' a little bird told me,' frequently uttered when we do

not wish to disclose the source of our knowledge ; the phrase is supposed to be based on Eccles. 10 v. 20 : " A bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter." Birds have frequently been regarded as the messengers of the gods ; in Crete in Minoan times there was a public cultus of birds ; while the myths of the Polynesians state that to understand the language or song of birds was equivalent to being able to converse with the gods.

The belief in Lycanthropy (the power of certain people to assume the forms of animals) of which we read so much in primitive and medieval folk-lore, probably had its basis on totemism ; while totemism itself may have had its beginnings in the animistic stage, through which all tribes of men appear to have passed. As the savage endows beasts with similar intelligence and emotions like his own, it made human kinship with them seem no impossibility ; hence the prevalence of animal worship.

THE CELESTIAL BODIES.—These need but a passing reference, as the adoration of the heavenly objects, especially those of the sun and moon are found practically to have prevailed in all primitive and ancient faiths. The beliefs of present-day savages and barbarous tribes, the study of the old Vedic hymns, the records of Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, the classic myths of Greece and Rome, all bear witness to this phase of worship. The Moon in many instances took the precedence in worship, as the new and the full moon were important in the measurement of time and seasons. Festivals were held during certain phases of the moon, especially among the Semitic peoples as well as amongst other races. ' Sin ' or Nannar the moon-god of the Babylonians was long looked upon as of greater majesty than ' Samas ' the sun-god ; while ' Thoth '

the moon-god of the Egyptians attained great prominence as the god of time, in addition to the other functions which were ascribed to him, such as the deity of civilisation, writing, and who restored speech to the dead in the other world.

THE SUN.—This naturally came to be worshipped for its light, warmth and power over vegetation. As the author of life, the sun was personified in such divinities as Brahma of the Hindus, Mithra of the Persians, Adonis of the Greeks; while in Egypt sun-worship ranged from primitive adoration of the actual luminary, to the symbolic worship of the sun as the outward manifestation of the loftiest deity. 'Ra,' the sun-god of the Egyptians had more hymns sung to him and longer prayers addressed to him than to any other god. In one hymn he is made to possess every attribute, natural and spiritual, which Christian people ascribe to God Almighty. So much, however, has been written concerning solar myths and star-worship, that there is no need to go into elaborate details on the subject.

THE ELEMENTS OF NATURE.—The worship of the four elements, Fire, Water, Wind and the Earth, is not only natural to primitive thought, but has continued in some form or other into modern times. Fire has been held as sacred amongst all races at various periods, and many myths have been recorded as to how man first became acquainted with it. Its warmth and light have ever been a source of comfort to man. It warmed his body, gave an extra relish to his food, struck terror into wild beasts, and cheered him in his travels at the camping site. Sheltering under the rock or in the cave mouth, its heat enabled him to withstand the glacial episodes. No wonder fire was regarded by primitive man as a gift of the gods. And yet, notwithstanding all this, he for ages used it as a means of

torture ; it enabled him to sacrifice his fellows to the gods. Baal, Moloch and other religious cults have claimed countless victims. Man has passed not only his infants through the fire, but also used it as a means of purification, not only for himself, but also for his cattle, passing his beasts between the fires to protect them from the murrain.

On it and through it men have walked and leaped in religious ritual. The 'need-fires' of western Europe lingered on into the nineteenth century ; while the undying flame perpetuates the grave of the 'unknown warrior' at the 'Arc de Triomphe' in Paris. It is also used as a sacred symbol in the 'lamps of remembrance' in connection with the movement known as 'Toc H.' In ancient Rome, if the fires of Vesta were allowed to die out, the virgins in charge were scourged, or buried alive by the priests. The fire from the sacred altar made man's sacrifice more efficacious, the perfume of beast and incense being acceptable to his god. Prometheus the 'Fire-Bringer,' Vulcan the 'Divine Metallurgist,' Hestia the 'Hearth-Goddess' of the Greeks, are but a few of the divinities which meet us in the study of this phase of nature-worship, the rites of which are too numerous to mention.

The Wind.—Blowing from the quarters of the earth, the wind, especially when associated with storms, has been regarded by many races as one of the supreme gods. To the Eskimo 'Sillam Innua,' the owner of the winds, is their highest god. The wind blowing where it listeth, was doubtless a mystery to man for ages ; associated with the air he breathes, it was indeed the 'breath of life.' With it also came the storm and tempest, the hail, sleet and snow, the clouds with their refreshing showers, causing the flowers to appear, ripen-

ing the fruits and crops. When accompanied by the rolling thunder, it must have led early men to conceive that behind the destructive and awe-inspiring forces was some malignant power controlling the fates of men. In the early primitive thought of the Babylonians, the winds were considered as the messengers of the god 'Anu.' The wind and storm gods in some cases were not restricted to that one character, as is recorded in the myths of the Indus races. The myths of all races bear witness to the fact, that whether regarded as the rough 'Boreas,' or the gentle 'Zephyr' the wind has ever found a conspicuous place in the worship of man.

WATER.—Whether considered as spring, river, lake or ocean, or confined by man in wells, water has ever been regarded by man as a living thing and worthy of worship. In one of the oldest Hebrew songs, water is considered a living thing. To the Semitic people, water was an object of reverence and worship. In Greek and Roman mythology records are found of adoration and worship given to the river-gods, water-nymphs, and the spirits of wells and lakes. In Rome the 'Feast of Fontinalia' was celebrated in honour of the nymphs of wells and fountains. Seneca states "that where a spring or river flows, there should we build altars and offer sacrifices," and Horace in his 'Odes' states that the spring on his own farm is "worthy of sweet wine and flowers withal." The Aztecs stated that "all of us are children of water" and it called forth their adoration. Vases full of water were interred with the dead in Peru to symbolise the life beyond the grave. Running water was regarded as divine by the ancient Persians, as well as with the Hindus. In Australia the aborigines state that water demons invest certain pools and watering places. Many primitive races in

Africa, Asia and America bear witness to the animistic tendency to endow water as containing spirits or deities, whether confined in wells, springs or rivers.

The Nile, the Euphrates, the Tiber, the Ganges are all associated with water deities, while the waters of the river Jordan, and the pool called 'Bethesda' in Jerusalem, were accounted as sacred and invested with healing powers. Gildas (sixth century A.D.) tells in his history of 'Divine honours' being paid by our forefathers to wells, streams and rivers. England, Ireland and Scotland can still show in numerous parishes the sites of 'wishing-wells,' 'pin-wells' and 'holy-wells'; at some of these wells, folk still drop in offerings, expecting cures from their diseases, or the fulfilment of their wishes; while 'Well-dressing' associated with divine services are held annually at Barlow, Tissington, Buxton and other places in Derbyshire. The custom also exists in other English counties. In England alone there are over one hundred wells dedicated to saints. Brittany, Bulgaria, and most other European countries still exhibit survivals of the old reverence and adoration paid to wells and rivers.

At various times in England, both State and Church enacted laws against the cult. King Egbert's 'Poenitentiale' proscribed such rites "If any man vow or bring his offerings to any well," "If one hold his vigils at any well." In 1536 Latimer preached against holy wells, and in the time of Henry VIII General Bassett wrote to Lord Cromwell "that he had taken away the images of St. Anne of Buxton and St. Andrew of Burton-on-Trent . . . also that he had locked and sealed the wells at Buxton that none shall enter . . . and that he had also taken away crutches, shirts and shifts from St. Anne's well which had been left there as offerings." The prayer of an old Scottish peasant at a

so-called holy well, is worth quoting, as it indicates what is probably the usual attitude adopted towards these old observances: "O Lord Thou knowest that well would it be for me this day, an I had stoopit my knees and my heart before Thee in Spirit and in Truth as often as I had stoopit them at this well. But we maun keep up the customs of our fathers."

