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THE WANDERING SPIRIT



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THE WANDERING SPIRIT

A STUDY OF HUMAN MIGRATION

BY

RAGNAR NUMELIN, PH. D.

WITH A FOREWORD BY

DR. EDWARD WESTERMARCK

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TO

MARY

FELLOW-WANDERER ON LIFE'S JOURNEY

"Down in the hearts of us we are vagabonds all, if not by occasional habit, at least by inclination".

Spittel, *Wild Ceylon.*

FOREWORD

by Dr. Edward Westermarck.

The object of this book is to be a general analysis of the reasons for the wanderings of peoples in primitive stages of civilization. There is an extensive literature dealing with their migrations in monographs on special peoples, and there are also more comprehensive discussions of those migrations, but this is the first investigation on a large scale into their general causes. A mere glance at the foot-notes with their copious references will convince the reader of the thoroughness with which the author has performed his task. His book is thus both a novel and a weighty contribution to social anthropology.

The migrations of peoples have often been attributed to a wandering instinct or a spirit of restlessness. The author admits that an instinctive disposition for movement has always existed in mankind, but emphasises that wanderings have resulted when this disposition has been subjected to certain stimuli. He maintains that the fundamental reason for migrations, not only in primitive stages but also on higher planes, lies in geographical conditions combined with the need of food. Other reasons are inclination to robbery, which, however, does not generally lead to great or permanent migrations, and warlike tendencies: "wanderings which were first caused by the need of food are later, after the primary reason has ceased to be all-important, brought about by the love of battle and the desire to conquer." The pressure of mightier neighbours and intratribal struggles have also given rise to extensive migrations; and European colonisation has had a similar effect, owing either to cruelties committed by colonists or to governmental policy. Trade interests have been the reason for wanderings, if not of whole tribes at least of parts of them. Another motive has been

superstition: sickness and death attributed to the ill-will of spirits often cause the afflicted tribe to break up and look for new quarters, especially if its leader or some other important member of it is stricken with death or meets with an accident. In various cases search for the eternal fountain of youth or the earthly paradise has been the motive for wanderings among primitive peoples.

The author points out that in innumerable instances the wandering life of peoples has continued, as their second nature, even though the original causes of it have ceased to operate. This, for example, is the case with the gypsies, to whose wandering instinct he devotes an interesting chapter.

I hope that Dr. Numelin's book, the outcome of several years' labour, will attract the attention I think it deserves.

EDWARD WESTERMARCK.

PREFACE

The wandering phenomenon runs through the history of all humanity, indeed through the history of all life. However, even though the direction and progress of the historic migrations are in the main known, the same cannot be said of the reasons for these wanderings, and as for the wanderings of primitive peoples, our knowledge of them is only fragmentary.

The writer does not believe that his investigation has solved the problem of the wandering instinct. He has only as far as possible subjected it to a close discussion. His object has been not so much to present original psychological speculations, as to make a sociological investigation of the factors involved in determining human wandering. It has seemed to the writer to be the most correct mode of procedure to study migrations in the form in which they are known to take place among present-day savages, among whom all instincts and impulses are to be found in their most natural state. In this manner he hopes to arrive at the most general reasons behind wanderings and thus be able to determine whether we are entitled to speak of a wandering instinct or not. The fact is that an investigation of the wandering instinct cannot be confined to peoples in only one part of the globe. It must take into consideration the different conditions which determine the migrations of different peoples in different parts of the world; it must embrace primitive peoples in general. Such investigation requires the revising and adapting of rather extensive material. It falls within the spheres of ethnology, sociology, geography, and to a certain extent of history. In spite of the great progress made in the field of ethnology we still lack reliable monographs on several peoples, which is reason enough to prevent this investigation from being exhaustive. However, the author hopes that he has thrown some light on the problem. He has tried to confine himself to the

best possible sources, avoiding works the authenticity of which can be questioned.

In 1918 the author wrote a short study in Swedish on the reasons for the wanderings of peoples on lower planes of civilization (*Orsakerna till folkvandringarna på lägre kulturstadier*). The friendly interest with which it was received by foreign critics stimulated further research. The present book is not merely an enlargement of the former one, it is an entirely new book. The extensive post-war ethnological literature has been gone through in search for new material for the investigation. Many new facts have been incorporated and some old ones left out.

However, although the book has been rewritten throughout to such an extent that very few sentences of the dissertation have remained the same, thus motivating its new title, its general character as well as its structure have remained unchanged. This more thorough investigation of the wanderings of the most primitive peoples has confirmed the author in his belief that the geographical and especially the subsistence- (or food-) geographical conditions are the primary factors behind the wandering phenomenon. —

I am deeply grateful to the teacher of my student years, Professor Edward Westermarck, who has written the Foreword to this book and whose sympathy and encouragement have constantly inspired me to fresh effort. I also thank my Danish friend Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith for much good advice.

The greater part of the new material has been collected in the Royal Library of Copenhagen and in the Reading Room of the British Museum in London, and I take this opportunity of thanking the officials in these libraries for their unfailing courtesy.

My cordial thanks are due to Mrs. Helge Krogius who most kindly aided me in writing this book in a tongue which is not my own, and to Mr. W. E. Calvert, Lecturer in English in Copenhagen, for his assistance in going through the proofs.

Copenhagen, January 1936.

R. N.

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CHAPTER I

THE WANDERING PHENOMENON

There is a force which like a strong undercurrent runs through the history of mankind, or one might say through the history of all life. It is one of those deep, powerful forces which seldom stand out clearly but which are the more striking in their effect.

Movement is the name of this force, and wandering is its biological manifestation. The tendency towards movement, the source of movement, is to be found in the very organism itself.

Every living organism is in perpetual motion, and the same is true of those forces which join together the human social organism. The life of man as well as that of plants and animals is made up of a number of movements and counter-movements.

It has usually been the tendency to connect the word 'migration' with separate large movements limited in time and extent. The expression generally refers to the great European migrations of peoples in olden times and the Middle Ages. We use it of the wanderings of 'the Doric Age', of the 'Great Migration', of the Germanic migration, of the Viking expeditions of the Norsemen, and of crusades to foreign lands. We often understand these migrations to have belonged to certain limited periods of history. It is of course true that there have been few periods during which the map of Europe has changed so quickly as during such periods; but if one surveys the history of developments more closely one finds that these movements constitute only a small link in the long chain of wanderings which runs through the entire history of mankind. They are only the swells of great waves which, since the obscurity of early times, have passed over the earth in rising and falling rhythm.

Prehistory gives us an inkling of the existence of powerful movements and displacements of peoples. So far we lack sure data

accepted by archaeologists about these wanderings, but no one denies that the migrations themselves took place.

One can as a matter of fact make out three complete or fragmentary migratory periods. These are, firstly, the prehistoric period, the information about which is ordinarily based on traditions and archaeological supposition; secondly, the historic period, based on written evidence; and thirdly, the wanderings of primitive peoples in the present day, where information is based upon legends and ethnological data, since these peoples must be looked upon as having no history in the ordinary sense of the word.

It is important for us to look upon the migrations of peoples as a great continuous series of movements. At times the waves swell and become more perceptible, at times they recede, but calm never reigns. The innermost force of the waves, the mighty soul of the surge, never rests. When there is seeming calm on the surface, continuous small displacements of peoples may be taking place. Small bands, tribes, are pressing forward through neighbouring territories, among neighbouring peoples. This is a slow infiltration which nevertheless is an expression of the same forces which give rise to the big migrations. One people which has been set in motion draws others with it, and the wandering bands grow like a rolling snowball.

Return movements often follow upon movements taken in a definite direction. The migratory swells strike back, as for example from Europe to Asia, the Russian expansion over Siberia.

* * *

Thus, when considering the migrations of peoples we must not be misled into looking upon them as separate large movements limited in time and extent, nor as in former philological research reckon with movements of so-called pure races, pure either from the point of view of language or of anthropology. The existence of a pure race is principally a historic fiction. In no instance has it any connexion with the ages of migrations.

Be it a case of prehistoric, historic, or present-day primitive peoples' wanderings, we mostly have to deal with a kaleidoscopic combination of different peoples. If we call different migrations by different names, we do so more for the sake of classification than for the sake of characterization. It goes without saying that we

cannot here discuss the expansion of the human races, or the prehistoric migrations.[1] It also lies outside the bounds of this investigation to touch upon the various historic migrations. But before we begin to analyze the reasons behind the wanderings of primitive peoples, we shall in general terms refer to the course of the most important historically known and hypothetically assumed wanderings. Such reference is intended merely to give a general picture, a background to the dominating rôle played by migrations in all ages and among most peoples.

A veritable chaos of wanderings characterizes all parts of the world, especially during the earlier periods of history. The Asiatic continent often stands out as the reservoir of great migrations; but migrations have been scarcely less comprehensive in other sections of the globe.

The uplands in the east and west of Asia have brought about the expansion of peoples, particularly as those regions have not been especially suitable for agriculture. Besides, the great uplands are changed by means of terraces into lowlands and steppe lands, so that wanderings can continuously diffuse westward, and in many places southward, as well as northward to the Siberian tundras.

The expansion of peoples in geological times was no doubt conditioned by climate to a great extent. During the latter stages of the Glacial Age, inland ice covered the greater part of Eurasia up to lat. 50° N. As Palaeolithic man was certainly interglacial in Europe, it has been assumed that man was preglacial in Asia. The incoming of the Glacial Age would start movements which would be alternately relaxed and accentuated during the interglacial, mild period and the periods of increased cold.[2]

Prehistory gives us to understand that there were enormous migrations on the continent of Asia. We know that there were great wanderings, indulged in early by Mongolians and Turks, by Ugrians, Sumerians, by Semitic and Arabian peoples. The Euphrates-Tigris valley has not only been the seat of one of the earliest civilizations, it has also like the Orontes-Jordan valley and the Nile valley in Africa served as a migration highway. And the Syrian coast and

[1] Nor have we in this connexion any cause to discuss, for instance, the migration theories expounded by Moritz Wagner, which principally concern themselves with social questions.

[2] Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, p 15; *cf.* Foster, *Travels and Settlements of Early Man*, pass.

Asia Minor have, thanks to their strategical position, played a great rôle in the migrations of Western Asia.

The deepest incisions in the life of the peoples of Asia are nevertheless cut by streams of peoples which, flowing out of the great crater of peoples in Central Asia, did not begin to diminish until the Turkish-Mongolian overflow of the regions around the Caspian Sea and south-eastern Europe in the Middle Ages.[1]

The Sunda Islands, New Guinea, and the islands in the Torres Strait constitute a bridge from south-eastern Asia to Oceania, just as Formosa, the Philippines and other islands serve as a connecting link from China and Japan to the south.

The Malayan wanderings have even been proved to run eastwards from south-eastern Asia, just as there has been a continual movement of peoples from South China in a southern direction. In earlier times there were no doubt land bridges between the now disintegrated islands.[2]

"Down from Japan," says Macmillan Brown, "through the Marianne, Carolines, Marshalls and Gilberts there must have been in early human times islands and archipelagoes lying far closer together than they now are, so that it would be comparatively easy for sailing craft to creep from island to island. The subsidence of island after island would compel further migration in search of others to settle on. And when the ultimate fatherland, Hawaiki, began to sink, the settlers had to learn oceanic navigation and set out on voyages of exploration for other settlements."[3]

* * *

The population of the South Sea Islands has long been a riddle to scientists. In places far distant from each other peoples have been found with striking anthropological and ethnographical similar-

[1] Shirokogoroff, *Social Organisation of the Northern Tungus*, pp. 123 *sqq.*, 147 *sqq.*, 369 *sqq.*; Jockelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia* (*Amer. Mus. Natur. Hist.*), ch. x; Buxton, *The Peoples of Asia*, p. 101; Taylor, 'Climatic Cycles and Evolution', in *The Geogr. Review*, vii, 208 *sq.*; Risley, *The People of India*, p. 59.

[2] We cannot in this connexion take up the theories of Halliers and others dealing with an ancient land connexion between Asia and Australia and Easter Island. *Cf.* Buschan, 'Australien und Ozeanien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Volkerkunde*, ii: i. 271; M. Brown, *Peoples and Problems of the Pacific*, ii. 157 *sq.*

[3] M. Brown, *op. cit.*, ii, 157 *sq.*; Buxton, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

ities.[1] It is only recently that some light has been thrown on the extensive migrations of these peoples, only recently that the trails of their voluntary and involuntary wanderings have been discovered. This has cleared up the problem of diffusion in Oceania and contradicted the views expressed by such enquirers as Quiros, Crozet, Dumont d'Urville, and others,[2] that the South Sea Islanders were the remains of a sunken continent; their opinions of the autochthonous origin of the first inhabitants lost weight immediately. It was one of modern ethnography's most surprising finds to discover that in the distant past a primitive people existed which, with the help of the most primitive means imaginable, travelled across gigantic expanses of water. The South Sea Islanders without doubt are among the most restless peoples on earth. The journeys they made over oceanic expanses of water, often in small, frail craft, from island to island, are most interesting and impressive.

Professor Weule[3] stresses the fact that the first historically established activity of the Oceanians is to be found in their wanderings, and Lesson, the French South Sea investigator, calls the migrations of the Islanders "le fait primordial de toute ethnologie océanienne".[4] Naturally this diffusion has not taken place all at once. It has covered endless periods of time and has not even ceased to-day.

Thus in early days the Polynesians reached their island world by way of Indonesia and Micronesia.[5]

Alfred R. Wallace says that the traditions of the Polynesians point to Savaii, the largest of the Samoan Islands, as the home of

[1] Voltz, 'Die Besiedelung der Sudsee-Inseln', in *Archiv f. Anthr.*, xxii, 1 *sqq.*; Friederici, 'Malaio-Polynesische Wanderungen', in *Verh. xix Deutsch. Geographentages*, p. 199 *sqq.*; *Idem*, 'Die vorkolumbischen Verbindungen der Sudsee-Volker und Amerika', in *Mittheil. Deutsch Schutzgeb.*, xxxvi. 25 *sqq.*; *cf. Idem*, in *Anthropos*, xxiv, 441 *sqq.*; Handy, 'Polynesian Origins', in *Bernice P. Bishop Museum*, ix. 12, Kaudern, *Ethnographical Studies in Celebes*, ii. 153.

[2] Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage au Pôle Sud et dans l'Océanie*, i & ii, *cf.* Mahler, 'Siedelungsgebiet und Siedelungslage in Ozeanien', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, xi. 15 *sq.*

[3] Weule, 'Australien und Ozeanien', in Helmolt, *Weltgeschichte*, ii. 299.

[4] Lesson, *Les Polynésiens*, iv. 1 *sq.*; Thomsen, 'The Pacific Islands', in *Queensland Geogr. Jour.*, xxxiv—xxxv, 7 *sqq.*

[5] Nieuwenhuis, 'Die Entstehung der Polynesier und ihrer Kultur', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, xxx. 129 *sqq.*, 167; Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, ii. 30 *sqq.*; Fraser, 'The Malayo-Polynesian Theory', in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.*, iv, no. 4.

their ancestors, and that many peculiarities of language and local nomenclature indicate that the various branches of the race, from the Sandwich Islands to Tahiti, and even to New Zealand, have migrated from that centre to Raiatea, 120 miles west of Tahiti, in another mythological centre to which many traditions refer.[1]

Dr. Rivet has philologically and ethnologically tried to establish migration routes from Australia to South America. "La migration australienne a dû précéder la migration mélano-polynésienne. En effet, il y a tout lieu de supposer qu'elle a emprunté la voie des îles pour atteindre l'Amérique et cette voie n'était libre qu'avant l'occupation des îles par les mélano-polynésiens".[2]

We can even go beyond the boundaries of Oceania. The Hovas on Madagascar, for instance, are assumed to be typical Malays who drifted to Madagascar from the east with the south equatorial currents and the north-east monsoon. They "speak a language and have customs closely related to the Polynesians".[3] Lang had already proved that they were of Asiatic descent.[4] Many other tribes on the same island are not of African origin. They belong indisputably to the Malay race. There is reason to believe that Indian and Malay influence has also made itself felt among the coast peoples of East Africa (e.g. among the Swahilis in M'rima in East Africa).

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[1] Wallace, *Australasia*, p. 497.

[2] Rivet, 'Les Mélano-Polynésiens et les Australiens en Amérique', in *Anthropos*, xx 51 *sqq* ; *Idem*, 'Les Malayo-Polynésiens en Amérique', in *Jour. Soc. Américanistes* (1926), 1 *sqq.*; *Idem*, 'Migration australienne en Amérique', in *La Géographie*, xlvi. 100 *sqq.*; *Idem*, 'Recherche d'une voie de migration des Australiens vers l'Amérique', in *Compte rendu, Soc. de la Biogéographie*, iii. 48; Graebner, 'Die melanesische Bogenkultur und ihre Verwandten', in *Anthropos*, iv. 726 *sqq.*, 996 *sqq.*, Schmidt, 'Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Südamerika', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xlv. 1014 *sqq.*; Taylor, *Environment and Race*, pp. 82, 84; Tauber, 'Das Uraustralische im Wandel zum "Malaio-Polynesischen"', in *Pet. Mitth.*, lxxviii. 78. Concerning Asiatic infl. westward: Seligman, 'A Classification of the Natives of British New Guinea', in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxix. 96 *sqq.*, 196 *sqq.*, 526 *sqq.*; concerning Asiatic infl. in New Guinea: Haddon, 'Migrations of Cultures in British New Guinea', in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* l. 238; Saville, *In Unknown New Guinea*, p. 17 *sqq.*; concerning Japanese and Chinese infl in Oceania: M. Brown, *op. cit.*, i. 93 *sq.*; Finley and Churchill, *The Subanu*, p. 89 (the Philipp.).

[3] Handy, *loc. cit.*, ix. 11.

[4] Lang, *View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation etc.*, p. 5 *sqq.*; Delafosse, *Les noirs de l'Afrique*, p. 5 *sqq.*; Leclerc, 'Les peuplades de Madagascar', in *Rev. d'Ethn.*, v. 414 *sqq.*, vi. 20.

In Melanesia, on the other hand, Chinese and Japanese influence is plainly to be seen.[1]

It is believed that among the members of the Toàla tribes in Ceylon there are remnants of peoples from the migration periods when Ceylon was connected to Asia by land.[2] —

Research has in general been inclined to assume that the population of the American continent originally came from Asia or Europe, land bridges in early geological times having made such migrations possible. In the Tertiary period Greenland was probably connected to America by means of a land bridge. Some investigators have postulated the existence of land connexions between Greenland and northern Scandinavia.[3] However, even if the North Siberian tracts, like most of the northern sections of North America, were pretty well covered by ice in the Glacial Age, it is nevertheless natural to assume that the main wanderings to America came from the east.[4]

The orography of North America has determined the directions of the wanderings. The mighty Cordillera chain, the centre portion of which is a tableland, has played the all-important rôle. It stretches throughout the continent. To the east of it a fairly fertile central land extends all the way to the Atlantic. It is interrupted only by the Appalachian or Eastern mountain system. To the north, rivers and lakes offer their services as wandering highways, and to the south are mighty rivers which have their outlet in the Gulf of Mexico.

On the basis of his investigations of the migrations of peoples in North America, Thomas reaches the conclusion that the chief early migrations, according to the early and most reliable traditions and the linguistic evidence, have been from the north-west towards the south and south-east. "Tracing the stream in accordance with traditions, language, and other data", says the author, "we find that their converging point appears to be the inhospitable region stretching from the western shore of Hudson Bay to the Rocky

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[1] Weule, 'Das Meer und die Naturvolker', in *Zu Friedrich Ratzels Gedachtnis*, pp. 413, 425; Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, v. 215.

[2] Sarasin, *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon*, ii. 296.

[3] Brinton, *The American Race*, p. 73 *sq.*

[4] Mason, 'Migration and the Food Quest', in *The Amer. Anthr.*, vii. 278 *sq.* Concerning the theories on the migration from the west, see Imbelloni, *La Esfinge Indiana*, p. 271, *cf. Idem*, in *Mitt. Anthr. Ges. Wien*, lviii. 301 *sq.*

Mountains."[1] Thence two streams flowed southward. Parted by the great treeless plains, one moved southward, skirting the mountain range, and through the mountain passes to the Pacific side, the other turning to the south-east, passed into the Atlantic section.[2]

The wanderings of the Eskimos in the North have embraced the whole northern portion of the continent, even though the routes along which they travelled are not known for certain. Some believe that the Eskimos migrated via Bering Strait and that they are of Asiatic origin; others believe that they originally came from regions west of the Hudson Bay, and recently Danish scientists have advanced the theory that Eskimo culture is a link in a common ancient Arctic culture.[3]

We know of wanderings of Indian tribes from north-west America west of the Rocky Mountains, southward and westward,—the Athapascans (Déné, Navajo, Apache and Hupa). The northern tribes pressed down on the southern tribes, thus creating great movements.[4]

In the eastern part of North America we find the greatest native wanderings, those of the Algonquins who, after the Glacial Age, spread out over the inner plains along the Atlantic coast from the south-west. Certain tribes, the Shawnee or Savanee, diffused towards the Alleghany mountains and the Great Lakes, others, the Ojibway or Chippewa, diffused westward.[5] These Algonquin tribes spread out southward also (Foxes and Dakotas, Crees) until they were hindered by mightier tribes at the Gulf of Mexico. These migrations covered hundreds of miles.[6] Mention is made of migrations of Sioux and

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[1] Thomas, 'Some Suggestions in regard to Primary Indian Migration in North America', in *Congr. intern. Américanistes*, xv·e Sess., i. 203 *sq.*

[2] Thomas, *loc. cit.*, i. 203 *sq.*

[3] Boas, 'The Central Eskimo', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, vi. 408; Steensby, *Om Eskimokulturens Oprindelse*, p. 28 *sqq.*; Thalbitzer, 'A Phonetical Study of the Eskimo Language', in *Medd. om Grønland*, xxxi. 38 *sqq.*; *Idem*, 'The Ammassalik Eskimo', in *op. cit.*, xxxix. 713; Thomsen, 'Implements and Artefacts of the North-East Greenlanders', in *op. cit.*, xliv. 479 *sqq.*; Gosling, *Labrador*, pp. 158 *sqq.*, 165; Birket-Smith, *Eskimoerne*, p. 192 *sqq.*; Donner, *Sibirien*, p. 40 *sq.*

[4] Birket-Smith, 'Folke- og Kulturvandringer i det nordlige Nord-Amerika', in *Geogr. Tidskrift*, xxxiii. 27 *sq.*

[5] Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, p. 86.

[6] Birket-Smith, *Contributions to Chipewyan Ethnology* (*Rep. Fifth Thule Exp.*), p. 13 *sqq.*

Iroquois Indians also from the districts around the Great Lakes.[1] Fletcher and La Flesche speak of the great wanderings of the Omaha tribes which have covered many hundreds of years.[2] The extension of the Cordilleras southward has also determined the routes taken on wanderings in Central America. It explains the diffusion of the Mayas and Aztecs. The former, along with the related and possibly still older pre-Maya culture, flourished on the Mexican plateau until the Nahos tribes which wandered along the Pacific coast intruded on them from the north. The mighty Aztecs belonged to these.[3]

In addition to migrations from Mexico and Yucatan, research has disclosed extensive wanderings from all parts of Central America.[4] The movements among the coast Indians after the discovery of America were naturally brought about to a great degree by the onward march of the Europeans.

History and archaeology bear witness to extensive wanderings which had already taken place in the West Indian archipelago before the time of Columbus. Harrington assumes "that there has been a series of waves of migrations starting out from South America, and spreading from island to island up through the Lesser to the Greater Antilles".[5] Most likely these were collector-fisher peoples. In addition there were waves of Arawak migrations which drove the primitive peoples back into the western part of Haiti, and west-

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[1] Wissler, *The American Indian*, p. 367; Krause, 'Wanderungen nordamerikanischer Naturvolker', in *Verh. xix Deutsch. Geographentages*, pp. 213, 218, McGee, 'The Seri Indians', in *Ann. Rep Bur. Ethn.*, xvii. 189; Harrington, *Cherokee and Earlier Remains on the Upper Tennessee River* (*Indian Notes and Monographes*), p. 290; Dixon, 'The early Migration of the Indians of New England and the Maritime Provinces', in *Proceeding. Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, n. s. xxiv. 66, 73.

[2] Fletcher and La Flesche, 'The Omaha Tribe', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xxvii. 72.

[3] Joyce, *Mexican Archæology*, pp. 208 *sqq.*, 365 *sq.*; Fewkes, 'Tusayan Migration', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn*, xix. 577; Mindeleff, 'Aborigines in Verde Valley', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xiii. 188.

[4] Gann, *Mystery Cities*, p. 65; Charency, *L'historien Sahagun et les migrations méxicaines*, p. 1 pass.; Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 10 *sq.*; Nuttal, 'The Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilizations', in *Papers Peabody Mus.* ii, pp. 211, 525; Radin, 'Authenticity of the History of Ancient Mexicans', in *Amer. Arch. and Ethn.*, xvii. 138 *sqq.*; Genet and Chelbatz, *Histoire des peuples Mayas-Quichés*, p. 64.

[5] Harrington, *Cuba before Columbus* (*Ind. Notes and Monogr.* i), p. 408 *sqq.*

wards in Cuba. Later waves of warlike Caribs swept through the Lesser Antilles.[1]

The great mountain chains in the west, the tropical forest and river systems of the central and eastern regions, the plateaus and pampas in the south, have indicated the main directions of migration routes on the South American continent. Geological and climatic changes have naturally influenced the movements of peoples there, too.

There are many hypotheses as to the immigrations of the inhabitants of South America. It has been suggested that they came from North America, which seems most probable, and also that they came from the west over Oceania.[2] At any rate, the plateaus of what are now Peru and Bolivia are most likely the seat of the oldest civilization. Within the continent itself great migrations have taken place. Peoples on a low plane of culture, the Tapuya, Tupi, Carib, Arawak, wandered in the tropical forest and river regions of the central sections of the continent. The range of the Toba and Mataco was the eastern mountain and forest region. The Tapuya (Gês and Botocudo) moved about the central sections. The Tupi wandered along the rivers and coasts northward to the Amazon and possibly farther upward along that river's southern section.[3]

The wanderings of the Patagonians have gradually advanced over the southern tableland, the Patagonian steppes and the Argentine pampas.[4] There, too, European colonization gave rise to great migrations on the part of the natives.[5]

The migratory streams to Tierra del Fuego have run from the north. It is believed that there was a continuous movement of collector and fisher peoples southward. The Yahgan of Tierra

[1] *Ibid.*, p 424 *sq.*

[2] Rivet, in *Jour. Soc. Américanistes* (1926), 141; *cf.* Schmidt, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xlv. 1020 *sqq.*

[3] Haddon, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Métraux, *La civilisation matérielle des tribus Tupi-Guarani*, i. 47 *sqq.*; Nordenskiöld, 'The Guarani Invasion of the Inca Empire in the xvi th Century', in *The Geogr. Review*, iv. 103 *sqq.*; von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, pp. 156 *sq.*, 168; Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, iv. 5 *sqq.*; Lovén, *Über die Wurzeln der Tainischen Kultur*, i. 1 *sqq.*; Schmidt, *Die Aruaken*, pass.

[4] von den Steinen, *op. cit.*, p. 441; Gallardo, *Los Onas*, p. 107.

[5] Schmieder, *Alteration of the Argentine Pampa in the Colonial Period* (*Univ. Calif. Publ.* ii), p. 303 *sqq.*

del Fuego are characterized as the southernmost unit of a group of primitive fisher peoples, who at various times have lived on the west coast of southern America but who were pushed southward later on from what is now Peru.[1] —

In geological ages, at the time when the Red Sea and the Mediterranean were inland seas, Africa was no doubt connected to Europe by means of several land bridges. In those ages there were thus great possibilities for migration from north and east, to the continent of Africa. It is assumed that the Hamitic wanderings to Africa began during the latter part of the Glacial period. The earliest tribes spread over North Africa, forming the archaic Egyptians in the east and the Libyans and their descendants the Berbers in the west. Those who sailed across the Mediterranean formed the European part of the so-called Mediterranean race.[2]

There have been continuous movements of peoples in the interior of Africa as far back as research has penetrated. The pygmies immigrated into Africa, gradually dividing into Bantu, Bush and other negritic tribes. The Hottentots also diffused there earlier, westward and southward from the eastern plateaus. Southern Arabs came over to East Africa, whereas other Arabian tribes since the dawn of history have spread to North Africa by way of Suez. In the seventh and eighth centuries A. D. the Islamic migration dominated the whole of present-day North Africa. The Semitic infusion had made itself felt there even earlier. Arabian and Indian influence became perceptible in East Africa,[3] and Malayan influence has even been traced to Madagascar, as has been said.[4]

We also learn of continuous movements of peoples from West Africa, movements of desert tribes and coastal tribes, particularly those around the Guinea coast. The big rivers have served as excellent migration highways.[5] From equatorial regions peoples have pushed southward as far as to the coast of what is now the

[1] Haddon, *op. cit.*, pp. 198, 200.

[2] Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, pp. 49, 378, 494, 767 *sq.*; J. T. Brown, *Among the Bantu Nomads*, p. 204.

[3] Stuhlmann, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Reinsch, 'The Negro Race and European Civilisation', in *Amer. Jour. Sociology*, xi. 148; Ferraud, 'Les migrations musulmanes et juives', in *Rev. de l'Hist. Rel.*, lii. 381 *sqq.*

[4] *Supra*, p. 6.

[5] Rodd, *People of the Veil*, p. 360; Barthel, *Völkerbewegungen auf der Südhälfte des afrikanischen Kontinents*, pass.; Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, pp. 2, 10.

Cape of Good Hope.[1] European colonization there also brought about great wanderings on the part of the natives. —

Concerning European migrations we need only bear in mind the enormous movements which took place already in geological and prehistoric times, migrations brought about not least by climatic and geological changes during periods when large parts of what is to-day Scandinavia, North Russia, North Germany and the greater part of the British Isles were covered by ice, when the Hungarian plains were an inland sea, and when the Mediterranean Sea was in reality two seas, since Western Europe and one part of the Italian peninsula and Sicily formed bridges over to Africa. When the ice receded, when lakes became steppes and grass-lands, when the climate turned milder, suitable conditions for a new diffusion were created.

During Neolithic times migrations had probably penetrated to the British Isles. The vast expansion of the Indo-Europeans in prehistoric times gave rise to numerous other wanderings. Later came the migrations of the Celts among others, Cimmerian wanderings from regions in the Italian Alps to the Caspian Sea, wanderings of the Celtic-Teutonic element, to name just a few.[2] The wanderings of the ancients in the regions around the Mediterranean Sea caused chaos for centuries. The dominant fact in the history of the Phoenicians, the Greeks of their epoch, was the wandering of the race.[3] Through early Latin literature runs the same story of migration and conquest by the Latin race, reaching a climax in the colossal structure of the Roman Empire.[4]

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[1] Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 14; *cf.* Meyer, *Die Barundi*, p 154 *sqq.*; Sollas, *Ancient Hunters and their Modern Representatives*, p. 301 *sq.*; Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, pp. 266, 420. Concern. migr. of African peoples, in general, see also Torday and Joyce, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvii. 133; Stigand, *Equatoria*, p. 35; Dahse, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xliii. 38; Meynier, *L'Afrique noire*, p. 71 *sqq.*; Brønnum, *Negerracen*, p. 12 *sqq.*; Spiller, *Mémoires sur le contact des races*, pp. 22, 369 *sq.*; Delafosse, *op. cit.*, i. 157; Seligman, *Races of Africa*, pass.

[2] Taylor, *loc. cit.*, viii. 300 *sqq.*; *cf.* Buxton, *The Peoples of Asia*, chh. ii, iii; Fleure, 'The Racial History of the British People', in *The Geogr. Review*, v. 216 *sqq.*

[3] Treidler, *Epirus im Altertum*, p. 89 *sqq.*; *cf. Idem*, in *Arch. f. Anthr.*, xvii. 89 *sqq.*

[4] Enquirers have even attempted to date periodically different wandering epochs, theories which we have no reason to discuss in detail in this connexion. We may mention as an example, however, that Curry (in *Ann. Rep. Smith.*

And then, gradually, comes the period which in the history of Europe goes by the name of the Great Migration, when West Goths, Vandals, and other Teutonic peoples from Asia and over the Balkans pressed westward, while afterwards the Huns under Attila, the East Goths, and lastly Turks and Slavs and a large number of other peoples brought about extensive wanderings within the entire continent. After the waves of the Great Migration had quieted down somewhat, lesser ones took their place, consisting of intracontinental migrations from country to country and from the country to the city and vice versa, and emigrations from Europe to continents across the ocean. It is a case of perpetual wandering from the periphery of a country to the centre of the country, from the centre to the periphery.

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Wanderings and natural expansion thus run through the history of all peoples. They are the sustaining themes in the traditions and legends of primitive peoples. Greater or lesser migrations have been undertaken by all. Ratzel aptly remarks that a term like *homo primitivus sedentarius* which Fritsch[1] uses in speaking of African primitive peoples in contrast to *homo primitivus migratorius* can only be characterized as a literary fantasy having no equivalent in reality.[2]

Inst. [1929], p. 428) puts the date for the first great wandering of the Asiatic steppe peoples towards Europe at about 2000 years B.C.; between 1600—1300 B.C. the Aramaic nomads pressed forward from Arabia to Mesopotamia, Indo-European agriculturists went from India and Persia to Syria, and the Alpina peoples (Hittites) to Asia Minor. A third important migration period came between 1000—600 B.C., which embraced the Celtic migration from the Italian Alps to the Caspian Sea and a Cimmeric migration from Asia Minor at the same time as the Doric wanderings and those of the Medes and Persians. Curry puts the date of the Chinese migrations at 200 B.C., the fourth wandering period. A fifth period includes the years between A.D. 250—650 embracing peoples in India, Greece and Italy, and the sixth period finally covers the Great Migration of history. In these periodic wanderings, each period of which covers about 640 years, Curry sees a connexion with the climatic changes. However, Curry's theory is open to criticism on the grounds that he only divides Asiatic and European wanderings into periods. And the great migrations on the African and American continents are not included in these constructive calculations.

[1] Fritsch, 'Die afrikanischen Buschmänner als Urrasse', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xii. 289.

[2] Ratzel, 'Die Ursprung und das Wandern der Völker geographisch betrachtet', in *Berichte ü. Verh. d. kön. sächs. Ges. f. Völkerkunde Leipzig* (phil. hist.), I. 11. *Cf.* also Ranke, *Der Mensch*, ii. 235.

I cannot altogether agree with Edvard Lehmann who says that there are two stages in the life of man, "two periods" which alternately succeed each other, the one when man wanders and the other when he settles down.[1] I think that the latter is of no permanent significance among the most primitive peoples. Lehmann further remarks, "As long as they wander they keep on wishing for a place to live in; when they have settled down they begin to wander again."[2] It is doubtful if true wandering peoples have any longing to become stationary.

On the lowest planes of civilization particularly, the wandering life as a rule dominates. Bolinder without doubt underrates this when he claims that the number of roaming tribes is not so large.[3]

Lewis A. Morgan has presented evidence bearing upon the migrations of the North American Indians, drawn from a consideration of physical conditions, especially the influence of abundant means of subsistence, and from their systems of consanguinity, their relative positions, their language and traditions.[4] "The farther back we go in the history of the race, the clearer it becomes that migrations lie at the root of much of human development," says Bowman.[5]

Our knowledge of great migrations undertaken by practically all peoples completely upsets the conception of autochthonous peoples and also earlier history's conception of peoples who, possibly being the descendants of gods or demi-gods, have taken their dwelling-places once for all.

Possibly it would be easier to investigate the reasons for man's stability than for his migrations. The population of every territory is flowing, continuous, changeable. "At any rate," writes O. T. Mason, "ethnologists do not know of a time when there was not a deal of moving about over the earth."[6] The explanation of the universal diffusion of mankind on the whole most certainly lies in migrations alone.

There are, it is true, investigators who claim that most peoples are autochthonous, that the similarity of one to another should not

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[1] Lehmann, *Stallet och vagen*, p. 171.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 171.
[3] Bolinder, *Naturfolkens kultur*, p. 5.
[4] Morgan, 'Indian Migrations', in *The North Amer. Review*, cix. 391 pass.
[5] Bowman, 'The Country of the Shepherds', in *The Geogr. Review*, i. 421.
[6] Mason, *Primitive Travel and Transportation*, p. 249.

be attributed to contact through migrations but at the most to the diffusion of culture elements from people to people, or possibly only to the similarity in human nature which allows culture to spring out of like conditions. We shall discuss the problem more thoroughly in connexion with the question of the subsistence-geographical stages.

Vodskov would reduce the extent of migrations to the least possible space. Proceeding from the belief that religions are localized, he assumes that peoples and cultures are localized too.[1] He admits that there is a certain amount of movement in the most primitive collector stages, and admits that there must have been a time when expansion was the order of the day, the great way out which peoples made use of as soon as over-population made itself felt, but he looks upon most primitive hunter and fisher peoples and their primitive forms of culture as stable [2] Thus Vodskov questions even the wanderings of the Lapps and the Eskimos. These peoples are, according to him, autochthonous. "They have developed in the place itself. As soon as we admit the fact that such cultures with respect to their combined characteristic inventions are localized, that the kayak has not been dragged up there from the Rhine or the blubber lamp from Schwarzwald, but that the whole, point for point, was born and developed in the place itself, as soon as we admit that, it all becomes natural and easy".[3] For Vodskov believes that the extreme natural conditions in the high northern regions would have made it impossible for anyone to have migrated to those tracts.

Vodskov does not take count of migrations proper. He only takes into consideration a slowly advancing expansion and infiltration. As a result he speaks of "an expansion, not a wandering period; peoples did not wander, they grew big in a place and then pushed away the fruit".[4] This may be true in some cases but it has no general application. Naturally, as will be discussed below, we have to distinguish between a slow filtration and great wandering expeditions, between seasonal moves and nomadic raiding expeditions, between a permanent change of habitat and an immigration or emigration which takes place once for all. However, as a picture of migrations in their entirety, Vodskov's thesis is biased .

Vodskov does not take into account that peoples whose migrations have extended over enormous periods of time have gradually been able to push their way even from warm climates through regions with gradually falling temperatures. But if he attempts to belittle the importance of land wanderings he cannot do the same with all expansions seawards. In the presence of the language and cultural unity in Oceania, from the Sandwich Islands to New Zealand, from the Ellice Islands to Easter Island, in the face of the fact of

[1] Vodskov, *Sjældyrkelse og Naturdyrkelse*, i. xvii.
[2] *Ibid.* i. lvi.
[3] *Ibid.* i. xxiii.
[4] *Ibid.* i. xli.

peoples "whom one would not suppose could suspect each other's existence, who are separated from each other by month-long journeys over a sea full of dangers and who, when they meet, can converse as if they lived next door to one another", Vodskov begins to feel his anti-migration theory waver, but he recovers his poise quickly, being convinced that migrations which must be looked upon as impossible on land owing to a lack of supplies, food, means of transportation, etc., may be possible on a great sea where fruitful islands connect settlement with settlement, in this way making communication possible.[1]

Furthermore Vodskov appraises earlier migrations with later ones in mind. If historic times present a picture of wandering peoples "then let us in spite of all theories allow the same to hold good for the prehistoric. If on the other hand the historic races and nations present a picture of all-pervading stability, then it is up to us in the least detail to be very careful in assuming the opposite to be true of the primordial age" [2]

A similar argument, though historically somewhat reversed, has been given by the Baltic ethnologist Mucke, who even questions the general extent of migrations. If wanderings were so very common in more primitive stages, says Mucke, they ought to make themselves so powerfully felt in the present day too, that there should not be a single stationary people on earth. For, he continues, the foundation is not only that upon which everything rests, it also acts as a cause for all later stages.[3]

I have dwelt on the anti-migratory theories at such length here, because in estimating the extent of migrations one ought not to overlook theories that are so directly opposed to other theories. Comparisons, such as those made by Vodskov and Mucke, between present-day and earlier migrations seem to me to be somewhat lame. In the natural state and on low planes of civilization in general, where all instincts and needs come out most strongly, migrations must also reach their greatest size. Great expanses for migration are then still available. Man has fewer means of protecting himself against the pressure of geographical factors. The sweeping influence which external surroundings exercise on man varies in proportion to his nearness to the natural state. The more primitive he is, the greater is the geographical influence, and it then decreases to the degree in which he succeeds in becoming its master. In higher stages, the wandering need becomes materially modified, as I shall prove in detail below.

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[1] *Ibid* I. lxxi

[2] *Ibid.* I. xxiv.

[3] Mucke, *Das Problem der Volkerverwandtschaft*, pass.; *Idem*, *Urgeschichte des Ackerbaues und der Viehzucht*, pass.

Since we look upon migrations of peoples as an infinitely long, continuous series of movements, we must also remember that many regions of Africa and Asia, and to a less extent of Europe and America, which now are barren and arid deserts were once covered with lakes, flowing rivers and vegetation. The Sahara, for instance, and the Arabian peninsula were fertile lands suitable for life, while regions which now are temperate were almost uninhabitable. Later desiccation came about in the fertile regions, changing them gradually to uninhabitable deserts. One may assume that the migrations of prehistoric times were directed by two determining geographical factors, the pressure of the drought which forced peoples northward, and later the pressure of the Glacial Age in the north which caused populations to drift southwards.[1]

It is on the one hand obvious that, when we think of the migrations of the peoples who lived at a time when the polar regions of each continent were either covered with glaciers or formed Arctic seas, we have, as Brinton says, to do with geographical conditions totally unlike those of to-day.[2] But on the other hand, the peoples on the ice margin must have had to look for subsistence in about the same manner as the Arctic peoples, the Eskimos, who to-day live farthest north. Archaeological finds indicate that this is so. Prehistoric peoples were most probably hunter-fisher peoples, in whose lives the wild reindeer played an important rôle. Under a somewhat milder heaven there was plant food.

Archaeology and geology, as I have said, give us every reason to assume that prehistoric peoples were wandering peoples to a great degree. They had hardly risen above the primitive stages which many present-day savages represent. Probably collecting and hunting were their forms of subsistence. The conditions in localities where remains of the Palaeolithic Age have been found, Thurnwald says, indicate as a rule that the sojourns of these peoples were transitory, even if the same place may have been visited several times by different generations and thus created many layers of culture.[3] The Palaeolithic stone industry in different parts of Europe harmonizes to a great extent, which indicates that peoples wandered through the land and lodged wherever the subsistence-geographical conditions permitted.

[1] *Cf.* Keane, *Ethnology*, p. 135
Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, p. 44.

[3] Thurnwald, 'Wirtschaft', in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, xiv. 324.

The way in which primitive coast peoples subsisted is to be seen in their so-called *Kjøkkenmøddinger* ("Kitchen-middens") in the North.

So far at least, we possess few details about the routes taken even by present-day wandering peoples. Except for the most usual routes in North Africa, not even the wanderings of the nomads are particularly clear. It would be interesting to mark all the routes of the wandering peoples and the nomads on a large-scale map. Most widely different, because they are so irregular, would be the wanderings of the collector peoples and the hunters. The reasons behind these wanderings are still less plain.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF THE WANDERINGS

The wandering problem has not yet been solved to any great extent. We know something about the historic migrations of peoples. In certain instances research has even been able to throw light on the various reasons for these wanderings, though it has principally given attention to the courses taken by the movements and the progression of events. If we penetrate to more primitive levels, however, we come up against almost unexplored fields. The movements and migrations of many peoples on a low plane of civilization are not yet known even along general lines, and the reasons for these wanderings have been little investigated. Yet, if we wish to understand the nature and progress of these migrations completely, to become acquainted with the first reasons behind them, it is not enough to study the movements during the period of ancient history and the Middle Ages. It is necessary to examine the wanderings of peoples on more primitive human planes, for it is among those peoples who are to so great a degree under the influence of their external surroundings, among whom civilization has not yet had time to make its influence affect development, repressing and rounding off primitive bents and tendencies, it is among them, if anywhere, that we are in a position to become acquainted with customs and habits, instincts and impulses in their most primitive forms, much more clearly than among peoples who have already attained to higher forms of civilization, not to say historic culture.