With such an illustration as this before us, one is not surprised at the sacrificial ideas which prevailed in various countries in both ancient and modern times, Such as why Xerxes threw a golden goblet and a sword into the Hellespont, which he had previously punished with lashes and fetters cast into its waters, because the waters had smashed his bridges (Herodotus); and why Hannibal cast animals into the sea as offerings to Poseidon; and why Welshmen offered cocks and hens to St. Tegla at her sacred well and church at Llandegla; and why in Dahomey offerings of cowries, corn and oil are thrown into the sea. While with modern Christendom water enters into numerous rites of purification, baptism and initiation, and with some sects, after being ritually sanctified, is regarded as being 'holy water.'

THE EARTH MOTHER.—The Food quest, as the primary want of man, naturally led to an amazing variety of ceremonies, in which he sought to stimulate the fertilising work of the sun and rain, as well as to prevent his crops and herds from blight, tempest, disease, drought, pests and other ills. This eventually led to the origin and wide-spread cult of the 'Earth Mother' under various forms and was probably highly organised in the earliest Neolithic times. Sometimes the cult was associated with a masculine deity, as with the Chaldeans, whose god 'Ea' was regarded as the deity whose gifts were those of the germination of

seeds, the fertility of the soil and the harvest. The Earth Mother was known by the name of Isis in Egypt, as Demeter by the Greeks, and as Ceres by the Romans. Not only was this cult prevalent among peoples of early culture, but it lingered on well into recent centuries, as is proved by the records of European Folk-lore, and the quaint customs which still survive amongst some of the present-day agricultural communities in all parts of the world.

Sex-vegetation rites, associated with Sympathetic Magic are found among certain primitive tribes, where the act of human generation is considered necessary as an aid to promote fertility in agriculture. Hence, among such tribes, when the season of sowing, or sprouting, or the blossoming of fruit, or the time of ripening is at hand, the husbandman and his wife go into the fields and unite in sexual intercourse, as a means of aiding the operations of nature in producing a plentiful crop. (Central Africa, Central America, Isle of Java, etc.) The offering of the first fruits of the earth, as well as those of the flocks and herds, was a most important factor in the worship of the earth deities. For this purpose no sacrifice was deemed too great, as human beings were sometimes offered. One idea which was widely spread, in certain stages of culture was, that the victim in some way became identified with the deity to whom it was offered in sacrifice, thus linking worshippers and the deity in a mystical union. Sometimes the worshippers eat a small portion of the flesh of the victim, whether human or animal.

Many peoples, in addition to making animal and human sacrifices, made feasts and offerings to the corn, wine, fruit and other deities, and as in some cases the worshippers participated in a sacramental meal, they

may have had a totemistic basis. There is no doubt that our Harvest Festivals and the perambulations on Rogation Day, when the priest leads his flock round the fields, reciting the prayers of Latinia Major, and stopping now and again to ask a divine blessing on the crops and herds, are survivals of the original rites and sacrifices associated with the primitive worship of the deities connected with the sowing and the reaping of the produce of mother-earth.

STONE WORSHIP.—Among peoples of all types of culture traces are to be found of the widespread cult of worshipping or paying reverence to sacred stones, either unshaped, smooth, or shaped into an idol or phallus. This cult is not only of ancient antiquity, but is still observed in various parts of the world. Ancient traditions as well as classic myths tell of human beings who have been turned into stones, as well as of stones being turned into human beings. The story of Niobe being turned into a stone, and the exploits of Perseus with the head of Medusa, are well-known examples for the former; while the story of Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha repopulating Greece after the Deluge, by creating men and women out of stones, is a classic example of the latter. Pausanius states "that among the Greeks rude stones were worshipped, before the images of the gods."

Sacred standing stones and pillars were a prominent feature in Semitic worship. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were intimately connected with the cult of the sacred stone. In Arabia, in the time of Mohammed, two of the chief deities were 'Manah' a rock, and 'Lat' a stone; while the 'black rock' at Mecca, is still reverenced by the Mohammedans, and is one of the main attractions in making the pilgrimage to that city. The ancient Israelites had their sacred stones where

worship was performed. The reproaches of their prophets against their frequent lapses into idolatry, and the worship of stones, is often referred to in the Old Testament. The prophet Isaiah comments on this in the following passage, " Among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion ; they, they are thy lot : even to them hast thou poured a drink offering, thou hast offered a meat offering." (Isa. 57 v. 6.)

Dagon, the god of the Philistines, was made of stone. The image of Cybele in Rome was a rough unhewn stone ; the sacred image of Diana at Ephesus was also of stone. Among the Zulus and the Basutos in Africa, and the Indians of Colombo, certain sacred stones are ascribed to be the ancestors of man ; while in Nigeria, certain stones are regarded as among their chief gods. In western Europe, it is probable that some of the standing stones, known as ' menhirs ' were considered sacred, for in Brittany, in order to wean the people from their reverence for the stone cult, the Church fixed crosses on some of the menhirs, so as to lead them gradually to the Christian faith. The Lapps had a stone god called ' Storjunkar,' usually it was of unworked stone. The ancient Irish had a great stone idol called ' Mag Slecht ' to which sacrifice was offered. The prevalence of stone worship in Europe, led to the Council of Tours (A.D. 567) threatening excommunication to all who practised this worship. Similar edicts were issued in England at various periods. In the seventh century by Theodoric, Archbishop of Canterbury ; and again in the tenth century, by King Edgar ; and also in the eleventh century, by King Canute.

PHALLIC WORSHIP.—A stone shaped like a phallus, to represent the masculine element in nature, is one of the most ancient and widespread cults of the human race. It prevailed more or less among some of the

peoples of antiquity, and lingered on in Europe during Christendom into comparatively recent centuries. The cult is to be found among some of the primitive races in various countries. It exists in Japan, where at one time temples and processions were associated with the worship of the phallus. In India, it still has thousands of devotees, where from time immemorial, under the name of the 'Lingam' it is associated with certain phases of the worship of Siva. The 'Linga' in India, is generally a round, longish stone, rising out of another stone formed like an elongated saucer, known as the 'Yoni,' the former stone typifies the male organ of generation, and the latter, the female organ; the whole thing bears the name of 'Lingione.'

With primitive man, after the food quest, sex would be prominent in his social activities. Sex would be as natural as eating, he had no shame in his nakedness nor in his sexual acts. As in the story of Eden: "And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed." The sexual instinct is not a question of morals or opinion, but a biological fact. There was a time when it was looked upon as a mystic-religious action. Among certain peoples this is still the case. The early art of primitive man confirms the fact that his interest was frequently centred on the parts of the body that harboured the organs of generation. Whether it was animal or human form that he portrayed in art or sculpture, he took pains to render these same parts elaborately. Examples of this are to be seen on the walls of caves, and the sculpture of Palæolithic Man. In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, are two statues of the Egyptian god 'Min' with the left hand in a position suggesting phallic worship (holding the organ of generation), they were discovered by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie in the temple of Koptos.