Naturally, we must not blindly accept all traits in the life of primitive peoples as being manifestations of the most primitive human instincts, for even the most primitive tribes of the present day have an endless number of centuries, possibly even thousands of years behind them, which have not gone by without leaving

some traces. However, primitive peoples move about to a much greater extent than peoples on a higher plane of civilization; but, as I have said, the problem presented by the wanderings of these "cultureless" or primitive peoples is still little investigated. The reason is that research has seldom paid much attention to the migration problem. The main general geographical and historical features of the duration, and technique as it were, of the wanderings have been made clear, but the reasons for the migrations are decidedly less so. And as for the psychological problem bound up in the wandering instinct, investigators and writers have, as a rule, been content merely to state that the problem exists.

It would also be asking too much of general ethnological works or sociological monographs, which do not devote special attention to the migration problem, to enter into the question. It is natural for authors in such instances only to mention the migrations and the subsistence-geographical conditions governing them. However, the question of the enigmatical wandering instinct at times emerges in the background. When enquirers in such cases try to explain the reasons for migrations by pointing to the wandering instinct as the cause, as though that term were sufficient to bring the problem into broad daylight, it seems to me that they are running round in a circle, that they are more or less offering an assertion as proof.

Let me mention just a few examples taken from primitive environments. Speaking of the Polynesians, Woodford writes that a Polynesian has "the wandering instinct in his blood".[1] The Swedish investigator Bengtsson, writing of the Australian aborigines, points out that they have always been "nomadic peoples" (the author presumably means collector-hunter peoples), "consequently they have had the wandering instinct in their blood for hundreds of generations back and it is just as absurd to think of their becoming stationary as of our becoming nomads."[2] And, the author adds, they can be persuaded to remain in one and the same place only if they are obviously degenerate.[3] Dr. Eylmann tells us that missionaries who have converted and "brought up" Australian natives have found that an irresistible wandering impulse time and time

[1] Woodford, 'On some little-known Polynesian settlements in ... Solomon Islands', in *Jour. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, xlviii. 27.

[2] Bengtsson, *Tusen mil genom Australien*, p. 12.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

again takes hold of both young and old, so that the missionaries of some stations are forced to give each family a week's or a month's breathing spell during which time they devote themselves to their earlier mode of life and naturally return to a wild state.[1]

The Kubu in Sumatra, who are considered by some investigators to be the oldest inhabitants of the island, keep to the forests. Attempts at making them stationary have scarcely succeeded. Cases are known of Kubu women who married Malay men, whom they accompanied to their settlements and by whom they were well treated, being supplied among other things with better food than they were accustomed to get in the forest. They stood the life for a few years, only to disappear suddenly. They had joined a Kubu band roaming around in the vicinity in order to be able to get back to their old tribe.[2] We are told that among the members of the more or less stationary Malay Kvantan tribe in Sumatra "the ruling migratory instinct" often breaks out. When this happens the tribe migrates to the coast or to islands round about, where it stays for a year or even longer before returning again.[3]

The wandering nature of the Malays of the Malay Peninsula is also often emphasized. The name Malay, which is said to have been given them by their Javanese kinsmen, in all likelihood means wanderer. The Senoi and Semang of Malacca are constantly on the move, with no goal in view. They are said to roam around like wild animals, remaining three or four days at the most in one and the same place.[4] Collet says, speaking of the Malays and their desire to wander, that their "besoins de vagabondage sont intenses et à qui la vie dans les bois confère des aptitudes spéciales".[5]

Mr. Man speaks of the Andaman Islanders' "nomadism which appears to be almost if not entirely among certain tribes, *Aryô-to* and *E-rem-tâ-ga*".[6] And Kaudern says that the natives of Madagascar have "a tremendous craving for wandering about".[7] The Antimos

[1] Eylmann, *Die Eingeborenen der Kolonie Sudaustralien*, p. 465.

[2] Hagen, *Die Orang Kubu auf Sumatra* (*Veröff. Stadt Volkerkunde-Mus. Frankfurt a. M.*, ii), pp. 2 *sqq.*, 12 *sq.*, 17, 93 *sqq.*

[3] Maas, *Durch Zentral-Sumatra*, i. 249.

[4] Dempwolff, 'Die Malaien', in Doegen, *Unter fremden Völkern*, p. 85 *sq.*; Martin, *Die Inlandsstamme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, p. 569.

[5] Collet, *Terres et peuples de Sumatra*, p. 201.

[6] Man, 'On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii. 56.

[7] Kaudern, *På Madagaskar*, p. 138.

on the island "seem to be completely dominated by a wandering mania, from which the other tribes on the island suffer too".[1]

Speaking of the Bushmen, Barthel and Passarge claim that in addition to subsistence-geographical and warlike reasons their wanderings are brought about by an "untamed desire to wander, a desire for freedom which severs all ties".[2]

Dr. Koppers says of the wanderings of the Yahgan tribes in Tierra del Fuego that "nomadism is inherent in their blood".[3] He also refers to subsistence-geographical reasons, it is true. Gusinde, who investigated the wanderings of the Fuegian Selk'nam tribe, also points out that they have to do with the geographical surroundings, but on the other hand he claims that the Selk'nam, who have a "restless quality", are not able to endure a long stay in one and the same place; "to such an extent has roaming about become its second nature".[4] Grubb says that the same holds good of the Chaco Indians.[5] Prof. Karsten, who analyzes various reasons for wandering, says that the Indians in the Chaco are "unable to remain long in any one place and are driven by resistless forces from one part of the country to another".[6]

The strongly developed wandering instinct, the Wanderlust of the Eskimos is often alluded to as the "spirit of restlessness" which manifests itself particularly in March, when spring begins to make its entry and when the Eskimos feel that they once again may go on hunting and fishing trips.[7] A. E. Nordenskiöld writes that "it seems as if the savage cooped up in his little corner of the world suddenly is seized with the same inevitable desire to escape which

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[2] Barthel, *Volkerbewegungen auf der Südhalfte des afrikanischen Kontinents*, p. 38; Passarge, *Die Buschmanner der Kalahari*, p. 3. *Cf.* also Zastrow, 'Über die Buschleute', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xlvi. 1.

[3] Koppers, *Unter Feuerland-Indianern*, p. 299.

[4] Gusinde, *Die Selk'nam*, pp. 302, 304.

[5] Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, p. 60. *Cf.* Kersten, 'Die Indianerstämme des Gran-Chaco', in *Intern. Arch. f. Ethn.*, xvii. 74.

[6] Karsten, 'Indian Tribes of Gran Chaco', *in Soc. Scient. Fennica* (*Comm. Hum. Litt.* iv. i.), 36.

[7] Hansen, 'Bidrag til Vestgrønlændernes Anthropologi', in *Medd. om Grønland*, vii. 174; Bangsted, *Eskimoer*, p. 32; Bilby, *Among Unknown Eskimo*, p. 235; Haffert, 'Die Volkerwanderung der Eskimos', in *Geogr. Zeitsch.*, i. 302; Rasmussen, *Foran Dagens Øje*, p. 1 *sq.*

gives the prisoner power to defy everything in order to exchange his cell for a free life for a few days".[1]

The Eskimo's life begins and ends with wandering, Thurnwald writes.[2] The hereditary technique of travelling has taken root in the minds of the Eskimos to such a degree that it has not been changed by the annual mail journeys, which are performed by employed natives. These journeys could certainly be performed much more quickly than is the case now, if the money which is now spent on daily wages were used to provide a sensible outfit.[3]

One of Dr. Rasmussen's Eskimo friends said to him: "What can we do — we were born with the great unrest — our father taught us that life is a long journey where only the unfit are left behind".[4] And a Lapp woman said to Mrs. Demant-Hatt: "We Lapps have the same nature as the reindeer — in the springtime we long for the highlands, when winter comes we are drawn to the woods".[5]

The Semite as well as the Arab is seized by "la hantise de déplacement et le goût des migrations".[6]

Delisle says in connexion with the earliest historically known migrations in Asia Minor that their migration is "guidée par le seul esprit d'aventures, entraînant au loin des tribus entières".[7]

Even if we have no reason to include civilized peoples in this connexion, it may be of interest to call to mind some parallels from the "Norse restlessness", the Scandinavian longing for adventure which is often mentioned in Northern literature, of the Finnish *kaukomieli* (distant longing) "an internal burning", "wandering fever", to use Gallen-Kallela's expression, the melancholy longing which already manifests itself in Finnish popular poetry.[8] Dr. Ruin speaks of the Northern peoples' longing for the south, of their painful unrest.[9]

Earlier research, in so far as it has mentioned the subject at

[1] Nordenskiold, *Den andrå Dicksonska Expeditionen till Gronland*, p. 473.

[2] Thurnwald, *Die menschliche Gesellschaft in ihren ethnologischen Grundlagen*, i. 36.

[3] Birket-Smith, *The Caribou Eskimos* (*Rep. Fifth Thule Exp.*), i. 153

[4] Rasmussen, *Min Rejsedagbog*, p. 23.

[5] Demant-Hatt, *Med Lapperne i Højfjeldet* (*Lapparne och deras land*, ii), p. 120.

[6] Kadmi-Cohen, *Nomades*, p. 20 *sq.*

[7] Delisle, 'Migration', in *Dic. scienc. anthr.*, p. 749.

[8] *Boken om Gallen-Kallela*, ch. iii.

[9] Ruin, *Gycklare och apostlar*, p. 26.

all, has spoken in extremely general terms of the reasons for the migrations of peoples. In a book on Finnish migrations, one that is rather vague in many instances, Lindström says that "one finds that there have been migrations in practically all parts of the world from time immemorial. Oppression by other mightier peoples, the desire for glory or spoils, and other innumerable circumstances have been the driving force behind these wanderings. Even the cold countries of the North have procured their inhabitants from foreign immigrant peoples."[1]

In more fundamental sociological books in which more attention is given to the migration problem, it is nevertheless dismissed briefly, as a rule.

De Quatrefages, the well-known French anthropologist, states in regard to migrations that they are a "travel craving" which is to be seen everywhere among mankind.[2] Dr. Kohl feels that one of the most important causes of migration is human restlessness.[3] Friedrich von Hellwald, who is right in his assertion that there is something mysterious in the migrations of peoples and that all theories on the subject are only assumptions, believes that the secret reason for these wanderings lies in a still unknown natural phenomenon.[4]

The American ethnologist Brinton postulates the existence of a "causeless restlessness" side by side with food requirements and the influences of geographical conditions. According to this author, the gypsies especially are equipped with "an hereditary instinct for vagabondage".[5] Gustaf F. Steffen assumes that man was "born vagabond" from economic causes pure and simple, and that later on he has not found it so easy to get rid of his vagabond blood, at least not in any other place than in endlessly fertile, half-tropical inundated districts where favourable conditions easily taught intensive agriculture and permanency in living conditions. "In barren countries and more severe climates the wandering instinct does not die completely away after hundreds, even thousands of

[1] Lindström, *Om Finska Folkvandringar*, p. 5; *cf. Idem, Om den Germaniska Kulturens inverkan på Finska Folket*, pass.; *Idem, Försök att bestamma tiden från hvilken Finnarne innehaft sina nuvarande boningsplatser*, pass.

[2] de Quatrefages, *L'Espèce humaine*, p. 133.

[3] Kohl, *Der Verkehr und die Ansiedelung der Menschen*, p. 12; *cf.* Wirth, *Der Weltverkehr*, p. 81; Beusch, *Wanderungen und Stadtkultur*, p. 77.

[4] v. Hellwald, *Die amerikanische Völkerwanderung*, p. 7.

[5] Brinton, *Races and Peoples*, p. 74 *sq.*

years of permanency."[1] Schurtz is of the opinion that the spirit of drift, of roving about, may change into a secondary instinct which does not even yield to training in the opposite direction. And, whereas civilization has bound man closer to the soil, it has steadily increased his possibilities of moving about, thus fortunately decreasing the disadvantages of an all too one-sided permanency, says Schurtz. However, when Schurtz in speaking of gypsies and other similar wandering peoples points out that it is their "restless spirit" that has brought about great migrations, he does not prove what is at the bottom of this restless disposition.[2] The Austrian "culture-circle school" clears up the mystery without any trouble. In addition to subsistence-geographical reasons, the wandering habits according to Schmidt and Koppers have during the ages turned "das Nomadisieren, die Freizugigkeit" into a perfect passion.[3]

Nor do psychological books analyze the wandering instinct to any extent. Wilhelm Wundt, who has devoted ten volumes to the psychology of peoples, has in general terms touched upon the wandering problem, but he has not investigated the question in any detail. Wundt states that the wandering instinct is to be found in the blood of the nomad even after he becomes stationary. It expresses itself constantly, even in instances where city culture has taken hold, in the trading instinct which was already to be found among Phoenicians, Syrians, Arabs, and in a high degree among Semitic-Turanian peoples.[4]

As has been said before, it would presumably be asking too much of investigators who only mention the movements of peoples *en passant*, to expect them to take up the question of all the underlying reasons difficult to explain. Felix Dahn, the German historian, who has only touched upon historical migrations, does not hesitate to assert that the problem of the reasons for migrations cannot be solved at all,[5] and the gypsy investigator Thesleff does not think that the problem of the forces which compel peoples to

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[1] Steffen, *Varldsåldrarna*, ii. 63.

[2] Schurtz, 'Indonesien', in Helmolt, *Weltgeschichte*, ii. 525, *Idem*, *Katechismus der Völkerkunde*, p. 32.

[3] Schmidt and Koppers, 'Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft', in *Der Mensch aller Zeiten*, iii. 420.

[4] Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, x. 256.

[5] Dahn, *Bausteine*, i. 283 *sq.*

migrate will ever be solved.[1] The psychological problem of the wandering instinct seems to belong to those imponderable questions which are frequently discussed but about which little is known.

On the other hand, we do find sociological and ethnological books in which the reasons for the migrations of peoples are briefly treated. Do they answer the question satisfactorily?

So early a writer as Herbert Spencer, in connexion with migrations, speaks of "the restlessness inherited from ancestral nomads", which "is partly due to undeveloped agriculture — — — to the absence of those means by which, in a thickly peopled country, the soil is made permanently fertile".[2]

Professor Flinders Petrie, who has made a study of migrations and particularly of the influence of the migrations of historical peoples on racial mixtures, finds that "migration may be described as an animal habit, whether we regard temporary migration to and fro with the seasons, which the birds perform on the largest scale, or the permanent occupation of new ground, which has been the necessary progress in the growth of every species."[3] "Migrations," says Jockelson, "are determined by two main factors: by the attractiveness of other localities and by an expulsion caused by invaders. Increase in population, climatic changes, the aspiration for freedom from social, political or religious bondage, or the enthusiasm to spread a new religious doctrine, may be regarded as secondary causes, but these also may be reduced to the first two factors."[4] This is somewhat generally formulated, however.

Even if Dr. Koppers often emphasizes the subsistence-geographical conditions governing the migrations of peoples, he claims that the wandering habit may develop into a perfect passion with the progress of time, so that many other causes besides economic-geographical causes may exert a determining influence.[5]

Dr. Rivet distinguishes between "les migrations" and "le nomadisme". The former refer to geographically conditioned migrations. To the latter, which according to Rivet is more or less identical with the wandering instinct, is added "un facteur psychologique: il existe," he points out, "des individus qui ont un besoin

[1] Thesleff, *Zigenare*, p. 4.

[2] Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, i. 566.

[3] Flinders Petrie, 'Migrations', in *Jour. Anthr. Soc.*, xxxvi.

[4] Jockelson, 'Peoples of Asiatic Russia', in *Amer.Mus.Nat.Hist.* (1928), 233. Schmidt and Koppers, in *loc. cit.*, iii. 420.

de mouvement. Le vrai nomadisme d'ailleurs est rare, on ne peut guère retenir comme vrais nomades que les Tsiganes et certains Malais maritimes".[1]

Becker also draws very general inferences, principally on the basis of investigations into American and particularly Aztec migrations. He sets down certain common wandering tendencies: from a severe climate to a country of milder climate, from high or mountain land into the lowlands, from the dry steppe into the humid and fertile plain, from the home of a barbarous nation of equal natural brain and physical power towards the seats of higher civilizations and refinement, from the home of a nation of superior brain capacity towards the lands of nations of less average brain capacity.[2]

Mason emphasizes that migrations were principally conditioned by the food supply and that they advanced along the path of least resistance. In his paper Mason draws especial attention to the maxima and minima of the food quest. But he also generalizes to a great extent when he says that migration "is acted by compulsion and by attraction, from within and from without, through nature and through man".[3] On the other hand Mason divides the reasons into "the attractive and the repulsive forces".[4] Some migrants, he says, are drawn, allured, enticed to move. They go because they want to, nobody compels them, they have in themselves the energy, the ambition, the vigour to go and they are the peoples that have dominated the earth. Other migrants are crowded, driven, compelled to move. They are afraid to stay where they are. Such people are cowardly, retrogressive, decadent. However, this is putting it very generally, and Mason gives no real analysis as to why the category first mentioned is forced to wander. He then proceeds to put the wandering motives into subdivisions: A. Subjective motives (*vis ab intra*), to which category hope, desire, appetite, ambition, weakness, fear, aversion, and cowardice belong. B. Objective motives (*vis ab extra*), such as advantages, supplies, comforts, satisfactions, acting *a fronte* or *a tergo*, discomfort, com-

[1] Dr. Rivet, after a paper, presented by the author in "L'Institut français d'Anthropologie" in Paris 1930, *cf. L'Anthropologie*, lx. 290.

[2] Becker, 'On the Migration of the Nahuas', in *Congr. intern. des Américanistes* (2:e Sess.), p. 325.

[3] Mason, 'Migration and the Food Quest', in *The Amer. Anthr.*, vii. 276.

[4] *Ibid.* vii. 276.

pulsions, failure of resources, *a fronte* or *a tergo*. However, he is more concerned with speculating philosophically on the motives and results of wanderings of peoples than in analyzing these in relation to different peoples.[1]

"Wanderlust is a longing for new experience," says N. Anderson. "It is the yearning to see new places, to feel the thrill of new sensations, to encounter new situations, and to know the freedom and the exhilaration of being a stranger."[2] Dr. Bruhn thinks that every man is born with an instinctive nomadic tendency.[3]

Linus W. Kline in a short study in the *The American Journal of Psychology*, 1898,[4] was the first to take up the question of the migration problem in any detail. In addition to economic-geographical, warlike and social-political reasons for wanderings, Kline presents a somewhat vague theory founded upon a supposed parallelism between sexual reasons and a craving to wander. Kline proceeds from the facts emphasized by Westermarck that among our oldest human and semi-human forefathers, as well as among their relatives in the animal world, pairing was limited to certain times of the year, a custom which is said to exist among some savage peoples to-day.[5] Starting out from this hypothesis of an ancient pairing time, which obeyed the same rules as those which still rule in the animal world, Kline builds a theory on the wandering instinct. He thinks that this annual pairing period, in the same way as marriage through capture and sale — which is not unusual among savages — gave rise to yearly wanderings in search of brides.[6] Kline claims that "wife-capture" was a war signal among some primitive tribes. This cause for war, originally founded upon sexual reasons, thus strengthened the instinct for movement. "That the activities and attendant passions of (1) the annual pairing season, (2) of wife-capture in its various forms and consequent wars, (3) of the various forms of symbolism of wife-capture and (4) of the ever-recurring romantic episodes among civilized peoples everywhere, have impressed the human soul, and have differentiated it in a special way is highly probable. The product of this differen-

[1] *Ibid.* vii. 276.

[2] Anderson, *The Hobo*, p. 82.

[3] Bruhn, *Uppfostran hos de nordiska nomaderna*, p. 62.

[4] Kline, 'The Migratory Impulse versus Love of Home', in *Amer. Jour. Psych.*, x. 1 *sqq.*

[5] Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, i. ch. 2, ii. ch. 21.

[6] Kline, in *loc. cit.*, x. 52 *sq.*

tiation is the instinct that impels man to desert home and vegetative stores and seek a world where the procreative function and its higher irradiations may assert themselves."[1] It is most probably with his thoughts on this hypothesis of a former annual pairing period among animals and men that Kline uses spaced-out type in quoting Rowbotham on troubadours: "the leading and characteristic feature in the life of every troubadour was that he was expected to 'go through the world'.... 'to go from court to court'. At the first breath of spring the troubadour mounted on his steed..."[2]

Kline and Hall, who together investigated the feelings, ideas and instincts of children and young people in America, found that the desire to move about was strongest in spring and that youths in their twenties were most affected. Running away from home was common among children all the year round.[3] These psychologists have not, however, proved that a connexion exists between sex and spring.

However, even if it was fairly common for some primitive peoples to hunt women, even if such amatory expeditions in modified form have always taken place and their praises have been sung from the days of Homer and Vergil to the days of the troubadours in the Middle Ages and even later, they have been individual expeditions. It is not a question of migrations which have included a whole tribe or a whole people. They have at the most concerned separate groups of men and women. Without doubt warlike motives among primitive peoples — even if they have been extremely exaggerated by older ethnology — have caused both tribal wanderings and wanderings of whole peoples, but it is doubtful if the sexual motives for war postulated by Kline can have been so impor-

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[1] *Ibid.* x. 54.

[2] *Ibid.* x. 54; Rowbotham, *The Troubadours and Courts of Love*, p. 226.

[3] Kline, in *loc. cit.*, x. 3 *sqq.* (note); cf. *Idem*, 'Truancy related to the Migratory Instinct', in *The Pedag. Sem.*, v. 386. Kline (in *The Pedag. Sem.*, v. 418) states that many of the truants, or 98 per cent., do not return home, readily exchanging its comforts for hunger, sleeping out, stealing, breaking in and entering, and the like. This indicates two things. "first that their homes have a minimum attractiveness and power over their lives, and second that their moral sense, self-respect and ambition are greatly wanting, since they abandon themselves so readily to more primitive forms of civilization". "Unadaptability to social surroundings usually shows itself in the shape of truancy, vagrancy and generally wandering habits. In case of good parental bringing up the wandering impulse is usually corrected and so dies down".

tant that they helped to form the wandering instinct. Such speculations have no sound basis on which to construct a tenable theory. Of course, strict exogamy may have been the reason for smaller movements and wanderings, as is the case among the Indians on the Isthmus of Panama, for instance, according to Baron Erland Nordenskiöld.[1] However, only small groups of men and not tribes or peoples take part in such expeditions.

There are also some works on the migration routes and the course of the migrations of primitive peoples, and even one or two short treatises; but the more interesting problem dealing with the causes of migrations is not specially touched upon. Dr. Barthel, who discusses the wanderings of peoples in the southern part of the African continent, pays particular attention to their course.[2] In his little book on *The Wanderings of Peoples* the Cambridge ethnologist Dr. Haddon gives a good general survey of the wanderings of prehistoric as well as of historic and primitive peoples. But here again this study of Haddon's practically concerns itself only with the direction and extent of the wanderings. He does not enter into an investigation of the various reasons behind migrations, except for a general summing-up of the question. "The movements of peoples," he writes, "are determined by two main factors, which may be briefly described as the driving force and the control, or in other words, the cause of a migration is due to one set of circumstances and its direction to another. — When reduced to its simplest terms a migration is caused by an expulsion and an attraction, the former nearly always resulting from dearth of food or from overpopulation, which practically comes to the same thing."[3] In other respects Dr. Haddon looks upon the problem of the migrations of primitive peoples as an almost uninvestigated province. Since that book little progress has been made in investigating the question. Some attention was given to it at the Sixth Sociological Congress in Zürich in 1929, but the papers presented there were very abstract and theoretical in nature.[4]

I shall later discuss the interpretation of the wandering problem which is offered by psychoanalysts.

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[1] Nordenskiold, 'Indianerna på Panamanäset', in *Ymer*, xlviii. 92.

[2] Barthel, *op. cit.*, pass.

[3] Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, p. 1 *sq.*

[4] *Verh. vi Deutsch. Soziol. Tages*, p. 127 pass.

We cannot emerge out of the darkness surrounding the migration problem by seizing upon more or less indefinite phrases about the wandering instinct. In some instances migrations may actually be an elementary expression of the wandering instinct; but on the other hand there have been large migrations and mass-movements which do not point to the wandering instinct as their driving force. There is no doubt that many movements have taken place imperceptibly during centuries of a slowly advancing expansion. Wanderings of peoples need not always of necessity have been like an overflowing stream of lava. They may have occurred in the shape of small groups, bands of people, wandering slowly onward, an indiscernible, gradual moving forward of boundaries. In any case it is surely necessary to ascertain the composition of these elements. Such an analysis ought, however, to be preceded by a general study of the main reasons for the migrations of peoples. The former becomes a psychological, the latter a sociological question. The psychological question must not be content with solely a sociological answer. The latter, as far as I can see, requires ethnological treatment first of all, a study of the wanderings of the most important primitive peoples.

Without doubt the roots of the problem lie deep down in nature's secret domain, and I am not so uncritical as to think that I can find its definitive solution. In many instances one must be content only with a discussion of more or less probable hypotheses. If, on the other hand, I have not hesitated to make a study of the question, I have done so because it seems to me that the subject deserves further investigation. I have tried, first, to discover the fundamental general reasons for the wanderings of peoples; next, I have investigated more secondary manifestations, and lastly, I have given my attention to more complicated cases of migrations among primitive peoples. The question of the connexion between migration and social organization has also been taken into consideration and an analysis made of the problem of the wandering spirit.

In this book, therefore, I have simply tried to clarify the theories concerning and the principal reasons for the wanderings of primitive peoples, supporting my statements with examples. It has not been my purpose to investigate the wanderings of individual peoples. Such a monographic investigation, which of its nature requires personal contact with a wandering people, would unquestionably be appro-

priate and would most assuredly be of great value. However, it seems to me that a general analysis of the elementary reasons for the wanderings of peoples in primitive stages of civilization ought to be justifiable, since problems belonging within that sphere have received little attention earlier, and cannot, in spite of their general nature, be considered to lack coherence or definite bounds even if they do not fit into the framework of an anthropological monograph.

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The term migration must be looked upon differently among different peoples. Mindeleff is perfectly right in saying that the term migration must not be taken in the sense in which it has been applied to European stock when one judges the migrations of the Pueblos, for example. Here it is not a question of a movement of peoples *en masse* or in several large groups. "Migration as used here, and as it generally applies to the Pueblo Indians, means a slow gradual movement, generally without any definite and ultimate end in view."[1] Part of a tribe or a village moves away from the parent village, perhaps only a few miles, and other tribes follow suit. "These movements are not possible where outside hostile pressure is strong, and if such pressure is long continued it results in a reaggregation of the various scattered settlements into one village."[2]

As has been pointed out before, one must distinguish on the one hand between migrations which include whole tribes and peoples, and migrations which only part of the tribe engage in, as for instance when a powerful and well-armed band conquers a people less well-armed and disciplined, and on the other hand between organized migrations which press onward and others which signify a slow infiltration into a strange country or strange peoples' territory.[3]

It is often possible for a migration which is looked upon historically as a migration of a people only to appear in this light when it is completed; for while it is taking place its individual composition and the course it runs point to its being a series of tribal wanderings.

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[1] Mindeleff, 'Aboriginal Remains in Verde Valley, Arizona', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xiii. 258.

[2] *Ibid.* xiii. 258.

[3] *cf.* Brownlee, in *Man*, xxvi. 182.

The migratory movements of civilized man are governed more fully by well-defined ultimate considerations of welfare, but the movements of primitive man were different. They were pioneer wanderings through unknown environments, "each step requiring painful processes of exploitation and adaptation, each alike subjecting the group to danger of disaster and even of complete annihilation"[1] in a perpetual struggle for existence. However, this struggle served to harden the race, making possible the conquest of the remotest parts of the world.

The wandering life of primitive peoples is their nature. No doubt what Bengtsson says of the Australian negroes is true of many other wandering peoples, namely that they can be persuaded to stay in one and the same place only after they have become degenerate.[2]

Without doubt there has never been a time in human history when wandering has not existed, either in the form of mass wanderings or expeditions of individual tribes or groups of tribes.

The earliest migration recorded in the Bible was when, after the Confusion of Tongues, men wandered over the face of the earth,[3] under conditions only vaguely known to-day. The book of Exodus more clearly describes the withdrawal of the Hebrew tribes from the land and rule of ancient Egypt. A typical illustration of tribal migration was the separation of Abraham and Lot, when the latter gathered his substance and set his face towards Sodom, while Abraham took his way to the plains.

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[1] Holmes, 'Handbook of Aboriginal Antiquities', in *Bull. Smiths. Inst.* lx. 38 *sq.*

[2] Bengtsson, *op. cit.*, p 12.

Even if migrations in the lowest stages of civilization are, as I shall try to prove later, to a great extent brought about by subsistence-geographical reasons, they can hardly be characterized as migrations without intent, which is what Honigsheim ('Die Wanderung vom hist.-ethn. Standorte aus betrachtet', in *Verh. vi. Deutsch. Soziol. Tages*, pp. 126, 131) calls them. Since Honigsheim, who in Lévy-Bruhl style attributes a magic prelogical outlook on life to primitive peoples, counts hunter peoples among these, it may be recalled that many hunters have decidedly limited hunting spheres.

[3] *Genesis*, xi. 8. *Cf.* Guthrie, in *The Cath. Encyclopædia*, x. 291.

CHAPTER III

THE WANDERINGS OF ANIMALS

Before I proceed to investigate the reasons for the wanderings of peoples on a low plane of civilization, it will not be out of the way to make a short survey of the wandering phenomenon in the animal world, where it also stands out prominently.

In the animal world wanderings are possibly conditioned in a more uniform manner than is the case where man is concerned. The wandering impulse of animals is obviously solely a matter of instinct, and we do not here have to concern ourselves with so sharp a differentiation in the question of cause and effect as we do when dealing with different peoples and races. However, wanderings within the animal world offer interesting parallels for study. Even though the problem has scarcely been exhaustively investigated, research shows us, nevertheless, that in the animal world as well as in the human world, at least in the lower stages of civilization, subsistence-geographical and climatic conditions are behind the wandering instinct.

By the wanderings of animals, the wanderings of living creatures, I do not mean their daily going out to search for food, returning to the same point of departure, or at least roughly the same point of departure within the same day or within a few days. I mean a wandering into another locality, distant as a rule, usually with the purpose of breeding there, which implies a return, a double phenomenon that generally is annual. One must also distinguish between the active wanderings of animals, by which is meant the movements of animals in a definite direction when they traverse certain distances and return to the starting-point according to the time of year, and passive wanderings caused by storms, sea cur-

rents, and man's means of communication. In many instances it is difficult to distinguish between the two clearly.[1]

We can establish the existence of extensive wanderings even among the very lowest species of animals. Many kinds of fish migrate regularly every year, travelling long distances from the sea up rivers and watercourses in search of suitable places for spawning,[2] or otherwise the migrations take place in the opposite direction from the rivers out to the sea. It is well known that the salmon ascends rivers and rapids, and that the eel spawns in the deeper parts of the Atlantic. The common eel ascends the rivers when young; the next year it returns to the sea, there to breed and to die, whilst other fishes come and go year after year. However, even though this fish migrates only once in its lifetime, its migrations do not differ in principle from those of other animals.[3]

Certain species of seals in the Pacific Ocean go on annual migrations at breeding time to the waters surrounding certain islands in the Bering Strait, whereas they are otherwise to be found spread over large areas. Whales go on vast journeys through the oceans.[4]

The geographical conditions, the surroundings, play a big part in the migration of fish and not only from the point of view of food. Currents, winds and the percentage of salt and oxygen in the seas direct these wanderings to a great extent.[5]

Many species of toads also go on long migrations to distant ponds in order to spawn there. And on land one finds crabs which regularly go on long wanderings to the seashore where they

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[1] *Cf.* Knauer, *Tierwanderungen und ihre Ursachen*, pass.; Marshall, *Die Wanderungen der Tiere*, pass., Fraenkel, 'Die Wanderungen der Insekten', in *Erg. d. Biologie*, ix. 7; Kline, 'The Migratory Impulse', in *Amer. Jour. Psych.*, x. 27 *sqq.*

[2] This does not always necessarily condition the migrations. The wanderings of certain fish are not always undertaken for spawning purposes, as for instance those of certain species of mackerel such as the *Naucrates ductor* (Aas, *Sjælelıv og intelligens hos dyr*, p. 234; *cf.* Lloyd Morgan, *Habit and Instinct*, p. 9; Björk, 'Nyare forskningar rörande vandringsfiskarnas biologi', in *Pop. Naturvet. Revy*, vi. 71 *sq.*).

[3] Scheuring, 'Die Wanderungen der Fische', in *Erg. d. Biologie*, vi. 305 pass.

[4] Kellogg, 'What is known of the Migrations of some of the Whalebone Whales', in *Ann. Rep. Smiths. Inst.* (1928), p. 467 *sqq.*

[5] Scheuring, in *loc. cit.*, vi. 250 *sq.*, 253 *sqq.*, 260 *sqq.*

breed, the sea having been their first home. The wandering tendency is thus already deeply rooted in these animals.[1]

We also find a marked interest in wandering among many insects. Certain kinds of grasshoppers particularly are well known for travelling long distances in swarms, destroying vegetation as they advance. As a rule they keep within certain bounds, but at times they overflow more distant tracts, causing great havoc. Usually the reason for these expeditions is a dearth of food. Certain periods may be especially favourable for propagation, resulting in an enormous increase of the species. If a dry period follows, the insects are forced to go with the wind, leaving the dessicated districts behind them.[2]

A large number of mammals undertake extensive wanderings purely instinctively. They obey an impulse causing them to migrate blindly, particularly at certain times of the year. The external causes, however, are no doubt to be found in a lack of food in certain places, the need for plant and grass pastures in summer and suitable winter pastures in late autumn, or otherwise the need for suitable and quiet breeding-places. Hilzheimer's investigations prove that the migrations of land mammals are to a great extent conditioned by subsistence-geographical reasons. All other reasons are of a secondary nature.[3] And, as is the case with birds, propagation is associated with these wanderings, generally taking place in the northern summer districts where the greatest supply of food is to be found. The mode of procedure is somewhat different in the case of marine mammals, as the food supply at breeding time is not so important a factor in their case, even though these animals also prefer to return regularly to the same places to produce their young.[4]

There is no doubt that animals migrate to a certain extent in order to avoid being plagued by insects.[5] Hilzheimer points out, however, that the desire to escape tormenting insects cannot have

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[1] Balss, 'Wanderungen bei Decapoden (Crustaceen)', *in Erg. d. Biologie*, vi. 305 pass.

[2] Fraenkel, in *loc. cit.*, ix. 8 *sq.*; *cf.* Bøving-Petersen, *Djurvärlden*, i. 521.

[3] Hilzheimer, 'Die Wanderungen der Säugetiere', in *Erg. d. Biologie*, v. 219 pass., 286 *sq.*

[4] *Ibid.* v. 287.

[5] Lönnberg, *Om renarne och deras levnadsvanor*, p. 47; Lydekker, *The Geographical History of Mammals*, pass.

influenced the formation of the wandering instinct. At the most it may have strengthened the wandering tendency. This holds good only of individual animals and species, and not of animals on the whole, for if all reindeer had migrated only because of the reindeer gadfly, for instance, that fly would have become extinct.[1]

The wandering of animals is quite obviously connected with the supply of food. A heavy increase in the number of animals in a certain district, — as a result of particularly favourable breeding conditions — as a rule brings about disturbances such as scarcity of food, inability to thrive resulting from "cramped quarters", disease, etc.[2] The most characteristic example of such animal migrations is the expeditions of the lemming. These little animals leave their abodes every year to go on journeys. Some years they migrate in countless swarms. Nothing can stop their onward march. The reason for these migrations is still something of a riddle. To a certain extent, no doubt, the explanation is to be found in the fact that lemmings have so many offspring in certain years that there is not enough food to go round. Climatic conditions often seem also to be an important reason.

Similar migrations, if not so impressive as those of the lemmings, occur among smaller rodents such as voles, squirrels, etc. That beasts of prey which feed upon the migratory swarms pursue them only for the sake of food is a secondary phenomenon, which need only be mentioned.

Regular annual wanderings in definite directions within the animal world are to be found most commonly among the ruminantia. "In hill districts, "Professor Lönnberg points out, "it is very usual for such animals which in summertime wander up towards the fells to wander down to the valleys in winter, or at least down to the forest zone."[3] Roes and deer on the mountain chains of Eastern Siberia, Central Asia, Caucasia, the gemsboks of the European mountains, the wapiti in the Rocky Mountains, the steenboks and wild sheep in the New World as well as in the Old, are all examples of animals which go on annual migrations. The animals of the steppes and plains also undertake seasonal wanderings. The musk-ox migrates yearly from south to north or vice versa in Arctic America's

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[1] Hilzheimer, in *loc. cit.*, v. 287.
[2] Lönnberg, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Barren Grounds, the bison and buffalo go on mass migrations.[1] The antelope on the steppes of Southern Russia and Southern Siberia migrate according to the seasons, as do the springboks of the South African veldt.[2] It may be considered as certain that such migrations are associated with food and climatic conditions (protection against unfavourable weather) as well as with the search for suitable places in which to bring forth offspring.

The wandering tendency of the reindeer is still stronger than that of the mammals just mentioned. The migrations of the reindeer are only surpassed by those of the birds of passage. "These movements," Professor Lönnberg writes, "are a manifestation of an innate natural instinct which is so strong that, when the migratory surge has once been set in motion, nothing can change its course, much less hinder it."[3] The reasons for these reindeer wanderings, which in turn give rise to extensive wanderings among savage and half-savage hunting peoples, Indians, Eskimos, North-Siberian peoples, Lapps, etc., will be discussed in greater detail in connexion with hunter peoples and nomads.

The wandering phenomenon is to be found in typical form also among anthropoid apes. The chimpanzee and gorilla lead a roving life. "They seldom or never pass two nights in the same spot."[4]

The question of the migrations and migratory instinct of birds of passage is indisputably one of the most interesting problems in the animal world. It has interested investigators ever since the day of Aristotle, but it is only in the last decades that it has been investigated along more scientific lines. In contrast to the question of human wanderings, faunal research has shown more interest in the reasons for the migrations of birds than in the study of the progress of the migrations.

Of fundamental importance in this question is a study of the wanderings of birds of passage which the Finnish scientist Palmén

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[1] At certain seasons of the year it is customary for the buffaloes both of the village and the ti to migrate from one place to another. As the principal reason for these wanderings Rivers mentions "the necessity for new grazing places" (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 123). Many marine mammals also go on regular migrations, porpoises, species of whales, etc. (Lönnberg, *op. cit.*, p. 24.)

[2] Lönnberg, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[3] Lönnberg, *op. cit.*, p. 25 *sq.*; *cf.* Selous, *Recent Hunting-Trips to British North America*, pass.; Radclyffe, *Big Game Shooting in Alaska*, pass.; Schrenck, *Sibirische Reise*, iv. ii.

[4] Garner, *Apes and Monkeys*, pp. 97, 233.

made on the basis of faunal data. Attention is paid principally to the directions and durations of the movements. Palmén chose as his starting-point a number of high, northern wading and web-footed birds which are well known to man and pursued partly for the sake of hunting and partly for other reasons, so that one might expect to obtain information about their behaviour during the migration. By grouping the collected material, Palmén succeeded in proving that these birds as a rule followed geographical highways. Careful studies by more modern enquirers have confirmed the discoveries of Palmén.

The question of the reasons behind the migrations of birds, even if it has been treated in more detail, is still far from being solved. However, it has advanced to the point where it can be stated that the geographical and climatic conditions are factors which play a determining rôle in these migrations.[1]

It is difficult to express an opinion on the subject of how this wandering instinct has originated. The problem is a paleobiological one. Research can only establish certain facts which seem to have contributed to a great degree to the shaping of the wandering instinct. And, as has been said, these reasons may to a great extent be looked for in conditions similar to those which have forced animals and humans to wander, in the instinct of self-preservation, in geographical and climatic conditions.

To the greater majority of Northern birds, Palmén writes, the annual journeys to and from their breeding-places are vitally important.[2] The Norwegian zoologist Johnsen answers the question: "Why do birds of passage migrate from the north and why do they return to the north?" with the counter-question: "What would become of birds of passage if they did not migrate in autumn?"[3]

It is evident that migration is a necessity for the birds of passage of the cold zones, as it is impossible for them to find sufficient food in their breeding-places in winter. But experiments prove also that the cold weather would not be prohibitive if only the food supply were sufficient to maintain life.[4]

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[1] Palmén, *Om foglarnes flyttningsvagar*, pass.; *cf.* also Coward, *The Migration of Birds*, pass.; Jägerskiöld, *Om flyttfåglar och fågelmarkningar*, pass.; *Idem*, in *Pop. Naturvet. Revy*, ii. 28 *sqq.*, 68 *sqq.*; Rendahl, *Om flyttfåglar*, pass.

[2] Palmén, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

[3] Johnsen, 'Om fugletrækket', in *Naturen*, xxxix. 340.

[4] Groebbels, *Der Vogel*, p. 757 and pass.

Most migratory birds are species which feed chiefly on insects or plants to be found only in summer. It is obvious that it would be death for most of them to spend winter in the North. Insect-eating birds migrate first, fruit-eating birds later on.

Whether the change in temperature and of seasons operates spontaneously through the prevailing weather conditions and temperature, or through other factors is not equally clear.[1] The spring migrations are to a great extent brought about by climatic conditions in that the birds fly away from more southern regions with the approach of spring. Palmén claims that the advancing atmospheric centres of depression in a west-east direction have been proved to carry with them definite winds and temperatures to central regions, which appear to succeed each other in irregular periods. The alternating cold and warm periods seem to exercise a regular influence upon bird migrations, in that a "warm wave" in the atmosphere of a certain region would seem to be a necessary condition for the appearance of a corresponding "bird wave", or "migratory wave" in the same region. The advance of the bird wave is soon checked by the entry of a cold period, during which no new spring guests arrive until a new wave again favours the progress of the earlier birds and brings a new bird wave to the district.[2]

Even if plausible explanations for the southward migrations of birds from the cold zones have been found, it has been decidedly more difficult to solve the riddle of the voluntary emigration from the warm zone which has such a natural abundance of food. The explanation has been sought in a relative overpopulation of birds in the tropics during the period when the growing young birds increase the demand for food. It has also been thought possible that birds of passage are species which developed in the polar regions in remote periods, e. g. during the time when Greenland had a subtropical vegetation. Later, in Greenland's cold phase, which culminated during the Glacial Age, these birds were forced to leave that territory and withdraw southward, retaining an inherited instinct to return to the North in summer. However, these are only hypotheses.

Even in the warm regions migrations are in many places conditioned by the food supply. Alexander writes of bird migrations

[1] Palmén, *op. cit.*, p. 2; *cf.* Lloyd Morgan, *Habit and Instinct*, p. 256.

[2] Palmén, *Om nutidens åtgärder för utredandet af foglarnes årliga flyttningsvägar* (*Zoologiska Upps.* iii), p. 294.

in Africa, that "these migration movements take place more often in the dry season when food and water are scarce in the open country".[1]

That subsistence-geographical reasons to a great degree determine bird migrations is to be seen from the fact that as a rule birds in permanently damp tropical regions do not go on long migrations, whereas in periodically damp regions the state of affairs is different. And in the temperate zone it is the seasonal changes in temperature with the subsequent changes in vegetation which bring about the migrations. The more pronounced the climatic changes, the greater the migrations,[2] and in certain places one can determine a certain ecological conformity between summer and winter quarters. This is true of many Lanius species for example.[3]

The influence of geographical conditions is also to be seen in the fact that many birds are not bound by tradition in the choice of breeding-places. The location depends upon the food supply. This is true of the Pastor species among others.[4]

Care of the progeny is seen as another reason for bird migrations, and in close connexion with this, the instinct of reproduction. "The bird's sex gland undergoes peculiar changes," Johnsen writes. "In spring the sex gland ripens, the reproductive instinct awakens, and its force causes the birds to return to the surroundings where they themselves grew up; they are to such a degree homers that the older ones fly back to the same district and even to the nest of the year before."[5] Johnsen finds support for the supposition that the spring migration is governed by the instinct of reproduction in the fact that those birds which remain in the south instead of migrating are for the most part incapable of producing young.[6]

The solution of the migratory problem has even been looked for in the way in which inner secretions act upon the avian organism. For there are even birds which leave the northern districts before the end of the warm season. And during the normal migratory

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[1] Alexander, *From the Niger to the Nile*, ii. 21.

[2] Stresemann, 'Wanderungen', in *Handb. d. Zoologie*, vii. 658 *sqq.*

[3] *Ibid.* vii. 664 *sqq.*

[4] *Ibid.* vii. 694.

[5] Johnsen, in *loc. cit.*, xxxix. 342.

[6] *Ibid.* xxxix. 342.

period for the species migratory birds bred in cages show a certain uneasiness which sometimes swells to migratory ardour.

In cases where reproduction is looked upon as a fixed point in the migrations, the obvious course was to look for the solution of the wandering instinct in the yearly rhythm of the organs of reproduction, growth during the breeding season, recession in the autumn.[1]

Recent research has proved that when birds are under the influence of light the vital vitamin D is produced in their rump gland. The American ornithologist Rowan claims that great importance should be attached to this fact when figuring out why birds pass the winter in warmer climates.[2]

Birds of passage react strongly to the intensity of light. Rowan has tried to show the effects of light on the organs of reproduction and has connected the varying phases with migration. According to Rowan, it is the reproduction hormones which bring about the migration fever developed during long prehistoric ages. The fact that this instinct is released twice a year Rowan thus places in connexion with the lessened or increased activity of the sex glands, which in turn is dependent on the intensity of light.[3] However, we can only ascertain the existence of certain external causes. It must be looked upon as fairly obvious that the migrations of birds are an altogether peculiarly instinctive phenomenon. It can be fairly definitely claimed that geographical conditions play an important rôle both in the formation and in the development of the migratory instinct.

The geographical conditions are also important in the selection of directions, a question which we cannot take up here. Neither have we space to discuss the power of the birds to find their bearings. There are various theories on this subject. Among other things it has been suggested that this ability has been transmitted from generation to generation, that optical visions have been assembled, "optical engram", etc.[4]

[1] Palmgren, 'Om flyttfåglarna och deras vandringar', in *Hufvudstadsbladet*, no. 127 (1933), p. 14.

[2] Rowan, *The Riddle of Migration*, pass.; Stresemann, in *loc. cit.*, vii. 697 *sqq.*; Hortling, 'Modern migrationsforskning', in *Finsk Tidskrift*, cxiv. 185 *sqq.*

[3] Rowan, *op. cit.*, pass.

[4] Stresemann, in *loc. cit.*, vii. 689; Hortling, 'Om flyttfåglarnas orienteringsförmåga', in *Nya Argus*, no. 9 (1934), p. 11.

Birds fly along the shortest route from their summer to their winter homes. The taking of roundabout ways is explained by the presence of geographical hindrances such as chains of mountains and deserts. The winds also play a part in this.[1] As a rule the birds return along the same migratory path which they followed the previous autumn. The courses of rivers, mountain chains, forests, humidity, mean temperature, elevation above sea-level, etc., all exert considerable influence on the migrations of birds.[2] For a large number of birds the migratory path is governed by the contours of the Baltic Sea and the position of islands. In Holland it is known that many birds regulate their courses according to the formation of the land, the position of the lakes, in that they there take a south-westerly direction.[3] Thus, the Darial Pass in Caucasia, in its capacity of a connecting link, has even become a bird highway. The same is true of the Brenner Pass.[4] Palmén has proved that Arctic birds of passage fly along geographically conditioned routes, the location of which depends upon the topographical conditions of the land.[5]

The irregular migrations or invasions of the bird world possibly run more parallel to the migration of peoples than do the bird migrations *sensu stricto*, that is to say the regular flights. For there are species of birds which at irregular intervals undertake mass migrations to regions where they are not otherwise to be found. Known examples are the long-billed nutcracker (*Nucifraga caryocatactes macrorhynchos*) of Siberia, and the sand-grouse (*Syrrhaptes paradoxus*) of the Caspian steppe regions, as well as three species of crossbill (*Loxia*).

The direction of the wanderings taken by these irregular migratory birds is geographically fairly constant, from east to west. To what degree these wanderings also are conditioned by subsistence-geographical reasons which seem to be their probable cause, is not yet sufficiently cleared up in the literature. Dr. Palmgren, who called these birds to my attention, imagines that their ex-

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[1] Stresemann, in *loc. cit.*, vii. 669 *sqq.*; Hortling, in *Finsk Tidskrift*, cxiv. 186 *sqq.*

[2] Palmén, *Om foglarnes flyttningsvagar*, p. 28.

[3] Palmén, *op. cit.*, p. 21 *sq.*

[4] Seydlitz, *Handbuch der Geographie*, p. 748; Cartwright, 'The Legend of Hawaii-loa', in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.* xxxviii. 109 (Birds fr. the Pac. Ocean).

[5] Palmén, *Om nutidens åtgarder etc.*, p. 287.

peditions, or rather emigrations, are caused by a lack of the kind of food that the respective types are accustomed to feed upon, possibly strengthened by over-population brought about by favourable circumstances. The migratory instinct is dormant also in these irregular birds of passage. In normal years they are more or less non-migrants, or not very pronounced travelling birds which only engage in active migrations if the subsistence-geographical conditions become unfavourable.[1]

Thus we see that both among lower and higher animals as well as in the bird world, one of the principal reasons for wanderings and movements is to be found in the geographical conditions. There may be many other active reasons brought about by internal secretions, or by other things biological in nature, but the plainest reasons are nevertheless to be found in the sphere of geography. And we shall see that this is true of the migrations of humans also, especially those which take place in lower stages of civilization, where all impulses and instincts appear most undisguised, and where the wandering impulse was moulded, as it were.

[1] Information given by Dr. P. Palmgren, Helsingfors.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIGRATION LEGENDS OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

If we wish to study the wanderings of primitive peoples we immediately find, as I have said, that few sources of information exist. These peoples lack a set graphic tradition almost entirely. It is nevertheless such a tradition which, when reproduced by authors along with the described events, constitutes the most reliable basis for historic research. This also explains why the so-called history of the world includes only part of the peoples on the earth, and further, only a fractional part of the history of their development. In Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, which began coming out in 1899, the first systematic attempt that I know of is made to fit primitive peoples into the historical sequence. But their great migrations belong in general to early stages of human development.

However unreliable the foundation of historical research may be, the ground grows still more uncertain when it becomes a question of tales told by word of mouth. As has been said, primitive peoples have no set graphic traditions with the exception of a few records on the walls of dwelling-places, totem poles, picture signs, rock carvings and tattooings. On the other hand they have a rich tradition handed down orally, a wealth of sagas and legends, tales of tribes and settlements, of chiefs and wise men. In addition the more active peoples have definite migration legends. These are not seldom the products of creative fancy, which need have no concrete basis. However, the migration traditions of primitive peoples are just as often, and even oftener, a guide to the study of their "history", especially in cases where historical, geographical and ethnological sources are lacking. The oral tales have often been

found to conceal real historic legends of past episodes in the life of the peoples.[1]

In the tribal legends there are often accounts of tribal heroes, first separate episodes, then continuous series, as well as tales of migrations. Such legends are already to be found among primitive peoples. The migration legends easily turn into a reflection of the historic life, and interlock with sagas of descent (*cf.* Wundt's *Ahnensage*). The migration legend thus constitutes a natural connexion between the legends of place and of tribe. It is often bound to definite starting-points and terminal points in wanderings. The wandering heroes are the forefathers who led their peoples to new settlements, over the boundless sea, through shipwreck, through desert wastes. This is the main motive in the migration legends, though the details may differ vastly.[2]

The migrations of the Israelites under the leadership of Moses, and the journeys of the Maoris in fragile vessels over distances covering 60 degrees of latitude from Hawaii to New Zealand, with many stops in between (according to the legends, it is true) at islands in the Pacific, are among the best-known migration legends. While the Israelites escaped from the oppression of the Egyptian tyranny, the Maori forefathers left their native land because of strife and war, also taking their religion with them. Many myths are entwined in this legend, telling of storms and sea monsters, and of the struggles between priests and leaders.[3]

In the migration legends the geographical destinations, even though vague here too, are more reliable than in the tribal sagas and tales of descent. Wundt points out that the persons as well as their deeds may be mythical. The migrations of the Israelites can endure as an historic fact even if the events surrounding the person of Moses must be looked upon as mythical.[4]

In the tales of the Maoris, Hawaii, Tahiti and other islands — as we shall see — are clearly mentioned. It is true that this does not definitely prove that the migrations went via these halting-places, but it serves as indirect proof. The migration legends give decidedly less information as to the reasons for these migrations.

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[1] In this connexion, by migration legends, I naturally refer to legends of the migrations of people by land or sea, and not to wandering sagas from the folklore point of view, in which connexion Bernheim, for example, and other historians use the term, i. e. to denote tales which themselves "wander" or are carried over from one place to another, from one occasion to another. *Cf.* Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, p. 324 and Graebner, *Methode der Ethnologie*, p. 52. Thus I mean legends of migrations, not "die Wanderung der Mythen", that which Wundt (*Völkerpsychologie*, v: ii. 100, 238, 382, 385) calls *die Wandersage* — not *Wandermärchen* —, related to *die Stammessage*, which at least presupposes certain historic conditions since in these legends actual wanderings experienced, and preserved in the recollection are mirrored. True historic events are often the basis for such traditions even if they have been disarranged and mixed with mythical matter.

[2] Wundt, *op. cit.*, v: ii. 400 *sq.*

[3] Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, p. 76 *sqq.*

[4] Wundt, *op. cit.*, v : ii. 402, *cf. Ibid.* vi: iii. 20.

The migration traditions are not always independent legends. Other tales (hero, tribe and place tales) or cycles of tales often include pieces which refer to wanderings and excursions. There are often data in the sagas, reports of the achievements and feats of the tribal chiefs, of their migrations and expeditions to foreign lands and peoples. However, one must be careful not to look upon the migration legends as primary research material in determining the wanderings of primitive peoples. They can serve as a clue in other research, but most often they are a rather uncertain source. Many island inhabitants in Oceania who have gone on historically verified wanderings have, it is true, traditions which have proved not to indicate in any way the direction of their primeval migration. On the contrary, one legend declares that the Fijians were created in Fiji itself and did not come from another land.[1]

The value of the migration traditions among different peoples naturally varies greatly.[2] Many investigators are fairly sceptical concerning the Polynesian traditions, whereas others feel that they have much of the character of historical documents.[3] However, the wandering traditions of the Polynesians on the Union and Ellice Islands have been proved to go back thirty generations or six hundred years,[4] in Samoa and Tonga five hundred years and in Mangareva four hundred and fifty years.[5].

Aborigines have a lively imagination, which explains the existence of most mythical elements in their sagas and legends. The historical sequence, the primary events, are easily forgotten. They

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[1] Migration legends have to be considered carefully, particularly in America, where all the legends have been collected among later immigrants "who wished as far as possible to trace some connexion between themselves and the earlier settlers" (Joyce, *Mexican Archæology*, p. 10).

[2] Concerning the coastal regions of New England and Canada Dixon says in addition that "traditional or historical material relating to the earliest migrations of the tribes within this area is very scanty" (Dixon, in *Proceeding Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, N. S., xxiv. 66).

[3] Schirren, *Die Wanderungen der Neuseelander und der Mauimythos*, pp.115, 175 *sqq.*; Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands*, pp. 4, 10; Friederici, 'Malaio-Polynesische Wanderungen', in *Verh. xix. Deutsch. Geographentages*, p. 141; van Gennep, *Mythes et légendes d'Australie*, p. cix; Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, i. 166, 168 *sq. Cf.* also Best, in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.*, xxxvi. 122 *sqq.*; v. Bülow, in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, xvii. 53; Graebner, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[4] Wallace, *Australasia*, p. 502. *Cf.* Perry, *The Children of the Sun*, p. 106.

[5] Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, i. 465.

are supplanted in saga and song by mythical substance. The migration legend thus becomes a sum-total of growing images woven with mythical and imaginary creations into an historical web. This is what so often makes it difficult to analyze.

In the meantime research has, especially recently, succeeded in figuring out the historical percentage of many wandering legends. These legends do not, as a matter of course, tell us anything definite as to the periods of the migrations. They do not always refer to the earliest wanderings, but are just as likely to refer to later movements. However, even if some legends transfer the start of the wanderings to a mystic wonderland, most of them are bound to definite geographical starting-points and goals as it were. It is just these geographical properties which make up the historical ingredient of the wandering traditions, — occurring here earlier than in other legends. It is this which often elevates these legends above the level of the mythical sagas.

Our knowledge of Oceanic peoples has been furthered by the imgration traditions of these peoples. The legends have opened up wide and important historical and geographical perspectives, perspectives which later etymological and ethnological research has been able to confirm. Thanks to these tales and legends, research has for a long time been able to follow the extensive wanderings of the Oceanians over more than half the globe, as shall be shown below, from the west coast of Africa, from the islands of Japan, over the Malay Archipelago, over the Oceanic island labyrinth to Easter Island and even the west coast of South America.

Best known of the Oceanic migration legends — and richest from the historical point of view — are the extensive tales of the Maoris of their migration to New Zealand out of the way of strife and oppression in their earliest home, the migration legends of the Samoan Islanders', etc.

On the basis of fairly plentiful material de Quatrefages had already established that streams went from New Holland and Tasmania, i. e. from countries populated by the black race, to the coasts of New Zealand. "Il n'y aurait rien d'étrange à ce que quelques canots portant des Mélanaisiens eussent été poussés en pleine mer et entraînés jusque sur les côtes où devait aborder peu après la race polynésienne."[1]

[1] De Quatrefages, *Les Polynésiens et leurs migrations*, p. 135, *cf.* pp. 112 *sqq.*, 131.

The migration traditions of the natives of New Zealand recount how a man by the name of Ngahúe fled from his birthplace, called Hawaiiki in the legend (most likely in Samoa or Rorotonga), in order to escape being persecuted by the Queen of the country who coveted a valuable nephrite stone which he had in his possession. Chance and the wind carried Ngahúe's boat to New Zealand, where he found numerous nephrite stones. He returned to his native land with a large collection, won the Queen's favour by giving her expensive presents and thus escaped further persecution. During Ngahúe's absence, however, violent internal strife had broken out on the island and in addition the lack of food had become acute. Ngahúe succeeded in persuading a large part of the islanders to accompany him to the country he had discovered and take possession of it. The legend describes in detail the journeys over the sea to the new country.[1]

"*I haere mai ahau no Tawhiti-nui, no Tawhiti-roa, no Tawhiti-pa-mamao, i te Hono-i-Wairua, i Hawaiiki*", that is to say, "I came from Great Distance, from Long Distance, from the Very Distant Places, from Gathering-Places of Souls, from Hawaiiki", it says in some Maori legends. In this investigators see an Indian, even a Caucasian origin.[2]

The migration legends of the Solomon Islanders point unmistakably to a wandering expedition over Vella-Lavella and Mono to the central islands in the archipelago.[3]

As has been said, mythical material is often intertwined in the wandering tradition. In an Hawaiian legend a bird becomes a magic kite which pulls a man's canoe along and even carries him through the air, a parable that expresses the migration of the Polynesian race from actively volcanic regions into archipelagoes that were more stable, led by the flight of migratory birds.[4]

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[1] Schirren, *op. cit.*, p. 53 *sq.*; Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, p. 3 *sqq.*; M. Brown, *Maori and Polynesian*, p. 105; Percy Smith, *Hawaiki, the Original Home of the Maori*, pass. *Cf.* also Te-Aia, in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.*, ii. 276; Grace, in *loc. cit.*, x. 68 *sqq.*; Colquhoun, in *Jour. Manchester Geogr. Soc.*, xviii. 190 *sqq.*

[2] Cowan, *The Maoris of New Zealand*, pp. 29 *sqq.*, 45 *sqq.*

[3] Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomoninseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, i. 377.

[4] M. Brown, *Peoples and Problems of the Pacific*, ii. 4; Lesson, *Les Polynésiens*, iii. 319. *Cf.* also Fornander and Thrum, in *Mem. Bernice P. Bishop Mus.*, vi. ii. 288 *sqq.*

Fijian legends concerning the immigration of the race vary considerably, but they have two things in common, viz., a general vagueness as to the land from which the Fijians originally came, and a definite belief that they arrived from the north-west. The inhabitants of the island called Vanúa Lévu (the other large island is Viti Lévu) have no traditions of the kind above mentioned. To them their land is *kéndrá vanúa*, their very own land. "The absence of a story describing immigration to Vanúa Lévu is important when compared with the general absence of such traditions amongst the Melanesian peoples. The fact indicates an exceedingly long settlement in the islands, and brings the people of Vanúa Lévu into line with the Melanesian aborigines of the Pacific."[1]

There are traditions among the inhabitants of the Gilbert Islands concerning the immigration of foreign peoples to their islands who as a matter of fact are looked upon as being the forefathers of the present islanders.[2]

As far as research has been able to make out, some Oceanic islands almost entirely lack legends of earlier wanderings. George Brown could not find any traditions of former migrations among the natives of New Britain.[3] On the other hand the natives of some small islands located not far from the Solomon Islands and New Ireland, as for instance Ontong-Java, the Tasman Islands, the Faed or Abgarris Islands, have legends of detailed geographical wanderings. Parkinson says that according to the legends of the Abgarris Islanders, those islands were populated at different times and from different regions and that it was only after many complications that an understanding was reached between the original inhabitants and the immigrants. The migration legend defines the original home of the immigrants nicely: Nukuor in the Carolines, and Taraua in the Gilbert (Kingsmill) Islands, as well as Nukuman, which belongs to the present Tasman Islands group, — wanderings which covered distances of 1500 and 2000 sea miles.[4]

Legends of earlier wanderings are also to be found among the

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[1] Deane, *Fijian Society*, p. 2 *sq.*; Codrington, 'The Melanesians', in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.* i. 47.

[2] Parkinson, 'Beiträge zur Ethnologie der Gilbertsinsulaner', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, ii. 104.

[3] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 353.

[4] Parkinson, 'Zur Ethnographie der Ontong-Java und Tasman-Inseln', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, x. 105 *sq.*

Central Australians.[1] The traditions of the Arunta peoples tell of extensive migrations.[2]

Seligman speaks of the legends of the Motu tribe in British New Guinea, according to which trade expeditions had been customary for generations.[3]

In the Gayo land in North Sumatra, according to Volz, definite traditions survive among the natives of wanderings so exactly defined that almost every man can state his "mother's village". Volz has even met old people who knew of these wanderings.[4] Migration legends of earlier expeditions are also recorded among the Sakai in the Malay Peninsula.[5]

The Kohlis in Central India "have a tradition that they were brought to Bhandāra from Benāres by one of the Gond kings of Chānda on his return from a visit to that place".[6] The Tshin-paw tribe in the Brahmaputra Valley has fairly well defined geographical migration legends, according to which it has been considered possible to determine for the most part the course taken by that tribe on its migration.[7]

As examples of the migration legends of the primitive African peoples may be mentioned the traditions of the Shilluk and Dinka tribes, who have without the least doubt wandered from Central Africa to the White Nile. Definite geographical places (as for instance Kilimanjaro) are mentioned in these migration legends, and in addition one reads of conflicts with strange tribes. Hofmayr, who has handled these questions, feels that the various migration versions are the results of tales which have endured through generations and centuries and which confirm historical data.[8]

The Baloki in the Congo region have traditions about their

[1] Strehlow, 'Die Aranda und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien', in *Veroff. Stadt. Volkerkunde-Mus. Frankf. a. M.*, i. 42 *sqq.*, 85 *sqq.*

[2] Spencer and Gillen, *The Arunta*, p. 373 *sq.*

[3] Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 97 *sqq.* Conc. North Papuan tribes, see Williams, *Orokaiva Society*, p. 153 *sq.*

[4] Volz, *Nord-Sumatra*, ii. 179.

[5] Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, ii. 264 (conc. the Orang-Laut, *Ibid.* ii. 368).

[6] Russel, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, iii. 493; Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 112 *sq.*

[7] Wehrli, 'Zur Ethnologie der Chingpaw (Kachin) von Ober-Burma', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, xvi. 11.

[8] Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, pp. 2, 18, 46, 51; *cf.* Dupuis-Yakouba, *Les Gow*, pass.

wanderings. Weeks was able to establish that these narratives to some degree corresponded to the expansion of the Bomuna and Baloki tribes: "all go to prove the truthfulness of the main fact of this page from native history."[1]

Thirty years ago, at least, the Bali tribe of the Cameroon hinterland had legends of migrations which went back a hundred years.[2]

The natives of the Gold Coast, who at present are stationary, have legends of earlier wanderings. These are often vague and individualized in a certain person, but, as Cardinall says, "It is curious how traditional history always reduces its beginnings to the story of a single man".[3] The Bantu peoples and most South African tribes have fairly detailed wandering legends.[4] "Almost every clan pretends to have come from afar and, strange to say, they came from all the points of the compass."[5] However, in many legends of these very tribes geographical places are indicated with fair accuracy.

On the other hand it has been proved that there are wandering peoples or tribes in Africa who have immigrated to their dwelling-places but who dispute the fact. "Many Akamba declare that the tribe has never lived anywhere else, and refer to the current myth about the first men, some of whom are said to have been thrown from Heaven on a mountain in the Kilungu district in southern Ulu."[6]

There are also African peoples who are known to have wandered, as for instance the Wanyamwezi, but who when asked about their extraction reply that they know nothing. "Nous sommes ici, voilà tout, depuis combien de temps sommes-nous ici, nous n'en savons rien, nous ne savons pas d'où sont venus nos ancêtres, peut-être ont-ils été créés ici même par Liwelelo" (their God).[7]

There is a wealth of wandering legends on the South American continent. The legends of the Toba Indians in the Gran Chaco tell of their wanderings from the south. "That their original home was in the frigid pampas regions of the south," says Prof. Karsten, "may

[1] Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, p. 162.

[2] Hutter, *Wanderungen und Forschungen im Nord-Hinterland vom Kamerun*, p. 323 *sq.*

[3] Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast*, pp. 4, 11 *sq.*

[4] Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 432 *sq.*

[5] Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, pp. 21 *sqq.*, 562.

[6] Lindblom, *The Akamba*, pp. 10 *sq.*, 13 *sq.*

[7] Bösch, 'Les Bayamwezi', in *Bibl. Ethnol. Anthropos*, iii. ii.

also be inferred from their myths which tell of the destruction of the world by snow and ice."[1] Tupi traditions show us according to Haddon that the Tupis advanced along the Amazon, and it is probable that the Tupi tribes of the Xingu and Tapajoz came down these tributaries from the main stream.[2]

According to one Cayapa migration legend these South American Indians at the time of the Spanish conquest went on long wanderings "by the advice and under the leadership of a certain shaman, who, dissatisfied with conditions as they were at Ibarra, called through his magic a jaguar which he entrusted with the duty of finding a more suitable abode".[3] After about a month's wandering, the jaguar returned and reported to the shaman that the most suitable place was the then uninhabited region around Pueblo Viejo. Acting on this advice the shaman assembled his people and all departed for the new locality. Here the Cayapa lived for a considerable length of time in much the same manner as before.[4] According to other accounts it would appear, says Mr. Barrett, "that this migration was probably prior to the conquest and may have been due to the encroachment of other tribes", and the author does not feel that it is out of the question "that the active conquest by the Quichua of Peru which extended throughout the interior mountain region of Ecuador at a time immediately prior to the Spanish conquest, may have been the cause of this migration".[5]

Among some Colombian tribes further evidence of the westerly and southerly drift of tribes is contained in the native tradition of migrations from Venezuela to Ecuador.[6]

The highland tribes in Guatemala also have vague myths concerning their half-nomadic wandering life. However, their legends do not make it clear why or whence they migrated.[7]

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[1] Karsten, 'The Toba Indians of the Bolivian Gran Chaco', in *Acta Acad. Aboensis* (*Hum.* iv.) 6; *cf. Idem*, 'Indian Tribes of Gran Chaco', in *Soc. Scient. Fennica* (*Comm. Litt. Hum.* iv. 1), 36.

[2] Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, p. 107.

[3] Barrett, 'The Cayapa Indians of Ecuador', in *Indian Notes and Monogr.*, i: i. 31 *sq.*

[4] *Ibid.* i: i. 31.

[5] *Ibid.* ii. 335.

[6] Joyce, *South American Archæology*, pp. 11, 50, 52 (conc. the migrations of Tupi-Guarani, Arawak and Carib).

[7] Stoll, 'Die Ethnologie der Indianerstämme von Guatemala', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, i. 1 *sq.*

Particularly interesting in the study of the wanderings of primitive peoples is the material offered by the migration legends of the North American Indians. They tell the tale of great movements from the north and west towards more southern districts. These legends almost always have a main theme: migration due to overpopulation. The Indian tales generally begin with "as the growth of the tribe was great", "as the number of men had greatly increased", etc. The legends show great uniformity. The migrations for the most part run in a latitudinal direction through the continent from west to east.[1] Thus, for example, the tales of the Indians in Central California mention immigrating from Yuma, and the Tinné Apache Indians in Mexico, as well as the Arizona Indians, fix their earliest homes in definitely stated parts of the country more to the north-west. In these cases research bears out the truth of the geographical statements.[2] The same is true also of the Algonquin, Chippewa, Lenape, Dakota, and Iroquois Indian wanderings,[3] the main direction of which and principal reasons for which are clearly brought out in their tales.[4]

But on the other hand a large number of Indian tribes in North America possess no traditions of an early migration performed by their own people, and when asked where they originally came from they say, "We have always been here".[5] Among these Gatschet includes the Kalapuyans and Chinooks of Oregon, the Yuchî of the Savannah River, and the Indians of the lower Mississippi. But other tribes, "perhaps exceeding in number those believing in an autochthonous origin, know of early displacements or migrations, either forced or voluntary, and of the direction taken on these

[1] Bancroft (*The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, ii. 565) emphasizes that traditions are prevalent of an aboriginal migration in some form in nearly every section of primitive North America and that traditions of deluges and of giants that dwelt upon the earth at some time in the remote past are also known: "A traditional migrating from north, south, east or west may point to the local journeying of a family or tribe, either in search of better hunting grounds, or as a result of adverse fortune in war, in a few cases a general migration of many tribes constituting a great nation may be referred to, and finally, it is not quite impossible that a faint memory of an old-world origin may have survived through hundreds of generations."

[2] Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, i. 218 *sq.*; *cf.* also Ratzel, *Die Erde und das Leben*, ii. 632.

[3] Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota*, pp. 43, 663 *sq.*

[4] Gatschet, *op. cit.*, i. 215.

[5] *Ibid.* i. 191.

journeys. Unfortunately all these traditions are so replete with mystic, legendary and other impossible admixtures that great trouble is experienced in sifting out what is truly historic in these reports".[1]

The traditions of the Iroquois and Algonquin Indians tally with the conclusions reached by investigators, namely, that there was an expansion and wandering from "the land of bays between Cape Lookout and Cape May". There are also indications of an inland drift from the Atlantic bays and along the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes.[2]

The traditions of the Algonquin stock also point to an original home in the north-east, beyond the Great Lakes, whence they had been driven by the Iroquois before the Discovery.[3]

The Ojibway (Chippewa) have a tradition that they dwelt on the Atlantic coast north of the St. Lawrence about five hundred years ago. "They moved thence, stopping on the St. Lawrence, Lake Huron and at Sault Ste Marie, then finally at La Pointe, Wisconsin. Possibly they were driven west by the Iroquois confederacy."[4]

The Cree of the Algonquin stock have traditions from the time when they lived in the vicinity of the Red River (Minnesota) with the Ojibway. They were attracted to the plains by the bison.[5]

The traditions of the Lenni-Lenape (also of the Algonquin stock) state that they came from the north in search of a milder land abounding in game.[6] Mooney, who has made a detailed study of the wanderings of the Cherokee, points out that in many cases the wandering traditions show that subsistence-geographical reasons are behind the wanderings. When tradition says that the tribes wandered from the west or north-west until they came to the "Fish River" some authors believe that the Mississippi is referred to.[7] Mooney says that they had a long migration legend which was recited by chosen orators on the occasion of the annual green-corn dance, a legend which in the beginning brings to mind the legends

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[1] *Ibid.* i. 191.

[2] McGee, 'The Siouan Indians', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xv. 198.

[3] Haddon, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 85 *sq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 86 *sq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[7] Mooney, 'Myths of the Cherokee', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xix. i. 17 *sqq.*

of the Delaware and Creek Indians. The tradition recited that they had originated in a land towards the rising sun, where they were placed by the command of the "four councils sent from above". In this pristine home were great snakes and water monsters, for which reason it was supposed to have been near the sea coast.[1] The assumption is not a necessary corollary, because there is, as the author says, much mythology among all the eastern tribes. In the succeeding legends one can follow their further wanderings along general lines.

In the migration traditions of the Cheyenne Indians one finds a hazy allusion to wanderings from the lake districts in Minnesota. Their traditions mention "a blue water" flowing through a "blue earth" country near which they lived for a long time.[2]

One of the oldest members of the Mohican Pequot Indian tribe told Speck that his people came eastward over a desert, then traversed "the great fresh water" and finally, driven by the attacks of the Mohawks, crossed to the eastern side of the continent where they made their home.[3] In this legend we thus also find at least part of the reason behind the continued wanderings.

In the migration traditions of the Pueblo peoples we find subsistence-geographical reasons behind the migrations of the Snake, Horn and Eagle tribes.[4] On the basis of the Pueblos (principally the Hopi) being "descendants of clans which once lived as far north as the territory of Utah, as far south as the Gila Valley, and as far east as the upper Rio Grande".[5] Fewkes has attempted to establish the original homes of these peoples and determine the dates for their wanderings; the emigration places hardly appear. He says that "the conclusion that the present Hopi are descended wholly from nomadic people from the north is questionable. Some parts of the ritual which are distinctly Hopi are found not to have come from the north, but from the south".[6]

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[1] *Ibid.* xix. i. 20; *cf.* Haywood, *Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee*, p. 225 *sqq.*

[2] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, i. 16.

[3] Speck, 'Native Tribes and Dialects of Connecticut', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xliii. 216 *sq.*

[4] Mindeleff and Stephen, 'A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, viii. 31; *cf.* also Fletcher and La Flesche, 'The Omaha Tribe', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xxvii. 75.

[5] Fewkes, 'Tusayan Migration', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xix. ii. 577, 633.

[6] *Ibid.* xix. ii. 633.

The expansion of peoples in the shape of gradual wanderings has extended through the centuries and taken place as a slowly flowing stream. Hopi traditions from North America tell of movements when the people remained in one place to do planting and then continued onward. Mindeleff feels that as a rule there was no definite plan to such a movement and no intention of going to any place or in any direction, the people simply drifted across the country much as cattle drift before a storm. They did not go back, because they knew what was behind them, but they went forward in any direction without thought of where they were going, or even that they were going at all. But in addition to these wanderings there was an outbreak of what Mindeleff calls "unconscious drifting migration",[1] there were important migrations when whole villages changed their location, being forced to do so, for example, by subsistence-geographical reasons.

In Mixtec territory in Mexico, according to Joyce, "there are migration legends pointing to the supposition that a portion of the population came from the north, but how unreliable these are is to be seen from the fact that there are other, probably older myths, which narrate the birth of the human race from trees, rocks and wild beasts".[2] The Tapos Indians in northern Mexico have migration legends which extend back about 700 years and which tell us the directions taken on the wanderings. Ruins of places where they sojourned earlier still exist. The migration legends mention that they were attacked by giants and forced in a southward direction. However, there is a great deal of mythical material in these legends, too.[3]

"One of the most interesting portions of the Zuñi narrative", says Nuttal, "is one which elucidates the motive which led to the migration of peoples in ancient America. We are told how generations of the forefathers of the Zuñis wandered about in search of the stable middle of the earth, on which they wished to found their sacred city."[4] The migration legend relates that they were

[1] Mindeleff, 'Localization of Tusayan Clans', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xix. ii. 645.

[2] Joyce, *Mexican Archæology*, pp. 57 *sq.*, 203 *sqq.*

[3] Gatschet, *op. cit.*, i. 191 *sq.*; *cf.* also Shipp, *Indians and Antiquities of America*, pp. 99, 145 *sq.*; Dorsey, *Indians of the Southwest*, pass. (the migrations of the ancient Mexicans).

[4] Nuttal, 'The Fundamental Principles of the Old and New Civilizations', in *Papers Peabody Mus.*, ii. 201 *sq.*

driven from their homes at this "middle place" by a great flood that covered the earth, to To'wa yäl'länne (corn mountain). The Pueblo ruins would seem to indicate that places of which the legend speaks were occupied for a considerable time. The Zuñi also sought refuge at To'wa yäl'länně when the Spaniards first invaded their country.[1] The wanderings of the Aztecs are partly reproduced in their hieroglyphics, which include the time taken by the wanderings, the various stages, etc.[2]

The migration legends of the Cahuilla-speaking people in the Colorado Desert in Southern California retain geographical places, giving, according to Strong, some reasons for the belief that at an earlier time the people lived there, moving out into the desert later. Legends speak of rivers and mountains, from which environment they returned several generations ago, following the water as it subsided.[3] The same is true of the Mandan Indians' migrations along the Mississippi in South Dakota.[4] A large number of other North American tribes have similar migration legends which we cannot discuss here.[5]

Some primitive peoples have recorded their wanderings in drawings and ornaments. These are not historical documents, it is true, but they serve to prove the important rôle played by wanderings in the life of these peoples.[6] Even the architecture can give evidence of wanderings. "The development of architecture among the Pueblo Indians was comparatively rapid and is largely attributable to frequent changes, migrations, and movements of the people".[7] Remains of earth huts, grottoes, as well as primitive ruins which are to be found in certain parts of America particularly, indicate where primitive wandering peoples lived and the route they took on their journeys.[8]

[1] Stevenson, 'Ethnobotany of the Zuñi Indians', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xxx. 35.

[2] Bancroft, *op. cit.*, ii. 543 *sqq.*

[3] Strong, *Aboriginal Society in Southern California*, p. 37; *cf.* also pp. 86 *sq.*, 100 *sq.*

[4] Will and Spinden, 'The Mandans', in *Papers Peabody Mus.*, iii. 97 *sq.*

[5] Bancroft, *op. cit.*, v. 227 (Yucatan); *Ibid.* v. 188, 220 (Nahua).

[6] Mallery, 'Picture-Writing of the American Indians', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, x. 566; Mindeleff and Stephen, in *loc. cit.*, viii. 15.

[7] Stephen, 'Traditional History of Tusayan', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, viii. 16.

[8] Mindeleff, in *loc. cit.*, xix. ii. 644; *Idem*, in *loc. cit.*, xiii. 258; Mindeleff and Stephen, in *loc. cit.*, vii. 31; Nuttal, in *loc. cit.*, ii. 151, 210; Fewkes, in

The rich store of legends of the Eskimos contains interesting information about the wanderings and fate of this itinerant people.[1]

Even the migration legends of historic peoples complete and confirm historical data, as for example the religious traditions of the wandering expeditions of the Hebrews and Israelites, the Greek and Doric traditions of wanderings from Thrace and Macedonia to Greece, the Old Norse migration legends, and the Icelandic legends not least.[2]

Even the wandering legends of the gypsies give us something to go by in studying their origin and the reasons for their wanderings. These peoples, so poor in tradition, history, religious and social ideas, have nevertheless a few legends from the time of their forefathers. The tales are for the most part a mystical product, or a conscious creative fantasy, as for instance when they relate that God burdened the gypsies for ever with the staff of the wanderer because of unforgivable sins committed by their forefathers in the Holy Land. However, they also have legends, which we shall discuss later on, which clearly show that their tribe, innumerable years ago, was actually forced to wander from its native land in India because of internal strife and the pressure of mightier neighbours, and was then thrust farther and farther westward.[3]

We should not expect to find migration tales among all wandering peoples. Many peoples may have wandered around a large part of the globe during a gradual, continuous displacement of peoples throughout the centuries, brought about either by the forward march of other peoples or dictated by geophysical reasons. A slow continual displacement of the boundaries may have taken place, a displacement so imperceptible that it did not impose itself upon their sagas and songs and legends. But where

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loc. cit., xix. ii. 577; Dorsey, *op. cit.*, 53. *Cf.* also Nelson, in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xviii. 516; Thomas, in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xii. 526; Morgan, in *Contr. N. Amer. Ethnol.*, iv. 196; Reyes, *Breve reseña histórica de la Emigración de los Pueblos en el Continente Americano*, pass.; Hollack, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xl. 149, 156; Schmidt, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xxxviii. 456 *sq.*

[1] Rasmussen, *Grønland langs Polhavet*, p. 577 *sqq.*; Mathiassen, *Archæology of the Central Eskimos* (*Rep. Fifth Thule Exp.*), p 193 *sqq.*; Thalbitzer, *Grønlandske Sagn om Eskimoernes Fortid*, pass.

[2] Numelin, 'Om vandringssägner', in *Folkminnen och Folktankar*, (1916), pp. 120, 124 *sq.*; Christensen, 'Trebrødre- og Tobrødre-Stamsagn', in *Danske Studier* (1916), p. 45.

[3] *Infra*, p. 266 *sqq.*

migration legends are to be found they are, as I have tried to show, often a reflection of the gradually advancing historic life of primitive peoples. In them myth and history may be intimately intertwined. The wandering persons in the tale or legend are in most cases mythical individuals. It is the heroes, chiefs, gods or demi-gods of the legends who lead the peoples to new, fruitful lands out of the way of invading peoples and internal feuds, carrying with them the sacred objects and valuables of the moving tribe. Their actions, like themselves, are mythical. We cannot expect to find definite dates in the legends, nor particulars as to the extent of their journeys and the size of the participating hordes, but what we often unmistakably find is the reasons for the migrations and their directions. The geographical places, not only the starting and end points but also the midway stations, are often mentioned with surprising exactness. And, even in cases where the migration legend is altogether mythical, the very fact that it exists serves to prove that the primitive tribe in question wandered from elsewhere to its present dwelling-place.[1]

Where migration legends fail as sources for the study of migrations of peoples on a primitive plane of culture, we must look for help to modern ethnogeographical literature and anthropological monographs on peoples and tribes.

[1] A great many peoples have so-called flood legends, traditions of deluges, etc., which in many cases may have had a true foundation in the shape of overflowing rivers and lakes which forced the people or the tribe to leave its former whereabouts. (Lowie, 'Zur Verbreitung der Flutsage', in *Anthropos*, xxi; Mindeleff, in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xiii. 188.)

CHAPTER V

TYPICAL WANDERING PEOPLES

A. The Human Stages of Economic Development.

Many attempts have been made to divide the development of culture and human industry into definite stages and thus step by step trace their progress. The "Dreistufenlehre" of hunters, nomads and agriculturists which has come down to us from Greek history, prevaited for a long time. It was still held by Rousseau and Adam Smith but began to be dispelled by von Humboldt, who established the existence of an agriculture stage among primitive peoples which had not been preceded by cattle-breeding.[1] Then came Hahn, who established the existence not of three but of seven different stages of economic development from hunter-collector peoples in various combinations through agriculture nomads to cattle nomads. According to Hahn, cattle-breeding nomadism could not have been a direct outgrowth of the hunting stage, hunters being the enemies of animals, nor the farming stage an outgrowth of cattle-breeding nomadism, as these peoples were dependent upon the tillers of the soil. Hahn did not look upon cattle nomadism as an independent stage. He cited as proof of this that the nomads in south-west Asia and the inhabitants of the steppes in Central Asia did not live entirely by cattle-breeding. They farmed in addition.[2] Similar conceptions were held by several of Hahn's contemporaries, among them Ratzel, Waitz, Morgan and Wundt.[3] The theory that hunting may

[1] Numelin, 'Geografiska orsaker i primitiv folkvandring', in *Terra*, xlv:2. 57.

[2] Hahn, *Die Entstehung der Pflugkultur*; *Idem*, *Von der Hacke zum Pflug*, pass.; *Idem*, in *Globus*, lxxv. 230 pass.; Bos, 'Jagd, Viehzucht und Ackerbau als Kulturstufen', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, x. 182, 189.

[3] *Cf.* Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 386; Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, vii. ii. 107, x. 36 *sqq.*, 41 *sqq.*, 254.

have taught the hunter the animal's worth lost weight. Hahn and his contemporaries assumed the hoe to be the first farming implement. The plough presupposed the existence of the beast of burden. However, ethnography has since proved that the hoe is an unknown implement throughout extensive primitive areas, as for example among the primitive peoples of South America, whereas the digging-stick from which the spade developed is much more primitive.

Continued research has given ethnologists new grounds for classification. Weule in his ethnological works mentions "acquiring industry" (*aneignende Wirtschaft*) and "producing industry" (*Produktionswirtschaft*). Peoples living on nature's free gifts would characterize the former stage, whereas in the latter they already knew how to reshape and utilize nature's gifts to their own ends according to requirements. Other classifications have been made by List, Hildebrand, Frobenius, and others. List differentiates between the following stages of development:

1) Hunting and fishing stage
2) Cattle-breeding stage
3) Agriculture stage
4) Agriculture and manufacturing stage
5) Agriculture, manufacturing and trading stage.[1]

The most fitting from the point of view of sociology is, I feel, the division which was made twenty years ago by the German sociologists Ernst Grosse and Alfred Vierkandt, namely 1) lower hunting peoples, 2) higher hunting peoples, 3) peoples who live by cattle-breeding, 4) lower and higher agriculturists.[2]

[1] Bücher, *Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*, p. 54. Hildebrand's classification of development into 1) nature, 2) money, 3) credit management, as well as Bücher's classification 1) self-consuming stage, 2) municipal economy, 3) territorial economy, 4) national economy and 5) world trade period, are economic rather than sociological grounds of classification (*cf.* Bucher, *op. cit.*, p. 54). Dr. Seydlitz's classification 1) unsettled peoples, 2) primitive peoples, 3) half-civilized peoples, and 4) civilized peoples does not seem satisfactory to me. I can see no meaning in the two first classes, as primitive peoples so often represent the typical "unsettled peoples", wandering peoples, which Dr. Seydlitz himself would seem to admit since he understands nature peoples to be peoples having no permanent dwelling-place "in so far as they are not confined to islands" (Seydlitz, *Handbuch der Geographie*, p. 766).

[2] Grosse, *Die Formen der Familie und die Formen der Wirtschaft*, pass.; Vierkandt, in *Allgemeine Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsgeschichte* (*Kultur der Gegenwart*), ii. 2.

I should like these "stages" to include collector peoples (or food-gathering peoples) and fisher peoples before lower hunters.

Among present-day savages one finds in the lowest stages of culture collectors, seekers, who live on the products of the soil, those products close at hand which they can gather. After that there is a differentiation in the culture of fisher peoples and hunter peoples, pastoral nomads, agricultural nomads until, their civilization finally reaches higher forms characterized by permanent settlement.

But such general classifications must always seem more or less constructed, even though some of them on the whole point in the right direction. These classifications[1] are not to be considered as representing a definite continuity of time or peoples. They give certain theoretical points to go by, but they by no means give a picture of a development determined by nature, such as the development of the individual from childhood and youth to manhood and old age.