In the Old Testament the word ' thigh ' is a generic term for the organ of generation. We have the phrase of one who describes his descendants as those " who came out of my thigh." When Abraham desired his servant Eliezer to swear that he would take a wife for his son from the land of his own kinsfolk, he made Eliezer lay his hand ' under Abraham's thigh,' namely, on his organ of generation. The patriarch Jacob when he was dying made his son Joseph take an oath in the same manner. This old custom concerning the ' thigh ' is still in use among the Arabs when taking a solemn oath. When the Israelites were in the wilderness, we find that under the Mosaic Law, the genitals were placed under ' taboo,' as not to be mentioned by name or touched under certain conditions, thus: " When men strive together one with another, and the wife of one draweth near to deliver her husband out of the hand of him that smiteth him, and putteth forth her hand and taketh him by the secrets, then shalt thou cut off her hand."

One of the chief reasons for the prevalence of the phallic cult, rises from the natural desire of women—especially in Eastern countries—to be the fruitful mother of children, especially sons. Neither shame nor immorality was associated in the mind of the devotees who practised this cult as a means of securing motherhood. It was all observed with reverence and religious feeling; whether as seen in the rites practised at Mylitta, or with the Egyptians and Romans who carried the phallus in processions, the Greeks who erected temples to Priapus, or the Hindus who still worship the Lingam.

The idea of sacrifice was also associated in Phallic worship, for not only were the perforation of the hymen and circumcision frequently observed as a

religious rite, but they were also sometimes offered to the god of fertility, as well as the first fruits of the womb of woman and animal. The indecent ideas attached to the worship of the phallus, were, in the main, the outcome of the licentious spirit of civilisations when in their decline, as at Rome and elsewhere.

POLYTHEISM.—The belief in and worship of many gods is so familiar to most people, as to need no elaborate details. Briefly, Polytheism is naturally linked to nature-worship, as each god or goddess in the main, has some particular province of nature, over which he or she is chiefly concerned. This development of special gods, spread rapidly as men specialised in various pursuits. Thus we have gods of hunting, fishing, war, agriculture, mountains, valleys, and others too numerous to mention, associated with earth, sea and sky. In short, in most of the Polytheistic systems, the gods and goddesses were assigned as respectively ruling over the forces of nature, the activities of man, the arts of civilisation, and the realms of the dead.

Some of the gods were looked upon as more powerful than others ; so that while some were only local to the clan, family or tribe, others were supreme in certain localities, or provinces ; while others obtained national recognition and worship. The principle by which a certain god became supreme over others in the province, city or state must have varied. It may have depended on the numerical strength of his worshippers, the importance of the city or province to which he was attached, or it may have arisen through conquest. When a tribe or nation was defeated in war, or enslaved, and the image of their god destroyed, the god of the conquerors would naturally take precedence over that of the vanquished people. It may also have been brought about by the intercommunication of

tribes and nations, and the fame of a god who pronounced oracles, and gave guidance, which brought success and prosperity to his adherents. Hence in course of time in the Pantheons of Babylonia, Egypt, India, Persia, Greece and Rome, one god became supreme over all existing divinities in the respective countries.

MYTHOLOGY.—This, like Polytheism, had a similar origin, in that it arose out of that animistic stage of thought, which made the worship of animals, the forces of nature, and the spirits of the dead possible. A large number of myths are simply primitive explanations of natural phenomena ; while others have so close a bearing on certain phases of adoration and worship, as to be assumed as part of a religious system. Man's endeavours to give a reason for things, allied to the idea that the spirits or gods whom he worshipped, were of similar passions as himself, naturally led to the propagation of stories of the gods, in which they acted like men although in a different sphere. In Anthropomorphism man clothes his gods with human shape and attributes. The Hebrew god Yahweh walks in the Garden of Eden in the cool of the day, meets Adam in friendly intercourse and brings the animals for Adam to name. In the Iliad of Homer, Zeus nods on Mount Ida, he is fanned to sleep, goes on a journey and so is ignorant of what takes place in his absence from his usual dwelling place. The gods and goddesses feast together, and make merry by playing tricks on each other, and so on.

It is noteworthy that many of the myths which are preserved in the oral traditions of savages, as well as those recorded in the literature of the ancient and classic nations, refer to much the same subjects. A Creation story, the warring of the gods and goddesses,

a golden age or a paradise, a deluge, an eponymic or name-ancestor, the journey of the soul after death, and the condition of the departed. After reading the myths of several countries, we naturally come to the conclusion, that the variations which exist in the descriptions are due chiefly, not only to the various mental and temperamental endowments existing amongst peoples of varying stages of culture, but also to the differences which arise in the matter of climate and environment of the peoples' place of abode. Thus the primitive hunting tribes continually on the move, would never conceive of a city above the sky, as the future abode of bliss for the departed, but rather of camps in a well-stocked hunting country. Prehistoric man, as well as present-day tribes of primitive culture, buried flint implements, spears, food and paint for the use of the dead in the spirit world. All the ideas which men express regarding spiritual states and activity, can only be derived from their own thoughts and feelings, external objects, and the narratives of their fellows.

MONOTHEISM.—The conception of one God, supreme in power and wisdom, eternal and infinite, is not the sole possession of the followers of the three so-called Monotheistic Religions: Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan. Even in ancient Egypt, with its Polytheism and the multiplication of deities under the representation of animal forms, though approved by the majority of Egyptians was repugnant to others. Thus Plutarch states: "Whilst other Egyptians paid their proportion of tax imposed upon them for the nourishment of the sacred animals worshipped by them, the inhabitants of Thebes refused, because they acknowledged no mortal god, and only worshipped him whom they called 'Kneph,' the unmade and Eternal Deity."

Whether this belief would ultimately have developed into a belief in a Divine Logos, we know not ; certain it is that even in the highest cultured city of antiquity (Athens) with its world-renowned philosophers, they could only express the idea by erecting an altar to the ' Unknown God.' Even in the Hebrew Scriptures where we find, probably, the earliest records of the growth of Monotheism, we trace the gropings of the truth that a full knowledge of God is denied man by reason of the mystery in which his ineffable majesty is enveloped. " There shall no man see me and live " (Ex. 33 v. 20), He is unsearchable. " Canst thou by searching find out God? " (Job 11 v. 7).

So, too, among many primitive people, they had, and still have, in many cases, a belief in a supreme god, or an ' All-Father,' apart from their other gods. How men came to possess the idea of an infinite God, to whom worship should be paid, to the exclusion of all other gods, transcends the limits of our knowledge, unless we accept the teachings of the three Monotheistic Religions, namely, that it was a divine revelation. This theory, however, which traces religion to a primitive revelation, although often advanced in the supposed interests of the Monotheistic religions, has a dual application, as in that case it denies that man is capable of finding out God for himself. On the other hand, it does not explain the universality of religious ideas and rites. Revelation may satisfy and illuminate, but it cannot create the religious instinct.

On the evolutionary hypothesis of the development of religion ; Philology, Anthropology and Ethnology, all tend to show that, speaking generally, the religious instinct is innate in man. Historical research and the study of Comparative Religion reveal man in all ages ardently aspiring to become intimately acquainted

with spiritual forces, either to secure an ally, receive favours or protection, or a knowledge of his fate. To this end, man has offered gifts and prayers, made sacrifices, mortified his flesh, sought the aid of oracles, wizards and priests. The motive underlying all this, has been variously stated. Thus in contrast to the saying of Lucretius that " Fear begets the gods," we have the statement of Homer, " 'As young birds open their mouths for food, so all men crave for the gods." The same idea is found in Hindu philosophy, " As birds repair to a tree to dwell therein, so all the universe repairs to the Supreme Being " (' The Vedanta ').

Whether the Christian concept of God is the highest and final consummation to which man can attain, we know not ; the spiritual urge is there, making itself felt in every stage of human society, whether primitive, pagan or cultured. It is expressed in the utterances of ancient poets, moralists and prophets of all nations, and finds expression in the speculations of ancient and modern philosophies, as well as in the teachings of the great Ethnic Faiths, and is ever taking on new concepts with the changing phases of man's culture and environment.