No doubt the dividing line between these stages is often vague and also variable. It is not unusual for the collecting stage to include the most primitive forms of hunting and fishing. And the last two forms of culture are often intertwined.

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[1] Some German ethnologists use 1) savages, 2) nomads, 3) manufacturing peoples, and 4) humanists (*cf.* Quadflieg, 'Karl Vollgraff und sein klassifikatorisches System der Ethnologie' in *Ethnologica*, iv. 119 *sq.*). Schurtz (*Katechismus der Volkerkunde*, p 30 *sq.*) distinguishes between unsettled peoples, hunters, fishers, nomads, agriculturists and manufacturers, but the question is if hunting and fishing peoples are not unsettled peoples to a great degree. Wagner (*Lehrbuch der Geographie*, i. iii. 750, 755) distinguishes between primitive peoples, half-civilized peoples and civilized peoples. *Cf.* also Father Schmidt (in *Verh. vi. Deutschen Soziol. Tages*, p. 176), where he talks of fundamental culture and primary culture.

Cf. also Berner, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xxii. 212; Bolinder, *Naturfolkens kultur*, p. 25 *sq.*; Schmidt and Koppers, in *Der Mensch aller Zeiten*, iii. i. 377; Petri, *Verkehr und Handel in ihren Uranfangen*, p. 2; De Geer, *Manniskans och näringslivets geografi*, p. 104; Febvre, *La terre et l'évolution humaine*, p. 290 *sq.*; Lasch, in Buschan, *Illustr. Volkerkunde*, i. 3 *sqq.*, 13, 49 *sq.*; Mason, *The Origin of Invention*, p. 183; Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, p. 5; Moszkowsky, *Vom Wirtschaftsleben der primitiven Völker*, p. 3 *sq.*; Merkenschlager, in *Anthropos*, xxix. 3 *sq.*; Birket-Smith, in *Geogr. Tidskrift*, xxii. 146 *sqq.*

Ellwood (*Cultural Evolution*, pp. 20 *sq.*, 25) plays with such conceptions as 'preliterate' and 'literate', which is rather unnecessary since it is a question of primitive peoples.

When science has tried to find remains of primitive culture it has usually turned its attention to present-day savages. But even if research, especially in earlier days, discovered peoples unaffected by European culture and religion, we must remember, as I have said before, that even the 'most primitive' culture of our days is only relatively primitive. It is possible for even the collecting stage to have undergone changes. The most primitive peoples of to-day do not as a rule exist in the most fertile regions, those which are most advantageous for human development, as peoples of higher culture have taken possession of them. Instead, the primitive peoples keep to poorer districts to which they have gradually been forced. The savages of Central Australia, the now extinct Tasmanians, the natives in the interior of Sumatra, and those in the Malay Peninsula, the Veddahs of Ceylon, pygmies and Bushmen, the Fuegians and other wandering peoples hardly represent the primeval human stage. Even these peoples have thousands of years of development behind them, even though it be not historical development, so that their habits and conceptions cannot with any certainty be put down as elementary forms but rather as parallels to that which is presumed to be the oldest human culture. There is no doubt but that present-day savages are many steps removed from the true primitive savage. It is unthinkable that a development of 20,000 years could leave even the culture of the uncivilized unaffected.[1]

We may guess that the most primitive stage of human husbandry was represented by the gathering-fishing-hunting stage, when the peoples lived on those spontaneous gifts of nature which lay nearest at hand, without doing anything towards increasing the yield. The fishing stage, fishing at lake and river side, may have developed when the roots and herbs of the earth and the fruits of the trees no longer were to be had in sufficient quantities to cover the demand for food, while the hunting stage came about through a dearth of fish in the waters, causing the population to look to the forests for food. The hunting stage may pass to cattle-breeding nomadism owing to motives of expediency or religion, while agriculture nomadism may have developed from primitive collecting. The collecting peoples are not infrequently primitive hunters before they have learned the use of firearms.

[1] Numelin, *Politisk geografi*, p. 25; Descamps, *État social des peuples sauvages*, p. 13 *sq.*

Reminders of the primitive stages are to be found in higher stages. Agriculture and cattle-breeding nomadism exist side by side as we shall see. Historical agriculture, which involves the domestication of animals as well as the cultivation of plants, in so far as animals are used for agricultural purposes is, as I have said before, to be clearly distinguished from earlier agriculture in which the domestic animal and the plough were unknown and the digging-stick and the hoe were the only agricultural implements.[1] And as a result of the division of labour which characterizes even peoples of low stages of culture,[2] it is possible that primitive collecting — which usually falls to the woman while the man attends to fishing, hunting and defence — also gave rise to ambulatory farming, digging without beast of burden or plough.[3]

Primitive man could easily see that in places where food lay collected new plants shot up from the soil. This was an experience which readily might have brought about independent sowing of plants. The earth was dug up with a digging-stick; under favourable conditions regrowth was promoted, which attracted peoples back to the spot to plant parts of roots in the loosened soil. Perhaps it was no accident that Greek mythology made women the gods of agriculture.

Major Biddulph says of the tribes in the Hindu Kush that "agriculture is left entirely to the women with the exception of ploughing, which demands more strength than they can afford. In summer the men spin wool and attend to their flocks on the mountain pastures, but in winter the duty of caring for the herds is relegated to the women".[4]

Among the Ovambo who carry on primitive farming, the women till the soil.[5] Among many South American Indians work is divided

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[1] Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, p. 25.

[2] Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 634 *sq.*, 637.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 634. *Cf.* Hobhouse, in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soziol.*, iv. 398; Schmidt and Koppers, in *Der Mensch aller Zeiten*, iii. i. 405; Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 232; Bolinder, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Steinmetz, *Rechtverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, p. 29 *sq.*; Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, pp. 15 *sqq.*, 156 *sqq.*, 277 *sqq.*; Hildebrand, *Recht und Sitte auf den verschiedenen wirtschaftlichen Kulturstufen*, p. 44 *sqq.*; Bucher, *op. cit.*, p. 36 *sqq.*; Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, p. 5.

[4] Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 18.

[5] Hahn, *The Ovambo*, p. 33.

as follows: the men fish, and the women devote themselves to providing animal sustenance.[1] The woman is the housewife, the mother and the cook, but she is also in early stages the agriculturist and the maker of all purely domestic implements.[2]

Even if many 'pure' examples of collector, fisher and hunter peoples are known to ethnology, combinations are also usual, as for example primitive hunting combined with cattle-breeding nomadism. Nor is pastoral nomadism inconsistent with agricultural nomadism. The cattle-owning nomad cultivates a field around his tent, the size of which is often dependent upon the size of his herd, while the agricultural nomad, on the other hand, is glad to keep a few animals.

It is therefore not impossible for ambulatory agriculture in favourable districts to have developed from a collecting, fishing or hunting stage.[3] On the other hand wandering agriculture in certain districts may have led to cattle-breeding, but care should be taken not to make generalizations about such a development. Wundt also claimed primitive agriculture to be the primary culture, which, however, did not hinder him from simultaneously characterizing agriculture also as the higher form of culture, "the power of religion and political development".[4]

The ethnological line does not even necessarily indicate stages through which all peoples absolutely have to pass. Here we are not concerned with a "both and" but with an "either or". We must take care not to generalize too much. We cannot, as Frazer says, "dissect the history of mankind as it were with a knife into a series of neat sections each sharply marked off from all the rest by a texture and colour of its own; we may indeed do so theoretically for the convenience of exposition but practically the textures interlace, the colours meet and run into each other

[1] von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvolkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 214.

[2] Whippen, *The North-West Amazons*, pp. 90, 102. Conc. other prim. peoples, see e. g. Basedow, *The Australian Aboriginal*, p. 100; Ling Roth, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi. 119 *sq.*; Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines*, p. 282 (Australia); Lindblom, in *Revista d. Instituto d. Etnologia*, ii. 397 (Kavirondo); Passarge, *Sudafrika*, p. 218 (South Afr. tribes); Zoller, *Kamerun*, iii. 58 (Banaka and Bapuku); Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, p. 182 (Waganda).

[3] Conc. the anc. culture in South America, see Sapper, in *Pet. Mitth.*, lxxx. 41 *sqq.*, 80 *sqq.*, 118 *sqq.*

[4] Wundt, *op. cit.*, x. 44, 257.

by insensible gradations that defy the edge of the finest instrument of analysis which we can apply to them. It is a mere truism to say that the abstract generalisations of science can never adequately comprehend all the particulars of concrete reality, the facts of nature will always burst the narrow bonds of human theories."[1]

As Febvre rightly remarks: "toutes ces distinctions, toutes ces classifications sont des distinctions, des classifications d'ordre économique. Elles se fondent uniquement sur la manière dont les hommes se procurent la matière première de leur alimentation. Il ne s'agit pas d'une évolution déterminante."[2] And the reasons for the unlike development, the reasons for the differences among different peoples in different regions, depend upon the varying climatic and geographical conditions in the different parts of the earth. It is therefore not impossible for agriculture to have been a direct outcome of a collecting-hunting culture in certain favourable parts. In given regions it may even have been preceded by pastoral nomadism.

The character of the forms of sustenance, of the forms of production, the form of industry, is not only conditioned by what man wins from nature but also by the way in which he does it.

It cannot with certainty be proved that a cattle-breeding stage preceded the agricultural stage in the cultures of the plateaus of Peru and Mexico.[3]

Of the fairly stationary Indians on the north-western sections of the Amazon River it is said that their "occupations consist of agricultural pursuits, hunting, fishing, making war and holding festival".[4] The Mbayas in Paraguay, a roving people, live as fishermen and huntsmen but also engage in wandering agriculture to some extent.[5]

Far from assuming a general development of primitive means of livelihood, one should be able to prove that it is the geographical and climatic conditions which have conditioned the development.

It seems to me that the geographical points in this development have not always been kept clear. Instead, theoretical speculation

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[1] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, ii. 37.

[2] Febvre, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

[3] Wahle, 'Anthropogeographie, Vorgeschichte', in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, i. 195.

[4] Whippen, *op. cit.*, p. 102; *cf.* Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, p. 89 *sq.*

[5] Schuster, *Paraguay*, p. 271 *sq.*

has been rife and has assumed a systematic sequence of stages, or otherwise, like the Father Schmidt school, has been more interested in dividing the different peoples into definite circles of culture. These latter do not stand in any sort of direct opposition to the importance of geography in determining development, but they serve to place the geographical influence in the background. Culture-circle ethnology[1] has tried to relate the various forms of occupations, principally hunting and pastoral nomadism, to totemism.[2] Thus, two principal forms, on the one side the male sex and male mentality: the right of the father in relation to the animal world, the struggle for existence, "company" in Tönnie's sense. On the other hand the predominance of female institutions: the right of the mother in relation to the plant world. It can be said in opposition to this that Frazer, an expert on totemism, in his work on *Totemism and Exogamy* does not feel that totemism has emanated from cattle-breeding. Totemism did not originally exist, for instance, among the three largest groups of nomads: the Ural-Altaian, the Indo-European and the Hamitic-Semitic peoples.

Certain totem circles would thus, according to the culture-circles school, correspond to certain subsistence-geographical stages.[3] The collecting stage, like the primitive wandering agriculture, represented the exogamic matriarchal circle of culture with the woman as the collector and the first worker of the earth, thus

[1] Schmidt, 'Totemismus etc.', in *Anthropos*, x-xi. 593 *sqq.*; Schmidt and Koppers, in *op. cit.*, iii. i. 229 *sq.*, 542 *sqq.*; Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidée*, i. 763 *sqq.*; Graebner, *Methode der Ethnologie*, pass.; Anckermann, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xxxvii. 54 *sq.*; Trimborn, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lxv. 110 *sqq.*; Baumann, in *Africa*, vii. 129 *sq.*

[2] Frazer (*op. cit.*, ii. 33, 35 *sq.*) feels thus that totemism "may be roughly described as a species of superstitious respect paid to wild animals and plants by many tribes in the hunting stage of society. This would be represented by the worship of the local sacred animals. The worship of cattle, which belongs to society in the pastoral stage, would be represented by the cults of Apis and Mnevis, and the worship of cultivated plants which is peculiar to society in the agricultural stage would be represented by the religion of Osiris and Isis."

The culture-circle teaching and the culture-history school argue from conclusions founded on museum material rather than on field work.

[3] Schmidt and Koppers, in *op. cit.*, iii: i. 225 pass., 479. These authors see the origin of totemism partly in economic reasons connected with primitive barter between different groups in various parts of large territories. The object traded became a totem object. It gradually assumed religious importance though it originally was a purely economic object (*op. cit.*, iii: i. 480).

giving rise to agriculture. The hunting stage, like primitive cattle-breeding nomadism, marked the rise of the patriarchal system: the exogamic patriarchal totemistic culture circle. When pastoral nomadism became a matter for the whole tribe it laid the foundation for the patriarchal-large family circle. Later on through barter and trade a fusion took place between the totemistic patriarchy and the exogamic matriarchy. Schmidt and Koppers agree thus with Bachofen whose work *Das Mutterrecht* was published in 1861. The trustworthiness of his theories has been doubted for decades, to say the least. But even leaving them entirely out of consideration such a division of culture-circles hardly constitutes a true basis for analyzing the varying food-geographical development in different countries.

The instinct of self-preservation and the food instinct are without doubt the most elementary in all existence. Among humans these are sharply defined among peoples in the lower stages of civilization. The food instinct in this case is generally bound to a roving life, for even in the richest districts in the tropics the supply of food is seldom so abundant in one and the same place that a primitive tribe of savages, uninitiated in the art of storing for future use, can exist on it for any great length of time. It is of this state of affairs that Gallardo, the South American investigator, speaking of one of the most primitive peoples on earth, the Ona Indians in Tierra del Fuego, so aptly remarks that the foremost law is that the tribe must eat, and if it does not roam it cannot eat.[1] In tropical regions there is often a definite relation between the supply of food and the population. In the lowest stages of culture man is dependent solely upon the sustenance that he can get from surrounding nature. The way in which he makes use of nature's free gifts of food does not depend entirely upon his cultural level but also upon the geographical situation.

While the civilized races have learnt to foresee wants of the future, and have established a system of agriculture which provides food for everyone and leaves a part of the population free to pursue other occupations, the primitive peoples take no thought of tomorrow, and the search for food becomes a hand-to-mouth matter which occupies the attention of every member of the community.

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[1] Gallardo, *Los Onas*, p. 296.

B. The Lowest Wandering Peoples: Collector Peoples, Fisher and Hunter Peoples.

I. *Collector (Food-Gathering) Peoples.* As long as man lacks special technical equipment he is unable to act in the capacity of either fisher or hunter. Searching, looking for food is thus the most primitive form of subsistence thinkable. The wandering life does not permit of the storing of food. "Man was born a searcher or collector (food-gathering) and not a hunter or fisher," says Steffen, who further assumes that man's first acquaintance with the usefulness of the larger terrestrial animals as food no doubt was also that of the collector, the searcher. Neither is it unlikely that dead fish found on the shores early taught man the value of fish as food.[1]

Man as a collector is essentially only a higher animal among animals. Not even in the collecting stage, however, is migration always a random roving. Instead, it often takes place within certain definite bounds within which the various collecting-places are sought out in a definite traditional order.[2]

As has been pointed out earlier,[3] it is often difficult among present-day savages to distinguish those which are distinctly collectors, "les collecteurs purs", which Febvre speaks of, "simples ramasseurs de plantes, de coquilles, d'insectes, de vers, sans armes pour chasser, sans engins pour pêcher, profiteurs grossiers du 'tout venant' alimentaires de la nature".[4] Thus, as such peoples who have not reached a real fishing or hunting stage, we may count part of some of the most primitive peoples of to-day whose wanderings are determined by the local food supply: herbs, roots, fruit, etc. But some of these peoples have now, through imitating neighbours on a higher plane of civilization, begun to acquire some acquaintance with the primitive forms of agriculture.[5]

Everything indicates that the now extinct Tasmanians were fairly pronounced collectors. They knew nothing whatsoever about agriculture. Hunting and fishing seem to have been little devel-

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[1] Steffen, *Världsåldrarna*, ii. 42; *cf.* Hornborg, *Finlands hävder*, i. 7 *sqq.*; Wagner, *Lehrbuch der Geographie*, i: iii. 755; Seyffert, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xlviii. 54 *sqq.*; Heilborn, *Allgemeine Völkerkunde*, i. 4.

[2] Sapper, *Die Tropen*, p. 121.

[3] *Supra*, p. 65 *sq.*

[4] Febvre, *La terre*, p. 298.
Cf. Lasch, in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, i. 14.

oped.[1] Cook mentions their wandering habits as being entirely determined by their demand for food and says that the form of sustenance was the most primitive imaginable. They had no dwelling-places at all.[2] Péron states that they were always on marches[3] and Holman says that "migration from one part of the island to another is usual with respective tribes, according to the season of the year, the attainment of food appearing to be their principal object in the change of place".[4] Many of the tribes of North and Central Australia belong to this category.[5]

Dahl writes of the primitive West-Australians that "they wander around and feed on the roots of the earth and the animals they can capture. Few are the weapons they have learned to make, and few are their wants." The author adds that they do not understand how to farm, they have no houses, the earth is their bed and the sky their roof as long as the weather is dry. During the rainy period they take refuge in rock caverns or otherwise build temporary shelters. As free and unfettered as apes they stride through the woods. Their wanderings are determined by the seasons. The whole tribe, men, women and children wander. They are not hunters, they are collectors. The women gather the food, while hunting, or so-called hunting, is the men's work. The nests of all burrowing animals are examined, the burrowers, all smaller animals which live in the earth, are pulled forth and killed. They look for turtles in the lagoons, they plunder birds' nests, taking both the young and eggs.[6]

Bischofs says of the Niol-Niol, a native tribe in North-west Australia, that they wander from camping-ground to camping-ground. Their language has no word for "home", they tramp through the wild Pindan looking for food. After several months

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[1] Dixon, *The Conditions and Capabilities of V. D. Land*, p. 22; Ling Roth, *Aborigines of Tasmania*, pp. 97 *sqq.*; Breton, *Excursions in New South Wales*, p. 341.

[2] Cook, *Voyage toward the South Pole and round the World*, i. ch. vii.

[3] Péron and Freycinet, *Voyage aux terres australes*, p. xx, quoted by Ling Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[4] Holman, *Voyage round the World*, iv. ch. xii, 405.

[5] Spencer and Gillen, *Across Australia*, ii. 264; B. Spencer, *Report on the Work of the Horn Scientific Expedition*, iv. 51 *sqq.*; Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 7, 20 *sqq.*; Woods, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 259; Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 422, ii. 46.

[6] Dahl, *Blandt Australiens Vilde*, pp. 16, 21 *sq.*

they return to the same places, especially if the time of year is favourable. They know nothing about agriculture. Their wanderings are conditioned by their search for food.[1]

Of the Bataks in the interior of Palawan on Sumatra it is said that they live close to nature. They do not cultivate the soil except to set out a few plants which yield edible roots, and in a few places plant small fields of rice. Besides the little cultivating which they do, their only industries are hunting to secure food and gathering mastic and copal-tree gums, which they carry to the coast and trade for rice, beads and bolos.[2]

Some collector peoples, as has been said, have learned a little about farming through imitating neighbours on a higher plane of civilization; but on the whole they remain collectors nevertheless, as for instance the Sakai tribe, which came into close contact with the Malays and learned to cultivate a kind of Chinese rice and sugar-cane, but remained collectors just the same.[3]

The Yukun or savage Malay tribes go on extensive wanderings in Malacca and Sumatra. One of the most important causes of these periodical migrations seems to be their great love of fruit, especially the durian. The season at which this fruit ripens varies in different parts and the wild jungle-dwellers pass from one fruit-grove to another as the trees ripen.[4]

Martin calls the primitive Senoi and Semang tribes nomads. They are more properly collectors, which is obvious also from his explanation: they change dwelling-places constantly within a smaller or larger area. Often they remain in one and the same place for only three or four days.[5] The reason for this seems to be the necessity of searching for food. One can establish the existence of a certain reciprocity between their wandering life and the local supply of sustenance. When the supply is scarce wandering is an obvious postulate. But one also meets with the fact that a tribe which has grown accustomed to wandering does not find it easy to change its mode of existence. Such a tribe will not, for instance, begin to

[1] Bischofs, 'Die Niol-Niol', in *Anthropos*, iii. 33.

[2] Reed, 'Negritos of Zambales', in *Ethnol. Survey Publ.*, ii: i, 183 *sq.*; conc. prim. peoples in Borneo, see Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, i. 16 note, 429; Bock, *Chez les cannibales de Bornéo*, p. 85 *sq.*

[3] Schmidt and Koppers, in *Der Mensch aller Zeiten*, iii: i. 399.

[4] Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, i. 521 *sq.*; Schebesta, *Orang-Utan*, p. 11.

[5] Martin, *Die Inlandsstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, i. 659 *sq.*

cultivate more abundant food sources. Marks of primitive farming can be traced back to Malay influence, but the primitive Senoi who have transferred to some kind of farming readily resume their earlier habits. Martin feels that the population of the Malay Peninsula has progressed just as a result of a slow wandering. It has had no conscious goal but has allowed itself to be worked upon by a slow infiltration. "The nomadic habits are a result of the geographical surroundings and are preserved by tradition."[1]

In the interior of upper Indo-China primitive collector tribes live in small bands on both sides of the Annam mountain range. In the Laos region they are called *Thai Pa*, Forest Moon, or *Kha Tong Luong*, the Kha of the Yellow Leaves, since they leave their huts made of leaves four or five days after they have turned yellow, living by collecting forest products.[2]

The Bushmen and Hottentots in Africa are both collectors and hunters. In either case it is the respective forms of sustenance which govern their wandering life. The character of the soil determines the forms, either primitive hunting or collecting.[3] Febvre, who generally characterizes Bushmen as hunters, points out that they are collectors, too. "Ils se livrent uniquement à la chasse des bêtes sauvages, et, quand celle-ci s'avère infructueuse, recourent simplement aux bonnes fortunes des ''collecteurs'''.[4] Many Bush peoples have been hunters, but as big game is gradually becoming extinct thanks to the white man they have been forced to return to collecting. The Bushmen in Namib whom Trenk calls "a backward nomadic people of an earlier stage of culture" who in point of language differ from the Bushmen in the Kalahari are described as hunters. During the rainy season they wander to the Namib dunes where they shoot game, and during the dry season migrate to watering-places. In bad times they engage in cattle-thieving.[5] They never cultivate the soil as they are always on the

[1] *Ibid.* i. 659 *sqq.*; *cf.* Borie, *La Presqu' ile de Malacca*, p. 59.

[2] Heine-Geldern, 'Sudostasien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 800 *sq.*

[3] Hobhouse, 'Über einige der primitivsten Völker', in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soziol.*, iv. 411; *cf.* Jaeger, *Afrika*, p. 60.

[4] Febvre, *op. cit.*, p. 302 *sq.*; Lebzelter, *Die Vorgeschichte von Sud- und Südwestafrika*, p. 3.

[5] Trenk, 'Die Buschleute der Namib', in *Mitth. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii. 166; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, p. 106; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 629; Schweinfurth, *Im Herzen von Afrika*, i. 260.

move. They have no stationary dwellings nor do they own any land. Some wander in one direction, some in another; it is only by chance that they meet.[1]

Even many other African pygmy tribes like the Bantu peoples are collectors. Their migrations are conditioned by their search for food.[2]

Of the forest pygmies in Africa Stuhlmann writes that they are "nomadized" hunters with no stationary settlements, they wander from place to place looking for game. They establish themselves for a few weeks or months in suitable places, leaving again as soon as game grows scarce. Hunting is their principal source of food, though, as they cannot live entirely by it, they are forced to gather fruit and pick mushrooms in the forests.[3]

Schebesta speaks of the bush character of the African pygmies, which manifests itself in their forms of subsistence and their fear of open places. The pygmy literally lives from hand to mouth. That which he gets through hunting or from the plant world one day he eats the following day; that is, if he does not eat it immediately on the spot he eats it in camp the next day.[4]

"Hunting indeed, is the Pygmy's (of the Ituri Forest) sole dream of a happy existence, and of his own little section of the forest there is not a corner or cranny of which he does not know the secrets. They themselves never cultivate the soil, an occupation which they look down upon as unworthy of a true Pygmy."[5]

Seyffert says of the Bagielli pygmies, a roving hunter people, that they have no stationary dwellings at all. For protective purposes for a few days or weeks they make simple tents or screens, that is to say for the short time that they remain at the same

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[1] Passarge, 'Die Buschmänner in Kalahari', in *Mitth. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.*, xviii. 18; Hartland, 'Natives of South Africa', in *Man*, ii. 34 *sq.*; Frobenius, *Die Buschleute*, p. 138; *Idem*, *Geographische Kulturkunde*, p. 348; Zastrow, 'Über die Buschleute', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xlvi. 1 *sq.*; Hirschberg, 'The Problem of Relationship between Pygmies and Bushmen', in *Africa*, vii. 444 *sqq.*

[2] Kuhn, 'Über die Pygmaen am Sanga', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xlvi. 117; Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg, *Ins Innerste Afrika*, i. 225.

[3] Stuhlmann, quoted by Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 233.

[4] Schebesta, 'Die Pygmäen Mittelafrikas', in *Pet. Mitth.*, lxxvii. 296 *sqq.*; *Idem*, 'Die Einheit aller afrikanischen Pygmäen', in *Anthropos*, xxvi. 891 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *Bambuti, die Zwerge vom Kongo*, pass.

[5] Powell-Cotton, 'Notes on a Journey through the Great Ituri Forest', in *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, vi (xxv).

camping-ground.[1] And this is true not only of the pygmies in Africa but of pygmies on the whole,[2] insofar as they are not fishers like some of the pygmies in eastern Asia whom we shall discuss in another connection. But whether we with Father Schmidt may nevertheless call this stage of economic development "the very first stage existing in the whole"[3] is another question. In the degree that these peoples are hunters they have passed somewhat beyond "the stage of the childhood of mankind".[4] But as a migration culture it is surely very primitive. None of the African pygmies engage in even primitive agriculture or cattle-breeding. And the pygmies in both Africa and Asia are alike in that they roam around in small bands and have no stationary dwellings other than caves and huts.

Many of the tribes in the interior of Tierra del Fuego have also been called collector peoples. Along the shores and the channels there have been mostly fisher peoples, but in the interior at least there have been tribes such as the Ona (Selk'nam), Yahgan, Alacaluf, etc., which have wandered about collecting food in a manner similar to the tribes in Patagonia. They own no boats.[5]

Certain South American peoples such as the Gês peoples, Nakú, Sirioni, Botocudo, etc., are also collectors, for they can be considered neither as fishers nor as hunters, nor do they cultivate the soil, "though they live in regions which could well be cultivated". Instead they live on wild fruit and roots.[6]

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[1] Seyffert, 'Einige Beobachtungen ... uber die Ernährung der Naturvölker', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lxviii. 134.

[2] The true pygmies are spread out in Africa lat. 5° N. to lat. 17° S. (East L. 110—32), on the Andaman Island group, on the Philippines and New Guinea; Martin, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, i. 260; Haddon, 'The Pygmy Question', in Wollaston, *Pygmies and Papuans*, pass.; *Idem*, *The Races of Man*, p. 161 *sq.*; Le Roy, *Les Pygmées*, p. 235; Plischke, 'Pygmäen des Stillen Ozeans', in *In Memor. K. Weule*, p. 241 *sqq.*; Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, i. 136; Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, pp. 129, 481.

[3] Schmidt, *Die Stellung der Pygmaenvolker in der Entwickelungsgeschichte des Menschen*, pp. 55, 57, 63, 284 *sqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 63, 65; *Idem*, 'Das ethnologische Alter von Pfeil und Bogen', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lvi. 63 *sq.*, where Schmidt on ethnographical grounds has come to the conclusion that the pygmies have had nothing at all to do with nomad culture.

[5] Gusinde, 'Zur Forschungsgeschichte der Feuerland-Indianer', in *Mitth. d. Geogr. Gesell. Wien*, lxxiii. 252; *cf.* Krickeberg, in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, i. 309.

[6] Nordenskiöld, *Sydamerikas indianer*, p. 46 *sq.*; Wied-Neuwied, *Reise nach Brasilien*, p. 32.

These peoples are said to be very low in the scale of civilization, and belong to the "typical wandering tribes".[1] Baron Erland Nordenskiöld says that they can under no circumstances be considered as stationary. He adds that "their huts are only temporary roofs which protect them against rain, or shelters which protect them from the wind. They are hastily made and deserted at will".[2]

The Muras in Brazil live in scattered families or small bands which wander from place to place along the shores of the rivers or lakes which boast an abundance of fish or turtles. At every resting-place they build temporary huts at the edge of a stream and move up and down the banks according to the water-level.[3]

In their day the Gosiut Indians were also collectors. They lived south of the Great Salt Lake in North America.[4]

However primitive the collector stage now seems to us, we still see reminders of it to-day; and not only reminders, for it exists as a fact right in the midst of modern European culture. I am not referring to berry and mushroom picking in the forests, but to collecting which is the principal form of subsistence of part of the Alpine population in Switzerland. Brockmann-Jerosch, who has made a study of this, traces it back to the Stone Age. Owing to the damp climate corn-growing in the Uri canton is greatly limited. Bread was formerly very seldom seen there. This was true sixty years ago especially, though there are still places to-day where the baking of bread is an unknown art. The inhabitants have some cattle but have no pastures of their own. They get their food from the plant world principally by gathering it. They learn no special trades. Whole families go on journeys to collect food (*Vaccinium myrtillus*, *Rubus idaeus*, *Fragia*, *Castanea*, *Juglans regia*, *Sorbus aria*, *Corylus*).

Collecting is so important that it is a concern of the whole tribe. These landless cattle-breeders also collect all sorts of things to sell, minerals, herbs, and especially the gentian root which is sold for preparing gentian cordial. Distilling is not unusual in the

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[1] Nordenskiöld, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 108.
[3] Bates, *Resor i Brasilien* (Swed. trans.), p. 187 *sqq.*
[4] Thurnwald, *Die menschliche Gesellschaft*, i. 68

homes. These peoples do not engage in true wandering, however, as they live in small huts on common ground. But they own no property.[1]

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II. *Fisher peoples.* The so-called fisher peoples, particularly in lower stages of civilization, are of physical necessity wandering peoples, and almost everywhere represent a fairly primitive civilization. Their roving life does not permit of the creation of any real culture. Schurtz says that their primitiveness is due to their distant habitats on sea coasts without means of communication, forcing them apart from other peoples, and thus resulting in their culture coming to a standstill.[2] To me this explanation does not seem entirely correct. The sea, especially along coasts abounding with islands, has seldom separated peoples, rather has it united them. I think that the primitiveness rather is connected with the permanent wandering.

Concerning the ancient Tasmanians, Bonwick states that the coastal tribes lived principally by fishing, and even the inland tribes made an annual visit to the coast for this purpose.[3]

The Australian natives in Victoria, who during spring and summer live principally on vegetation, though also on wild-fowl to some extent in spring, migrate in large hordes to the mouths of rivers and to lakes to catch fish in summer. In winter they go on hunting expeditions.[4]

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[1] Brockmann-Jerosch, 'Die letzten Sammler in der Schweiz', in *Pet. Mitth.*, lxxvii. 130 *sq.*

[2] Schurtz, *Katechismus der Völkerkunde*, p. 31.

[3] Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, p. 14.

The South Sea Islanders, though on the whole stationary, mostly engage in fishing which leads to extensive journeying. *Cf.* Deane, *Fijian Society*, p. 166 *sqq.*

[4] Even many of the coast and river tribes on Borneo who nowadays are fairly stationary engage in fishing as their principal means of livelihood, though it is likely that the relatively abundant supply of fish in the waters no longer forces the tribes to undertake extensive journeys. *Cf.* Bulmer, quoted by Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 235; Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak*, i. 7 *sqq.*; Hose and Shelford, 'Materials for Study of Tabu in Borneo', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi. 60 *sqq.*; Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo*, p. 54.

Along the coasts of Borneo one finds fisher peoples whose wanderings are conditioned by the supply of fish at the coasts and in the rivers. The Sea-Dyaks of Borneo, especially, are a wandering people whose migrations are evidently conditioned by the supply of food.[1]

The Orang-Laut tribes constitute a peculiar type of wandering, fisher people, a water people, who lives without permanent dwellings on the water along the coasts of the Malay Peninsula, fishing and collecting food. The most primitive of the Orang-Laut tribes are those which are to be found at the mouths of the rivers and in the mangrove swamps, especially the Orang-Sletar and the Orang-Selon, the latter living on the Mergui Islands along the coast of Burma with no permanent dwellings, travelling around in bands of ten to fourteen persons in primitive fishing-craft. The Orang-Laut tribes are skilful seamen and skilful boat-builders. They practically live their lives in boats, installing themselves in primitive huts at the river mouths only at the time of the south-west monsoon.[2] It is most likely the same or related tribes that White describes, speaking of peoples in the Mergui Archipelago. These peoples called themselves *Mawken*. Each family had its home on the water, its houseboat. Journeys were dictated by the search for food. If the population sometimes encamped along the shores, its dwelling-places were tents, or at best a few pole dwellings. According to White these peoples' place of abode was formerly in the districts of Burma-Malaya, but warlike tribes drove them towards the coasts and out into the Archipelago. "At last they decided . . . they must live in their ships, . . . these ships were fitted up as homes, and in them the people lived." They live by pearl-fishing, — and also to some extent on the opium traffic. The peoples have, according to White, become fishermen as a result of pressure from the land of other tribes.[3]

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[1] Gomes, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[2] Heine-Geldern, *loc. cit.*, ii: i. 692, 797 *sq.*; Skeat, 'Wild Tribes of the Malay Peninsula', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxii. 129 *sq.*

Of those of these fishing peoples who are on a higher plane of civilization, also called Mohammedan Sea Men owing to their Islamite faith, Annandale and Robinson ('Some Preliminary Results of an Expedition to the Malay Peninsula', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxii. 141) write, "though they have rice fields and villages up the rivers, they spend a part of every year by the sea, fishing oysters and trepang".

[3] White, *The Sea Gypsies of Malaya*, pp. 40, 45, 57 *sq.*, 106. *Cf.* also Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology & Archeology of the Malay Peninsula*, p. 44.

At least part of these tribes, in common with the tribes on the Andaman Islands, may be counted among the Negritic (pygmy) peoples, as for instance the Orang-Pangang who principally live on and by the Perak River. They journey about, never staying long in one place. Investigators report that they experimented in giving them food in superabundance, and other presents, but suddenly without the least warning men, women and children disappeared to return to their roving life. They cannot endure being in one and the same place. Even families disintegrate and then after a time reunite again. Other tribes mostly keep to the jungle. Which part of it they occupy is of little importance as long as there is a sufficiency of game and herbs, and no other tribes to interfere with them. In special places, well known to the tribe, are five or six small huts or houses made of leaves which are for a short while at a time inhabited first by one family and then by another. The huts are intended as supply-places rather than as dwelling-places.[1]

The Andaman Islanders depend for their subsistence entirely upon the natural products of the sea and the forest. One can state definite cycles in their wanderings, depending upon the time of year and the food possibilities. They live and wander in small bands, devoting themselves to collector husbandry, fishing and hunting as nature permits. From the sea and from the salt-water creeks, which in many places penetrate inland for some miles, they obtain fish and crabs. From the forest they obtain the flesh of the wild pig, wild honey, and a large number of vegetable foods — roots, fruits and seeds. The life of the forest folk is more simple and uniform than that of the coast people. During the rainy season (the middle of May to the end of September) the local band lives at its headquarters camp, which formerly was often in the form of a communal hut. During this season animal food is plentiful; on the other hand there is not much vegetable food to be obtained.

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[1] Virchov, 'Rapport über die wilden Eingebornen von Malacca', in *Verh. d. Berliner Ges. f. Anthr., Ethn. und Urgesch.*, xxxii. 98 *sq.*, 103, 126; Grunwedel, 'Materialen zur Kenntniss der Wilden Stämme auf der Halbinsel Malâka', in *Veröff. Kön. Mus. f. Völkerkunde* (Berlin), iii. 456 *sqq.*; Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 481 (Philipp. Islands); Man, 'On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii. 121 (Andaman Islands).

Cf. also Martin, *Die Inlandsstamme*, pp. 177, 659 *sqq.*; Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra*, ii. 290 *sq.*; Plischke, *loc. cit.*, p. 241 *sqq.*

When the hunting party traverses the forest it may come across roots, or fruits, or seeds, or wild honey. At the end of the rainy season some of the vegetable foods begin to be available. The cool season, when fruits and roots are plentiful, begins at the end of November. The forest-dwellers leave their main encampment during this season. Some of them go off to pay visits to their friends of other local bands. Such visits may last two or three months. Those who remain behind occupy temporary camps in convenient places. The men join the women in looking for roots or fruits, and do not spend so much of their time in hunting. During the cool season hunting for pig is almost abandoned. Towards the end of the hot season men and women spend much time collecting fruits.[1] Belcher writes of the Andaman natives that the various wandering tribes have their own districts round which they wander; never remaining long in one place, keeping generally to the sea-shore, and entering the jungle only to cross from one side to another.[2]

In Equatorial Africa the large fishes in the rivers and lakes compel all peoples who live by fishing to move constantly. The wandering blood seems to be so strong that these migrations according to French investigators "ne sont pas seulement des expéditions de réapprovisionnement; elles tiennent aussi de la partie de plaisir et du piquenique".[3]

A South American equivalent to the "Sea Gypsies" in eastern Asia are many of the primitive tribes on Tierra del Fuego, a race which is becoming extinct, there not being many families left. The Yahgan and Alacaluf Indians, or as they are called jointly, the Channel Indians, in the southern and western archipelagos of Tierra del Fuego almost live on the water. They row about in families in bark canoes, devoting themselves to fishing and collecting. They gather oysters, crabs, and other sea

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[1] Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, pp. 36 *sqq.*, 39 *sq.*, 417.

[2] Belcher, 'Notes on the Andaman Islands', in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. London*, N. S. v. 42.

[3] Cureau, *Les sociétés primitives de l'Afrique équatoriale*, p. 263; *cf.* Bruel, *L'Afrique équatoriale française*, p. 237 *sqq.*

And even more or less stationary nature peoples devote themselves to a great extent to fishing as their principal form of subsistence. *Cf.* Väter, 'Die Fischerei bei Utinga', in *Anthropos*, xxviii. 117 *sqq.*; Alexander, *From Niger to Nile*, i. 21.

creatures. The search for food conditions their perpetual "wet" wanderings.[1]

Like the Ona Indians on the main island the rest of these Channel Indians have succumbed to disease and the unequal struggle with the white man. Dr. Kranck writes of these Channel Indians, "they are almost amphibians, more accustomed to movement on water than on land". The bark canoes are their real homes; they have fireplaces in them where they cook their food. The families live in the canoes always when they are on journeys, that is to say, during the greater part of the year. "Like the sea-fowl it was their habit, swimming and diving, to search for their main food, the delicate blue oysters of the channels." Communal life scarcely existed among them when the whites first made their acquaintance.[2]

Many primitive tribes in Patagonia also live alternately by hunting and fishing.[3] "Fishing is the main occupation of the tribes living on the River Pilcomayo", says Karsten. These Indians lead a very active life.[4]

Koch-Grünberg has very aptly described the fisher peoples by the Rio Negro. The upper Rio Negro river, like its big tributaries, is rich in fish which wander all the year round, thus forcing the people along the shores to lead a moving life. During low tide from December to March, when the smaller rivers are dried up, the fish migrate to the main river, out in the deep water. The Indians then leave their former whereabouts and move with all their possessions, children, household goods and dogs to the places abounding in fish in order to obtain the desired spoils. Activity is soon to be seen out on the sandbanks at the lagoons. After the best season is over, the Indians return to their former abodes.[5]

Most of the primitive aborigines south of the Rio Negro and Chiloë in South America are fisher and hunter peoples, according

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[1] Hultkrantz, 'Zur Osteologie der Ona- und Yagan Indianer des Feuerlands', in *Wiss. Ergebn. d. Schwed. Exp.*, i. 111; Lothrop, 'The Indians of Tierra del Fuego', in *Mus. American Indian*, x. 198; Krickeberg, 'Amerika', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, i. 138 *sq.*

[2] Kranck, *De slocknade eldarnas land*, pp. 59, 61 *sq.*

[3] Schmieder, 'Länderkunde Südamerikas', in *Enzykl. d. Erdkunde*, i. 125.

[4] Karsten, 'Indian Tribes of Gran Chaco', in *Soc. Scient. Fennica* (*Comm. Litt. Hum.* iv. i.), 38.

[5] Koch-Grünberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*, ii. 27 *sq.*

to Baron Nordenskiöld. He says of the Chimane Indians that their wanderings are dictated first of all by hunting and fishing. "The returns from hunting decrease after a while if they live long in the same place, even the fish wander and the Indians follow them on their wanderings."[1] The same is the case with the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians. "When in 1909 I visited their country", Baron Nordenskiöld says, "I found exceedingly few villages in the same place as in 1908. They move for fishing, they move for the algorobo, they move for their fields." During the dry season they migrate to the Rio Pilcomayo where they fish. During the rainy period they again return inland.[2] The Chacabo Indians also wander "for hunting and fishing".[3] At times even these Indians are forced to be vegetarians "since hunting and fishing even here miscarry sometimes, during the rainy season."[4]

Bowman also established the existence of perpetual seasonal wanderings among the South American fisher peoples along the rivers in Peru. When the fish migrate upwards the people follows suit.[5]

Many of the roving peoples in the Greater Antilles combine fishing culture with the hunter and collector stage.[6]

The same food combination and the same motive for wandering appears among the North American Indians, especially among tribes along the west coast and on the Arctic boundary. In places hunting is sometimes an uncertain means of livelihood. On the other hand fish are to be found in unlimited quantities in lakes, rivers, and along the coasts. Schoolcraft writes of the wandering Indians in the Rocky Mountains, "These Indians of the Rocky mountains plant nothing and live only by the indigenous productions, on fish, game and roots".[7]

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[1] Nordenskiöld, *Forskningar och aventyr i Sydamerika*, p. 234. *Cf.* Church, *Aborigines of South America*, p. 9; Krause, *In den Wildnissen Brasiliens*, pp. 51 *sqq.*; v. Martius, *Beitrage zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Süd-Amerikas*, i. 605; Weule, *Völkerkunde*, p. 104.

[2] Nordenskiöld, *Indianlif*, p. 29.

[3] *Idem*, *Indianer och hvita*, p. 14.

[4] *Idem*, *Forskningar och aventyr i Sydamerika*, p. 225.

[5] Bowman, 'The Country of the Shepherds', in *The Geogr. Review*, i. 422.

[6] Lovén, *Über die Wurzeln der Tainischen Kultur*, i. 8.

[7] Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information respecting ... the Indian Tribes of the United States*, i. 224; Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System*, p. 191 *sq.*

Most of the primitive tribes in Oregon and California represent a fishing culture with a strain of hunting and collecting husbandry[1].