Whatever views, however, we may adopt concerning the origin of religion, we can never be quite certain of its earliest mode of expression. For even when the fullest investigation has been made into rites and ceremonies which are classed as the religion of the most primitive savages, it is erroneous to assert that they represent the earliest mode of thought out of which religion has evolved. (We can only surmise.) For the most primitive savages living are separated by as many generations from the dawn of primeval man as the most highly cultured races with whom they are contemporary. We may learn a great deal from the religious

ideas of the so-called lowest existing primitive people, but they do not necessarily reveal the earliest religious belief.

During the scores of centuries which have elapsed since man first made his appearance on the earth, there must have been many changes in his mental and spiritual outlook ; not only growth, but also decay may have taken place in his mentality. And yet, even a decadent phase in human history does not necessarily imply a return to the primal state of spiritual consciousness. For any phase of thought, be it social or religious, which is found flourishing in any community, is evidence that it has in some way answered man's need. In his religious search, man has touched the lowest superstitions and the highest inspirations he has been capable of ; and as religious thought develops, there will always be a Quest for a ' Holy Grail,' a search for the ' Infinite ' or ' Absolute,' or whatever man may call the Supreme Reality or Unity, to whom he feels himself allied, from whence he came, and to whom he would return. Man's religious quest, must ever be a constant reaching forth into the unknown ; a final religious dogma would mean spiritual stagnation, better a ' Will-o-the-Wisp ' chase than contentment. As man's conception of Deity and his religious rites are but indexes of his own psychical development, we must expect to find differences of thought and opinion on this subject, dealing as it does with the profoundest and mysterious side of our nature.

CHAPTER XII

History

Part I

In dealing with the early records which relate to what may be termed the ' historical records ' of the human race, we find ourselves confronted at the outset with the difficulty of having to deal with a vast amount of material which is embodied in oral tradition, poetry, myth, legends, sagas, etc., so that in many cases it is not easy to distinguish between mythical and real events, legend and fact, as found in ancient chronicles, and what is termed written history, as fact and fiction seem often to blend almost imperceptibly into each other. Even authentic written history continually needs revision, as it is no longer the only reliable record of the earliest ages of mankind.

Archæological research, and the translation of ancient inscriptions inscribed on clay tablets, stone monuments, sun-dried bricks and the writing on crumbling papyri, as well as the pictures on walls of ruined temples have revealed to us a story of human activities of which the earliest historians had no knowledge, concerning not only the nations and peoples who were their contemporaries, but also of the generations which had preceded them. Where history and tradition halt, Archæology steps in ; indeed, greater libraries than ever men once dreamed of may still lie under foot in buried tombs and cities, while new historic facts of early man's achievements are continually

being revealed by excavations in caves and old river gravels. From all parts of the world the evidence of early civilisations and of the great antiquity of the human race are being proved at times so remote from the beginnings of what was known as 'ancient history' that the records of man's earliest activities and achievements still remain shrouded in the mists of the past.

The time of man's appearance on the earth is so remote when compared with even his earliest culture, that it seems well-nigh impossible that we can ever recover the earliest traditions of the human race. Further, the examination of the earliest known fossil human or pre-human skulls, suggests that it is exceedingly improbable that language of a complicated structure issued from the mouth of man when he first appeared on the earth. The slowness with which a child learns to speak and to acquire grammatical expression is a proof of it, as well as suggesting that a great lapse of time must have been required for man's original language to have branched off into the numerous languages which were in existence thousands of years ago. Men may possess the faculty of speech, but the propagation of a language is something passed on from generation to generation.

It seems impossible, therefore, with the knowledge of these facts, to talk of traditions dating from the cradle of the human race, preserved intact, by a certain section of the human family, and handed down free from corruption by them to subsequent generations, until the origin of writing enabled them to be embodied in a more permanent form, and so made easier for future preservation.

And here, it may be as well to state that until well into the last century, all the history of the ancient

world, both sacred and secular, was known to us chiefly from the Old Testament ; the Poems of Homer, and the writings of Herodotus and other old historians ; these histories being almost limited to the story of those races of men who dwelt on the borders and to the east of the Mediterranean Sea. Even the Celts, the Gauls and the Britons, only appear in the pages of history when mentioned by Greek and Roman writers, in connection with the Phœnician and Grecian colonisations, and the wars which Rome waged in Gaul and Britain. Certainly there is no coastline on the earth that can record such a wonderful array of lands and cities associated with ancient history as are to be found from the ancient ' Pillars of Hercules ' to the lands on its eastern borders. Even in this twentieth century A.D. that great inland sea and its adjacent countries is still associated with events, which later historians may record as having had a vital bearing on the future destiny of millions of the human race.

Now why is it that men compose or write a history, as this appears to be a universal tendency, and exhibited in all ages? It must originate in some deep craving of the human mind to account not only for origins, but also in a desire to be in touch with ' the past ' with which they were not contemporary. Men in most ages have been revealed as accounting it a high privilege in being able to connect themselves with men and memorable events which pertain to past history. This world-wide sentiment to preserve past events is revealed in Scott's description of " Old Mortality laboriously renewing the time-worn tombstones of the Covenanters."

This phase of human nature may be traced in the memorials found in all countries, however rude or elaborate in shape or material, from a rude menhir, or

inscription on baked clay or stone monument, to the latest genealogical list issued in book form. Very often when a man acquires wealth or a titled position, he begins to inquire into his ancestry. The satirist assures us, " that he seldom scruples to make desire serve for fact in the weak links of a conjectural distinguished descent." The same desire for a distinguished ancestry is manifest in the rudest race and rising nation ; each crave for a history of their own, and if they lack that which is authentic, they produce a mythic or legendary ancestry, and embody it in song, epic poem, or in the rude chronicle. Even in the so-called ' sacred books ' of the ancients we find references to celestial descent, mythical or even animal ancestors ; followed by the deification of ancient heroes and worthies.

Many of the Greek and Roman heroes appear both as men and gods. In broad outline, we may say that this has been the tendency of all savage and barbarous races, as well as amongst peoples of early culture. Even when there are genuine materials of history, they are often shaped and modified with a current myth or legend or any strong or popular personality who happens to be idolised in the heart of a people.

An example of the craving for a distinguished line of descent is to be found in the history of England. " In the reign of Edward the First, when the sovereignty of Scotland was claimed by the English monarch, the Scots sought the aid of Pope Boniface in resisting the British claim by asserting that the Scottish realm belonged of right to the See of Rome. To which the English king replied that the English claim was derived from the conquest of the whole country by the Trojans in the times of Eli and Samuel. The names of the successors of Brutus were asserted as having unquestionably existed from such times in the memory of

man, and the Pope was respectfully entreated, at the same time, not to be deluded by cunningly devised and fantastical Scottish forgeries. To this, the Scots, finding that the 'papal antiquity' was a poor defence against the claims of the Trojan British descendants replied, in another document, asserting their independence by virtue of descent from Scota, a daughter of one of the Pharaoh's. The Pope seems to have been silenced in this conflict of ancestral evidence, in which the succession of St. Peter seemed quite a modern affair, when overshadowed by such Trojan and Egyptian antiquity."