Of the Wishram tribe of the northern section of the Columbia River we read that it "depended primarily upon fishing for subsistence, secondarily on root and seed gathering with hunting in a distinctly subordinate place". The Columbia River contains fish at all times of the year, and at certain seasons the fish ascending the stream run to prodigious numbers.[2]

The tribes of north-west America especially have principally carried on fishing, which has led to extensive tribal wanderings. This is particularly true of the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Haida, Wakash, Nutka, Kwakiutl, Heilsuk, Chinook, Shahaptim and other tribes.[3] The northern Algonquins engaged to some extent in primitive agriculture in summer, and hunted the buffalo, deer and moose in winter, though they also fished quite extensively.[4]

Mason says of the Haida Indians of British Columbia that they "annually voyage as many as five hundred miles southward to Puget Sound to lay in a supply of dried clams and oysters for their own consumption and for trade".[5] And Dall writes, speaking of the Alaskan Indians, that life among them "is a constant struggle with nature, wrestling with hunger, cold, and fatigue". Fishing conditions their wanderings. The opening and closing of navigation are the two great events of the year.[6]

All the streams between San Francisco Bay, in California, and the Bering Strait abound with fish (especially salmon) which run up the rivers in great shoals, Wissler states, pointing out that "while in this area the tribes of the coast maintained fairly permanent villages, those of the interior were rather nomadic, or more correctly, moved in an annual cycle, according to their food habits. Thus at the salmon run each group took its place on a river bank; then as berries ripened, they shifted to those localities, moving again for the gathering of roots; again for deer-hunting,

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[1] Krickeberg, *loc. cit.*, i. 135 *sqq.*; 155 *sq.*; James, *California*, p. 28 *sqq.*

[2] Spier and Sapir, 'Wishram Ethnography', in *Univ. Washington Publ. Anthr.*, iii. 174.

[3] Krickeberg, *loc. cit.*, i. 125.

[4] *Ibid.* i. 125.

[5] Mason, 'Migration and the Food Quest', in *The Amer. Anthr.*, vii. 279; *cf.* Mason and McGee, *The Aborigines of the District of Columbia*, p. 252 *sqq.*

[6] Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 200 *sq.*

and so on in one ceaseless round".[1] To a less extent this seasonal shifting prevailed among the coast tribes, for by the use of canoes they could readily reach the places sought after and return again to their villages.

The correlation between the use of wild foods and instability of residence is perhaps more striking in this northern area than in the others, but nevertheless it holds good of all. The Eskimo regularly shifted from the sea inland and back again as winter set in, and likewise the caribou, bison, and guanaco hunters, each in their respective habitats, shifted according to seasonal requirements. The more extended and definite annual cycle of the salmon area seems to be due to the fact that each of their staple foods was available for but single short periods of the year, not unlike so many successive harvests of an agricultural people whose fields were far apart.[2]

Throughout the North Pacific coast area where subsistence is obtained from fishing, hunting and plant-gathering, residence is frequently shifted according to the seasons. Every tribe therefore has a permanent village, occupied during part of the winter, and a number of fishing stations, hunting grounds and berrying places. This mode of life is shared by large numbers of the Plateau tribes who move to the rivers for fish and to the mountains for hunting and berry-picking. They, like the coast people, have a type of house that cannot be moved; so they also employ simpler shelters, generally of mat construction, for camping. Shorter migrations are undertaken constantly.[3]

Especially among the Arctic peoples hunting and fishing is their only "basis of subsistence" as Morgan expresses it,[4] which here particularly is bound to a life of great movement.[5] Here

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[1] Wissler, *The American Indian*, p. 10 *sq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 10 *sq.*

[3] Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, p. 195.

[4] Morgan, 'Indian Migrations', in *The North Amer. Rev.*, cix. p. 163.

In speaking here in general terms of Arctic or Polar peoples I do so not only for geographical reasons, but principally because the mental and material culture of these widely scattered peoples displays generally the most impressive conformity and unity. The Chukchi, Koryaks, Kamchadals, Yukaghirs, Tungus, Eskimos all gain a livelihood in the same active way.

[5] Byhan, *Polarvölker*, pp. 41, 44, 48; Petitot, 'Géographie de l'Athabaskaw-Mackenzie', in *Bull. Soc. Géogr.*, x. 135 *sq.*, 155 *sq.*

they have also retained their most primitive character, as the Polar people have had little chance of being influenced from without and have thus to a much smaller extent than other coast tribes been carriers for trade and exchange with the interior. In these hyperborean regions the peoples as a rule wander in small groups, as the struggle with nature which is met with at every step does not permit of the advance of clans.

It is fairly apparent, it seems to me, that these wanderings, of the Eskimos, for example — which I shall treat more intimately in connection with the hunting migrations — are for the most part conditioned by the need of food. "The possibility of catching fish has been the motive power behind the wanderings of the Eskimos", writes Isachsen.[1]

Hunting and fishing are principally responsible for the wanderings of the Eskimos; in some instances fishing is the more important, in others hunting. Boas affirms that a great many of the Eskimos live so long in one place "as there is an abundance of seals during the whole year".[2]

On Labrador "the Eskimos were in the habit of making two excursions into the interior each year after reindeer, which were sometimes killed with bow and arrow, but generally they were driven into the lakes and there speared".[3]

Research on the Aleutian Islands establishes that fishing conditions the perpetual wanderings of the inhabitants.[4]

Among many Siberian tribes, e. g. the Ostyaks, the Yukaghirs and many others, fishing together with hunting and reindeer nomadism plays a prominent rôle, in fact it must be looked upon as the necessary condition to their industry.[5] These peoples, formerly at least, were always wandering. They followed a definite plan brought about by fishing and hunting. In winter they journeyed

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[1] Isachsen, 'Die Wanderungen der östlichen Eskimo nach und in Grönland', in *Pet. Mitth.*, xlix. 150; *cf.* Dalager, *Grønlandske Relationer*, p. 1 *sqq.*; Dall, in *Proc. Amer. Assoc. Adv. Science*, xxxv.ii *sq.*; Lampe, in Andrée's *Geographie des Welthandels*, iii. 549.

[2] Boas, 'The Central Eskimo', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, vi. 443.

[3] Gosling, *Labrador*, p. 29; Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, p. 19.

[4] Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 87.

[5] Findeisen, 'Die Fischerei im Leben der Altsibirischen Völker', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lx. i. 43.

up to the sources of the rivers to hunt, and then, with the breaking up of the ice, they travelled downstream in boats for fishing. The Gilyaks on the west and east coast of Sakhalin are altogether dependent upon fishing for their food supply. The same is true of the inhabitants of Kamchatka.[1]

The Ostyaks who own no reindeer are thrown upon fishing for a livelihood. They leave their families for the winter at the rivers, where as a rule they have permanent dwellings, clay huts or log houses, from which the men start on their wanderings. Even for the reindeer-Ostyaks fishing is an important supplementary source of subsistence.[2]

Fishing as the principal form of subsistence may even at times be combined with cattle nomadism, or even with primitive agriculture. Some of the tribes of southern Arabia, e. g. the Bautāhara, Mahr, Quara, and Shahara, live on fishing, but they have also a few camels.[3]

Fishing in combination with primitive agriculture is to be found, for example, among the Caraya Indians on the Rio Araguaya in Brazil. The Caraya Indians, like most South American tribes, are first of all fishers, but they carry on primitive agriculture by the side of fishing. The principal fishing season is the dry period from May to October, when the larger fishes run up the rivers. The rest of the year the Carayas devote to agriculture.[4]

Prehistory also indicates the existence of wandering fisher peoples. Fishing and hunting drew the peoples towards the North. In Scandinavia there is evidence that the inhabitants in earlier times were fishers and hunters. The *Kjøkkenmøddinger* in southern Scandinavia prove this as clearly as the shell-mounds in the Gulf of San Francisco, the shell-heaps on the Atlantic coast, *los paraderos* in the Argentine.

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[1] v. Schrenck, *Sibirische Reise*, iii. 429; *cf.* also Findeisen, 'Viehzüchter und Jägervölker am Baikalsee etc.', in *Baessler Archiv*, xiv. 23 (Tribes on Lake Baikal and the Amur River).

[2] Sirelius, 'Über das Jagdrecht bei einigen finnisch-ugrischen Völkern', in *Mém. d. l. Soc. finno-ougr.*, xiv. 8.

[3] Thomas, 'Among Some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia', in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, lix. 99.

[4] Ehrenreich, 'Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens', in *Veröff. Kön. Mus. f. Völkerkunde* (Berlin), ii. 14.

And fishing was probably the original cause of the voyages of the Phoenicians, perhaps also the origin of the maritime development of the Hansa in the Baltic Sea and the embryo of Japanese expansion in the Pacific.

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III. *Hunter Peoples.* Like the collecting and fishing stages, the collecting and hunting stages among primitive peoples are mixed up with one another, even though one can distinguish a separate hunting stage here and there.

Distinctively hunter peoples are not particularly numerous, as hunting is often combined either with collecting or fishing, or with both. The wanderings of hunter peoples also require large areas if the demand for food is to be satisfied. This is true in the tropics, too. The food conditions in one and the same place are rather limited, especially for peoples who live by hunting. Consequently, among many so-called hunter peoples hunting is only a supplement in their struggle for existence.

"Le nègre ne chasse guère avec frénésie que quand il y est obligé, quand il chasse, c'est pour manger". That it is the economic-geographical reasons which lie behind these hunting wanderings, appears from the fact that "les peuplades qui chassent le plus sont celles dont les territoires très boisés rendent les défrichements et l'agriculture très difficiles".[1] And Decorse affirms with Febvre "que les instincts cynégétiques ne sont pas spéciaux à quelques-uns; mais ce sont les conditions d'existence qui poussent certains peuples à faire de la chasse leur principale occupation".[2] These peoples' wanderings are thus determined by the necessity of hunting. Those tribes in Australia which live by hunting can find no permanent place of abode, for as soon as game "grows scarce", the whole tribe is forced to wander slowly onward.[3]

Many tribes of Central Australia represent hunter culture in fairly definite form. They go on typical hunting wanderings

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[1] Febvre, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

[2] Decorse, 'La chasse et l'agriculture au Soudan', in *L'Anthropologie*, xvi. 467.

[3] Lauterer, *Australien und Tasmanien*, p. 280.

"particularly as their brain in many instances does not yet know enough to connect the seed with the coming plant", as Dr. Mjöberg expresses it.[1] They camp wherever they find a bounteous supply of game and look for new hunting-grounds when the possibilities of the old ones are exhausted.[2] The same is true of many tribes in the interior of the Malay Peninsula. Some of the Semang in Malacca are hunters who wander about constantly and almost aimlessly, never staying more than three or at the most four days in one place.[3]

In Sumatra there are some very primitive Malay tribes, e. g. the Kubu in southern Sumatra, who roam through the woods in families, having no permanent abodes and living principally by hunting and fishing.[4]

There are many wandering hunter tribes among the inland tribes of Borneo. Hose and McDougall say of these: "In almost all parts of Borneo there are found hidden in the remotest recesses of the jungle small bands of homeless nomad hunters. All these closely resemble one another in physical characteristics and in mode of life".[5] Such are the Ukis, the Sians, the Bukitans, the Lugats, the Lisums and the Punans. All these tribes present certain physical similarities, though as regards language they differ widely. The Punans are the most typical wandering tribes. They are perpetually wandering. They possess no houses, they own no more property than they can carry on their backs. They cultivate no crops, relying for all their food on what the jungle can provide. Although they are a hunter people they possess no dogs and do not even manufacture their arms of precision. "Having no crops", says Hose, "and no domestic animals, the Punans live exclusively on jungle produce, animal and vegetable".[6]

Hunting still plays a large part in the lives of more or less stationary primitive tribes. Among many stationary Borneo tribes

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[1] Mjöberg, *Bland vilda djur och folk i Australien*, p. 211. *Cf.* Howitt, *The Native Tribes of S.-E. Australia*, pp. 761, 763; Thomas, *The Native Tribes of Australia*, p. 88 *sq.*; Davitt, *Life and Progress in Australia*, p. 81.

[2] Mjoberg, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

[3] Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 569 *sqq.*

[4] Heine-Geldern, *loc. cit.*, ii: i. 788.

[5] Hose and McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, ii. 177.

[6] Hose, *Natural Man*, pp. 38 *sqq.*

the men go hunting for long periods of time. For them "the river and the jungle represent the world".[1]

The wanderings of the Veddahs of Ceylon seem to be altogether determined by the hunting of wild animals or the collecting of edible plants, all according to natural conditions and the season of the year. The primitive aboriginal Veddahs gain a livelihood only in so-called park landscapes, forest and grass-lands, while owing to the shade of the hills the forests of the plateaus are poor in big game, the inhabitants' principal source of food. The enormous rains, however, often transform the forest and grass-lands into flooded territories and lakes.[2] During this period (generally October—December) the Veddahs would have no camping-ground if it were not for the plateaus. The wild animals then also desert the swamps and journey upward. During the dry season each family lives by itself, during the rainy period the families journey in flocks up towards the mountains. But in the tropical jungle the primitive Veddahs also lead the life of roving collectors with a minimum of material equipment and also with the least possible social and cultural complications. Their camps are under the stars or in caves in the hills. If there is danger from passing elephants the Veddahs sleep up in trees. If protection is needed against wind or rain they look for a cliff wall with a projecting ledge, or otherwise arrange twigs and leaves into the simplest of rain-shields. The purpose of this perpetual roving, Sarasin points out, is due to geographical conditions.[3] All Veddahs, however, are not wanderers. As far as can be judged some are more or less settled, where the geographical conditions permit better food conditions. This is the case with the so-called Village Veddahs, as they are called to differentiate them from the aboriginal Veddahs, by which is meant Nature Veddahs or "Coast" Veddahs.[4]

As has been pointed out earlier, when speaking of collectors, many Bushmen peoples in Africa are partly hunters, even if they subsist as a rule by collecting, especially now that European occupation has narrowed down the sphere of their wanderings.

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[1] Rutter, *The Pagans of North Borneo*, p. 100; Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea-Dyaks of Borneo*, p. 53 *sq.*; *Idem*, *The Sea-Dyaks*, pp. 22 *sqq.*

[2] Sarasin, *Die Weddas von Ceylon*, i. 475 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.* i. 379 *sq.*, 382 *sqq.*; Guenther, *Einführung in die Tropenwelt, Ceylon*, pp. 324, 327 *sq.*

[4] Seligman, *The Veddahs*, pp. 29, 49, 53.

Among the wild Bushmen tribes in the Congo hunting is of main importance, so important in fact that the inauguration of the hunting season is a solemn ceremony with almost a religious purport.[1]

Hunting has played so great a part in the lives of many African peoples that even after they have become more or less stationary, owing to the advance of culture or better food possibilities, they have periodically at least returned to the hunting stage. There is an abundance of material which proves that there are tribes not entirely dependent upon hunting and collecting as a main source of livelihood, but which contain families of hunters. Most of these tribes have periodic hunting battues, as for example the Gow, a hunter people in the Niger region, at present more or less stationary.[2]

Primitive hunters, the Dorōbo, live in the forest regions north of Tinderet Hill in Kenya Colony, Africa. They remain only two months in one place and then set out upon new wanderings, deserting their huts, which become ruined and "full of fleas" when the family moves to a fresh site. Formerly the Dorōbo possessed no stock, nor did they till the soil. During the last quarter of a century or so, a few of those living on the edge of the forest have taken to cultivating small plantations, in which they grow grain only. At the present day a few possess one or two cows, others have a few goats and sheep.[3] "The jungle is the home of the Wandorōbo", says Lindblom. "They know its secrets as no one else and get their food from its animal world with the help of poisoned arrows. The Wandorōbo own no cattle, nor do they till the soil".[4]

Some of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego devote themselves more to hunting than to collecting and fishing,[5] especially as the latter does not always give them enough return. "Nature herself determines their roving hunting life", says Gusinde of the Selk' nam.[6] Gusinde calls this state hunting nomadism, since the men

[1] Claridge, *Wild Bush Tribes of Tropical Africa*, p. 87 *sq.*

[2] Dupuis-Yakouba, *Les Gow ou chasseurs du Niger*, pass.

[3] Huntington, 'Modern Hunters etc.', in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, lix. 340.

[4] Lindblom, *I vildmark och negerbyar*, pp. 46, 48.

[5] Gusinde (*The Selk'nam*, i. 269 *sq.*, 288) says that the women devote themselves somewhat to "the gathering of fishes" along the coasts, sea animals, and plants. Farming is not practised at all (*op. cit.*, pp. 269 *sq.*, 288).

[6] Gusinde, 'Zur Forschungsgeschichte der Feuerland-Indianer', in *Mitth. d. Geogr. Ges.* (Wien), lxxiii. 193, *cf.* 302.

are forced to hunt for game constantly and erect temporary huts wherever they happen to find a few days' food supply. This form of subsistence does not allow of their living otherwise than in families, as the inhabitants are forced to move without rest from place to place. Gusinde says that it is "the permanently wandering spirit" that is the motive power and it is never untrue to itself. But finally this wandering instinct is conditioned by hunger which threatens like a warning ghost that haunts the tribe if it does not wander. The Selk'nam journey over wide areas, as the animals they chase also constantly have to change their homes.[1] Closely related to these tribes are, no doubt, the Foot Indians who are also characterized as being "nomadic hunters", using the bow and arrow but having no canoes or houses.[2]

Among other South American Indians we find the same conditions as among the primitive peoples of Africa. Even when these peoples have already advanced to primitive farming they often make use of hunting and fishing as supplementary sources of food, which at times are equal in importance to farming. For instance, speaking of the Chaco Indians in Paraguay, Grubb writes that hunting, which is the chief occupation of the men, is by no means a pastime or recreation, but a serious, onerous, and often dangerous undertaking; indeed, it is a great test of endurance, for they have to spend hours in search of game, exposed to a tropical sun and myriads of poisonous insects, at times wading in the swamps, etc.[3] "Next to agriculture, hunting and fishing are the principal means of subsistence of the Ecuadorian Indians," says Prof. Karsten.[4] Among the Indians of Ecuador large hunting expeditions are undertaken especially for the great feasts in order to secure a good supply of food, this author writes. Prof. Karsten has shown how these hunting customs, like farming and fishing customs, are founded on special animistic beliefs.[5]

According to von den Steinen those Indian tribes, the Bakaïri,

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[1] *Idem, The Selk'nam*, i. 193, 302; Koppers, *Unter Feuerland-Indianern*, p. 239.

[2] Lothrop, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Nordenskjöld, *Südamerika*, p. 57.

[3] Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, pp. 55, 66, 80.

[4] Karsten, 'Contributions to the Sociology of the Indian Tribes of Ecuador', in *Acta Acad. Aboensis* (*Hum.* i. iii.), 36.

[5] *Ibid.* 28 *sqq.*, 37; *cf. Idem*, 'Beiträge zur Sittengeschichte der sudamer. Indianer', in *Acta Acad. Aboensis* (*Hum.* i. iv.), 1 *sqq.*

Trumaí and others, which live around the source of the Xingu River, combine a collecting, hunting life with a certain amount of primitive agriculture.[1]

Morgan is no doubt right when he says that the North American aborigines undoubtedly commenced their career as fishers and hunters, and that the mass of them remained substantially in that condition down to the period of the discovery of the continent.[2]

The Canadian hunter tribes, as for instance the main part of the Athapascans (Déné), are still quite definitely hunters.[3] Of the Cheyenne Indians, the westernmost tribes of the great Algonquin family, Grinnell writes that after reaching the Missouri River on their wanderings there was a tendency among some of the more restless people to go farther, to work out on the plains, where buffalo were abundant. The people who began to wander out on the plains at first merely made hunting journeys and returned to the other tribes who had begun to engage in primitive agriculture. But gradually these hunting excursions lasted longer and longer, until a time was reached when they practically lived on the plains and only visited the river. "Wandering farther and farther, those who left the Missouri River reached the Black Hills, about which they lived and which for generations was the centre of their wanderings".[4] Even those of the Plain Indians who, probably through better geographical surroundings, had reached the farming stage and were stationary to a certain degree, made periodical hunting trips in summer and in winter for two or three months. "Yet from time to time, through scarcity of food, attacks by enemies, or from unknown causes, these sedentary tribes modified or even entirely changed their ways".[5]

In earlier days especially, some of the North American prairie tribes were definitely hunter tribes, in the southern regions the Comanches and Kiowa, on the central prairies the Cheyenne and Arapaho, and in the northern sections the Teton, Crow, Assiniboine and Siksika.[6]

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[1] von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, pass.

[2] Morgan, 'Indian Migrations', in *The North. Amer. Rev.*, cix. 396.

[3] Krickeberg, *loc. cit.*, i. 92.

[4] Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, i. 12.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 13; Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (*The Minn. Hist. Soc.* vii: 4), p. 155.

[6] Krickeberg, *loc. cit.*, i. 144.

To a great extent the wanderings of the Chipewyan Indians are determined by hunting. "The Chipewyan have made regular hunting excursions to the Barren Grounds, especially in former times, but it is the forest that is their real home, and it is the adaptation to the woodlands that stamps their life and culture".[1] The Chipewyan are exclusively hunters and fishers; every form of agriculture is unknown; the gathering of wild plants is also quite insignificant. "On the whole, life is therefore a continuous moving between the forest, in which they spend the winter, and the Barren Grounds, to which they follow the caribou in summer. Nowadays the trading post at Churchill forms a third factor in their travels."[2]

The wanderings of the Eskimos are determined by fishing and hunting and reindeer nomadism, as has earlier been pointed out. During the severest winter months when darkness prevails the Eskimos lead a quiet life, but as soon as the first streak of light makes its appearance in the heavens they begin to pack their sledges, and most often with wife and children, fishing and hunting implements, and household goods, set out on hunting or fishing expeditions. The spring catch is particularly important.[3]

Bogoras emphasizes subsistence-geographically conditioned seasonal wanderings of the Eskimos, pointing out that they often go in their skin boats for thirty miles looking for new places where the seal and the walrus are abundant. The wanderings of the marine mammals are very indefinite, hence the indefiniteness of the Eskimo wanderings. As a result the Eskimo villages, especially the smaller ones, are always changing.[4]

Rae Isthmus in Labrador has for centuries been a favourite and much frequented hunting-ground for the Eskimos, especially before firearms were introduced, because the exceptional natural conditions there were very favourable for acquiring the means of subsistence. Thus in earlier times when the great migrations in search of food took place, the Eskimo 'highways' ran through

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[1] Birket-Smith, *Contributions to Chipewyan Ethnology* (*Rep. Fifth Thule Exp.*), p. 16.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 26, 29; *Idem*, 'The Greenlanders of the Present Day', in *Greenland*, ii. 5.

[3] Weyer, *The Eskimos*, pp. 79 *sq.*, 91 *sq.*; Turquetil, 'Notes sur les Esquimaux de Baie Hudson', in *Anthropos*, xxi. 427 *sq.*

[4] Bogoras, 'Early Migrations of the Eskimo etc.', in *Congr. intern. Américanistes*, xxi: e 218, 224.

here.[1] Knud Rasmussen, who thinks that there has never been any migration of the Eskimos round about the north of Greenland, feels that the Eskimo migrations in the most northern part of Greenland do not of necessity have to be ascribed to a direct wandering instinct, which he in general terms calls the nomadic instinct. When hostile neighbours were not the compelling reason, the wanderings were due to a desire to reach more favourable hunting-grounds. The peculiar ice and snow conditions on the northern coast of Greenland make hunting on the sea impossible, and the ice-free coast areas are not large enough to furnish sufficient game for stationary tribes.[2] Rasmussen speaks of the Netsilik Eskimos' "life of constant moves and journeys; they remove to a new hunting area as soon as there are no more seals at the camp that was first chosen. These journeys to new grounds may be long or short, all depending upon whether the hunting is good or bad." In seasons when the hunting is bad they have to wander incessantly from place to place. They move with all their household goods, so that there is no room on the sledge for the people themselves.[3]

Speaking of the Iglulik Eskimos, Dr. Mathiassen asserts that their whole economic life depends on hunting and fishing.[4] Mathiassen mentions how between the various areas where the Iglulik Eskimos live on Labrador "a movement is constantly going on, with the result that their population is constantly changing in number and composition". The Iglulik Eskimos live a rather roaming life; they have no permanent settlements. However, here again one can recognise a certain regularity in their movements, an annual cycle, which recurs almost year after year, according to the possibilities offered by the various seasons. Another factor which contributes to this are the strict taboos, which keep the hunting of marine and terrestrial mammals sharply separated. Thus there are no permanent villages, but on the other hand there are certain places, "seasonal settlements", where the population at certain times of

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[1] Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos* (*Rep. Fifth Thule Exp.*), p. 7.

[2] Rasmussen, 'Scientific Results of the Second Thule Expedition to Northern Greenland 1916—1918', in *The Geogr. Review*, viii. 121.

[3] *Idem*, *The Netsilik Eskimos*, p. 142 *sq.* 'Netsilingmiut' means "the people who live where there are seal", (Rasmussen, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 481 *sq*).

[4] Mathiassen, *Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos* (*Rep. Fifth Thule Expedition*), p. 36.

the year usually assembles and pursues a particular branch of hunting.[1]

Dr. Birket-Smith distinguishes between different forms of wanderings or journeys among the Caribou Eskimos. First it is necessary to differentiate between hunting, trading, "fetching", and visiting journeys. The first applies to the simplest means of subsistence. By "fetching journeys" Dr. Birket-Smith understands "those which concern the products which are not to be found on the spot, but must be fetched from other regions". These are commodities such as wood or soapstone, which are looked for at a distance. These products do not demand any particular skill to produce, the author points out, and therefore the Eskimos prefer to fetch them themselves instead of trading for them. The same takes place elsewhere in the Eskimo world. Visiting and trading journeys are to some extent very closely connected, and where it is a case of visits between families, they are often of commercial character.

Dr. Birket-Smith, who affirms the "very unstable character of the settlements" of the Indians on the Barren Grounds, speaks of an "annual rotation of hunting"[2]; the expression throws light on the subsistence-geographical conditions. One of the principal forms of a hunting, caribou hunting, says the author, takes place at all times of the year, and now, especially after the introduction of the rifle, makes a very essential contribution to food supplies.[3] "During the autumn run of the trout, fishing is also carried on on a big scale at the weirs. In this manner a supply of food is accumulated which is sufficient for far into the winter, while at the same time skins are procured for new winter clothing."[4]

The decisive factors in the life of the Greenland Eskimos, Dr. Birket-Smith points out, are the conditions for the hunting of marine mammals; only in one or two cases outside of Greenland, and under very exceptional conditions, have they based their existence upon the hunting of reindeer. The open waters of Greenland are to a great extent responsible for this highly developed

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 23 *sqq.*; *cf.* also, conc. the ancient Angmagssalik Eskimos, *Idem*, 'Prehistory of the Angmagssalik Eskimos, in *Medd. om Grønland*, XCII: IV. 61 *sq.*, 107, 110 *sq.*

[2] Birket-Smith, *The Caribou Eskimos* (*Rep. Fifth Thule Exp.*), p. 70.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 134.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

kayak hunting and fishery.[1] Of the Eskimos in the high Arctic Thule district, Dr. Birket-Smith writes that in spring they move on the winter ice to a good sealing-place, where the quarry principally consists of basking seals, and seals caught at the edge of the ice. Within the Arctic area camping only prevails to any large extent in the northern Upernivik district, the causes of the habit being very nearly the same as in the Thule district. In spring, as the ice disappears, the inhabitants move in the direction of the heads of the fjords in order to hunt basking seals, or seals at the edge of the ice. When autumn approaches they move in the same direction for the sake of deer-hunting and trout-fishing. In summer a move is made in the direction of the outlying hunting-grounds of the coast, the object being the capture of bladdernose and saddle back seals.[2]

It is thought that in Scandinavia in olden days, hunting first tempted the population at it was working its way up the rivers and coastlands, to the extensive forest lands, and called its attention to the possibilities of the forest in other ways, thus paving the way for making more permanent use of it. The same holds good of the wanderings towards the woods brought about by fishing.[3]

Hobhouse points out that among food-seeking peoples where the men hunt and the women gather fruits, in general all the members of the group, or clan, have the same rights to the earth and its products, which are divided evenly among all. The oldest competent man in the group is a sort of leader, "but his power is only superficial and indefinite". There is no difference in rank, and little difference between the sexes. The various neighbouring tribes, related also in language, are on a friendly footing with each other and can be looked upon as one tribe, though a tribal leader in any form is quite rare. Within the limits of tribal connexion, a man can appropriate a tree simply by announcing that it is his. In like manner, booty brought home belongs to the hunter or the one who found it, but each man keeps only as much as his family needs, the rest he gives away. A young man, especially an unmarried young man, has to give away the best part of his booty, so that as a matter of fact all food is divided evenly among the tribal members. It is even possible for the younger ones to receive less than the others.[4]

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[1] *Idem*, in *Greenland*, ii. 5, 111 *sqq.*; *Idem*, 'Ethnography of the Egedesminde District', in *Medd. om Grønland*, lxvi. 375.

[2] *Idem*, *Eskimoerne*, p. 76 *sqq.*; *cf.* Jennes, 'Origin of the Copper Eskimos etc.', in *The Geogr. Review*, xiii. 540 *sqq.*; Rasmussen, in *ibid.* viii. 180 *sqq.*

[3] Boëthius, *Ur de stora skogarnas historia*, pp. 27, 31.

[4] Hobhouse, in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. u. Soziol.*, iv. 398, 414.

Among the more pronounced hunting peoples, hunting trips are not unmethodical. On the contrary, not only is the hunt well organized but the districts which the various tribes may make use of and roam through are definitely fixed. It is true that individual ownership of these districts seldom exists among members of the same tribe; but collectively, among separate tribes, there are definite rules concerning them.[1]

Vidal de la Blache feels he may assume that even "les plus humbles peuplades australiennes avaient l'habitude de déterminer par des pierres ou certaines marques connues les espaces dont la contenance pouvait pourvoir à leurs besoins de chasse, de cueillette, de provisions d'eau et de bois".[2]

In primitive Australia the territorial rights of each tribe as against the others are very distinct, Wheeler claims. "Each tribe occupies a defined tract of country, and the members have the exclusive right to all the game and products found within this area."[3] Belcher points out that the wandering tribes of the Andaman Islands have "their own districts round which they wander, never remaining long in one place, keeping generally to the sea-shore, and entering the jungle only to cross from one side to the other".[4] The territories through which the Veddahs wander, for instance, are divided into as many districts and hunting-lands as there are groups of families or hordes. The various hunting-grounds, separated from one another by trees, rocks, rivers, streams, often diverge from certain centres.[5]

The pygmies in Africa live in groups, numbering from 6 to 18 men, with their families. Each of these groups occupies a recognized part of the forest, which is its particular hunting-ground and into which any strange native trespasses at his peril.[6]

Speaking of the Lango in Uganda, Driberg says that for hunting purposes the country, except in the more thickly populated

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[1] Andrée, *Ethnographische Parallelen*, p. 42 *sq.*; Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 201.

[2] Vidal de la Blache, *Principes de géographie humaine*, p. 35.

[3] Wheeler, *The Tribe, and Intertribal Relations in Australia*, p. 62; chs. ii and iii.

[4] Belcher, *loc. cit.*, v. 42.

[5] Sarasin, *op. cit.*, i. 475.

[6] Powell-Cotton, 'Notes on a Journey through the Great Ituri Forest', in *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, vi: xxv. 4.

parts, is divided into various areas called *arum*, the rights to which are jealously guarded by their owners. For instance, when the Lango lived east of the Abalong River they there established certain hunting areas and privileges, and for a long time after they were forced west their claims were conceded by the Akum. An *arum* is the hereditary property of an individual, who is not necessarily a chief, and there can be no hunting on his property without his permission or invitation. The owner (*won arum*) is responsible to the community for its upkeep, and it is his duty, assisted by his relatives, to surround the *arum* with a firebreak to prevent fires from spreading from other properties, or from spreading from his to a neighbouring *arum*, as an *arum* may vary in size from four to one hundred and forty square miles.[1]

Father Gusinde tells me that the Ona tribes of Tierra del Fuego who devoted themselves to hunting and food-gathering did not roam around at random. According to mythology, the region already in ancient days was divided up into definite land districts with definite boundaries, within which distinct families had the right to engage in the search for food.[2]

Certain hunting Indian tribes in North America have for a long time had definite, limited territories for their hunts.[3]

On the other hand the Labrador Eskimos, possibly owing to the larger territories at their disposal, have no strict divisions of hunting territories such as characterize their near Indian neighbours, the Micmacs and Montagnais.[4]

Sirelius points out that the hunting sphere of the Tungus hunters along the lower Amur is fairly international, even if these peoples at times penetrate into the territories of stationary peoples. Here and there in the wilderness are huts (*alko*) in which the hunters live while arranging their hunting implements.[5]

The Wach-Ostyaks, among all Ugro-Finnic peoples the most active in wandering, have no divided hunting districts, but they

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[1] Driberg, *The Lango*, p. 111.

[2] *Cf.* Gusinde, 'Die Eigentumsverhältnisse bei den Selk'nam auf Feuerland', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lviii. 527 *sq.*

[3] Speck, 'Family Hunting Terr. of the Lake St. John Montagnais and Neighbouring Bands', in *Anthropos*, xxii. 387 *sqq.*

[4] Hawkes, *The Labrador Eskimo*, p. 35.

[5] Sirelius, *loc. cit.*, xiv. 1.

have a centre from which the wanderings start and to which they later return, the Wach River, where the family or the horde have taken possession of the fishing-ground. The forest areas are divided between the rest of the Ostyaks and the Voguls, which according to Sirelius seems to be the case with most Siberian tribes. The hunting sphere of each family circle is the district recognized by the neighbours round about. Among the Conda Voguls each river is the property of a certain tribe. Rivers, streams, reindeer paths function as boundaries.[1]

The wanderings of the nomads and their sphere are fairly definitely established. Most of the nomadic tribes in Asia and North Africa have fields "qu'elles fréquentent successivement dans leurs parcours périodiques".[2]

We shall see it more clearly in the following. The fields of the Fellahs are mostly tribal property which is divided among separate tents each year.[3]

Again, speaking of the right of ownership of the meadow-lands of the Bavenda, Stayt writes: "There is no regularity of size or shape of the plots; each individual knows his own boundaries and respects those of his neighbours. Everything on each plot belongs exclusively to its owner."[4]

In many primitive territories hunting is a winter occupation and fishing summer work, but, as has been said, in most cases a sexual division is observable. The men hunt, the women fish, or the masculine element devotes itself to hunting and to fishing while the females engage in primitive agriculture. "Partage si naturel, que, de nos jours encore, on le retrouve dans maintes sociétés civilisées littorales, en Bretagne par exemple".[5] As in battle, it is naturally the men who take the lead in migrations.[6] This division of work between the sexes has at times led even investigators to characterize the form of subsistence of a whole people incorrectly. Schebesta, in speaking of the Orang-Utan, Orang-Kampong and other similar tribes of the Malay Peninsula who "wander as the gypsies in the forests", says that these tribes

[1] v. Schrenck, *Sibirische Reise*, iii. 580 *sq.*; Sirelius, *loc. cit.*, xiv. 3, 5 *sqq.*

[2] Vidal de la Blache, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[3] Byhan, 'Nord-, Mittel- and Westasien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 372.

[4] Stayt, *The Bavenda*, p. 35.

[5] Febvre, *op. cit.*, p. 311 *sqq.*

[6] Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, i. 84 *sq.*

are still at a "collecting stage", in which he is not altogether right as here again is a combination of hunting and collecting. The women engage in the latter occupation as well as fishing, the men devote themselves to the former.[1]

Among the reindeer Eskimos, for instance, "the men wander along the beach and inland hunting for reindeer, ptarmigan, hares and other land game; they also seek for seals, hunting them in kayak. The women and children search the inlets and coves for anything edible."[2]

Hunting still continues to play an important rôle among peoples who have advanced to the first degrees of agriculture and permanent settlement. Natural man will long be a hunter, not altogether from choice but from necessity. "Everything combined to make him so," writes Leonard, "the nature that was in him as well as the nature that was outside him, the conditions and circumstances, the entire environment that surrounded him, — all the instincts in him were animal."[3]

In the wild regions of Siam, elephant-hunting leads to long migrations between December and March among otherwise fairly stationary peoples.[4] Even among peoples on a higher plane of culture hunting is still an important supplementary source of subsistence where it has not become a useful pastime for the men, as is the case even on lower planes of culture.[5]

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[1] Schebesta, *Bei den Urwaldszwergen von Malaya*, pp. 12, 269.

[2] Turner, 'Ethnology of the Ungava District', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xi. 203.

[3] Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, p. 95. Numerous peoples are a combination of the most primitive stages and incipient agriculture as, e.g., many central African tribes (Stigan, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiv. 143), the Baja in New Kamerun (Hartmann, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lxix. 3), many South American Indian tribes (Nordenskjöld, in *Medd. f. Geogr. Fören.* [Göteborg], iii. 16).

[4] Phya Indra, 'Adversaria of Elephant Hunting', in *The Jour. of the Siam Soc.*, xxiii. 62, 74; Speiser, *Ethnographische Materialen aus den Neuen Hebriden*, pp. 154, 156.

[5] Sarasin, *Reisen in Celebes*, i. 208, ii. 61, 277 (Celebes); Roscoe, in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxii. 53, 55; Cole, in *Ibid.* xxxii. 319; (Wagago); Bruel, (in *op. cit.*, p. 234) mentions how already stationary negro tribes in Central Africa devote themselves to hunting once a year during the dry period. "Ils quittent leurs villages pour gagner des terrains qui leur appartiennent de par la coutume et où ils chassent."

CHAPTER VI

TYPICAL WANDERING PEOPLES (*continued*).

A. Nomadism.

The term *nomadism* is often used incorrectly. It is used partly to characterize a primitive wandering stage in general, also including collecting, fishing and hunting peoples, and partly to signify a more modern form of wandering.[1] By *nomads* (Greek *νέμειν*, to graze) most writers mean inparticular the pastoral tribes of North Africa.

The term *nomads* should not include other than wandering peoples who live by cattle-breeding or itinerant farming. Among them it is, as is the case with collector, fisher and hunter peoples, the subsistence-geographical motives which to a great extent are the basis for wanderings. The economic conception of value has, however, become decidedly more differentiated: in the herds of

[1] Maas (*Durch Zentral-Sumatra*, i. 194) calls the Orang-Mamak on Sumatra, who are hunting-fishing peoples, "ein echtes Nomadenvolk" and Schebesta (*Bei den Urwaldszwergen von Malaya*, p. 12) characterizes even collector-hunter tribes like the Orang-Utan of the Malay Peninsula as nomads. Hose and McDougall (*op. cit.*, ii. 177 *sqq.*) speak of "the small bands of homeless nomad hunters". Gusinde (in *Mitth. Geogr. Gesell.* [Wien], lxxiii. 252) uses the term "hunting nomadism" of the Selk'nam, who are a typical fisher-hunter people. And despite their attempts at specific classifications of different primitive cultures, these are often interchanged, at least formally, by Schmidt and Koppers (in *Der Mensch aller Zeiten*, iii: i. 419): all the lower forms of culture are called "nomadisierende Lebensweise" and "die Zeit des Nomadisierens" is spoken of (*Idem*, iii: i. 522). So too Kirchhoff (*Mensch und Erde*, p 30), who calls nomadism "die älteste Form des Menschenlebens". Brunhes and Vallaux (*La géographie de l'histoire*, p. 249) affirm most generally that "nous appelons Nomades des peuples en voie de migration". And Schurtz again (*Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 236) characterizes all wandering peoples as gypsy peoples. In that case Schurtz's "unstete Volker" (*Katechismus der Völkerkunde*, p. 50) is much the better expression. *Cf.* also Birkner (*Völker*

cattle there is already an economic value which indisputably places this stage above the others. Peoples on the lowest plane of civilization have to wander to obtain food; the cattle-breeding nomads wander to find food for that which maintains their life: the cattle. The nomads are driven to wandering by their own principle, as it were. If the cattle are to exist it is necessary for the nomads to change their pasture-lands in winter and summer, and their develling-places during the rainy and the dry seasons. The agricultural nomads have to move because primitive agriculture, with its cultivation of a field once only, leads to their spreading out over large districts. In this way primitive nomadism, which makes use of different pasture-lands or fields periodically, has much in common with the more primitive forms of culture.

The steppe nomads cannot live on the steppes without domestic animals, horses, sheep, goats, asses, camels. What is more, these are the only means of transportation. If the steppes are especially suitable for the horse, it is the horse on the other hand which has made existence on the steppes possible for man. The cattle nomads as a rule do not use their herds for food. They drink the milk, and eat animals that die from natural causes or are killed from necessity; but otherwise they depend on chance for their meat supply almost just as much as other wandering tribes. Among the cow-men hunting was only a form of sport and was not followed for the sake of food, for it was not permitted to eat the meat of the animals killed, though their skins were used for rugs and sometimes for clothing.[1] We cannot here discuss how man first happened to begin

und Rassen der Menschheit, p. 368), Zaborowski ('Nomade', in *La Grande Encycl.*, xxiv. 735).

For more modern migrations from the country to the city and for itinerant workmen, the French law uses the term "nomade", *cf.* de Girard du Coehorn (*Les nomades et la loi pénale*, pass.) and *Ministère de l'intérieur* (*Loi du 16 juillet 1912 et décret du 16 février 1913 sur l'exercice des professions ambulantes et la circulation des nomades* [1914]); Torlet (*Le régime administratif appl. aux nomades et marchands forains*, pass.). Some American psychologists employ the term "nomadism" in place of "wandering instinct", "wandering bent", *cf.* Davenport (*The Feeble Inhibited*, p. 7). And surely one cannot, like von Hellwald, see in the gypsies "das Prototyp des Nomadismus" (*Naturgeschichte des Menschen*, i. 650). Keane also (*The World's Peoples*, p. 333) calls the gypsies "a strictly nomad people".

[1] Roscoe, *The Banyankole*, p. 162.

We cannot in this connextion take up the question of the geographical diffusion of the "nomad animals". We are content to substantiate that the

to domesticate animals. There are many theories. Possibly it has not come about in the same way in all places. Some investigators feel that a religious relation to the animals has been the reason for systematic taming, in which totemism has played a part.[1] Dr. Hatt[2] has advanced a theory for the origin of reindeer nomadism which is very acceptable as far as can be judged. He says that hunter peoples who before the domestication of the reindeer were acquainted with their customs and wanderings, originally used the reindeer as decoy animals, and that this custom reached the Siberian peoples from the south.[3] Since the use of this method with the reindeer necessitated special modifications, Hatt assumed that it could be employed only by men who were familiar with the habits of the animals. Since the reindeer-hunters themselves were wandering peoples, and it was necessary for them to take the reindeer with them in order to be able to use the domesticated reindeers as decoys, the tie between man and animal would have come about through common interest and not by force.[4] Usefulness would thus originally have been the basis for domestication. By keeping a flock of tame reindeer in their hunting territory it was

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dog belongs to the Eskimo culture circle, the horse to the proto-Altaian and the Ugrian, and the camel to the dryest xerophilous regions. "Si la steppe est particulièrement adoptée au cheval, ce dernier, à son tour, adopte la steppe à l'homme et la rend habitable et exploitable. C'est le cheval qui fournit au nomade sa principale nourriture en transformant les végétaux en une matière animale, qui est le lait de jument" (Demolins, *Comment la route crée le type social*, i. 15). Demolins (*op. cit.*, i: ii. 217) speaks of the steppes' "horizontalité qui convient admirablement au cheval". *Cf.* also Lefebvre des Noettes, *La force motrice animale à travers les âges*, p. 75 (concerning prehistoric peoples pp. 19, 26, 32 *sqq.*); Feige, 'Die Haustierzonen der alten Welt', in *Pet. Mitth.*, Erg. Heft. 198; Muller, *Die geographische Verbreitung der Wirtschaftstiere*, pass.; Flor, 'Haustiere und Hirtenkulturen', in *Wiener Beiträge z. Kulturgesch. u. Linguistik*, i. 235; Lindblom, *The Use of the Hammock in Africa* (*Riksmus. Etn. Avd. Smärre Medd.* vii), p. 7; Gautier, *Le Sahara*, p. 96 *sqq.*; Joleaud, 'Considérations sur l'origine des boeufs et des chevaux domestiqués', in *L'Anthropologie*, xxxiii. 178.

[1] *Cf.* Honigsheim, in *Verh. vi. Deutsch. Soziol. Tages*, pp. 137 *sq.*, 176 *sqq.*; Hahn, *Demeter und Baubo*, p. 30; *Idem*, *Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft der Menschen*, p. 263.

[2] Hatt, 'Rensdyrsnomadismens Elementer', in *Geogr. Tidskrift*, xxiv. 242 and pass. (*cf. Idem*, in *Mem. Americ. Anthr. Assoc.*, vi. 75 *sqq.*).

[3] Hatt, in *Geogr. Tidskrift*, xxiv. 257.

[4] Concerning Hatt's theory of the use of salt and urine as lures, see *Ibid.* xxiv. 258; *cf.* also Donner, *Sibirien*, pp. 172 *sq.*, 179 *sq.*

possible for the hunters to entice wild reindeer to their territory during the rutting season.

Among the cattle nomads wandering itself is a part of the care they take of their flocks.

As far as can be judged, the origin of primitive farming, as has earlier been pointed out, lies in the collecting stage and is connected with the fact that the products of the soil and forests do not meet the need for vegetable sustenance. A loose *Raubwirtschaft* even precedes the primitive hoeing stage. The wandering bands get one or more harvests from a small field in the woods or on the savannah, after which the field is left to its fate, and the same transient cultivation is practised in other places. The areas are increased if the whole tribe works jointly — a larger field binds the wanderers somewhat longer than a smaller one. But only through cultivating the same piece of land for several years and through artificial watering is it possible to advance to permanent settlement. In this way the same piece of land is occupied twice, as it were, first politically and then culturally. The reason is most often the pressure of more powerful peoples who encroach upon the wandering territory.

It is as unnecessary to look for marks of an elementary wandering instinct in nomadism as in the wanderings of collector or hunter peoples. Nomadism is geographically conditioned. It carries the label of the steppe lands. In fruitful countries with regular rains the inhabitants turn nomadic only in cases of religious or political conflicts; but on the steppes of the lowlands or plateaus man reacts against the meagreness of nature by leading a wandering life, a minimum of housekeeping permitting ease of movement.[1]

In well-wooded regions with a good deal of rain and a sufficient water supply man is destined to agriculture, as it were. In such instances, the wandering life is only an exception. But steppes with no growth of trees, no watercourses, little rain and only a few kinds of grass are geographically predestined to nomadism. In the Sahara regions the nomads keep to the deserts, the stationary peoples to the oases.

[1] Hamet, 'Caractères de la vie nomade', in *Bull. l'enseign. publ. du Maroc*, x. 113; Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*, i. 191; Jones and Whittlesey, 'Nomadic Herding Regions', in *Econ. Geography*, viii. 378; Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, i. 52 *sq.*

Nomadism thus becomes a result of the steppes, either of the lowland steppes, or the plateau steppes, tundras and bare mountain spaces. In the one case as well as in the other "l'épuisement successif des points de pâturage, la répartition clairsemée des terres fertiles font une nécessité de la vie grégaire".[1]

As Zaborowski says: "Le régime qui assure chaque année les mêmes récoltes presque sans risques unit l'homme à la terre plus étroitement qu'ailleurs, lui a imprimé à travers tant de siècles et tant de bouleversements, cette fixité de la physionomie qui nous étonne".[2] We need not here think only of the culture lands of olden days along the Nile and the Euphrates-Tigris. In Uganda, for example, a stationary culture developed relatively early, for here "the plantains grow so freely that a woman can supply the needs of her family with a minimum of labour, and with the bark cloth trees a man can supply their clothing".[3]

The nomads have their tents, their horses or camels, sheep and goats. But among these peoples "éternellement errants et mouvants comme les sables" as Myriam Harry[4] aptly describes them, the implements of culture are limited to the fewest possible.

"The nomads both in prosperity and poverty are slaves of the landscape," says Kunhenn.[5]

Throughout all history there have been nomads and stationary peoples, in North Africa, for instance, since there have been and still are territories which are not suitable for permanent settlement but are exactly suitable for nomadism. The question of the nomads settling down depends finally upon the possibility of cultivating the territories where they nomadize, and also upon the fact that the growing number of settlements contracts the boundaries of their itinerary, resulting in the nomads' learning from their neighbours how to make use of other possibilities.

Bernard and Lacroix in their exceedingly well documented work on nomadism in North Africa underline the fact that the geographical factor plays the principal rôle in the nomadism of Algeria.[6] Speak-

[1] Vidal de la Blache, 'La répartition des hommes sur le globe', in *Annales de Géographie*, xxvi. 81 *sqq.*, 241 *sqq.*, 302.

[2] Zaborowski, 'Nomade', in *La Grande Encycl.*, xxiv. 1183; *Idem*, 'L'Origine des animaux domestiques etc.', in *Compt. rend. l'ass. franç.* (1906).

[3] Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 5.

[4] Harry, *Passage de bédouins*, p. 6.

[5] Kunhenn, *Die Nomaden und Oasenbewohner Westturkestans*, p. 69.

[6] Bernard and Lacroix, *L'Évolution du nomadisme en Algérie*, p. 7.

ing of Morocco, Bernard points out how with regard to forms of subsistence the natives may be divided into stationary people, nomads and city-dwellers. "Ce n'est pas à des caractères de race qu'on doit s'adresser si l'on veut se rendre compte des moeurs actuelles des Africains: il faut remonter pour cela à une cause infiniment plus puissante et plus variée dans ses effets, à savoir la nature du pays dans lequel ils vivent et qu'ils sont incapables de modifier".[1] It is the geographical features such as mountain regions, steppes, which govern the course of life. The nomads need know nothing more than when the grass begins to turn green on the slopes of Tell and in the oases of Sahara. They follow their herds, which supply them with milk, meat and wool in superabundance, with which in turn they acquire gold. They have neither dwellings nor store-houses, the land is owned in common. "Ou plutôt ils la (terre) méprisent, comptant que leur vaillance leur en assurera toujours assez dans les plaines infinies qu'ils parcourent".[2]

It is true that most of the tribes of North Africa are nomads more or less, but it is not true that the Arabs have always been nomads and the Berbers stationary. The Berbers live in the Atlas Mountains, but they are just as natural nomads in districts which do not permit of farming, as e. g. the Zenaga Berbers who roam about between Senegal and l'Adrar, or the Touaregs who wander through the central parts of the Sahara. A map showing the diffusion of the nomads and stationary peoples in North Africa coincides extraordinarily well with a map of Africa's vegetation and rainfall, as Bernard shows.[3] Regions where vegetation flourishes belong to the stationary inhabitants, the steppes and the Sahara to the nomads. Transition stages between the nomadic stage and stationary stage correspond to the geographical transitions. Bernard further points out that Morocco, which has a heavier rainfall than either Algeria or Tunis, owing to its closer proximity to the Atlantic and its higher mountains, has fewer nomads than the rest of North Africa. The inhabitants of the northern mountain districts are as a rule stationary. In the Central Atlas and High Atlas the Berbers are partly nomads. The nomadism of these tracts resembles the Alpine transhumance to a considerable extent in that, in sum-

[1] Bernard, *Le Maroc*, p. 140 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 141 *sqq.*

mer especially, use is made of the forests and of those slopes which have been covered with snow during the winter. The Beni-Mguild, for instance, descend from the Atlas in the fall. At the same time the four tribes, the Zemmons, the Gueronan, the Beni-Mtir and the Zaian, crowd together in order to relinquish the land they have cultivated since spring to the newcomers, who as a rule remain on it until March when they pick up their tents and return to the mountains again. Then the surrounding tribes, each of which has its definite district, begin cultivating the land once more.[1] In eastern Morocco one finds nomads who undertake extensive wanderings which resemble the wanderings of the cattle nomads of the Oran steppes and of the nomadized Sahara tribes in Algeria. "Fréquemment dans une même tribu, une fraction est plus sédentaire, parce qu'elle a plus de terres de culture, et une autre plus nomade parce qu'elle a surtout des troupeaux et des pâturages."[2]

Herbert Spencer writes that modern Bedouins show us a form of society which, as far as the evidence enables us to judge, has remained substantially the same these 3000 years or more, in spite of contact with adjacent civilizations, and there is evidence that in some Semites the nomadic type had, even in ancient times, become so ingrained as to express itself in their religion.[3]

Thus we have the Rechabite injunction: Neither shall ye build house, nor sow corn, nor plant vineyard, nor have any; but all your days ye shall dwell in tents.[4]

In spite of the fact that the wanderings of both cattle and agricultural nomads are brought about by geographical conditions, principally by those of the soil, in its meaning of *terra*, the Semites cannot "prêter l'hommage à la terre", from the point of view of becoming stationary. The contrast between Ishmael, who was driven out into the desert, and Isaac corresponds to the contrast in the history of the world between unlimited and limited areas, between extensive and intensive husbandry. The nomads are insensible to the temptations of the soil, of cultivated districts. They know that if they give up their nomadic life they give up their freedom.

Originally the Jews were a nomadic people. The Semitic unity

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 146; *cf.* Blache, 'Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside', in *The Geogr. Review*, xi. 477 *sqq.*

[3] Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, i. 565.

[4] *Jeremiah*, xxxv. 7.

of thought is explained by humanistic-geographical circumstances. Originally a race of shepherds, to a much greater degree than of farmers, this people has succeeded in retaining its wandering character through centuries of generations, opposing, or at least retarding, the formation of an independent state. "Be not like the Nabaths from Babylonia; when questioned from whence they come, they reply: from such and such a village. Answer: we are of such and such a tribe."[1]

The legend of Cain, cultivator of the soil, who killed Abel, the shepherd, is significant. "Bien que Caïn soit le vainqueur, c'est Abel qui est, — et non pas seulement par sa qualité touchante de victime, — le héros sympathique, le martyr: car c'est bien Abel qui exprime les tendances profondes subconscientes de la race, parmi lesquelles se place au premier rang le nomadisme."[2]

The nomads, in common with many other wandering peoples, feel wandering to be not only a simple necessity imposed upon them by nature but a form of life that they would be most unwilling to abandon.

History tells the story of many peoples who have deserted nomadism to become stationary, for example Celts, Teutons and Slavs. The Greeks and Romans knew them as nomads, Caesar and Strabo describe the Teutons as nomads; Tacitus speaks of them as stationary, pointing out that the increase in population forced them to take up farming. The chiefs, it is true, required fields to be changed each year and forbade the erection of stationary dwellings. However, the time was ripe for the transition to permanent settlements. It is to be noted that these European countries possessed qualities lacking in the steppe lands and deserts. Immigrant nomads from Asia, Huns, Vandals, Magyars, quickly became permanent in Europe as a result of the geographical conditions and the contraction of the wandering spheres. On the other hand, the great devastating European wars, the Thirty Years' War, the Hundred Years' War, did not lead to nomadism in any form, despite the fact that agricultural tracts were laid waste.

It is far from true that nomadism has existed in all countries. In Mesopotamia and in the Nile Valley it never had a chance to develop. Thanks to rich harvests man has here from the beginning

[1] Ibn Khaldoun, *El Moqaddimath*, i. 272, quoted by Kadmi-Cohen, *Nomades*, p. 26.

[2] Kadmi-Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

been intimately bound to the conception of *terra* in a union that no political or religious storms have been able to shake. It is true that it can be claimed that nomadism, if one may call it thus, has only lately gained a footing on the American continent in spite of the fact that certain regions would seem to have been predisposed for nomadism. But does it go without saying that the climatic conditions there, for instance, have been favourable to the form of nomadism we know in Africa and Asia? "Le caractère extensif de l'exploitation ne crée pas nécessairement le genre de vie pastorale".[1] The inhabitants have not always understood how to utilize the live stock in harmony with the gifts of nature. For a long time no use was made of the bison and caribou of the Rocky Mountains.[2]

The wanderings of the nomads are not absolutely definite, it is true, but on the other hand they are seldom without rhyme or reason. Older geographers erred when they supposed that the nomads roamed about unmethodically, allowing their cattle to graze wherever it suited the fancy of the shepherds. As a rule each herd has a definite pasture-ground. Hoe cultivation rather than cattle nomadism depends on chance.[3]

When the clans wander into the desert, Musil says of the Rwala,[4] or return, as a rule they all follow the same direction, so that the herds may pasture evenly along their routes. In the season of plenty when the pastures grow again in a few weeks and the luxuriant perennials promise to yield abundantly, the regular movement in fixed directions ceases and the different clans move forward or backward according to the locality suited to them by reason of the grazing-land and water.[5] "Que les parcours effectués par la tribu et ses troupeaux se limitent à un rayon assez court, qui peut ne pas dépasser une quarantaine de kilomètres, ou bien qu'ils embrassent, comme il arrive souvent, des étendues considérables, toujours ils s'accomplissent suivant un cycle identique."[6]

Almost all nomadic peoples have similar wandering habits. The geographical surroundings rather than race or religion evidently

[1] Vidal de la Blache, 'Les genres de vie dans la géographie humaine', *Annales de Géographie*, xx. 245.

[2] Arbos, *La vie pastorale dans les alpes françaises*, p. 6.

[3] Frobenius, *Das unbekannte Afrika*, p. 75; Consten, *Die Weideplätze der Mongolen*, ch. xiii; Haberlandt, *Völkerkunde*, p. 18.

[4] Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, p. 165.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

[6] Arbos, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

determine customs and character, provided the surroundings are allowed to exercise their influence long enough.[1]

The greatest invasions have issued out of the steppes of Central Asia, the original home of the great nomadism. "C'est par ces steppes, par les aptitudes conférées au peuple pasteur, par la subordination géographique au milieu, que s'expliquent en partie les qualités et les facultés qui ont fait leur pouvoir."[2]

In different parts of the earth, despite varied geographical formations, and despite varying elevations above sea-level, the steppes and plains can claim on the whole a fairly similar character with fairly similar wandering peoples.

Nomadism exhibits similar features, be it a question of Ural-Altaian Mongolians, wandering Turkomans, or North African nomadic peoples.[3] And on the South American pampas and llanos the cowmen, Gauchos or Llaneros, are more closely related to the nomads than to their agricultural neighbours. Where settlement exists on the steppes it is always the case of an extremely extensive settlement. In the lowlands of North-east Caucasia for example, where farming has taken hold to some extent (maize cultivation), the villages are miles from one another.[4]

Especially in cattle-breeding nomadism the contrasts attain their maximum between the scarce supply of labour power and the abundance of cattle. The population of nomad territories represents at the most one-tenth of the population of countries with stationary inhabitants. Where steppes and deserts are connected, as on Sinai, the population decreases to 1.3 per cent. per sq.km., on grassy steppes it can reach 2 per cent.[5] Geographers have estimated that cattle nomads own 5—6 sheep per person. In Australia a staff of 15—20 men tends 50,000—80,000 sheep.[6]

To look upon nomadism as a remnant from the barbaric age is to look upon it ungeographically. Before culture reaches the permanent settlement stage it passes through several intermediate forms. Primitive farmers often fall back into nomadic habits. In border regions, as has been said, both nomadism and stationary

[1] Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*, p. 107.
[2] Brunhes, *La géographie humaine*, ii. 802.
[3] Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 171.
[4] Plaetschke, 'Die Tschetschenen', in *Verh. Geogr. Inst.* (Univ. Königsberg), ix. 171.
[5] Ratzel, *Politische Geographie*, p. 53.
[6] Vidal de la Blache, *Principes de géographie humaine*, p. 37.

culture exist, which holds true for even closely related types of peoples such as the inhabitants of the Sahara region. An interesting transitional form which at the same time is a remnant of nomadism is mountain dairy-farming culture in the North and the transhumance in the alps of Central and southern Europe.[1]

It is no doubt rather difficult to single out fisher, hunter or nomad tribes who of their own initiative have begun to make use of more abundant sources of sustenance and in this manner changed over to locally increased production.[2] We may assume that wandering peoples learned from their stationary neighbours to appreciate the advantages and benefits of permanency; but as a rule it is first harsh necessity — in the shape of pressure exerted by more powerful peoples who cramp the scope of the wandering tribe's territory — that forces the nomads to desert their temporary cultivations, the cultivation of one piece of land for a single year, for more permanent farming. So long as new land, "virgin soil", of unlimited or great dimensions is at their disposal and there is thus no reason for cultivating the same soil more than once, so long the nomad sees no reason for bothering to plough the same land twice. Hornberger says of the farming nomads in the Ewe district on the Slave Coast, that if they cultivate a certain district one year, they prefer to choose a new district the following year and spend no time worrying about the former site. It soon becomes a wilderness again and before long shows no signs of ever having been cultivated.[3] Du Chaillu writes of the Mpongve in Equatorial Africa that "they never plant two successive years in the same place, and have therefore much labour in clearing the ground every time".[4] Heuglin says of the cattle tribes along the Nile that if possible they change their cultivations rather than settle down permanently.[5]

A people's transition to an entirely new manner of living can only take place through the utmost straining of every nerve, every force. Only the pressure of a harsh external necessity can bring

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[1] *Infra*, p. 137 *sqq.*

[2] Meitzen, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen, der Kelten, Römer, Finnen und Slawen*, ii. 649.

[3] Hornberger, 'Über das Ewe-Gebiet an der Sklavenküste', in *Pet. Mitth.* (1867), p. 50.

[4] Du Chaillu, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, p. 40.

[5] v. Heuglin, *Reise in das Gebiet der Weissen Nil*, p. 161.

about this result. Through the successive cultivation of the same piece of soil the bridge leading to permanent settlement is built, one of the biggest and most remarkable bridges in the cultural development of man. It was this bridge which opened up new possibilities and gave new strength with far-flung results. The conditions surrounding permanent settlements were necessary to produce organized states.

Agricultural nomadism in its highest form thus constitutes the transition stage to permanent culture. If the nomad succeeds in remaining long enough in one place for the field he has sown to ripen, which depends upon geographical conditions, his next step is to build a storage-place, which like the Finnish steam-bath-hut precedes the dwelling. This development generally takes place on the steppes and in the oases. But permanency is less a result of farming than its conditio sine qua non. Permanent farming became the cause of a many-sided cultural development. Fields under tillage become a main factor in the increase of population. Where earlier it was possible for only fifty or sixty members of roaming bands to sustain life, farming later made it possible for a thousand persons to obtain subsistence.

It would almost seem as if Breasted generalizes somewhat artlessly on the subject of the transition from the wandering stage to permanent settlement. "Agriculture, requiring as it now did the driving and control of large draught animals, exceeded the strength of primitive woman, and primitive man was obliged to give up more and more of his hunting freedom and devote himself to the field. Thus the hunter of thousands of years became an agriculturist, a farmer."[1]

It seems to me that it is scarcely correct to ascribe to the nomads or still more primitive wandering peoples special psychological traits presumably more characteristic of them than of others. Great ease of movement is common to all peoples who live by "aneignende Wirtschaft", acquisitive production. The instinct of self-preservation on lower planes of culture is identical with the instinct to eat, which in this instance requires a roaming life. Naturally, wandering habits which have been handed down through the centuries by tradition and inherited disposition are more strongly accentuated among the nomads than among many other peoples, and of course they play an important rôle in their lives.

[1] Breasted, *Ancient Times*, p. 25.

However, the conditions necessary for the development of this latent disposition towards movement are without doubt to be found in the geographic and climatical circumstances. A tribe, a people, cannot freely determine if it is to lead a nomad(ized) or stationary life. On the lower planes of culture at least, it is the soil, the climate which determines that.

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I. *Cattle-breeding Nomadism.* Without doubt the cattle-breeding nomads are among the world's most active factors. Most of the martial and political revolutions of early days came about through nomadic initiative.

The part played by cattle-breeding in times past, not only among nomadic tribes but also among these peoples after they became stationary, is made clear by the fact that for instance the Babylonian kings were called "the shepherds of the people", and Hammurabi called himself his subjects' shepherd. Nebuchadnezzar was called the shepherd of Sumer and Akkad. Among Semitic peoples "shepherd" assumed a religious character which Christianity on the whole has adopted.

Among others, the peoples who tend reindeer mark a transition from the fishing and hunting stage to cattle-breeding nomadism. Where the possession of reindeer, which here is the medium of transition, is predominant, it leads from hunting life to nomadism. In other words: wanderings which, dictated by the search for prey, formerly were fairly erratic, gradually assume the character of more or less regular seasonal movements. However, these forms often exist side by side.

Reindeer nomadism is to be found over the whole of northern Eurasia, from Lapland to the Bering Strait, where it is engaged in by the Arctic and sub-Arctic peoples living there. We find it in several different forms, depending upon the climatic and geographical conditions. Either the peoples engage only in extensive reindeer-breeding or they combine this with more primitive husbandry, hunting and fishing. But everywhere it leads to migrations with seasonal movement. Reindeer nomadism, which in many places is only of semi-nomadic character, in which it resembles Alpine nomadism,[1] is more or less extensive in the districts be-

[1] *Infra*, p. 140 sqq.

tween Lapland and western Siberia. From there farther eastward it becomes less extensive.

There is also some reindeer nomadism to be found on Spitzbergen, Novaya Zemlya, on the New Siberian Islands and in northern Labrador.[1]

The possibility has been debated of Arctic reindeer-breeding being a cultural inheritance taken over by a people who later moved to the region, from a people who have now disappeared, but who once upon a time dominated the tundras. Investigators consider they have found certain points of contact between the Eskimos on the one hand and the mammoth and reindeer hunters of the European Glacial Age on the other.[2]

In the northern parts of Europe the reindeer has gradually been forced farther and farther northward, whereas in recent times in northern Canada it has spread to new territories.

One reindeer can become domesticated, but a whole herd of reindeer is never domesticated. It allows itself to be driven from one pasture-land to another, but only for a time or within certain limits. "The wandering instinct which it has preserved from its wild stage remains unsubjugated", says Collinder.[3] It is the reindeer which to a great degree determines the direction and extent of the wanderings of its keepers, who are forçed to accompany it if they do not wish to lose their herds. The domesticated reindeer as well as the wild reindeer goes on annual journeys from the interior to the sea coasts or from the valleys to the mountains. The subsistence-geographical conditions dictate these migrations.

To-day the migrations of the Lapps are more or less regulated seasonal movements, but this is a state of affairs which has come about in recent times. As far back as investigators have

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[1] Donner, *op. cit.*, p. 167 *sqq.*; Hatt, *loc. cit.*, xxiv. 241 *sqq.*; Lönnberg, *Om renarna och deras levnadsvanor* (*Bil. t. förh. i renbetesfrågan*, i: iii. 9; Klemola, 'Poronhoidosta ja sen levinneissyydestä Euraasiassa', in *Terra*, xli. 143 *sqq.*; Flor, 'Zur Frage des Renntiernomadismus', in *Mitth. d. Anthr. Ges.* (Wien), lx. 292; *Idem*, in *Wiener Beiträge z. Kulturgesch. u. Linguistik*, i. 2 pass.; Bergman, *Kamtchatka*, pp. 109, 225; Isberg, 'Till frågan om människans och renens första uppträdande etc.', in *Ymer*, lii. 38 *sqq.*; Nansen, *Gjennem Sibirien*, p. 75 *sq.*; Olsen, *Et primitivt folk*, p. 76; Castrén, 'Poroista ja poronhoidosta', in *Årsbok, Turistf. i Finland* (1932), p. 85 *sqq.*

[2] Rasmussen, 'Eskimoer og Stenaldersfolk', in *Geogr. Tidskrift*, xxxii. 195 *sqq.*; Tanner, 'Studier över kvartärsystemet etc.', in *Fennia*, liii. 465.

[3] Collinder, *Lapparna*, p. 15.

been able to probe, the Lapps were a fisher and hunter people. Wiklund feels that the nomadic stage came about through a steady expansion up towards the mountains when the Lapps began to think of the reindeer in terms of personal property. When the animals migrated to the mosquitoless grassy plateaus along the northern coasts, the Lapps were forced to go with them and then in the fall return again to the lichen regions. The migrations, the time for the migrations and their extent, have thus since olden times, when the Lapps first began to turn nomadic, been determined by habits acquired by the reindeer, generations before becoming man's personal property. And these habits have been brought about by climatic and physical conditions peculiar to the northern countries.

Thus it is the Lapps who have to regulate their life in accordance with the life of the reindeer when the latter instinctively take to the plateaus.[1]

Formerly all the Lapps were without doubt wanderers. Now only those Lapps who go on annual journeys in accordance with the habits of their reindeer are nomads. The Mountain Lapps spend summer in the fell districts; the Forest, Lake and River Lapps have gradually become stationary as a result of the spread of civilization from the south. They engage in hunting and fishing, but usually have permanent dwelling-places.[2] An interesting type of Lapp is the Skoltlapp in Petsamo in Arctic Finland. These Lapps live by hunting and fishing and to some extent on reindeer-breeding. They go on fairly long migrations, determined by the

[1] Helms, *Lappland och Lapparna*, p. 105; Rosberg, *Lappi*, p. 140; *Idem*, in *Meddel. af Geogr. För. i Finland*, ix. 2 *sq.* The old idea held by G. Geijer, P. A. Munch and Sven Nilsson (see for example Nilsson, *Skandinaviska Nordens Urinvånare*, i, pass.) among others, of the Lapps being the original inhabitants of the North and being gradually forced farther and farther north has, as has the theory of their descent from Altai, proved to be untenable. It had already been disproved by v. Duben in his work *Lappland och Lapparna*. We have reason to believe that the Lapps came from the East and that they were already to be found in Scandinavia, Finland and Russia in the first century of the Christian era. *Cf.* Wiklund, *De svenska nomadlapparnas flyttningar*, p. 10; *Idem*, 'The Lapps in Sweden', in *The Geogr. Review*, xiii. 224 *sq.*, 230; Kaarsberg, *Nordens sidste Nomade*, p. 137; Bergqvist and Svenonius, *Lappland*, p. 173; Rasmussen, *Lapland*, p. 55 *sqq.*

[2] Collinder, *op. cit.*, p. 6 *sqq.*; Boëtius, 'Om Lapland og Lapperne', in *Geogr. Tidskrift*, viii. 145 *sqq.*; Rosberg, 'Lapsktalande', in *Atlas ö. Finland*, ii. 46, 20 *sq.*

season of the year. In March they break up into different groups. Fishing along the coasts takes the place of winter's idleness. They fish until the sun disappears behind the horizon, when camp life becomes too strenuous and causes them to return again to their winter quarters. Thus the Skoltlapps very closely represent semi-nomadism.[1]

All Siberian natives, the Ural peoples, the Yenisei Ostyaks, and the Altai peoples may, with the exception of some agricultural Tartars, be called nomads. Almost everywhere these peoples have no stationary dwellings. They know nothing of agriculture, or if they do, it is a sure sign of their being denationalized and, as with the Kamasses, that they are becoming degenerate.[2]

Reindeer nomadism exists as quite extensive reindeer-breeding in western Siberia, in the Tobolsk and Turukhansk regions (the Yuraks). These reindeer nomads move regularly every spring with their herds to the less mosquito-infested regions of the Arctic Ocean or to the lakes and rivers there, returning in the fall to the forest tundras or the forest. The Syryenians, who have fairly recently appeared in western Siberia, still engage in extensive reindeer-breeding, which in eastern Siberia becomes less extensive and is mostly to be seen in connection with hunting and fishing. The most pronounced reindeer nomads among these peoples are the Samoyeds, the Voguls and the Ostyaks who all carry on reindeer-breeding in about the same manner. Among the Tungus on the other hand, reindeer nomadism is already of less importance than hunting and fishing. Their reindeer herds are small. Among the Soyots in Uriankhai reindeer-breeding plays quite a rôle, as is also the case among the Chukchi, and the Koryaks.[3]

"Nothing in the world can persuade the sons of the Asiatic North to spend more than a minute or two in a Russian hut with

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[1] Tanner, 'Antropologiska Studier inom Petsamo-området', in *Fennia*, xlxi: iv. 83 *sqq.*, 102 *sqq.*, 138 *sqq.*; *Idem*, in *Soc. Scient. Fennica*, ii: iv. 7.

[2] Donner, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Hatt, in *Mem. Americ. Anthr. Assoc.*, vi. 75 *sqq*; Backlund, 'Arktisk forskning', in *Ymer*, xlv. 509.

[3] Donner, *op. cit.*, chs. 10, 11; *Idem*, 'Ethnological Notes about the Yenisei-Ostyak', in *Mém. d. l. Soc. finno-ougr.*, lxvi. 17; Shirokogoroff, *Social Organization of the Northern Tungus*, p. 147 *sqq.*; Sirelius, 'Über die primitiven Wohnungen der finnischen und ob-ugrischen Völker', in *Mém. d. l. Soc. finno-ougr.*, vi-vii. 74; Lehtisalo, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Renntierzucht bei den Juraksamojeden', in *Publ. Inst. f. sammenl. kulturforskning*, xvi. 91 *sqq.*, 97.

its unbearable warmth and heavy air. They have to go out quickly into the sharp cold and the snowdrifts."[1]

Hall says of the Siberian reindeer nomads that it is not "a matter of seasonal nomadism like that of the horse nomads in the south; the reindeer-breeders' wanderings have no periodicity; they depend within the limits of the tribal territory on the size and appetite of their herds". There is a "complete absence of any bond of attachment to the soil", there is a "free wandering mobility of all the tribes".[2]

The Tungus were formerly at least known to wander "over a far larger area than any other tribe in Siberia". The houses, where such exist, are very bad and when they collapse travellers sleep in a tent or else in furs and wraps in the open air.[3]

Many of the peoples in the neighbourhood of Lake Baikal combine hunting, fishing and reindeer nomadism in proportion to the subsistence-geographical conditions.[4]

A special place among the wandering Siberian peoples is held by the Buryats, who at some period during the later Middle Ages pushed their way to Lake Baikal from northern Mongolia. They still lead a nomadic life in their present sphere to-day. However, they own horses, camels and sheep. Near cities they have become half stationary and live in log houses of the Russian type, engaging to some extent in agriculture. Otherwise they prefer to live in tents.[5]

Of the migrations of the Koryaks Dr. Bergman says that the number of marches depends principally upon "the supply of pasture-lands for their reindeer herds". Thus it is the subsistence-geographical reasons which condition migrations among these peoples as well as among other Arctic and sub-Arctic peoples.[6]

Like the Siberian tundras, the great plains in Asia have particularly favoured nomadism. And Mongolia, which is mostly an enormous steppe-land, has since olden days been the home of

[1] Donner, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[2] Hall, 'A Siberian Wilderness', in *The Geogr. Jour.*, v. 20.

[3] Landsdell, *Through Siberia*, i. 206, 306.

[4] Findeisen, 'Die Fischerei im Leben der "altsibirischen" Volkerstämme', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lx. 21.

[5] Byhan, 'Nord-, Mittel- und Westasien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 329.

[6] Bergman, *op. cit.*, p. 255; *Idem*, *På hundsläde genom Kamtchatka*, p. 206 *sq.*

nomadic tribes of Mongolian descent. No matter whether they are East Mongols, North Mongols or Buryats, West Mongols or Kalmucks, they are all cattle nomads owning horses, camels and sheep. There is some agriculture on the slopes of the higher mountain regions which have river outlets.[1]

Of the Kirghiz (which it is said means field-wanderers), the Kara Kirghiz particularly are pronounced cattle-breeding nomads.[2] It is figured that the Kirghiz annually lead 260,000 sheep a distance of 800 kilometres from the steppe-lands of Ferghana to the mountains of the Tian-Shan.[3]

Like all other typical nomads, the Kirghiz put their free wandering life above everything else. A wandering Naiman Kirghiz wishing to be polite, said to Dr. Sven Hedin: "S i s s i n d i k i r g i s s b o a l l d i n i s s", "Now you have become a Kirghiz".[4] The wandering Kirghiz remains one or at the most two months in one and the same place. During the winter it is often fearfully cold, and difficult to find pasture-lands for the sheep. They spend their summers on high J a j j l a h s (pastures) while their winter pastures, K i c h l a h s, are in the valleys.[5] A large part of the Altai Kirghiz migrate to Rang-kul in winter-time to allow their herds to graze on the abundant grass steppes there. In summer-time they migrate to the plateaus.[6] The migrations of the Kirghiz in eastern Pamir and Kashgar are altogether determined by the seasons.[7] The regions through which the Kirghiz wander represent an area larger than

[1] Byhan, 'Kaukasien, Ost- und Nordrussland, Finnland', in Buschan, *Illustr. Volkerkunde*, ii: ii. 629.

[2] Rikli, *Kaukasuslander und Hocharmenien*, p. 172.

The Kiptshah who are to be found east of Chokand are on the other hand semi-nomads. The Cossack Kirghiz wander about the enormous steppe region between the Volga and the mountains bounding Turkestan on the east, or in other words they wander from south-east Siberia to the Caspian Sea. The Usbegs are semi-nomads, the Kara Kalpaks stationary in the lowest, fruitful valley of the Amu-Darya. The Turkomans have earlier been known particularly as robber nomads, but thanks to Russian "conquest" became semi-nomads. Byhan, in Buschan, *Illustr. Volkerkunde*, ii: i. 342 *sq.*

[3] Vidal de la Blache, 'Les genres de vie dans la géographie humaine', in *Annales de Géographie*, xx. 302; Rikli, *op. cit.*, 172.

[4] Hedin, *En färd genom Asien*, i. 234; *Idem, Central Asia and Tibet*, i. 18 *sq.*

[5] Hedin, *En fard genom Asien*, i. 298, 365, 562.

[6] *Ibid.* i. 145; *cf.* Granö, *Altai*, ii. 279 *sq.*; Swane, 'Siberia', in *Jour. Centr. Asian Soc.*, vi. 25; Atkinson, *Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor, etc.*, p. 253 *sq.*

[7] Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, ix. 8 *sq.*, 15 *sq.*, 20, 33, 36, 52, 60, 75.

that of Europe. Natural boundaries scarcely exist[1]. Von Middendorff reports that of the nomadic Kirghiz whom he came upon in the spring in lower Isyr in Uralsk, where their cattle had practically trampled down the earth, he found no trace a few months later in the same place. The place was desolate, empty. The active nomads had moved 10 degrees northward to the steppes of Troitsk and Orusk. The tents are seldom more than two weeks in the same place.[2]

"A settled Kirghiz population", Michell points out, "is found only in the towns situated along the highways of traffic". Farmers are exceedingly scarce as the geographical conditions do not favour agriculture.[3]

About the Kalmucks we read that during the summer they change camping-grounds and pasture-lands every fourth, sixth or eighth day.[4]

Nomadism is thus the form of subsistence of the Turkoman people. Their domestic animals include horses, sheep, camels, oxen, and among the East Kirghiz yaks too. Agriculture has made its appearance only in parts with plentiful water, in river valleys and on mountain slopes. Semi-nomads keep to definite places in winter time, most of them living in huts. In summer they wander.[5]

The Yuruks and the Gotchebé ("wanderers") in southern and western Ma, who belong to the wandering Turkish peoples in Iran and Asia Minor, go on typical seasonal wanderings, in summer time to the plateaus, to the Jajjlahs, mountain meadows, and in winter time to the valleys, to their winter quarters, the Kichlahs.[6]

Without flocks of sheep, says Dirr, it would be impossible for people to live in Caucasia. When towards the end of summer there is not much left of the lean pasture-lands, the Daghestanians journey to the trans-Caucasian steppe-lands, where they remain over the winter. The summers they spend at the Jajjlahs, their summer pastures on the mountains.[7]

Many Caucasian tribes engage in very little agriculture; they

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[1] Schurtz, 'Hochasien und Sibirien', in Helmolt, *Weltgeschichte*, ii. 122.

[2] v. Middendorff, 'Einblick in das Ferghana-Thal', in *Mém. d. L'Acad. St Petersbourg* (1881), p. 330.

[3] Michell, 'The Jaxartes etc.', in *Jour. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, xxxviii. 38, 454.

[4] Pallas, quoted by Hildebrand, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 28.

[5] Byhan, *loc. cit.*, ii: i. 347.

[6] Byhan, *loc. cit.*, ii: i. 386, 402; Heiderich, *Länderkunde aussereuropäischen Erdteile*, p. 15.

[7] Dirr, 'Die Völker Kaukasus', in Doegen, *Unter fremden Völkern*, p. 202.

are semi-nomadic shepherds. Among them division of labour among the sexes is worked out to the extent that the men spend seven winter months with their flocks on the Armenian steppes, while the women remain with their families in the mountain settlements. Those tribes which keep to the lowlands, on the other hand, migrate with their families and their flocks to higher pastures in summer, where they live in mud huts.[1]

The Tajik nomads in the Uprand Valley in southern Tibet live under exactly the same conditions as the Kirghiz, even if the Tajiks pass the winter in stone or mud houses in villages and only spend the summer in tents in the higher valleys.[2] And the Tibetans from Gertse wander hither and thither in valleys where the grazing is good. They are rather to be regarded as shepherds than as hunters, though, of course, they hunt occasionally.[3]

Rivers writes of the Todas, who live in the neighbourhood of the Nilgiri Hills in southern India, that "at certain seasons of the year it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the ti should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village".[4] Rivers claims the reasons for these wanderings to be "the necessity for new grazing-places. During the dry season, lasting from about December to March, the pasturage around the villages where the Todas usually live becomes very scanty, and the buffaloes are taken to places where it is more abundant".[5]

"The people of the La-Chen and La-Chung Valleys in Upper Sikkim (Tibet) drive their herds higher and higher up these valleys as summer waxes hotter ... At each stage they halt and graze their animals for a month or so on the way up, and again when autumn drives them down once more."[6]

Arabia has been forced to lead an isolated existence, walled in as it is between the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. Everything tends to produce nomadism, vegetation is scarce, fauna is scarce, forcing the peoples to move from place to place according to the seasons and rain. And the Arabs:

"Un peuple sobre de corps et d'esprit, d'un tempérament sec

[1] Byhan, in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: ii. 728.
[2] Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, ix. 47, 55, 82.
[3] *Ibid.* iii. 305, iv. 107, 165, 167, 247 *sq.*, 272, 295.
[4] Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 123.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[6] Bell, *The People of Tibet*, p. 22.

et ardent, ne voyant que le but et y courant tout droit, habitué a sillonner le désert avec la rapidité de la flèche, parce qu'on ne s'arrête pas impunément dans le désert, et qu'entre le point de départ et le point d'arrivée, rien ne s'y offre dont l'attrait puisse retenir le voyageur; un peuple fait pour l'action prompte ou pour le repos absolu: c'est le peuple arabe, et dans son histoire on reconnaîtra ces traits de son caractère."[1]

The African Bedouins are as a rule nomads; but even among Asiatic Bedouins typical nomads are to be found, too. Burckhardt tells us that the Aeneze Bedouins are on the move almost steadily all the year. Their winter quarters are on the boundaries of Syria, and from there they migrate to the interior of the desert or towards the valley of the Euphrates. During summer they encamp near rivers and springs. They seldom remain longer than three or four days in the same place. As soon as their cattle have finished grazing on a pasture near one source of water, the tribe looks for new pasture-lands, while the old camping-ground with its fresh growth of grass becomes the grazing-ground of another tribe.[2]

A distinction is made here between true nomads, al-Arab (the Bedouin name, *Badw*, *Badawǰ*, *Bduj*, according to Byhan is more of a nickname), stationary peasants (*Fallâhân*, which means peasants, or *Chaḍarîjûna*, Chuḍḍar, which means stationary) and lastly some transition stages, non-stationary half-Fellahs and *Ma'âz* or *Mu'âz*, which means goatherds. Since the Arabs mostly engage in camel-breeding it is easy for them to wander from place to place almost regardless of the water supply. The climate accounts for two large migrations in the year. After the winter and spring rains the Arab keeps in the south, where for a couple of months he finds meadows with an abundance of grass, and springs. With the coming on of the heat of summer he migrates northwards; in winter he wanders in the opposite direction. The cattle thus require fairly extensive pasture-lands. To limit them would be a

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[1] *Cf.* Duruy, *Histoire du moyen âge etc.*, ii. ch. 2.

[2] Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahâbys*, p. 25.

The Arabs consist of Bedouins and Šwâja or Šujân. The latter's flocks of black goats and sheep do not permit them to go to the interior of the desert, mâ ješarrežum; they are limited to the territory where is abundance of water. They do not undertake extensive raids. The Bedouins dwell for ten months in the interior of the desert, ješarrežum. (Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, p. 44 *sq.*).

menace to the animals, or in other words a menace to the people themselves.

The *Ma'âz*, on the other hand, have to remain near water, as goats require regular watering. In addition these tribes lay out temporary fields for the cultivation of tobacco, which they water from their wells. The Fellahs have stationary dwellings as a rule. They live in tents beside their fields only in sowing and harvest time. The half-Fellahs also have permanent dwellings, even though they are only tents.[1]

Alois Musil writes of the *Ma'âz* that they encamp in one place only as long as the surroundings supply their herds with sustenance. Thus the character of the grass and the water supply decides the duration of the camping-ground. Therefore, almost all tribes have different camps winter and summer. At the chief's command, *Štlâ Rahîl*, "stand up", "break up" the group starts out again.[2]

The North African steppe lands, like the Sahara, have been nomadic in character throughout all history. They have been the home of cattle-breeding nomadism principally, and here, as everywhere else, the migrations of the cattle have determined the migrations of the peoples. "The nomads of the desert must of necessity be mounted upon camels, chiefly if not entirely, for they are the only animals adapted to an existence which entails long periods without water."[3] But even the migrations of the camel are in the end determined by subsistence-geographical reasons: the supply of water.

North African cattle nomadism varies in character in different districts. For example in the Algerian Sahara there is the nomadism of the wadis and that of the dunes. Touareg in the one case, Shamba in the other. Broadly speaking the Shambas are nomads of the erg, the Touaregs of the rocky plateaus. The camels of the Shambas, accustomed to treading sand, injure their feet on the rocks of the wadis far more than do the Touareg camels.[4] As a rule, the wanderings of the Touaregs are limited and determined by the migrations of the cattle, though more extensive journeys also take place. Once in a while they encamp for a longer period than usual, in

[1] Byhan, in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 370.

[2] Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii. 131; *cf.* also *Ibid.* ii. 231; Cheesman, *In Unknown Arabia*, p. 211.

[3] Haywood, *Through Timbuctu and across the Great Sahara*, p. 12.

[4] Haberlandt, 'Afrika', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, i. 466; Gautier, 'Nomad and Sedentary Folks of Northern Africa', in *The Geogr. Review*, xi. 3; *Idem*, 'Native Life in French North Africa', in *Ibid.* xiii. 35 *sq.*

order to pick ripe dates. Generally they live in tents, not in villages; they have neither houses nor gourbi, they do not cultivate the soil. They are cattle nomads and warriors.[1]

The cattle-breeding nomads in North Africa have almost similar migratory customs whether they live in Algeria, Tunis or Morocco. This whole wandering culture bears the character of something eternally roving. Among this "army of loafers" the elements of culture are limited to the fewest possible.[2]

The migrations of some nomadic tribes even extend beyond the seasonal circles. Some tribes in the eastern Sahara have branches as far as the central regions of Arabia. The Larba, for instance, go on marches of more than 500 kilometres in length. These migrations require special organization, having regard to the hundreds and even thousands of cattle that are part of them.[3]

In Central and South Africa cattle nomadism also in many cases is the cause of the people's wanderings. Among the most representative of such tribes may be mentioned the Dinka, Nuer, Bari, Masai, Galla, Somal, Herero, Wahuma, and others.[4]

The Hottentots in their independent state derive their food supply from their cattle, sheep and goats, from the game which they hunt, and from the smaller animals and wild plants gathered in the veld. None of the independent Hottentots ever cultivated the soil. Grassy grazing-lands, and access to water in particular, determine their wanderings. "They therefore moved up and down the country in certain definite areas following the grass and the water."[5] Their main encampments were situated along river banks or in the neighbourhood of springs and deep pools, and always in places where grass grew most abundantly. They stay in the same camp as long as the food lasts. They wander about in small groups. In normal years the direction and the time of their

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[1] Bissuel, *Les Touareg de l'Ouest*, p. 101; Benhazzera, *Six mois chez les Touareg*, pp. 63 *sq.*, 73 *sq.*

[2] *Cf.* the description of Kessel (*Vent de sable*, p. 135): "tout montrait la vie errante, la facilité du depart — la vraie liberté".