It seems difficult for us in these modern days of higher standards of historic credulity to form an adequate conception of the confidence and pride with which early nations accepted the old stories of their origins and kingly dynasties. Later ages grow beyond all this. Yet wild and fantastic as were the stories of the earliest ages, they did lead men to the belief, that there were realities and a sense of continuity in them which gave a value and dignity to their national life. The power of the historic feeling of a nation, and the heights to which it can lift them, or brace them on to effort, is found in the annals of all countries. It was well known to the great Grecian orator of antiquity, Demosthenes, "When, nearly two centuries after the great Athenian victory, he put at least a moment's fire into the hearts of his degenerate countrymen as he adjured them by the dead at Marathon."

In our own times, we know the thrill that moved the nation, when in the hour of war and danger the cry went forth 'Be British!' Whether we are historians or not in our mental outlook, there is still a moral power in the memory of an heroic past. It is woven into the very fabric of the British heritage. The early

English colonists in America always cherished their recollections and connections with their 'Mother Country'; even when they took up arms against her, it was with the feeling "that they were contending for no new-born freedom, but for the preservation of ancient rights and keeping covenant with their ancient English ancestors." This is still a strong factor in the British Commonwealth.

In early times people had but the most limited standpoint of knowledge from which to envision history. The past to them was merely a tale, and it had to be an interesting tale. The primitive story-teller was not always concerned to voice authentic history but to please his hearers; his was an art, not a science, hence the early history of nations is found to consist more or less of traditional poems, songs and stories handed down by memory from generation to generation, until they were recorded in writing. There are still races to-day, who have no written history, and whose past is still recorded by oral tradition; as to its value, we moderns, owing to our dependence on the written record, are not fully qualified to judge, owing to our lack of experimental knowledge.

This is not to say that ancient tradition, as embodied in the writings of the early historians is of no value, on the contrary much of our modern research in the realms of archæology and philology has been the means of confirming much that was sound in the earliest written records. Especially has this been so, where the early oral narratives were embodied in fixed words, as in a story or poem; people repeat for centuries ballads and stories, containing words and references they only half understand; the same theme in varying words is often found widely spread in various parts of the same and neighbouring counties, provinces and countries. Philo-

logy often brings out of the old narratives undesigned history in language, which generation after generation have handed down without a thought of it having such significance. Evidence of this may be found among many present-day primitive peoples.

It is recorded, that the migrations of the Polynesians to the various islands of the Pacific are known to us chiefly by their songs and local traditions gleaned from each island and put together. Sir George Grey, one-time Governor of New Zealand, states in the preface to his book on 'Polynesian Mythology,' "That the chiefs, either in their speeches to me or in their letters, frequently quoted in explanation of their views and intentions, fragments of ancient poems or proverbs, or made allusions which rested on an ancient system of mythology . . . and that important parts of their communications were embodied in these figurative forms." E. B. Tylor records in his book 'Anthropology,' "That in the island of Rotuma there was a very old tree, under which according to tradition the stone seat of a famous chief had been buried; this tree was blown down many years ago, and sure enough, there was a stone seat under its roots, which must have been out of sight for centuries." Tylor also, in the same book, quotes another example of native tradition: "In the Ellice group of islands, the natives declared that their ancestors came from a valley in the distant island of Samoa generations before, and they preserved an old worm-eaten staff, pieced to hold it together, which in their assemblies, the orator held in his hand as the sign of having the right to speak; this staff was taken to Samoa, and proved to be made of wood that grew there, while the people of the valley in question had a tradition of a great party going out to sea exploring, who never came back."

The 'Ramayana' and still more the 'Mahabharata,' probably the longest epic of the world, rehearse the exploits of the first conquerors of India and the diffusion of Hinduism. The Vedas, too, existed orally long before they were committed to Sanskrit. It was from poetical traditions, which his mother—a princess of the blood of the Incas—taught him in his youth, that Garcilasso composed his history of the Incas of Peru. The twenty thousand verses of the 'Kalevala' the national epic poem of the Finns, were for long ages preserved orally, before they were finally brought together and written down by S. Lonnrot (1835-49). It is reasonable to suppose that the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer were originally oral traditions ere they were recorded in writing. The ancient history of Wales was originally handed down orally by the bards ; while the Sagas of Iceland were memorised and recited long before they were carved as runes, or written. Even in the nineteenth century, in the western Highlands, story-tellers recited to the people during the long winter months, the exploits of the heroes in ancient poems ; in some cases, in the tales which are told, Gaelic words are often used, which have dropped out of ordinary use, the meaning of which the teller did not know ; thus giving proof of careful adherence to the ancient forms. Similar traditional stories may be found among the Irish, Bretons, etc., where the tale, myth or legend, is related as nearly as possible to the very words of the original version.

Along with the ancient traditions of the human race, which are regarded as sources of early history, we find ourselves having to deal with what is known as 'myth.' Mythology is usually associated with primitive religion ; as many myths, however, contain an account of the

origin of a tribal ancestor, from whom his descendants or followers get their name or place of abode, along with the recorded wanderings or exploits of such an eponymic ancestor, they may contain a historical kernel, hence it is not always possible to separate the elements of myth and history in tribal or national records. A popular myth will sometimes absorb the name and deeds of a historical personage ; especially is this the case where the myth deals with a character possessing herculean strength, and performing deeds of prowess, such as the Israelitish Samson, King Richard (Coeur de Lion), a Roland, etc., while well into recent times, the Exmoor folk used to tell of John Ridd's feats of skill. " Consider," says Carlyle, " what mere time will do . . . if a man was great while living, he becomes tenfold greater when dead. What an enormous camera-obscura magnifier is Tradition ! How a thing grows in the human memory, in the human imagination. . . . Why in thirty or forty years, were there no books, any great man would grow ' Mythic,' the contemporaries who had once seen him, being all dead. And in three hundred years, and three thousand years— ! " (The Hero as Divinity).

Greek mythology furnishes a notable illustration of the combination of historical tradition with myth. The ' Heroic Age ' of the Greeks abounds with mythic and tribal lore. Wonderful tales were these to tell, fine songs for the bard to sing ; names such as Agamemnon, Patroclus, Jason, Odysseus, Achilles, Ajax and others stand out prominently ; the centuries have glorified their deeds and names and made them immortal. Just as in later times in Europe, there stand out such names as Attila, Charlemagne, Barbarossa and others around whom is gathered a halo of myth and legend, which obscures our picture of the truth. In

England the fabled exploits of King Arthur and his knights, along with the sorcery of Merlin, have filled innumerable books of romance. His prowess as a warrior reaches to the uttermost ends of the earth, so also the splendour of his court. His birth and burial are shrouded in mystery, " From the great deep to the great deep he goes." His passing, however, is only temporary, his resting place is in the Isle of Avalon:

" Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly ; but it lies
Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair with orchard lawns
And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea,"

He is immortal, he cannot die, he merely rests in the Underworld like the sun after setting, and like the Dawn will one day rise from his mysterious and temporary retreat.

Few heroes, however, owe less to reality than King Arthur. Neither Gildas nor Bede speak of him ; but in the ' History of Nennius ' (about A.D. 800?) the story of his marvellous feats is fully unfolded. Geoffrey of Monmouth (twelfth century A.D.) is even more precise in upholding the existence and fame of King Arthur in his ' History of the Kings of Britain.' Authentic records of his life, however, are still lacking. It has been suggested that he was a sixth-century British hero, who was mythologised along with a Brythonic divinity of that name (Rhys). And yet, whatever be the truth of the matter, the prestige to which the Arthurian story has attained in the world is a little short of marvellous. It has charmed the world in poetry and prose. What a halo centres about that ' Table Round ' around which heroes and gallant knights sat in order of equality, along with ladies as chaste as they were beautiful ; there were grouped all

exalted ideas of love and chivalry, beauty and heroism, modesty and duty.