[3] Bernard and Lacroix, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 89; Vidal de la Blache, *Principes de géographie humaine*, p. 35.

[4] Frobenius, *Ursprung der afrikanischen Kulturen*, i. 14, 350; *Idem*, *Auf dem Wege nach Atlantis*, p. 86; Lindblom, *Afrikanska Strövtåg*, p. 237; Bruel, *L'Afrique équatoriale française*, p. 261; Heiderich, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Volkens, *Die Kilimandscharo*, p. 243 (Nomadism comb. with commerce).

[5] Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, p. 235.

wanderings are regulated by the experience acquired in the course of many years. In dry years movement is more urgent and necessary, and more families than usual then trek away to new pasture-lands. The change of residence does not as a rule take them very far, as the rights of neighbouring tribes have to be considered; but within the tribal lands movement is usually unrestricted.[1]

In common with most other Bantu people of South Africa the economic life of the Bavenda is said to be influenced by a mixture of pastoral and hoe cultures. "Whilst being great lovers of cattle", says Stayt, "they regard them more as a source of wealth than as a means of livelihood and depend for subsistence almost entirely upon agriculture" ... "Fortunately, arable land is plentiful and every man can obtain the usufruct of as much land as he requires for himself, his wives, and other dependants."[2] According to Stayt, the Bavenda were probably earlier, when they migrated across the Limpopo, a fully pastoral people possessing large hordes of cattle. These evidently did not fit in with their new environment and died in great numbers. "The people then developed their agricultural work, to which their new country was eminently suited, absorbing into their new territory the indigenous people, who were probably agricultural."[3]

Speaking of the people in Ruanda in East Africa Roscoe mentions "their nomadic habits, combined with their complete disregard of everything unconnected with cattle".[4] The Banyoro, a wandering Bantu tribe, are essentially nomads. "They move about within given areas on account of the pastures and health of the cattle, though the king and chiefs have fixed centres of residence. The herdsmen are limited in their range of districts because they are obliged to avoid mixing their cows with those of another colour; still the large extent of their country offers them ample change of pasture."[5]

The Damaras in South Africa are also in all respects a pastoral people who have no conception of stationary dwellings. The whole country is looked upon as common property. As soon as the grass is consumed in one place or the water supply gives out, they move.

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland*, p. 253 *sq.*; *Idem*, 'Südwestafrika', in *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, i. 208.

[2] Stayt, *The Bavenda*, pp. 34, 37 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[4] Roscoe, *The Banyankole*, p. 1.

[5] *Idem*, *The Northern Bantu*, p. 63.

He who first reaches a place is considered its owner as long as he wishes to stay there, and no one dares encroach upon his land without first asking and receiving permission to do so.[1]

The Hereros on the South-West African steppes are also nomads. The country is not suitable for agriculture, "but if it were", says Irle, "most of the Hereros would be farmers". As it is they engage in cattle nomadism with fervour. It is everything to them.[2]

The primitive peoples of the American continent represent the lower stages of culture rather than nomadism, with the exception of reindeer nomadism in the north. The domestic animals of the rest of North America are the bison and the buffalo, in South America the guanaco, alpaca and llama. Only the two latter became domesticated in the highlands of the Andes, but they are limited at that to 10,000 to 14,000 feet above sea-level. Thus cattle-breeding was limited here from the very beginning. Later, through the European introduction of horses and bovine animals, a certain cattle nomadism akin to the Asiatic came into existence.[3] Argentina's steppes and pampas regions have as a matter of course favoured pastoral nomadism. South of the Rio Salado spread the almost endless pampas. It is most likely that the peoples there before European influence first made itself felt were nomadized hunters, so to speak, who to a great extent lived by cattle-breeding.[4]

Migrations among the Chaco Indians are brought about by the search for pasture-lands for their sheep and goats as well as by the search for fishing waters, and reasons pertaining to magic.[5]

Thomas connects the wanderings of many of the American peoples with the seasonal migrations of their buffalo and bison herds.[6] Flinders Petrie speaks of "the great seasonal march of the

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[1] Anderson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 6.

[2] Irle, *Die Herero*, pp. 117 *sq.*, 120.

[3] v. Richthofen, *Vorlesungen über allgemeine Siedelungs- und Verkehrsgeographie*, p. 142; Quelle, 'Die kontinentalen Viehstrassen Südamerikas', in *Pet. Mitth.*, lxxx. 114 *sqq.*

[4] Krickeberg, 'Amerika', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, i. 305, 308; Bowman, in *The Geogr. Review*, i. 423 *sq.* (Peru).

[5] Karsten, 'Något om Gran-Chaco, dess natur och folk', in *Terra*, xxvii. 29 *sq.*

[6] Thomas, 'Some Suggestions in regard to Primary Indian Migration, etc.', in *Congr. intern. d. Américanistes*, xv: i. 195, 197.

bison up and down North America and the consequent movement of its hunters".[1]

Even if the wanderings of the Eskimos are to a great extent dictated by the search for fish and game[2], cattle-breeding nomadism, mostly reindeer nomadism, exists among some of the tribes. To the west of the Hudson Bay in Canada, close to the forests, live the so-called Caribou Eskimos. They do not get food from the sea but are typical inland dwellers who engage principally in hunting in the wilds.[3]

In Australia one cannot speak of the existence of primitive cattle nomadism, since its primitive culture, as has been said, mostly resembles collecting, fishing and hunting husbandry. Here is a cattle industry, introduced by Europeans.[4]

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II. *Agricultural nomadism.* Just as the origin of cattle-breeding nomadism often lies in the fact that hunting does not satisfy the demand for meat, so agriculture not seldom has its source in the fact that the products of the ground and forest do not supply the need for animal sustenance. As has been indicated earlier,[5] the root of primitive agriculture in many instances lies in the collecting stage. While the men go hunting or fishing, the women gather wild fruit and herbs, which easily results in wandering agriculture. The most primitive form of agriculture was long thought to be hoe culture, "la culture à la houe", as I have said before.[6] More recent ethnography has proved, however, that the hoe is not the most primitive agricultural implement, and moreover that it is seldom seen in large primitive territories and is altogether unknown among South America's primitive peoples.[7]

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[1] Flinders Petrie, 'Migrations', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi. 190.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 85, 93 sqq.

[3] Rasmussen, in *Geogr. Tidskrift*, xxxii. 21, 23.

[4] Bonwick, *First Twenty Years of Australia*, p. 99 pass.; Andersson, *Australien*, pp. 26, 29, 95 *sqq.*, 113, 122, 176; Haffert, *Landeskunde . . . des Festlandes Australien*, p. 129 *sqq.*

[5] *Supra*, p. 65.

[6] *Supra*, p. 62.

[7] Heilborn, *Allg. Völkerkunde*, i. 33; *cf.* Wagner, *Lehrbuch der Geographie*, i: iii. 753; Bolinder, *Naturfolkens kultur*, p. 35; Reinhardt, *Die Erde und die Kultur*, ii. 250.

Even when it does exist it is used preferably for more advanced cultivation of the soil, while the digging-stick, from which the spade gradually evolved, is the original implement, as it were. The hoe is the forerunner of the plough, but the sequence, digging cultivation, hoe cultivation, plough cultivation (which latter often included the use of the beast of burden), garden cultivation, need not have been uniform everywhere and among all peoples. Here also it is probable that the appearance of the various forms of culture among different peoples depends upon the difference in the geographical surroundings.[1]

The collecting system, including hunting and fishing, is generally found to exist side by side with and supplementary to primitive wandering agriculture.

Wandering agriculture is to be found among peoples on a primitive plane of culture throughout the entire world.

The Baining people, a hill people of the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain, are wandering agriculturalists. They build huts for themselves in the place where they happen to have fields under cultivation.[2] The natives of New Britain also engage in wandering agriculture. They cultivate the soil wherever the tribe feels it to be suitable. Here they erect primitive huts, ten or twelve, which change their site with the migrations.[3]

The Sakais of Sumatra go on wanderings for many reasons. The principal one, however, is probably primitive agriculture, which causes them time and time again to search for new land.[4]

Among primitive wandering agriculturalists in Borneo "no village community remains on the same spot for any long period; but after fifteen, ten, or even fewer years a new site is sought, often at a considerable distance, and a new village is built", says Hose, adding that the principal reason for this habit of frequent migration which produced the intimate mingling throughout large areas of

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[1] Busse, 'Die periodischen Grasbrände im tropischen Afrika', in *Mitth. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.*, xxi. 114 *sq.* The spread of the plough has, in the interest of the Graebner school, been investigated by Leser (*Die Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges*, pass.). *Cf.* also Fussel, 'The Breast Plough', in *Man*, xxxiii. 109 *sqq.*

[2] Burger, *Die Küsten- und Bergvölker der Gazellhalbinsel*, p. 48 *sq.*

[3] Buschan, 'Australien und Ozeanien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 119.

[4] Moszkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 251.

the peoples of different stocks is the necessity of finding virgin soil for cultivation.[1] "The preparation of the land is everywhere very crude", write Hose and McDougall of some tribes on Borneo engaged in hoe culture.[2] It consists in the felling of the timber and undergrowth, and in burning it as completely as possible, so that its ashes enrich the soil. After a single crop has been grown and gathered on land so cleared, the weeds grow up very thickly, and there is, of course, in the following year no possibility of repeating the dressing of wood-ashes in the same way. Hence it is the universal practice to allow the land to lie fallow for at least two years after a single crop has been raised, while crops are raised from other land. During the fallow period the jungle grows up so rapidly and thickly that by the third year the weeds have almost died out, choked by the larger growths. The same land is then prepared again by felling the young jungle and burning it as before, and a crop is again raised from it. When a piece of land has been prepared and cropped in this way some three or four times, at intervals of two, three or four years, the crop obtainable from it is so inferior in quantity that the people usually undertake the severe labour of felling and burning a patch of virgin forest rather than continue to make use of the old areas. In this way a large village uses up in the course of some twelve or fifteen years all the land suitable for cultivation within a convenient distance, i. e., within a radius of some three miles. When this state of affairs results, the village is moved to a new site, chosen chiefly with an eye to the abundance of land suitable for the cultivation of the *padi* crop. After ten or more years the villagers will return, and the house or houses will be reconstructed on the old site or one adjacent to it, if no circumstances arise to tempt them to migrate to a more distant country, and if the course of their life on the old site has run smoothly, without misfortunes such as much sickness, conflagrations, or serious attacks by other villages.[3]

Of one other Borneo tribe, the Kanyans, which Hose and McDougall count among the more or less stationary tribes, these authors say that they often break up and look for new dwellings. The most frequent cause of removal is, principally, the using up of the soil in the immediate neighbourhood of the village, for they

[1] Hose, *Natural Man*, p. 36.

[2] Hose and McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, i. 98 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.* i. 98 *sq.*

do not cultivate the same patch more than three or four times at intervals of several years.[1]

There is a deal of material testifying to the fact that the settlements of primitive tribes which engage in wandering agriculture are hardly permanent. Mjöberg, speaking of the primitive Kalabits who live in the interior of the wild lands of Borneo, at the source of the mighty Barram and Rejang rivers, says that to a certain extent they may be considered stationary. They have found that with a little work it is possible to make the soil yield two rice harvests per year. "To the stage of the hoe or plough they have not yet advanced; they stand considerably nearer the most primitive age."[2]

In south-eastern Asia hoe cultivation is a very usual form of culture among the primitive population. Some of the Chinese peoples of Siam (the Kachin, Lolo, Lisu, Yao, and Miao) wander constantly. They keep to the hill districts, that is, they particularly seek out the hill areas, as their primitive forest-clearing field cultivation is not suitable for the plains, where the abundant grass is a jealous enemy of this kind of cultivation. The hill tribes go on slow journeys from one chain of hills to another, always on the lookout for new places in which to engage in their primitive farming. Among these hill peoples the transition from hoe culture to field culture takes place only after a severe inward struggle. And when, through external pressure, they have been forced to adapt themselves to the customs of the permanent inhabitants, they often fall back on primitive agricultural nomadism.[3]

Of the Moi in Indo-China Baudesson says that they are "nomadic by nature". They move their habitations periodically as soon as they have exhausted the natural resources of the soil they occupy.[4]

Many of the tribes of the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra carry on nomadic agriculture side by side with collecting, just as do many Semang, Senoi, Kubu and Sakai tribes. About every year or every other year these tribes migrate to new lands and do not return again to the old ones for from five to fifteen years.[5] It is

[1] *Ibid.* i. 55.

[2] Mjoberg, *Borneo*, p. 99.

[3] Heine-Geldern, 'Sudostasien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 792.

[4] Baudesson, *Indo-China and its Primitive People*, p. 12.

[5] Heine-Geldern, *loc. cit.*, ii: i. 792, 795, 806 *sq.*; Schebesta, *Orang-Utan*, p. 266 *sq.* (Orang-Utan).

said of the Orang-Blandass particularly that they only desire as much land as they need to remain within the territory.[1]

Among the primitive tribes in the interior of Hindustan one finds a combination of collecting and the simplest hoe cultures. The women dig for roots, principally yams, which they roast in hot ashes. But among most of the tribes, with the exception of the Paliyand and Irulan, collecting husbandry is supplemented by primitive cultivation of millet, bananas, gourds, and tobacco, and in the northern districts peas, corn and rice are also cultivated in the form of the so-called *Thena-culture*, which means that wooded sections are cleared by fire, after which the scarcely cleared ground is harrowed with a digging-stick. After a few years the field is deserted for new land. Arrangements for watering and plough culture are known to only a few tribes in the mountains, but even here collecting husbandry flourishes side by side with agriculture.[2]

Describing the hill tribes on the Kuladyne River in Arakan. Latter says, that "a piece of ground rarely yields more than one crop, in each successive year other spots are in like manner chosen, till all those around the village are exhausted; a move is then made to another locality where the same process is gone through again. These migrations occur about every third year, and they are the means by which long periods of time are calculated. Thus, a Toungtha will tell you that such and such an event occurred so many migrations ago".[3]

Many of the primitive hill tribes in northern India devote themselves to similar primitive agriculture. The Lepchas seldom remain longer than three years in the same place before moving on. Cultivation consists "in cutting down the smaller trees, lopping off the branches of the large ones, which are burnt, and scratching the soil with the 'ban', after which, on the falling of a shower of rain, the seed is thrown into the ground".[4] The Bódo and Dhimáls change fields and dwelling-places every other year.[5] So also the Kukies.[6]

[1] Stevens, 'Materialien zur Kenntnis der wilden Stämme auf der Halbinsel Malâka', in *Veröff. d. Kon. Mus. f. Völkerkunde* (Berlin), ii. 89.

[2] Volz, 'Sud- und Ostasien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 537.

[3] Latter, 'Note on some Hill Tribes etc.', in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, xv. 65; *cf.* Kauffmann, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lxvi. 28 *sqq.*, 37 *sqq.*

[4] Campbell, 'On the Lepchas', in *Jour. Ethnol. Soc.*, N. S., i. 151.

[5] Hodgson, 'On the Origin, Location, etc. of the Kócch, Bódo, and Dhimál People', in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, xviii: ii. 702.

[6] Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, p. 95.

Mason says of the Karens in Burma that most of the tribes change fields annually. "They clear a few acres of land, burn them over near the close of the dry season, the ashes serving as manure, and when the first showers fall, they plant paddy".[1]

Some of the Kirghiz and other Turks sow wheat and millet in springtime, then migrate to other grazing-grounds, whence they return in autumn for the harvest of their spring crops, the cultivation of which is left to poorer tribes in the meantime.[2]

Part of the nomadic population near the Yenisei's springs are forced by their surroundings to lead a wandering life. They go regularly on three or four seasonal migrations per year. "En été ils dressent leurs camps, qui consistent de quatre à cinq yourtas, dans les vallées basses des rivières; en hiver ils vont rechercher l'abri des forêts sur les versants des montagnes."[3]

The Buryats nomadize between winter and summer quarters with their herds of cattle, as has been pointed out earlier,[4] but they also carry on some agriculture. However, the fields they cultivate are not in their villages, but in another direction, thus causing wanderings.[5]

It is the geographical circumstances which are at the source of wandering agriculture in North Africa. Ahlmann states that "la cause primaire de la mobilité des différents genres de culture c'est la situation géographique du pays qui, en raison du climat, le place sur la limite des régions inhabitables". The peoples have no aptitude for intensive cultivation.[6]

Agricultural nomadism exists extensively in the Mohammedan world. A great number of nomads wander through a definite territory every year, even asserting certain claims. Often an Arab tribe keeps the same territory for centuries though expansion not uncommonly takes place beyond its boundaries.[7] Burckhardt says of

[1] Mason, 'On Dwellings, etc. of the Karens', in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, xxxvii: ii. 125 *sq.*

[2] Byhan, 'Nord-, Mittel- und Westasien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Volkerkunde*, ii: i. 347 *sq.*

[3] Bounak, 'Un pays de l'Asie peu connu: le Tanna-Touva', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, xxix. 7 *sq.*

[4] *Supra*, p. 117.

[5] Melnikow, 'Die Burjaten des Irkutskischen Gouvernements', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, xii. 212.

[6] Ahlmann, 'La Libye septentrionale', in *Geogr. Annaler*, x. 71 *sq.*, 83 *sqq.*

[7] Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, p. 32; Zwemer, *Arabia, the Cradle of Islam*, p. 380; Largeau, *Le Pays de Rirha*, p. 109.

certain Arab tribes that they cultivate rice and millet in the hills, but live in tents and change their dwelling-places after every harvest.[1]

Many Bedouin and Berber tribes in North Africa are agricultural nomads.[2] In the Atlas Mountains nomadism is particularly developed. Steensby writes of the Atlas nomads that they spend the summers on the high hills, where they cultivate grain-fields. In winter they press downwards either to the plateaus, where they remain over the winter, or to the valleys towards the Sahara Atlas. Their wanderings are strictly regulated. They have greater distances between their summer and winter camps than the local nomads. However, there is a certain connexion between the summer and winter districts. Their wandering sphere may be looked upon as a belt which slopes downwards from the mountain chain.[3]

Wandering hoe culture due to the geographical conditions is also to be found in many places in Central and South Africa among the primitive negro tribes.[4] The Wanyamwesi in East Africa combine a hunting economy with field cultivation. The soil being rather poor makes it impossible to cultivate the same place for any length of time, which brings about moving agriculture to a great degree. Settlements and villages change constantly. There are other reasons for this too, but the geographical conditions are mainly responsible.[5] Also among properly stationary peoples in the interior of Africa agriculture is a primitive combination of collecting and hoe husbandry. In the Zambezi district, agriculture is still in the most primitive hoe-cultivation stage in many places.[6] It is also often combined with cattle-breeding.[7]

Among the Schingú Indians in South America the women engage in primitive cultivation, growing *mandioca* while the men hunt.[8]

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[1] Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[3] Steensby, 'Nogle ethnografiske Iagttagelser fra en Reise i Algier og Tunis', in *Geogr. Tidskrift*, xix. 282.

[4] Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 426 (Baganda); Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 275 *sqq.* (Masai); Dundas, 'Notes on the Origin and History of the Kikuyu and Dorobo', in *Man*, viii. 37 (Kikuyu and Dorobo); *cf.* also Ahrens, *Wirtschaftsformen und Landschaft*, p. 37 *sqq.*; Hirschberg, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lxi. 321.

[5] Spellig, 'Die Wanjamwesi', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lix. 219. *Infra*, p. 225.

[6] Haberlandt, 'Ostasien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 572.

[7] Hoffer, 'Die Wirtschaft der Völker am oberen Nil', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lxiii. 194.

[8] von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, pp. 208, 214 *sq.*

Of the Indians in Argentina and the Bolivian Chaco, according to Karsten, agriculture is engaged in only by the Chaco tribe and "on a very limited scale, which of course is due to the dryness of the climate. Among all the tribes, the land is common property, and within this territory each family has a small plot of land allotted to it, or which it has taken possession of, and which it is supposed to possess as long as it actually cultivates it."[1]

It is not unusual for even stationary Indians to engage in hoe cultivation, as for example the Cholos Indians of the Bolivian tableland who do not cultivate a field oftener than every eleventh year.[2]

Of the South American Chané and Chiriguno Indians we are told that hunting and fishing often replace temporary agriculture.[3] Among the Paus and Guaray Indians who are nomadized agriculturists hunting and fishing supplement their primitive agriculture.[4]

Primitive wandering agriculture exists side by side with hunting and fishing among the more or less stationary Wapisiana tribe of the Arawaks.[5]

In Central America primitive agriculture is a usual cause of migrations among the primitive peoples. The Chocó Indians on the Isthmus of Panama, in reality a stationary people, engage in forest-clearing, which forces them to cultivate new fields constantly and thus to seek out new land. Baron Nordenskiöld came across primitive digging-sticks and spades as farming implements in many places.[6] The Bogotá Indians, who live in the mountains in the Isthmus of Panama, have widely scattered fields under cultivation, which makes it necessary for them to have huts in four different directions. They move from hut to hut, which possibly is also an inheritance from earlier unsettled times when, if one field was plundered, the Indians had others in reserve.[7]

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[1] Karsten, 'Indian Tribes of Gran Chaco', in *Soc. Scient. Fennica* (*Comm. Hum. Litt.* iv. i.), 36.

[2] Sefve, *Boliviaska Strövtåg*, p. 132.

[3] Nordenskiold, *Indianlif*, p. 170.

[4] *Idem*, *De sydamerikanska indianernas kulturhistoria*, p. 338.

[5] Farabee, 'The Central Caribs', in *Univ. Penns. Anthr. Publ.*, x. 49 *sq.*, 55 *sq.*

[6] Nordenskiöld, *Indianerna på Panamanäset*, p. 134.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

The Ijca Indians have houses in the village, and in addition one or more in the surrounding country near their fields or gardens.[1]

Ratzel gives as an example the Indian tribe of the Sandilleros, which annually after harvest time in southern Mexico at the end of the rainy season wanders down to the lower Goatzocoacos in order to raise water-melons, beginning its roving life again upon the completion of that task.[2]

In rich California, where the Indians were agriculturalists owing to the favourable climate, they were stationary only in winter. They divided their time in warm weather between their collecting, fishing and hunting grounds.[3] Formerly, at least, the Indians of the Red River territory of North America went on great annual migrations to the lakes to reap water-rice (*Zizania*).[4]

Nomadic culture including both cattle-breeding and agricultural nomadism was the ancient culture of western Asia. The steppe-lands of Eurasia have from the beginning particularly favoured nomadism. There is an almost unbroken journeying of Aryan nomads, from the Sokoloths by the Black Sea to the Massageths east of the Jaxartes. There have been constant migrations, which were especially powerful during the second century B.C.[5]

It is nomadic culture which meets us in large parts of Europe when the migratory surge from Asia swells towards the West. It was nomadic peoples far in the East who first set the surge in motion, and nomadic peoples who drove it onward. Of course, many other factors played a part, too. Collisions between different peoples resulted in new minglings of races. Reports of the fertility and wealth of the southern European countries early attracted the movement in their direction. Local surplus populations increased the stream. But the pre-condition of the migrations can only be

[1] Bolinder, *Det tropiska snöfjallets indianer*, p. 68.

[2] Ratzel, *Anthropogeographie*, i. 453.

[3] Krause, *Die Kultur der kalifornischen Indianer* (*Veroff. Inst. Volkerkunde* [*Leipzig*], ii), p. 41 *sq.*

[4] Ratzel, *op. cit.*, i. 449.

[5] Vámbéry, *Die primitive Cultur des turko-tatarischen Volkes*, p. 133; Hahr, 'Folkvandringskrigen i andra årtusendet före Kristus', in *Ord och Bild*, xxiv. 129 *sqq.*; Nilsson, 'Den stora folkvandringen i andra årtusendet f. Kr.', in *Ymer*, xxxii. 188 *sqq.*; *cf.* Strabo, *Geographica*, i: ii. 18, ii: iv. 24, vi: iv. 3, vii: iii. 7, vii: iv. 6, xi: v. 6, 7, xiii: iii. 4; Homeros, *Iliad*, xiii. 5.

explained by the general mobility, the wandering culture, which at that time dominated over great expanses of Asia and Europe, for it is impossible to believe that peoples, if they had been definitely stationary and had been thrust at by an attacking tribe, would have submissively allowed themselves to be carried along in the great common whirlpool instead of offering effective resistance to the assaulting peoples.

The ancient Teutons present for the most part the picture of a nomadic people not yet at rest, among whom in fact annual wanderings played the principal rôle. True, modern investigators like Steinhausen,[1] Hirt,[2] Hoops,[3] among others, try to deny the nomadic culture and to prove that the ancient Germans at the dawn of history had already advanced to a higher stage of culture; but the testimony of contemporary classic authors must be considered as bearing greater weight than modern speculation. The accounts of the Teutons given by Caesar[4] and Tacitus[5] point to a people who at the time they are described are still in the nomadic stage of culture, additionally accentuated by their warlike disposition. Caesar's *agriculturae non student*[6] (whether translated as "agriculture they [the Teutons] did not engage in", or "on agriculture they placed little importance") indicates in any event that Teutonic agriculture, when it existed, — e.g. among the Usipetes and Tencteri[7] and Sugambri,[8] was of subordinate importance and completely nomadic in character. Large territories were still at their disposal for one-year cultivation. Seed was planted in unfertilized deforested soil, which soon lost all power of production. Entire peoples and tribes went on wanderings, looking for new land to cultivate. Through the conflicts which came about as a result, new combinations of peoples not seldom arose. Here and there hunting and fishing were still important forms of subsistence.[9] The ancient

[1] Steinhausen, *Kulturgeschichte der Deutschen im Mittelalter*, p. 7 (*Idem*, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kultur*, pass.).

[2] Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, i. 262.

[3] Hoops, *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum*, p. 485.

[4] Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, pass.

[5] Tacitus, *Germania*, xv; *Idem*, *Agricola*, pass.

[6] Caesar, *op. cit.*, vi. 22.

[7] *Ibid.* iv. i; *cf.* iv. 4.

[8] *Ibid.* iv. 19.

[9] Tacitus, *Germania*, xlvi.

Teutons, as Hildebrand rightly remarks, had no private ownership of soil and ground.[1]

Their social organization was faintly developed. Caesar's Teutonic *civitas* no doubt refers to warlike associations rather than to politically organized communities.

Most assuredly there were other reasons than nomadic disposition to cause the Teuton migrations during the period in question and somewhat later, as for example local over-population, the intrusion of powerful neighbours, civil strife, etc.; but these do not hinder nomadic culture in various forms from having been the dominating reason and the determining one for the wandering culture.

Nomadism is a phase of development which the Northern peoples also have passed through. There was a time when wandering was as strong in them as it is in many primitive peoples of to-day. At that time only a small part of the ancient Scandinavians were able to obtain a livelihood in one and the same territory for any length of time. In particular the Swedish 'movers' (*Flyttare*) represented nomadism. Moving agriculture was nomadic, which we shall see later when we now discuss semi-nomadism. It comprised forest agriculture, the possibilities of which for supplying sustenance were soon exhausted.

The plains and steppes of eastern Europe, which geographically constitute a continuation of Asia, were for long periods of time a playground for nomadic peoples, and the Hungarian *puszta* was their great general meeting-place.

B. Transhumance.

As has already been pointed out, nomadism as such no longer exists in Europe. Semi-nomadism, on the other hand, a seasonal wandering culture which has much in common with nomadism, is still met with. This semi-nomadism does not exist exclusively in Europe, but has, as has been said, been found to flourish in other parts of the globe in connection with cattle-breeding nomadism. As will be shown below, geographical and climatic circumstances also lie behind semi-nomadic movements and wanderings.

[1] Hildebrand, *op. cit.*, p. 54; *cf.* Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, i. 273; Meitzen, 'Das Nomadentum der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarn in West-Europa', in *Verh. ii. Deutsch. Geogr. Tages*, p. 69 *sq.*; *Idem*, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen*, pass.

In Europe we find two different forms of semi-nomadism: the *Fäbod* and *Sæter* (sheal or somerset) system in the North and transhumance in Southern and Central Europe's mountains and Alps. There is a certain analogy between true nomadism and the wanderings which lie behind these systems.

Nowadays the Lapps in the North in many instances represent semi-nomadic husbandry. The reindeer and fishing Lapps have begun to have permanent settlements during the winter months at least. The Skoltlapps in Arctic Finland also practise one kind of semi-nomadism, as we have seen.[1] The Nordic somerset system means that the cattle are brought from the valleys, where they are stall-fed in winter, to the hills for the summer, whereas in the transhumance form in Southern and Central Europe the cattle are kept outdoors all the year round though the grazing-places differ according to the season of the year. In rare cases, as for instance in some remote valleys in southern Switzerland, the transhumance system, with its changing habitats the year round, and in connection with vine-growing as a supplementary form of subsistence, reaches such dimensions that it may be spoken of as Alpine nomadism.

We shall first touch upon the principal element in the Nordic somerset system. Professor Frödin, on the basis of a thorough study of these questions, feels that the *Fäbod* and *Sæter* farming system can be traced back to nomadism. In the more southern countries the nomads live in tents, in colder regions stationary dwellings have to be erected, even if the nomads live there only periodically, — that is, a wandering stage with a central settlement. This is brought about through the influence of agriculture, when one part of the tribe engages in cultivating the same piece of land for several years — around which a permanent settlement gradually forms — while the rest of the tribe takes charge of the animals. Professor Frödin is of the opinion that the stationary settlements in a great part of Europe are developments of primitive sheal or somerset settlements which once upon a time were much more extensive than they are now.[2] This does not sound at all unreasonable, but on the other hand we have to take into

[1] *Supra*, p. 115 sq.

[2] Frodin, 'Om fäbodbebyggelsens utbredning och olika typer i Europa', in *Svensk Geogr. Årsbok* (1929), p. 176 *sqq.*; *Idem*, 'Siljansområdets fäbodbygd', in *Skrifter utg. av Vetensk. Soc.* (*Lund*), v. pass.

consideration that mountain dairy-farming can emanate and often surely has emanated from imitative adaptation to favourable surroundings, and independently of earlier local traditions.

The ancient Nordic *Fäbod* and *Sæter* system presupposes the existence of primitive agriculture and cattle-breeding as the principal forms of subsistence. If one or the other is lacking the sheals or somersets cannot come about. Without agriculture the whole people becomes nomadized in much the same manner as the moving Lapps.

A necessary condition for the ancient *Fäbod* system is that both forms of subsistence be engaged in extensively. For as a rule it is no doubt impossible to practise the one intensively for any length of time without following suit with the other. Intensive cattle-breeding is, as a matter of course, out of the question in connection with extensive farming, and intensive agriculture usually involves the cultivation of forage plants to an extent which causes a reduction in the use of natural pasture-lands, i. e. cattle-breeding is also reorganized more intensively.

Cattle-breeding on natural meadows and pastures was characteristic of the older agricultural system in Sweden. Even in regions boasting a rich supply of arable land the fields were used either entirely or principally for grain-growing.[1] To the extent that cultivation progressed, the yield of self-growing forage diminished and became insufficient, and a corresponding decrease in the number of cattle and amount of manure resulted. The fodder supply of the marshlands began to attract exploitation much earlier than their wealth of timber.

In Sweden there have as a rule been two fjeld somerset places depending upon the supply of pasture-lands. About midsummer people journeyed to the *Långfäbodar* (the long-somersets). In areas where pasturage was good they gladly moved to the home village or home farms (somersets) at haymaking time when all possible labour was needed. At the village the cattle were kept in summer barns and allowed to graze on the land round about. As soon as possible they returned to the woods. In the latter part of summer or in autumn the cattle were driven down to the home farms or village again. This form of culture, says Boëthius, can most nearly be characterized as semi-nomadism, not being too far removed from the Lapps' reindeer-breeding. Like the latter,

[1] Boëthius, *Ur de stora skogarnas historia*, p. 37 *sq.*

though it does not require as much space, it needs space out of all proportion to the number of cattle maintained. The distance between the home village and the somersets used to vary between four and five miles.[1]

In Sweden the *Fäbod* habitat is still spread out in the northern sections of the country, and in the fjeld districts from Värmland upwards. It represents here, according to Frödin,[2] the remains of the village organization built along co-operative lines, the primitive stage which grew out of nomadism.

There already existed in northern Finland in the 18th century, at least in Maksmo, Osthrobothnia, a sort of lowland *Fäbod*, a meadow settlement on the alluvial soil, and forest settlements further inland.[3] But the Finnish *Fäbod* system can at the utmost be looked upon only as a lowland equivalent of the Swedish *Fäbod* (somerset) culture, since the true *Fäbod* culture presupposes summering in the hills, whereas in Osthrobothnia it is only a matter of moving the cattle from the inland regions to more fertile coastal areas.

There is also a notable difference between the *Fäbod* in Sweden and the *Sæter* in Norway, owing to the natural conditions. In Norway the sheals are quite isolated from each other, generally lying beyond the forest boundary. In Sweden, on the other hand, they are concentrated in the birch-tree forest region. The Norwegian fjeld landscape on the whole favours scattered settlements.[4]

The difference between the Nordic somerset system on the one hand and the transhumance system on the other is due to climate. In the North and in many places in Central Europe the cattle have to be stall-fed in winter, whereas in southern countries they can feed on pasturage even in winter in the lowlands. However, the wandering culture is essentially the same. The herds are taken from the valleys, the home of stationary settlements, to the fjelds or alps which afford the temporary settlements. Thus a double migration, two stages. In the south the shepherds follow

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[2] Frodin, in *Svensk Geogr. Årsbok* (1929), p. 178.

[3] Smeds, 'Fäbodbebyggelse och fäboddrift i Österbotten', in *Hem och hembygd* (1929), 1 *sqq.*; *cf.* Forsander, 'Entbacka fäbodar i Esse', in *Budkavlen*, xii. 38 *sqq.*

[4] Conc. Denmark, see Hatt, 'Gamle danske Landsbyer', in *Gads Danske Magasin*, xxix. 104; conc. Iceland, see Lindroth, *Motsatsernas land*, pp. 40, 56.

their calling all the year round, in the north they spend the cold season of the year in the agricultural settlements.

The transhumance system is widely spread in the Alps and mountain regions of Central Europe; in the Scottish Highlands, where the "Scotch sheals" resemble the mountain farms of the North, it is especially typical of the French and Swiss Alpine regions, and in Spain where, particularly in former times, wanderings through the Meseta played a big part.[1] In Italy the transhumance institution is to found particularly in the Apennines, which in summer are populated by people and cattle from the lowlands.[2] In addition to France and Switzerland it is practised in Central Europe in the Schwarzwald, the Riesengebirge[3] and the Carpathians.[4] We find it in the Balkans as far down as Greece.[5] It exists in Bulgaria[6] and in Turkey,[7] and a peculiar seasonal wandering is practised in Corsica.[8]

The above, then, has to do with either the Nordic somerset or sheal system or the transhumance system. Cattle-breeding nomadism without permanent central settlement is, as has been said, seldom met with in Europe nowadays, which is true even of the Hungarian pusztas and the Balkans.[9] During the Middle Ages the wanderings in the Meseta in Spain were something more than transhumance. But nomadism exists, in a modified form it is true, in some villages of southern Switzerland.

Some very narrow valleys running in a south-north direction issue out of the Swiss-Italian boundary Alps west of Simplon. They were formed by the rushing Alpine glaciers, the waters of which are carried downward by the valley streams and run direct to the Rhône. A characteristic feature of these

[1] Numelin, 'Fäbodkultur och alpin nomadism i Europa', in *Terra*, xlii. 238 *sq.*; *cf.* Caillard, *Les migrations temporaires dans les campagnes françaises*, p. 13; Javelle, *Souvenirs d'un alpiniste*, pp. 58, 200.

[2] Arbos, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[3] Frödin, *loc. cit.*, p. 179.

[4] Anderegg, *Illustr. Lehrbuch für die gesamte Schw. Alpenwirtschaft*, iii. 932; Martonne, 'La vie pastorale ... dans les Karpates', in *Zu Friedrich Ratzels Gedächtnis*, p. 227 pass.; Bolinder, *Underliga folk i Europas mitt*, p. 129.

[5] Cvijic, *La péninsule balkanique*, p. 112.

[6] Hoppe, 'Die Jüruken', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, xxxii. 184 *sqq.*

[7] Frödin, 'Quelques traits de la végétation, ... de la Turquie du Nord', in *Geogr. Annaler*, xiv. 229.

[8] Blanchard, 'Les genres de la vie en Corse', in *Rec. de trav. de l'inst. de géogr. alpine*, ii. 230 *sq.*

[9] Cvijic, *op. cit.*, pp. 164, 177.

narrow deep V valleys (this being the sign which it is customary to use for them, as opposed to the U valleys) is that the two branches join at the middle, thus resembling, if one continues to use letter-similes, an overturned Y, and narrow and contract at the lower part. These couple-valleys or double valleys are, from east to west, the Saas and Visp (or Nicolai) valleys, the Anniviers (or Zinal) and Moiry valleys and the Hérens and Hêrêmence valleys. Between these double valleys lie some short single valleys.

The original settlement — I am not referring to the occasional hotels recently erected — consists of small, modest villages in which there are a few two-storied houses (e. g. Visp valley), most of the others being small huts; but in many places (especially in the Anniviers valley) the settlement consists almost exclusively of so-called *mazots*, larch-tree trunks joined together into small huts with stones on thatched roofs. Connected to the huts are often stables for the cattle, and separate barns for fodder if the fodder is not merely kept in an open lower section, upon the stone corners of which the entire hut rests. Higher up towards the Alps lie *les préalps* (*Voralps*), also called *les mayens*, which are rude settlements, and almost at the snow boundary are *les alps*,[1] exceedingly primitive mountain dairy-farming huts.

The above-mentioned *mazots* thus constitute the so-called villages in the valleys where the cattle as a rule are kept in winter and where primitive agriculture most often is to be found. *Préalp* is the pasture-land for the time that the herds which have been early taken from the valleys have to wait for the snow on the Alps to melt. *Préalp* is thus step number 2, and even here one can find small fields. The herds are kept there for a time, as also on the way down in autumn. On the last step (no. 3, *l'alp*) the herds are kept for about three months. The huts here — when such exist — comprise hardly more than a roof over the heads of the wanderers and the place for cheese-making. At night the animals are kept within stone enclosures next to the huts. In no other part of Europe do the mountain pastures lie as high as here, in the Matterhorn region about 3000 metres above sea-level.

The people in these valleys in Switzerland make their living by almost a year-round wandering between these different steps. The wanderings between the valley and the alps are, strictly speaking, the same as the transhumance wanderings; but to these are added in the first place the moves to the *préalps*[2] in spring and autumn,

[1] The masculine form *l'alp* has in French begun to be used as signifying the pasture-lands themselves in the hills, whereas the feminine form *l'alpe* has the geographical meaning.

[2] A certain equivalent to these *préalps* I have seen in France, in Auvergne, where the transhumance system is extremely systematically carried out, owing to the necessity of making the most intensive use of poor soil. Between the permanent settlements and the summer mountain farms a primitive belt of fodder cultivation is to be seen in many places, the mowed grass being kept in so-called granges. The cattle are kept here during autumn at least, after grazing upon the high hills.

and secondly something more, for the population also devotes itself to vinegrowing; these cultivations lie in the vicinity of the Rhône valley, which thus further leads to wanderings, to step number 4, twice a year, in early spring to harvest the winter hay and see to the vines, and in autumn for the vintage.

The interesting thing about these journeys is that in many places practically the whole population moves, as if it were leaving its village for ever. Men, women and children wander with animals, household goods and furniture. Even the priests often join in. Generally speaking, it is a year-round wandering life. The winter months, which differ in different places (Nov. to Feb., Dec. to March), they spend in the valleys, spring and autumn on the *préalps*, summer in the mountains, and in addition to this, as has been said, travel every spring and autumn at least to the grape cultivations by the Rhône.

Jean Brunhes has investigated this Alpine nomadism, as one might call it, but localizes it only in the Anniviers (Zinal) valley,[1] which most probably represents the main region of Alpine nomadism, i.e. it is here carried out to the least detail. However, Alpine nomadism is to be found in the Visp valley too, as I was in a position to convince myself. It is almost the same as the nomadism of the Val d'Anniviers. In the Visp valley as in the Val d'Hérence a permanent main settlement is to be found in many places — as far as I could make out they also existed in certain places in the Anniviers valley — but side by side with these one comes across completely deserted villages at certain times of the year. Above Zermatt in summer lie several small deserted villages, and 2000 metres above sea-level is the fairly large settlement of Findelen close to the Findelen glacier, with buildings even boasting two storeys, an attractive chapel, etc., all of which in summer is practically forsaken, though it serves as a *préalp* settlement in spring and autumn.

The uncertainty of the settlements has, particularly in the Val d'Anniviers, made administrative and religious organization difficult. It has not always been easy to fix the conception of the village and the inhabitants' place of residence, as the winter settlement is not in every case the main settlement. As a rule one does not stay longer in one village than in another. The largest settlements have churches, the smaller ones and the *préalps* have

[1] Brunhes, *La géographie humaine*, ii. 661 *sqq.*

chapels, which latter are just as deserted as all the other buildings when the inhabitants and their herds are away.

The reasons for this Alpine nomadism are surely to be found in the same conditions which determine the Nordic fjeld wanderings and the transhumance wanderings, — i.e. in the subsistence-geographical circumstances. The population of these narrow, sunless valleys of southern Switzerland, where the natives actually seek the sunny side for their pasturelands, is still fairly primitive and lives for the most part on what it produces itself. As everywhere else in Switzerland, money can of course be made on tourists — Zermatt no doubt profits quite a lot — but this trade is limited to a few months of the year. The meagre soil requires a more intensive cultivation than land in more fertile regions. The population's primitiveness makes adaptation to the wandering life quite easy, and its relative size demands nomadism, for though these people lead such an isolated existence, the birth-rate is fairly high, causing over-population to a certain degree. There is no overseas emigration to speak of, as for example from the Lake Lucerne cantons or from the French Alps. Here the size of the herds, as among the Lapps, determines the small difference that exists between the rich and the poor.[1]

Thus the transhumance system does not yield subsistence enough. If the population would be satisfied only to mow the fields between the valley and the alps without fertilizing them, says Brunhes, they would shortly be exhausted.[2] Of course manure could be carried there. Without entirely refraining from doing so the inhabitants prefer to station their herds in various places, fertilizing the soil in that way. But in addition to this, as has been said, they engage in vine cultivation as a supplementary source of subsistence.

It seems to me unnecessary to look for deeper psycho-biological reasons for the migrations in question, as some investigators have done. To trace the wandering disposition of the southern Swiss back to a loose hypothesis of their being descendants of the Huns[3] is

[1] Conc. similar wanderings in the highlands of the Pyrenees, see Geddes, 'Village Life in the Eastern Pyrenees', in *The Sociol. Review*, xx. 91 *sq.* (Valley of Rouze).

[2] Brunhes, *op. cit.*, ii. 665.

[3] Fischer, *Die Hunnen im Schweizerischen Eifischthale und ihre Nachkommen auf die heutige Zeit*, pass.

superfluous. Like all nomadism, Alpine nomadism is also a result of subsistence-geographical conditions. But it attracts attention here in these valleys of southern Switzerland particularly, seeing that the neighbouring districts, not to mention the Rhône Valley, are the home of transhumance with permanent main settlements, and not of Alpine nomadism.