In later years King Alfred, considered one of the noblest of our kings, became almost as mythic, for almost every institution that Englishmen most value, in law, religion, education and security, became appropriated to him. When Oxford was founded " years were added to its age, so that it could be asserted that Alfred had laid the first stone of the first college." An earlier British king, ' Bladud,' stated to be the father of King Lear, is recorded as practising necromancy, and his magical operations were only brought to an end when he attempted to fly with wings which he had prepared, and fell down upon the temple of Apollo, in the city of Trinovantum (London) where he was dashed to pieces. The early history of other countries abound with similar traditional stories.

We can best understand how mythic stories came into being by noting how quickly a whole series of fiction may grow up round a single event, as in the story of the ' Angels of Mons ' which is a modern example of ' excited feelings ' which, as H. Spencer said, " make us wrongly estimate probability." Angelic intervention in times of crisis and in battle is recorded in many instances throughout the ages. In the Iliad of Homer there are references to the gods and goddesses taking sides in the Trojan War ; the Old and New Testaments also record such instances. History is full of the credulity of the human mind, including the most highly civilised nations, so easily do we fall into the habit of believing " that what we wish to happen does happen " ; hence it is not altogether correct to assume that the faculty of mythic production belongs only to the primitive mind of the savage and barbarous races.

Myth and legend are often confounded and, in fact, they often seem to blend. There is, however, " in myth either a description of a natural phenomenon, considered as the exponent of a divine drama, or else the incorporation of a moral idea in a dramatic narrative," states Reville in his ' History of Religions.' This is most probably true in regard to the religious side of mythology, but it does not apply to the pseudo-historic myth, such as, for example, the Greek tradition, which made King Minos of Crete (a giver of laws, and possessor of a navy for whom Dædalus built a labyrinth at Knossos) the son of the Greek god Zeus. In the legend, properly so-called, is exhibited, above all, the desire to interest and astonish ; it is not like the myth used to record tradition-history, or to interpret a natural phenomenon, or of giving expression to a moral truth.

The word ' legend ' was primarily used to denote something ' which may be read ' and was at first applied to narratives or written chronicles, especially those of the medieval church. The word is also applied to inscriptions and mottoes, as it is still by numismatists, and writers on Heraldry. For years, however, the word ' legend ' has been used to describe a popular tradition current among people in civilised countries, especially is it so used concerning the unwritten history of some popular hero. Strabo remarked that " all who were about Alexander preferred the marvellous to the true." At the present day in Macedonia, Alexander's own country, the peasants show some rocks which he cast as quoits ; he is also credited with power over evil spirits, which anyone can exorcise by pronouncing the words " Alexander lives and reigns ! " Legendary lore has also centred around the life of King Solomon, yet no one doubts that he existed, although he is mentioned in the ' Arabian Nights ' and other Oriental literature.

The story of William Tell, the famous Swiss archer, who shot an apple off the head of his own son, has also been identified by some authorities as being the historic representative of the Norse 'Igil' (or Egil), a legendary distinguished bowman, who at Nidung's command shot an apple off the head of his own son. Another legendary hero of wide popularity, especially in the English Midland counties, is that freebooter who frequented the Sherwood forest, known as Robin Hood. He was supposed to have lived in the twelfth century, and has been identified with one Robert, Earl of Huntingdon? (a film picture embodying this idea has been shown throughout England during recent years). He was, however, of legendary fame in the fourteenth century, being mentioned in 'Piers Plowman,' where Sloth says: "I can rymes of Robyn Hode" (VIII. II. c). He has bequeathed his name to a spring 'Robin Hood' a little to the north of Doncaster, as well as to a bay off the coast of Yorkshire. In Sherwood Forest there still stands a huge hollow tree, known as 'Robin Hood's Larder,' while near Birchover, in Derbyshire, two massive rocks about 18 ft. high and 22 yds. apart, are known as 'Robin Hood's Stride.' Solemn games were held in honour of his memory in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries at the beginning of May. His legendary fame as a patron of archery still survives, while his name is immortalised in the Nottingham Battalion of Territorials, 'The Robin Hood Rifles,' their one-time regimental uniform being of 'Sherwood Green.'

Grote, in his 'History of Greece,' when speaking of that part of his work, devoted to the legendary period, states: "I describe the earlier times by themselves, as conceived by the faith and feeling of the first Greeks, and known only through their legends . . .

without presuming to measure how much or how little of historical matter these legends contain . . . what we now read as poetry and legend was once accredited history." The great historian Niebuhr, in discussing the historic truths which used to appear so inextricably legendary in the early history of Rome, showed that what was needed in their interpretation, was not sweeping scepticism, but a just discrimination. Herodotus, the so-called 'Father of History,' worked into his book all that he could gather by observation, travel and enquiry, of the great people known to the ancient world, Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, Persia, etc., and the way in which modern research has confirmed many of his statements, which were at one time considered partly legendary, justifies us in not being too hasty in our judgments upon the old writers.

Among other evidences of the ancient history of tribes and nations, which are of value to us, are their dramatic songs, poetry and plays, in which are revealed the most natural pictures of their domestic, social, religious or political life. Those phases of ancient tradition and history which are dealt with by dramatic poets are frequently presented with such realistic power as to make them almost imperishable. In the case of English history, the civil 'War of the Roses' associated with the Houses of York and Lancaster which is dealt with by Shakespeare in some of his plays, is more familiarly known to the majority of people than that other civil war, when the Barons at the Battle of Lewes, Sussex, on May 14, 1264, defeated Henry III, and so enabled Simon de Montfort to lay the foundations of a more representative Parliament than had hitherto been convened in English history. Cymbeline is better known to us from Shakespeare's play, than from the fact that he was a real British king (Cunobe-

linus, first century A.D.) who had gold coins issued bearing his own name, some are to be seen in our museums.

Roman history is more familiar to many English people from the reading or memorising of Macaulay's 'Lays of Ancient Rome' than the reading of a text book. As Lord Bacon fittingly said, "Dramatic poetry is like history made visible, and is an image of actions past, as if they were present." We confirm this, when in reading poetical or dramatic history, whether ancient or modern, we say, the old heroes and kings of antiquity seem to rise up again before us in life-like reality. The 'Chronicle Plays' of most countries are a collection of events taken from the entangled mass of myth and traditional history and connected together poetically or by dramatic fiction. Most of the historical plays which are produced by modern writers deviate from the literal truth of history, yet they do, to a certain extent, make the stories of past ages a living theme, which is an inspiration to the study of history. Thus it is, in whatever form men have laboured to preserve the history of the past, whether from oral traditions, or authentic documents, or extracted from ancient poetry, myths, legends, sagas or songs; whether the collector be known as bard, annalist, chronicler, biographer or historian; all have their peculiar and legitimate value and render useful service in the cause of history.

PART II

The word 'history' was used by the Greeks in the sixth century B.C. for the search for knowledge in its widest sense, "and it was not until the time of Aristotle, that it was definitely applied to the literary product, instead of the inquiry which preceded it." Usually when we speak of history, we mean the authentic

record of events or the actions of men, as determined in the order of time ; we also think of it as a reliable record of facts and events known to the writer from personal experience and observation, including also, facts which may have been communicated to him by others, who are trustworthy witnesses, and other credible evidences to which may be briefly defined ' a name and a date.' The difficulty of commencing to write a history of the human race was evidently realised by the ancient chronicler when he commenced the Book of Genesis, but he overcame it by the magnificent phrase " In the Beginning."

It was not by accident, therefore, that the early writers in various countries were moved to adopt a chronology wherewith to date notable events. The Greek chronology was reckoned in cycles of four years corresponding with the periodic Olympic Games, held once in four years. The first recorded ' Olympiad ' is that of Choroebus 766 B.C. The Roman historians adopted as an epoch to date events the ' Foundation of Rome,' the traditional date is believed to be 753 B.C. In the fifteenth century the Jews adopted as their epoch the ' Creation of the World,' which was placed in a year called in the Christian chronology 3760 B.C. The Mohammedan Era is based on the ' Hejira,' or Flight of Mohammed, from Mecca to Medina in A.D. 622. The Christian year was first adopted in Italy in the sixth and was accepted by England in the eight century A.D.

The date 4004 B.C. for the Creation of the World and printed in marginal notes to the English Bible was adopted from genealogical tables in the Old Testament on the evidence of Archbishop Ussher (1581-1656 A.D.). Thus it is that the Western historian still bases his chronology of the world and the human race, on the

traditional date of Christ's birth. From that line of demarcation we get the letters B.C. and A.D. as our dating points. That history, therefore, should have remained for long ages subject to theological views and chronology, is no matter for surprise. Natural science and geology were viewed in a similar manner. The writers of the nineteenth century have recorded for us " the names of priests, scientists and statesmen, who in their zeal for the theological bias in history, gave to the world such treatises as ' Moses and Geology,' ' The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture,' ' The Footsteps of the Creator,' ' The Demands of Darwinism on Credulity,' " and so forth, while " even a Jewish ' Prime Minister,' proclaimed himself ' on the side of the angels ' as against the apes, at a Meeting of the British Association."

We have, however, in the Old Testament, a good many illustrations of the way in which early records gave rise to the more reliable histories of the kings of Israel and Judah, as well as valuable sources of information concerning Egypt, Babylonia, etc. In the case of genealogies we find that Adam's first three sons only are named, Cain, Abel and Seth, the rest of his family is covered by the phrase " and he begat sons and daughters " and he died. After the Flood until the time of Abraham, the name of the first son only is usually given, and the father's age at the son's birth ; so that in the early Hebrew genealogies, centuries are covered in a few words. Another point to be noticed is that with the Hebrews the name of a single individual may stand for a whole family, clan or tribe, as in the names of Jacob and Israel, which sometimes stand for his family or the tribe ; ' Son of ' must not always be taken in a literal sense, but in the wider sense of ' being descended from.' Reverence for a common

ancestry lies at the root of this phraseology with many peoples. Thus, an ancient Greek wishing to refer to the common nationality of his people would sometimes use the expression ' sons of Hellas,' so with the expression used by the prophet Malachi concerning Judah . . . " therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed." After the revolt of the Ten Tribes (938 B.C.) their Regal Period was known as ' Israel,' and that of the Two Tribes as ' Judah,' and continued for over two centuries. During this period we find in their records that important events, such as battles, a siege, famine or treaties are dated by the phrase " and it came to pass that in the (a number given) year of the king (his name) " such an event took place ; the phrasing of the events may differ, but the idea was the same.

The same system of development appears to have taken place in making the chronicles of the early Babylonians, Egyptians, Chinese, Greeks and Romans. First we have usually a divine or mythical ancestor, or a list of semi-divine rulers, who taught men the arts of life and gave them rules of conduct, etc. These are then usually followed by a list of rulers, each of whom reigned for immense periods of time. Then lists of kings or dynasties more or less mythical or fictitious. Finally definite dates for the reigns of kings, and the recording of events military, treaties, the building of temples and cities, until we at last have elaborate histories embracing the whole life of the people, so far as it is possible, in the spheres of government, law, religion, economics, literature and social life.

Amongst the most familiar names of old historians known to us are Herodotus (fifth century B.C.), Manetho (about 300 B.C.), Berosus (third century B.C. approximately), Strabo (*c.* 55 B.C.-A.D. 25), Josephus 37 B.C.-A.D. 100 approximately), Plutarch (first century

A.D.). Concerning the value of the ancient writings, much of it is conjectural in the earliest, and not always in chronological order, some of the information was second-hand, or the work of copyists and compilers. Archæological and Philological research, however, have helped either to verify or contradict some of their statements.

Herodotus stated that he wrote his history " in order that the actions of men may not be effaced by time, nor the great and wondrous deeds displayed both by Greeks and barbarians deprived of renown." Much of his work is trustworthy, although he related a lot that was untrue, he said, " I am bound to report all that is said, but I am not bound to believe it."

Concerning other early histories of the Greeks and Romans, Hecatæus of Miletus (550-476 B.C. approximately), a Greek historian and geographer, was a man who strove for historical veracity, for he states: " I write as I deem true, for the traditions of the Greeks seem to me manifold and laughable." Later we have Thucydides (b. 471 B.C.), a most careful and impartial historian. He wrote the history of the Peloponnesian War, of the events of which he states: " I have described nothing but what I either saw myself, or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular enquiry." Lucian (A.D. 120-200), a Greek writer, wrote a treatise on ' How History ought to be written,' in which along with other statements, he asserts that the writer must be perfectly candid, no actions or errors of leaders should be palliated or concealed, truth must be the ideal aim and to state facts as they actually occurred, etc. Another Greek writer was Plutarch, born first century A.D., who, although he did not write a history, yet has left us much valuable historical information in his ' Parallel Lives ' of Greeks and Romans. It consists of forty-six lives arranged in pairs

for comparison; each pair consists of a Greek and Roman.

The legends told of the founding of Rome by the brothers Romulus and Remus, the stories of the 'Rape of the Sabines' and 'The Sybilline Books' as well as the early stories which attempt to account for the family names of the great Roman Houses, all rest on the basis of oral tradition, for the early written records, perished at the sack of Rome by the Gauls, 390 B.C. The dates of all records up to this time are generally regarded as traditional. The Pontiffs of Rome, however, kept a kind of register down to the time of the Gracchi, 131 B.C. The Pontifex Maximus inscribed the year's events upon tablets of wood which were preserved in the Regia—the official residence of the rulers of Rome. We may assume, therefore, that after the sack of Rome by the Gauls, certain official records were made, which formed the basis of material which may truly be called historical.

The earliest work on Rome is assigned to Polybius (204 B.C. approximately) and is written in Greek. His history consisted of forty books, but unfortunately the greater part of it has perished. We possess the first five books entire, but of the rest we have only fragments and extracts. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a celebrated Greek rhetorician (died in 7 B.C.), also wrote a history of Rome in twenty-two books, dating from the mythical times down to 264 B.C. Of the Latin writers, Titus Livius (95 B.C. to A.D. 17) wrote a history of Rome from the foundations to 9 B.C. Other notable writers are Sallust (86-34 B.C.), Cicero (106 B.C.-A.D. 43), Tacitus (first century A.D., date of birth and death unknown), Suetonius (first century A.D., his chief work is his 'Lives of the Cæsars'), and Julius Cæsar (100-44 B.C.).

In the case of Britain, its authentic history usually

commenced with the invasion of Julius Cæsar, 55 B.C., and although Cæsar's memoirs of his campaigns does give a solid footing for English history, we find that the early English writers had no difficulty in carrying British history into a remote antiquity, far beyond that of the Greeks and Egyptians until it reached the Noachic Deluge. Nennius gives as the source of some parts of his British history the ancient traditions of his people or forefathers, and states that he "wrote as other scribes had done before him." In addition to the 'Historia Brittonum' of Nennius, which contains much that is legendary, we have the 'History of Britain,' by Geoffrey, of Monmouth (twelfth century A.D.). According to his statement, he found the material of his marvellous history in a book brought to him by "Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, which he, at the archdeacon's request, translated into Latin." And what a collection of romantic tales it contains. Geoffrey endorses the Trojan ancestry of the early British rulers, and speaks of Brutus, the great grandson of Æneas, and founder of the Kingdom of Britain, as obliged to fly from his native land. Wandering through the Mediterranean area, and uncertain where to go, he invokes the goddess Diana for aid ; she bids him seek the island of Britain and prophesies for his regal heirs a world-wide dominion ; in words which Milton from the Latin of Geoffrey translates thus :

"Brutus, far to the West, in the ocean wide,
Beyond the realm of Gaul, a land there lies,
Sea-girt it lies, where giants dwelt of old ;
Now void, it fits thy people. Thither bend
Thy course ; there thou shalt find a lasting seat ;
There to thy sons another Troy shall rise,
And kings be born of thee, whose dreaded might
Shall awe the world, and conquer nations bold."

Brutus reaches the promised island, called in former days 'Albion,' subdues its giants of whom the most notable is Gog-magog ("Goemagot, in stature twelve cubits, and of such prodigious strength that at one shake he pulled up an oak as if it had been a hazel wand." Geoffrey's Bri., His.); he founds 'New Troy,' later called 'Trinovantum,' then 'Kærlud,' and finally, London. Half-mythological beings and visionary kings are marshalled with elaborate genealogies, and pass like shadows before us. Among them is mentioned that tragic King Lear, whose story in the hands of Shakespeare is raised to the highest sublimity. We read of Lud, who gives his name to Ludgate, and so the history goes on, and we read among others of old "King Cole, the merry old soul" of the nursery song; of the reign of King Arthur, the magician Merlin and his sorceries, the building of Stonehenge, as well as other stories, sometimes impressive and often grotesque. Verily as the poet sings:

"She is not any common Earth,
Water, or wood or air,
But Merlin's Isle of Gramarye."

This mythical history was for a long time part of the popular literature of England. It crossed the Channel, where the Romance poets laid hold of the Arthurian stories, and built up the Arthurian epos. From whence it was brought back by Malory (first edition of 'Le Morte Darthur,' 1485), who adorning it with mythic British history and romance gave it an epic unity and harmony. Without 'Le Morte Darthur' and Geoffrey's 'History,' the world of Spenser's 'Fairie Queen,' with its ideals of chivalry and romantic tales of court and country life, and the adventures of knights

and fair ladies on roads and quiet glades, would have been the poorer in its allegorical knight-errantry.

Shakespeare also in some of his 'Chronicle Plays' catches from Geoffrey the image of an antique Britain, and thrills us by his dramatic expositions. Milton, too, as we have noted in his poetry, shared in a measure the spirit of the old English chroniclers, for in his 'English History' which he carries down to the Norman Conquest he inserted the romantic stories of Monmouth, and discussed the stories of other chroniclers "as being useful to poets and orators and possibly, containing in them many footsteps and relics of something true"; while in later times, Morris and Tennyson have put to verse the romantic world which the old Chronicles opened out. Regard it as we may, as myth, legendary lore or history, it still lives on, bringing to us an "Ennobling impulse from the past."

Another source of early history which ought not to be overlooked are the 'Sagas,' which by their inclusion of historical persons and place-names, are among the most persistent records of a people, as through possessing these, a local and national pride is commonly felt in preserving them. The word 'saga' literally means 'something said,' and the name is commonly used to denote the traditions of the ancient Norsemen, under the name of 'Icelandic Sagas.' They are, in most cases, based on family history, but they also include elements of myth, so that often there is little or no distinction between fact and fiction. Scholars, however, have classified them as far as possible, according to their age and subject, into what are known as 'Mythical and Romantic Sagas' and 'Historical Sagas'; in the former there is a strong similarity to each other, as they generally centre round some warrior or king, who goes through a number of adventures, such

as combats with vikings, giants, or the opening of barrows in search of treasure. In the latter sagas, we have portrayed pictures of old Scandinavian life in all its aspects, as well as throwing much light on the early culture of adjacent countries. The importance of the Sagas as historical evidence was strongly emphasised by the great Icelandic historian, Snorri Sturluson in the prologue to his 'Heimskringla,' written about A.D.1225 which deals with the chronicles of the Norse kings. The majority of the sagas were written in Iceland, at various dates ranging from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.

One of the most interesting stories, from a historical point of view, is the 'Saga of Eric the Red,' which tells of Eric's settlement in Greenland, after being outlawed from Iceland, and of the discovery of North America by his son Lief, no less than five hundred years before Columbus discovered the New World. As in the case of Britain, the desire for ancient history led some of the early Icelandic writers to link on the early history of the Northern countries with that of Biblical and Classical history, as in the case of the prologue to Snorri's 'Edda.' This begins with the creation of the world and the flood, the division of the world among Noah's sons, the building of the tower of Babel and so on. It tells of Saturn and Jupiter and other mythical deities, of Troy and its kings from whom Odin and other royal and noble families in Norway and Sweden were ultimately sprung.

Briefly of the Icelandic Sagas we may say that they formed the first really classic body of prose literature of the Middle Ages. In them are not only tradition and legend reminiscent of the old heathen times, but also contemporary history and biography, both secular and sacred of men and events in such countries as Denmark,

the Orkneys, the British Isles, as well as Norway and Sweden in addition to their own island narratives. The admirable way in which the subject matter of the sagas is dealt with in its portrayal of the heroic age of the Northern and Western Teutons, make the saga-form of epic poetry and prose unsurpassed, as a means of instruction and entertainment.

The fifteenth century in Europe, witnessed a marked advance in historic theory and practice. Three great events combined to bring this about. The revival of Greek learning which gave to Western scholars a fuller knowledge of the literature of Greek antiquity. The invention of printing and the opening up of America, 1492-1502, through the voyages of Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci, thus compelling the historian to take into account races and peoples of whom the earlier medieval writers had no knowledge. For some centuries, however, the main output of historical writings, still continued for the most part to be partisan, traditional and uncritical in investigation. Since the nineteenth century, however, there has been a more scientific and critical spirit asserting itself, as is witnessed by the outstanding works published by notable scholars in all countries, while modern archæological research based on scientific methods has enormously enlarged our knowledge of the ancient world, and the antiquity of the human race.

In chapters eight and nine we have dealt with some of the evidence, which makes the archæologist the chief auxiliary of the historian ; for by means of excavation he enables the modern historian to give a more correct record of the development of human civilisation. As archæological discoveries continue, and the skill of the decipherer improves, the interpretation of scripts as yet unsolved, such as the Minoan, Hittite, Easter

Island, and that of the Indus civilisation, may give to us new facts concerning the early history of human art and culture.

One of the most significant features which stands out in this survey of early records is the tendency of the narrators to carry their native history as far back into ancient times as is possible, with the limited materials at their disposal; hence the prevalence of the early mythic and fictitious genealogies. This tendency towards historical bias is met with in all races and nations.

Thus, we must always remember that writers of history, owing to their political, religious, social and partisan outlook, their method of selection and omission may lead them to deal with the history of a country from some preconceived idea, or to sanction some theory which is a great impediment in the way of historical accuracy. We all, however, readers as well as writers, are apt to bring with us in the matter, prejudices and prepossessions. Further, no history can present us with the whole truth, the scale is too vast. Let us ever bear in mind, therefore, that history is always needing revision, because new facts are continually being discovered, which give to the accumulating evidence a new significance, which demand new interpretations on previous theories and generalisations. This is the essence of writing history.

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