There is still another form of the wandering life to be found among the inhabitants of the European Alp regions. I do not now mean the wandering fairs, which are disappearing more and more and which to a great extent were cattle-fairs and as such not to be confused with the modern city fairs, even if like them they are for the most part connected with religious festivals and "holy days". Such markets have, particularly in the Alp country, where there has been little opportunity for intercourse, played an important rôle, especially as they often coincided with the spring and autumn movements of the cattle to and from the mountains, which was advantageous both to the buyer and the seller. What I refer to is principally a form of wandering peddling — nomad trade — which is to be found here and there throughout the world. In the Alp regions, however, the limited economy in connection with the wandering habits has forced a part of the people to look for a suitable means of gaining a living during the otherwise idle winter months, as the transhumance system does not give more than six months' employment at the most to the whole population.

A wandering peddling trade exists in Savoy, in Dauphiné, in the Pyrenees, in the Italian Alps, etc.[1] This trade has been extremely methodical and is still pursued to some extent in French Dauphiné. The pedlars come from the Romanche valley near Grenoble. Towards the end of October the Alpine pedlars gather in the little town of Bourg-d'Oisans and other lowland centres to make their purchases. Six or seven months of the year they wander about selling piece goods, dry goods, drugs and trinkets. At the end of April or in the beginning of May they return to their homes with fattened purses, ready to cultivate the fields and take the cattle to the alps. The wanderings of the pedlars are as regular as the flights of the swallows and are the signs of the commencement of cold or warm weather. In Vizille near Grenoble they are also called *les hirondelles*.

The pedlars from L'Oisans make a point of going to places with a scattered population where a certain need of such trade exists, as for instance out-of-the-way parts of Auvergne, Savoy, Jura. Towns are avoided.

[1] Dauzat, *Toute la montagne*, p. 201.

It has been established that this trade is very old,[1] even though it becomes less suitable for modern conditions with each year that passes, and many of its former agents have found a new field of activity in the hotel industry. In the middle of the 19th century the peddling profession was represented in 18 of L'Oisans' 22 communities and in certain instances was carried on by eighty per cent of the heads of families. In the 1890's when the trade was in full bloom[2] it numbered 800—1000 persons, or one head of a family in three.

Robert-Müller and Allix, who have described this wandering trade, feel that there is little connexion between it and transhumance wanderings.[3] It is without doubt true that the pedlars ply their trade in entirely different areas from the ones where they and their kin carry on transhumance; but on the other hand, is not the wandering life which the transhumance culture embraces responsible for the fact that the cattle-breeding peoples in barren districts turn quite naturally to a wandering life to provide the extra earnings they require? In the valleys of southern Switzerland mentioned above, the insufficient returns of cattle-breeding occasion a transition from ordinary transhumance to Alpine nomadism and, supplementary to this, vine cultivation. In the barren districts in Dauphiné the population has found a supplementary source of sustenance in the peddling trade.

Semi-nomadic or transhumance wanderings also exist outside of Europe. The nomadism of the peoples of northern Siberia, which only in places is of a semi-nomadic character, has been mentioned earlier.[4] In Asia Minor one finds a peculiar form of nomadism, in that numerous people wander about all the year round "without justifying the name of nomads thereby".[5] Behind their wanderings are the Jajjlah and Kichlah institutions. The Islamite population in particular is more inclined to look for summer quarters than the European population. Now this is not

[1] Robert-Müller and Allix, *Les colporteurs de L'Oisans*, p. 86. In the middle of the 19th century it gave birth to a short novel *Le Porte-Balle*, by L. Drevet.

[2] Robert-Müller, 'Questionnaire d'enquête sur l'émigration dans les alpes françaises', in *Rev. de géogr. alpine* (1923), pass.

[3] Robert-Müller and Allix, *op. cit.*, p. 86 *sq.*

[4] *Supra*, p. 116 *sq.*

[5] Luschan, *Völker, Rassen, Sprachen*, p. 82.

altogether analogous to the custom in the northern countries of moving to country cottages for the summer; for the Kichlahs of Asia Minor are entirely deserted in summer-time, not a living thing remains behind. The Jajjlah may be a few hours distant, thougth more often it is a two, three or even fourteen days' trip from the coast up the mountains to an altitude of over 1000 metres. First they live on a lower Jajjlah until the heat of summer forces a break-up along the coasts. Even the towns are so thoroughly emptied that only a few customs officials remain behind.[1]

In Turkestan some semi-nomads take to the hills in winter in order to escape the winter fogs in the valleys.[2]

Even if nomadism is very common among the steppe and plain inhabitants of Asia, semi-nomadism is nevertheless to be found too. There are cattle-breeding nomads who have stationary dwelling-places between which they move. The Mantze in Se-Chuen desert their houses in summer to live on pasture-lands at an altitude of 3,500 metres.[3]

In the Himalayan districts part of the population of Nepal, Bhutan and Kashmir have huts high up in the mountains resembling the *Shamlegh* which Kipling describes.[4] In many other places in the Himalayas one comes across small villages which are inhabited only in summer-time by cattlemen tending their herds.[5]

Semi-nomadism exists side by side with true nomadism in North Africa. For a long time the Aoulad-Daoud in Aurès in Algeria have spent a few months of every year in their houses on the plains between Medina and Tahammamt, while they live for four-fifths of the year in tents, moving about with their herds.[6]

In the Sudan, as in the Sahara, there are stationary Touaregs who engage only in definite seasonal wanderings. These migrations are limited to a desertion of their dwellings beside the rivers (in the Niger territory) for a certain period each year in order to escape the mosquitoes. They move to the sea coast, until drought a few months later forces them back again to the Niger. "Les étapes de cette

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[2] Sion, 'Le Tibet Méridional', in *Annales de Géographie*, xxv. 32.
[3] Arbos, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
[4] White, 'Journey in Bhutan', in *Roy. Geogr. Jour.*, xxxv. 33.
[5] Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, pp. 98, 248, 329.
[6] Brunhes, *op. cit.*, ii. 384; Arbos, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

transhumance sont si bien marquées qu'il existe des villages fixes", says Chudeau.[1]

Among the more or less stationary Fang peoples in Central Africa there are periodic migrations; at a considerable distance from their real villages they have "campements (bikūkūla) établis pour les cultures (mfini), la pêche, la chasse, la cueillette des fruits sauvages, l'exploitation des produits de la forêt, ainsi que d'autres construits pour les routes commerciales".[2] But in addition to these annual movements are the movings of entire villages every fifth or eighth year in a definite circle, movements which are subsistence-geographically conditioned or else brought about by the ravages of elephants or other animals. "De ces déplacements de villages résultent", says Martrou, "de vraies lignes de nomadisme, des thalwegs humains, qui se bifurquent en éventail, comme les branches d'un delta, en s'éloignant des sources de migration".[3]

Investigators consider that among the ancient Pueblos they have been able to establish (thanks to archæological reports) a sort of temporary farm shelter which would tend to prove that these peoples in certain seasons engaged in a practice akin to that which we call transhumance. Later on such places were entirely deserted after the whole people again seriously set about wandering onward.[4]

One also finds inverse nomadism as it were, when the people living in the mountains move down to the villages for some part of the year. Arbos cites examples of this inverse nomadism from the Balkans, the Pyrenees and Dauphiné.[5] Outside of Europe's boundaries it is not seldom met with. As the main settlements in these instances most often are in the highlands, the cattle-breeding inhabitants are at times forced downward by the cold. In north-west Argentina it is not unusual for the cold winter weather to cause the population to move with their herds from the plateaus of the Andes down towards the valleys. Similar

[1] Chudeau, 'Notes sur l'ethnographie de la région du Moyen Niger', in *L'Anthropologie*, xxi. 665. *Cf.* Forde, *Habitat, Economy and Society*, p. 396 *sq.*

[2] Bruel, *op. cit.*, p. 313 *sq.*

[3] Martrou, 'Le nomadisme des Fangs' in *Rev. de Géographie* (1909), xx. 523.

[4] Mindeleff, 'Localization of Tusayan Clans', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xix. 19.

[5] Dedijer, 'La transhumance dans les pays dinariques', in *Annales de Géographie*, xxv. 362; Fribourg, 'La transhumance en Espagne', *Ibid.*, xix. 231.

inverse semi-nomadism is not uncommonly found in Puna de Atacama.[1]

Inverse semi-nomadism or transhumance also exists in Africa. Pearson and Kelly give examples of people (the Bier tribe) between the Sobat and White Nile who during the dry period nomadize in the flood zone among their temporary huts. During the rainy season they again return to their permanent huts on the hills.[2]

The semi-nomadism referred to here, both in Europe and outside of Europe, differs in many ways from nomadism proper. Contrary to the nomads, the semi-nomads and Alpine nomads generally have permanent dwelling-places in a settlement which is inhabited at certain times during the year, and in some cases, which is true for instance of the northern somerset system, the animals are stall-fed for a time. In addition, the migrations which bring about the northern systems mentioned, the transhumance in Europe, or semi-nomadism in countries outside of Europe, are not as extensive as those of the nomads. For the most part they are localized to fairly limited territories. The reason for semi-nomadism, however, seems to be the same as for nomadism proper, or in other words, the cause for both is to be found in subsistence-geographical, or, if one prefers to put it that way, in plant-geographical conditions. Alpine nomadism is also built around a sparse vegetation, which leads to movement. "Ce genre de vie particulier est issu des contrastes de relief propres à la montagne. Ils créent, sur une faible étendue, des ressources variées et différentes et permettent ainsi à un même groupe humain de combiner dans ce domaine restreint l'exploitation agricole et l'exploitation pastorale", says Arbos.[3]

Extensive cattle-breeding is usually of necessity accompanied by transhumance, for both nomadism and semi-nomadism are founded upon extensive husbandry in regions with a meagre supply of sustenance. That the subsistence-geographical factor is the determining one is already to be seen in the fact that in cattle-breeding countries with rich and fertile soil even seminomadism lacks the conditions necessary for its development. In this connection we may mention, for instance, Denmark, southernmost

[1] Brunhes, *op. cit.*, ii. 640.

[2] Pearson and Kelly, 'The Pibor River', in *Jour. Roy. Geogr. Soc*, xl. 500.

[3] Arbos, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

Sweden, Flanders in Belgium, Picardy in France.[1] Where "l'élevage est un succédané de la culture" intensive cattle nomadism has no qualifications for development.[2]

In the hill and mountain regions of the countries of Europe it is still possible to affirm the existence of collective pasture-lands and fields similar to those of primitive peoples who devoted themselves to nomadism. The collective utilization of these lands is also a result of the geographical and climatic conditions and the sparse population. When the population increases, the cultivation develops in the direction of private ownership by definite villages, families, or certain persons. It is those pasture-lands located highest up in the Alps which longest retain their collective character, and, even if they become private property, "ils restent, comme il est naturel, des latifunds".[3]

Semi-nomadism like nomadism proves that it is impossible for a tribe, a population, to determine of its own will whether it is to lead a nomadic life or be stationary. It is the geographical and climatic conditions, on a lower plane of culture particularly, which determine one or the other régime.

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While treating of cattle and migrations, it will not be out of place to mention some of what may be called the zoological motives for wanderings.

Count von Rosen suggests that it is possible that the Batva peoples in South Africa moved from their dwellings on the mainland to their pile dwellings in Lake Bangveolo partly as a result of swarms of vermin. Several inhabitants of the marshes told him that the Batva deserted the mainland in order to escape from the sand-fleas.[4]

I have been informed by Professor Westermarck that he has found that zoological motives, so to speak, can be behind the mass movements of the African Berber tribes. Terrible insect plagues are often a cause of the moves.

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[1] Hitier, *Système de culture*, p. 143; Blanchard, *La Flandre*, p. 309; Demangeon, *La Picardie*, pp. 246, 255.

[2] Demangeon, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

[3] Marinelli, quoted by Brunhes, *op. cit.*, ii. 787.

[4] v. Rosen, *Traskfolket*, p. 389 *sq.*; *cf.* Sjöstedt, *Bland storvilt i Ostafrika*, p. 113.

In certain districts of Brazil the mosquito swarms are so large that they force crowds of people to move to other parts.[1] Koch-Grünberg points out that the wandering termite in the Rio Negro district causes the inhabitants to move. It is not unusual for the population to have to jump up in the middle of the night in order to flee from these pests, which destroy everything in their path.[2] Professor Karsten has told me that swarms of insects, principally grasshoppers, sometimes make their appearance in such numbers in some parts of South America that whole tribes of the Choroti, for instance, have been forced to move away.

Insect plagues often force cattle nomads, particularly in summer, to go on definite wanderings for the sake of their animals.[3]

Among the northern-Siberian peoples whose wanderings are principally determined by subsistence-geographical reasons, the mosquito nuisance in the tundras in summer-time is often so great that the inhabitants have to move to the cooler parts in the vicinity of the Arctic Ocean to protect their reindeer.[4] And in Lapland I have myself seen that the Lapps are obliged to move great distances owing to insects tormenting the reindeer in warm summers.

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Mr. Julien wonders if the reasons for the movements of the negroes — which may be true of other wandering peoples too — are not partly due to hygienic conditions. "Cet esprit nomade ne reconnaîtrait-il pas aussi des raisons d'ordre hygiénique propagées par coutume religieuse? L'habitat prolongé d'une collectivité humaine altère le terrain en une durée de séjour que la tradition, née d'expériences et d'observations ancestrales, permet aux résidents d'apprécier sans qu'ils se rendent cependant un compte exact du mobile dissimulé sous des apparences sacrées, et lorsque les temps sont révolus, l'indigène démonte sa case et s'en va la planter en terre fraîche. Cette pratique est rigoureusement hygiénique en climat tropical surtout, où la fermentation du sol est excessive. L'absence de beri-beri parmi les nègres qui n'ont pas eu contact

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[1] Krause, *In den Wildnissen Brasiliens*, pp. 64 *sq.*, 189; Schøyen, 'Insektvandringer', in *Naturen*, xl. 30.

[2] Koch-Grünberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*, i. 36 *sq.*

[3] Schmidt and Koppers, in *Der Mensch aller Zeiten*, iii: i. 523.

[4] Byhan, 'Nord-, Mittel- und Westasien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 288.

avec des civilisations étrangères tient peut-être à cette cause. Il est, en effet, constaté que la pollution du sol par les déchets de la vie humaine est un facteur étiologique du beri-beri, nombre de cas chez des Européens n'auraient d'autre origine que la souillure des abords de leur residence."[1] Mr. Man observes of the tribes on the Andaman Islands: "The necessity of a migration is also frequently forced on them by the consequence of their neglect to sweep away the refuse of their meals, it being regarded by these *insouciant* and unclean creatures as not worth their while to take so much trouble when only a short stay is contemplated".[2] The kitchen-middens there, as in the North among the prehistoric peoples, show the paths taken on the migrations.

[1] Julien, quoted by van Overbergh, *Les Mayombe*, p. 25.

[2] Man, 'On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii. 37.

CHAPTER VII

THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS FOR WANDERINGS

We have seen that especially in the lower stages of civilization among collector, hunter, and fisher peoples, and nomads, in other words among peoples who come directly under the influence of their natural surroundings, the geographical conditions determine wanderings to a great degree. Thus it may be advisable, before going further, to look into these conditions more closely. The question of the influence of nature on the shaping of human life has for ages past been discussed in philosophical literature and history. Very early the Alexandrian school of geography had reached the conclusion that the sharply defined differences among the various peoples on earth and their forms of civilization were caused by climate and physical environment, by "the mathematical position on the surface of the earth". Strabo, on the whole, agreed with this view even if he subjected it to detailed criticism.[1]

Later the question came up for discussion among the philosophers, Montesquieu, for instance, and Herder. Montesquieu propounded laws on the influence of geographical factors, particularly that of climate, on customs and laws, on political and religious conditions. Boldly generalizing, Montesquieu in *L'Esprit des lois* speaks of a morally favourable and a morally depraving climate.[2] Herder in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* tries to prove that the history of human civilization is governed by geography. "Which was first, geography or history", is a question put by Kant, and his answer is: "Geography is the foundation of

[1] Strabo, *Geographica*, ii. ch. iii. 7; *cf.* v. Schwerin, 'Om kustfolks olika sjöduglighet', in *Lunds Univs Årsskrift* (1900), p. 1.

[2] Montesquieu, *Défense de L'Esprit des lois*, pass.

history. The two elements are inseparable. They complete each other".[1]

The importance of the geographical milieu is reflected in the conceptions of later scientists.[2] Some assign greater and others lesser importance to the influence of physical nature. In no instance is nature completely ignored. Even Gumplovicz, who does not believe that the geographical factors play any rôle to speak of, feels that their influence is greater in the lower stages of culture than in the higher.[3]

The importance of the geographical factors has seldom been emphasized so sharply as by Ratzel and his school. Ratzel built his *Anthropogeographie* on the telluric unity of the forms of life. In his second volume especially, he vigorously maintains a geographic conception of life. The various details of nature and the influence of the objects of nature on man, e. g. the influence of islands and peninsulas, of mountains, plains, steppes, deserts and river countries, of the shape of the coasts, etc., had never before had so much light thrown upon it. Even Ritter[4] asserted that the endowments, performances and fates of peoples should be looked upon as reflections of their respective native lands' creating. Ratzel went still further, but even he did not advance laws, he merely generalized. His doctrines are not proofs, they merely illustrate his assertions to a greater or smaller extent. Ratzel tackled too big a field at a single stroke. The main motives are often submerged in the wholesale heaping up of details, and in questions of secondary importance.[5]

Among later studies carried out in the Ratzel spirit may be mentioned the works of the fantastic Dorpat ethnologist Mucke, *Das Problem der Völkerverwandtschaft* and *Urgeschichte des Ackerbaues und der Viehzucht,*

[1] Kant, *Gesammelte Werke* (*Physische Geographie*), ix. 163.

[2] *Cf.* Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, p. 22; Brinton, 'The Factors of Heredity and Environment in Man', in *American Anthropologist*, xi. 271 *sqq.*; Richard, *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe*, p. 12.

[3] Gumplovicz, *Grundriss der Soziologie*, p. 137 *sq.*; Hertz, *Moderne Rassentheorien*, p. 36 *sq.*; Hellpach, *Die geopsychischen Erscheinungen*, pass.

[4] Ritter in his *Die Erdkunde im Verhältniss zur Natur und Geschichte* and *Einleitung zur allgemeinen vergleichenden Geographie.*

[5] Ratzel (*Anthropogeographie*, i. 467) is perfectly right when he says, speaking of migrations, that when a people is characterized as a result of "der Boden" it should be rather "die Böden" as it has naturally been influenced by the various districts trough which it has wandered.

Medical Ethnology by the American Woodruff, and *The Influences of Geographic Environment* by Semple. This last is merely a paraphrase of Ratzel's doctrines, rewritten in the American spirit, and still more boldly generalized. Rudolf Kjellén's investigations should also be mentioned in this connexion, even if for the most part they include more modern forms of government.[1] In his books Passarge has shown the similarity in the development of peoples in similar environments as well as how man's somatic qualities are strongly influenced by the ground and the climate, even if racial traits are important, too.[2]

In his large work *L'Empire des Tsars et les Russes* Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu gives a clear picture of the influence of geographical conditions on the national character. The same is true of another French investigator, Alfred Fouillée, in his book *Esquisse psychologique des peuples européens.* These are only a few examples.

The geographical position of a people, of a country, is indisputably one of the most important factors in its history. The more difficult, the severer, these factors are, the more the people is dependent upon them. The history of a province can only be understood against the background of its geographical character. The geographical factors affect the economic and social conditions, not least as a result of the wealth or dearth of natural resources. In the lower stages of civilization the size of the social units is determined by the form of the natural surroundings. Religious ideas often bear the trace of geographical conditions. Monotheism made its appearance on the broad plains of western Asia, — Judaism and Christianity carry the stamp of the original nomad countries.

It is true that the influence of geographical factors on the formation of human life has been pointed out all too often without any real proof being produced. To a certain degree the proof lies in the history of the peoples. The manner in which these factors work is, however, still fairly unknown. The diversity of the operative forces, the difficulty in distinguishing between stronger and weaker forces, and temporary and permanent ones often, makes the study exceedingly complicated. We have still to wait for direct proof. Environment is a wide conception. "The building of hypotheses is governed by an inner experience", as Prof. Brotherus points

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[1] Kjellén, esp. in his *Politiska essayer*, i., *Staten som livsform* and *Samtidens stormakter.*

[2] Passarge, *Grundzüge der gesetzmassigen Charakterentwicklung der Völker*, iii.

out.[1] Nor in the geographical factors do we find the absolutely permanent and identical realities, for the geographical factors operate individually rather than otherwise, and differently among different peoples. The anthropogeographical problems must be seen against a long perspective of development. Different geographical factors have played a different part at different times.

As a rule, science has been content with general hypotheses concerning the anthropogeographical elements. All data are based on very general investigations. One really systematic analysis of the importance of physical surroundings which I have found is by the Danish ethnographer Steensby concerning the Eskimo culture.[2] Professor Steensby has in his monograph investigated the rôle played by geographical factors within a limited physical and human area. In many respects the Eskimo territory is exceedingly suitable for anthropogeographical treatment, because of its great extent, its varying coast formations, the geological structure of the land, the ice conditions during the different seasons, etc. Steensby shows that the geographical influence is directly reflected in the differing material culture of the tribes, particularly in tool culture. This emerges prominently among the Arctic peoples, among whom tools hold the principal place in their material culture. Such conditions as the division of land and water, the varying shape of the coasts, the climate, the flora and fauna, exercise here the strongest influence on the culture, in that the earlier elements guide the later in a certain definite direction. The material tools are most intimately connected with the physical conditions, and a change in the type of tools takes place when the physical conditions change. "If we conceive of a hunting tribe which has moved from its home region to a region in which the natural environment differs in a few respects we find that in the beginning the tribe tries to lead its old life, and it is only gradually that the new conditions make themselves felt and work a change in the tribe's

[1] Brotherus, 'Die Stellung der anthropogeographischen Synthese in der Soziologie und Geschichtsphilosophie', in *Festskrift tillegn. Edv. Westermarck*, p. 209 *sqq.*

[2] Steensby, *Om Eskimokulturens Oprindelse* and 'An Anthropogeographical Study of the Origin of the Eskimo Culture', in *Medd. om Grønland*, liii; Hatt, ('Kyst- og Inlandsnatur i det arktiske', in *Geogr. Tidskrift*, xxiii. 284) also shows how the geographical influence is reflected in the material coastal and inland culture in the Arctic districts.

culture. And it is obvious that it is through the methods used for hunting and fishing that influence is brought to bear."[1] Thus, according to Steensby, the geographical conditions do not act directly on the people, but instead through the elements of culture which in turn have been influenced by the environment. I wonder if this is not beating about the bush. Among the most primitive peoples there is little doubt that the influence exerted is direct and immediate, as among primitive collectors who do not possess many elements of culture and among whom geographical environment expresses itself directly in terms of food, which in turn governs the wandering life. In lower stages man cannot yet, as is the case in higher stages, reshape or paralyze the influence of geographical factors to a certain extent.

Climate also is one of the most important factors in physiological and psychological development. Its influence on flora and fauna is perfectly plain. As concerns people, it is true that the difference lies in the fact that the faculty for movement makes it possible for them to a greater degree than for most animals to avoid regions with a poor climate and wander to more favourable places.

The great climatic changes which took place during earlier geological periods must certainly have helped to bring about great migrations, as has been pointed out before.[2]

Huntington,[3] the American, has attempted to solve the problem of the relation between climate and the progress of civilization. Huntington's observations are based upon comprehensive experimental investigations of the daily performance of thousands of labourers and brain-workers under different conditions. However, so far his investigations have not succeeded in leading to other than general suppositions, on matters like the most suitable climate for intensive work and the influence of the seasons. He does not discuss whether or not migrations depend upon climate. His investigations seem to support the supposition that the climate in times past was definitely more humid than it is to-day in regions which were the first cradles of human history, and that the climate

[1] Steensby, *Om Eskimokulturens Oprindelse*, p. 39.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 3, 12. *Cf.* also Capus, in *L'Anthropologie*, v. 53; Burckhardt, in *Anthropos*, xxi. 225 *sqq.*

[3] Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*; *The Climatic Factor as illustrated in Arid America.*

has passed through fairly great and irregular changes which have affected the progress of civilization to a great extent. Huntington points out how, particularly in Asia, climate was a dominant factor in expansion. "The barbarian inhabitants were obliged to migrate, and their migrations were the dominant fact in the history of the known world for centuries."[1]

Another American enquirer, Woodruff, in his book on medical ethnology,[2] mentioned above, has tried to show the influence which different temperatures, light effects, etc., exert on human development. But Woodruff does not advance beyond general schematization either. A third American scientist, Kline, has made experimental investigations on "What quantitative limitations does temperature impose upon life?" This, however, is an investigation which principally concerns itself with animals.[3]

The boundaries for human settlements are drawn by climate. Everywhere where migrating peoples have advanced they have encountered insurmountable obstacles,which not seldom were obstacles of a geographical or climatic nature. There is a limit for Arctic settlement which is solely determined by the last-named influences. During the warm seasons, the boundary lies farther to the north than during winter.[4] This is true of the Alps too, where one finds a periodical seasonal change of the boundary-lines for settlements and migrations.[5] Ratzel is right to a certain degree when he makes the general statement that the fundamental reason for the contrasting states of permanency and nomadism is climate.[6]

Migrations not uncommonly lead to what von Richthofen calls natural adaptability. Every people has as a result of migrations come under new climatic conditions. The new country had more or less

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[1] Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*, p. 5.

[2] By this Woodruff means that part of ethnology which explains "why certain changes of type take place . . . — Migrants invariably suffer more or less from the new adversities against which they have no defences, and the study of these illnesses in human migrants constitutes medical ethnology". Woodruff, *Medical Ethnology*, pp. 1, 8.

[3] Kline, 'The Migratory Impulse', in *Amer. Jour. Psychol.*, x. 7 *sqq.*

[4] Steensby, *op. cit.*, p. 41 *sqq.*

[5] v. Südenhorst, 'Zur Statistik der Siedelung und der Bevölkerungsbewegung in den Alpenländern', in *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. u. österr. Alpenvereins*, xlv. 82 *sq.*

[6] Ratzel, *Die Erde und das Leben*, ii. 531; Wagner, *Lehrbuch der Geographie*, i: iii. 747.

advantageous conditions to offer compared to the old country. "In this way," says von Richthofen, "a physical change had to take place which during the course of time adapted itself to the new conditions."[1]

Every movement is dependent upon the medium in which it advances. The directions taken by the wanderings, especially in primitive stages of civilization, are altogether determined by the climatic, orographical and other geographical conditions such as the course of the rivers, the directions of the mountains and valleys, the position of the steppes and plains, islands, bays, ocean currents, and winds.

The migrations have, as a matter of course, advanced in the direction of least resistance, along valleys, river banks, plains, but they were not easily arrested. There are no insurmountable obstacles with the possible exception of the intense cold of the Polar regions. Lakes and swamps, deserts and forests can be circumvented, rivers and streams can be crossed or navigated. The importance which the Darial Gorge in Caucasia, the Brenner and Belfort Passes in Europe, and the Mohawk Pass in the North American Appalachian Mountains have had in migrations need not be emphasized here. High chains of mountains and wide rivers which are encountered on the wanderings may delay the advance but they can never cause it to cease. At most they lead it in a new direction or have a particularizing and individualizing effect. Large districts along ranges of hills become populated. The great migrations often run along mountain chains, in which case the wandering peoples have the advantage of being able to cross rivers in their upper courses under the most favourable geographical conditions.[2] But naturally, as Holmes says, one must count on an "instinct acquired during long periods of experience".[3]

The migrations, besides advancing along the lines of least

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[1] v. Richthofen, *Vorlesungen über allgemeine Siedelungs- und Verkehrsgeographie*, p. 78.

[2] v. Richthofen, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 226, 233; Rudolfi, *Die Bedeutung der Wasserscheide für den Landverkehr*, pass.; Bryce, *The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind*, p. 578; Weule, 'Das Meer und die Naturvölker', in *Zu Friedrich Ratzels Gedächtnis*, p. 446; Thurnwald, *Probleme der ethno-psychologischen Forschung*, pass.

[3] Holmes, Handbook of Aboriginal Antiquities' in *Bull. Smiths. Inst.* lx. 38.

resistance, are determined by such factors as the food supply, the geographical and climatic conditions. Steppes, plains with an assured water supply, river valleys, archipelagic coasts, have, as we have seen, always favoured wanderings. There has been no limit to the diffusion of peoples, especially on steppes and plains where the lack of boundaries has directly invited continued movement, where "il n'y a pas route, tout est route".[1] A more powerful impulse has been given to the movements if the plains have proved arid and barren, thus inducing further wanderings. A *zur Ruhekommen* is in this instance hardly possible. The steppes became the playground of peoples with whom migrations are continual. Fertile river valleys, even if they are excellent migration highways, fetter the wandering disposition, and encourage cultivation and settlement. Around the great rivers of the East, the Nile, Euphrates, and Tigris, the mightiest states of ancient days grew up. The European rivers have played a dominant rôle in the development of states. In North America, the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, and other great rivers have served as highways of civilization. This is also true of the large rivers in Africa, though to a less extent, owing to their rapids an high falls.[2]

Many railroads of to-day follow the trails of primitive man, and the rivers have ever been the natural highways of nations.

Even in primitive stages, as has been pointed out earlier, one finds a fairly permanent civilization if only the geographical conditions are favourable. In certain districts in British New Guinea even the mountain tribes become stationary if they have enough food.[3] Kaudern has shown that the settlements in north-west Celebes are geographically influenced, that is, one finds residence in the fertile valleys and wandering civilization or at least extremely scattered settlements on the plateaus.[4] The primitive tribes in North Borneo are generally more or less stationary, while most

[1] Demolins, *Comment la route crée le type social*, i. 70; Zon, 'Forest and Human Progress', in *The Geogr. Review*, x. 45; Flinders Petrie, 'Migrations', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi. 192; Thomas, 'Report of the Mound Explorations of the Bur. of Ethnol.', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xii. 527; Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, p. 45.

[2] Numelin, *Politisk geografi*, p. 39.

[3] Williamson, *The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea*, p. 98 and pass.

[4] Kaudern, *Ethnographical Studies in Celebes*, i. 34 *sq.*

inland tribes and many of their primitive neighbours in the Malay Peninsula and in the Philippines are wandering peoples.[1]

In the dry country of the Altaians and the Telengits, nomadism predominates in large areas, though along the boundaries towards the Russian settlements the population has begun to settle down and build stronger dwellings in which they live all the year round. However, it is not easy for these peoples to abandon their former mode of life, says Granö, who made the above observations. On the lots connected with their dwellings and even in the village one often sees a tent or *yurta* to which the family moves in the summer. There are old people who cannot persuade themselves to leave these tents even in winter.[2]

In North Africa one comes across numerous Kabyle settlements in fertile valleys, etc.[3]

The Arabian invasion of the seventh century met with most resistance on the oases where settlement was best established. "The great invader of Africa, Sidi Okba ben Nafi, who carried the sword of Islam from the Red Sea to the Atlantic in the seventh century, was defeated and slain by these same tribesmen, who, led by their chieftainess Kahena, came down to give him battle in the desert at the spot to the south-east of Kiskra near to which now stands his memorial, the oldest mosque in Africa."[4]

Primitive negro civilization and wandering culture exist side by side in Central Africa. In the equatorial districts of the Belgian Congo, for example, where the geographical conditions are excellent, there is a stationary primitive civilization.[5]

The same is true in primitive surroundings in other parts of the world. The Guato Indians in central Brazil are fairly stationary, as their natural surroundings are luxuriant and supply them with everything they need to maintain life, without requiring special effort.[6]

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[1] Rutter, *The Pagans of North Borneo*, p. 20 *sq.*; *Idem*, *North Borneo*, p. 319 *sq.*; Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 201 *sqq.*; Bryn, *De indfødte paa Borneo*, i. 45; Juynboll, *Katalog des Ethnogr. Reichsmuseums*, i. 132 *sqq.*

[2] Granö, *Altai*, i. 45.

[3] Hanoteau and Letourneau, *La Kabylie*, i. 7 *sqq.*

[4] Hilton-Simpson, *Among the Hill-Folk of Algeria*, p. 15.

[5] *Idem*, *Land and Peoples of the Kasai*, pass.; Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, p. 180 *sq.*

[6] M. Schmidt, *Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien*, p. 201 *sq.*

The soil in the Chaco, which constantly suffers either from an over-supply of water, or from dryness and infertility, must cause seasonal oscillations among the inhabitants, Kersten says. In addition he takes into account "these peoples' natural need of movement" and their desire to go on raids and conquests.[1] "The Indian is perfectly suited to his environment," Grubb writes; "even his picturesque costume and the ornamental painting with which he adorns his body is in perfect harmony with his surroundings."[2]

Where permanent settlement is to be found in primitive stages, it is fairly relative. What Delhaise says concerning the settlements of the Warega in the Congo may without doubt be applied in many other instances: "un changement de résidence n'occasionne pas un considérable travail de construction".[3]

Roseborough writes of the wanderings of the natives in North Carolina, that "they seem to be governed by the geographical nature of the country, which has had much influence in directing the migrations and settlements of the various tribes in this state".[4]

Lewis H. Morgan and Mason have also emphasized the Indian migration over the continent as being influenced by existing physical conditions, principally the food supply.[5] The subsistence-geographical reasons must of necessity have been dominant at a time when the only obstacles to be overcome were physical difficulties, — growth of population and pressure of numbers being much later incentives to movements.

"Primitive peoples are forced upon incessant wanderings by the continual food instinct."[6] Wollaston, speaking of the Papuans, asserts that it is the search for food that makes them wander.[7]

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[1] Kersten, 'Die Indianerstämme des Gran-Chaco', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, xvii. 74.

[2] Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, p. 55 (the Indians of Paraguay).

[3] Delhaise, *Les Warega*, p. 105.

[4] Roseborough, quoted by Bancroft, *The Native Races etc.*, iii. 637.

[5] Morgan, 'Indian Migrations', in *North Amer. Review*, cix. 278; Swanton, 'Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley, etc.', in *Smiths. Inst. Bull.*, xliii. 183.

[6] Gusinde, 'Die Eigentumsverhältnisse bei den Selk'nam auf Feuerland', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lviii. 400; *cf.* Guthrie, 'Migration', in *The Cathol. Encycl.*, x. 292.

[7] Wollaston, *Pygmies & Papuans*, p. 119.

Innumerable wanderings have been based upon hunger, "humanity's gloomy, almighty disciplinarian".[1]

Of the Akamba in East Africa, whose migrations are to a great extent determined by subsistence-geographical motives, Lindblom says "the famines still live in the memories of the people and have acquired special names after some particular characteristic."[2] Concerning the Kikuyu tribe in East Africa, Dundas points out the rôle played by famine among its members.[3]

This search for better sources of subsistence out of the way of famine and other things is to be seen even in Genesis, in the description of the wanderings of Jacob and his brothers from the land of Canaan to the land of Goshen.[4]

The existence of many large ruins and small patches of arable land in the southern part of the Verde Valley in North America seems to indicate, according to Fewkes, that the clans traversed the valley seeking better agricultural lands, the soil improving as one goes north. The ruins of the Pueblos in this region bear inherent evidence that they were not long inhabited; the clans drifted farther north, where the valley afforded better soil and more abundant water. With progress northward the number of the ruins increases, showing that the land was more thickly populated and the length of occupancy greater.[5]

Among the primitive peoples of north-west America neither agriculture nor cattle-breeding found a home. The local conditions there permitted neither the one nor the other. Primitive husbandry took the form of hunting, gathering herbs and plants, and principally fishing.[6]

The influence of geographical factors is to be seen in the fact that people were forced to transfer to other forms of subsistence when they came to new districts. Higher civilization produced other

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[1] Kirchhoff, *Mensch und Erde*, p. 13; Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*, p. 14.

[2] Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 24, *cf.* p. 10 *sq.* Lindblom (*op. cit.*, p. 14) says, that the natives in the Kilimanjaro district "were driven from the soil of their fathers by the same great famine which drove to Rabai the Akamba now found there". *Cf.* Schultze, *Aus Namaland*, p. 254.

[3] Dundas, 'Notes on the Origin and History of the Kikuyu and Dorobo Tribes', in *Man*, viii. 136.

[4] Genesis, ch. xlvii.

[5] Fewkes, 'Tusayan Migration', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xix. 158; *cf.* Perry, *The Children of the Sun*, p. 52.

[6] Schmidt and Koppers, in *Der Mensch aller Zeiten*, iii: i. 634.

difficulties to fight in place of unfavourable natural surroundings and severe climate. Irrigation has been an important question here.

Different districts naturally lend themselves entirely differently to different animals. As Schapera points out, "country which under modern farming conditions will only carry a small herd of cattle, sheep and goats, used formerly to carry large herds of well-fed antelopes and zebras. The explanation is that each wild species is specially adapted to living on certain bushes or plants, and that many natural foodstuffs useless to the farm stock were made use of by one species of wild game".[1] Besides, it must be remembered that the wild game was not restricted by farm boundaries, it was free to shift its ground according to the seasons and the supplies of food and water.[2] Therefore, as Eichstedt says, a country's geographical character becomes an important factor in the understanding of its history and composition.[3]

It is subsistence-geographical reasons also which determine the size of the primitive communities and the wandering hordes. An expansion of both can only take place if the subsistence-geographical factors permit. Even the most fertile regions in the tropics have a limited food supply, especially for primitive tribes who have not learned how to lay up stores. Thus it is the scarcity of food which is the reason for the small size of communities on a low plane of civilization.[4]

To give an example or two, the dryness and infertility of Central Australia causes the population to break up into small tribes. Each tribe has a limited hunting area at its command.[5] Eylmann points

[1] Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, p. 22.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[3] Eichstedt, 'Rassenelemente der Sikh', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lii. 320.

[4] Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 113; Numelin, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Karsten, *Naturfolkens samhallsliv*, p. 20, Hobhouse, in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Völkerpsychol. u. Soziol.*, v. 190; *Idem*, in *Ibid.* iv. 413 *sqq.*; Decamps, *État social des peuples sauvages*, p. 47 *sq.*

Schmidt and Koppers (in *op. cit.*, iii: i. 419) express the state of affairs in a rather abstract manner. "Not only does the comparatively small number belonging to one group depend upon the peculiar form of husbandry. It is also brought about by primitive man's universally conspicuous, nomadized method of life." But is it the small groups which decide the wandering life? I think rather the contrary.

[5] Buschan, 'Australien und Ozeanien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 16 *sq.*

out, with South Australia in view, that with the exception of certain coastal regions, the supply of food is so small and game so scarce that it would be impossible for any larger numbers of people to subsist here without suffering privation. Thus the people are forced to lead a roaming life.[1] The same is true of most of the Semang tribes of Malacca.[2] The Kalahari Bushmen, to choose an African example from among typical wandering peoples, live in small communities, seldom more than a score of individuals together unless for some special reason. "They do not trouble much about permanent habitations, except in the case of the tame Bushmen, whose villages are semi-permanent, but even they are liable to move. The desert Bushmen are so much on the move that they do not need elaborate housing accommodation, seldom sleeping more than a few nights in the same place."[3]

Large community groups cannot live on the steppes either. There one finds only small families and tribes.[4] In the hilly regions, fjelds and alps, it is also impossible for large groups to form. The vegetation prohibits it. This may be seen everywhere, no matter what the part of the world. The same is true of the forests in the tropics. The Indians in Peru who keep to the woods live "isolés en de petits groupes, la grandeur de la nature environnante les a toujours empêchés de se réunir pour former de grands états".[5] The Choroti, like the rest, live in small communities.[6]

The directions of the wanderings, especially in lower stages of civilization, are altogether dictated by morphological and climatic conditions. In Asia and Europe east-west and west-east directions dominate to a much greater degree than south-north or north-south. In cases of a longitudinal direction, the movement generally runs from north to south. It is generally more difficult to imagine spontaneous migration from the warmer to

[1] Eylmann, *Die Eingeborenen der Kolonie Südaustralien*, p. 155.

[2] Schebesta, 'Über die Semang auf Malakka', in *Anthropos*, xviii-xix. 1009.

[3] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of Kalahari*, p. 90. A rock shelter, a cave, a hole in the ground, a tree will serve the Bushman wherever he may happen to be (Dornan, *op. cit.*, p. 90).

[4] Hamet, 'Caractères de la vie nomade,' in *Bull. l'enseign. publ. du Maroc*, x. 114.

[5] Nordenskjöld, 'Explorations chez les Indiens Campas dans le Pérou', in *Medd. f. Geogr. Fören.* (Göteborg), iii. 4.

[6] Karsten, 'Indian Tribes of Gran Chaco', in *Soc. Scient. Fennica* (*Comm. Hum. Litt.* iv. i), 18.

the colder. Only compulsion or an amelioration of the climate can explain the northern migrations. But on the Asiatic continent particularly, the direction is decidedly latitudinal, following especially the grass steppes from the Chinese plains to Eurasia's plains and *pusztas*. The morphological configuration in Asia has determined the directions of the two main routes taken by migration in Asia, the Aryan and the Turanian, leading the Aryan tribes south-east, and the Turco-Mongolian tribes north-east of the great mountain chains. No geographical obstacles along the paths have been so great that they have not been surmountable. The Asiatic zones of movement even continue along the North African coast, but otherwise the movements in Africa run longitudinally from the north to the south along the east coast, or along the big rivers in the interior. The elevated steppes of Africa have served as wandering highways, offering a richer supply of food than the low coastlands or the forests which hinder communication.

A similar north-south direction is taken by the primitive peoples in South America on their wanderings. The slopes of the west coast towards the sea in particular have been highways of intercourse. The same is true of the North American continent where, in addition, the longitudinal course of the rivers has intensified the north-south migrations.

Lindblom says, concerning the geographical conditions surrounding wanderings in East Africa, that "the migrations have been determined by the presence of high land, which has always been followed".[1] The high steppes of Africa, Schapera asserts, afford the best pastures and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the wetter parts of the interior with the tsetse fly, malaria, and other infectious diseases. South Africa, by virtue of its geographical situation, forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading people must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter being a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures.[2]

Lewis H. Morgan has shown that the principal facts bearing upon the migrations of the North American Indians are controlled exclusively by physical causes, and that their natural highways were indicated by the direction of the mountain chains and the courses of the great rivers; while free communication between the western and eastern sides of North America

[1] Lindblom, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[2] Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 24; *cf.* Meyer, *Die Barundi*, p. 161.

was interrupted by the formidable barriers of the central prairie area.[1] The big American river valleys furnished fish, mussels and turtles in abundance and also constituted the natural highways for the migration.

The wandering routes of later periods follow in the main the same geographical directions as before. European colonization has taken the same paths, along the parallels from east to west or vice versa, to a much greater extent than from north to south, which involves a greater change in the forms of subsistence and customs. The wanderings along the steppes produced movement among the nomads, the oceanic wanderings have included "des professions variées", first seafarers, adventurers, pirates and conquistadors. But even the ocean movements were, to begin with, and for a long time, a movement to the regions bounding the oceans, an infiltration and not a mass movement, which latter was only made possible by the advent of the technical age.

As is the case with cultivation and all civilization, water is of dominating importance in the most primitive stages, and for the most primitive wandering peoples. The supply of water is just as determining a factor in the migrations of the Australian hunting tribes, as in the wanderings of the nomads in the desert, where the wanderings of both animals and men are to a great extent determined by the situation of the oases. For, in spite of the fact that the nomads live in the "country of thirst", their wandering routes and conquering expeditions have to be able to count on watering-places. Water is food, fertilizer, energy, water is highway, says Brunhes.[2] In arid Arabia, the need for water is extremely pronounced. Only the long rains are the cause of vegetation. They fill subterranean wells, thus making some districts fertile. Dry plains become flower-beds. The irregularity of the rainfall — there are sometimes years between downpours — determines the irregular wanderings of both animals and peoples. In dry years there are no pasture-lands. Then the nomads journey to more fortunate districts with their herds.[3] The shortage of water can

[1] Morgan, *loc. cit.*, cix. 391 pass., cx. 33 pass.

[2] Brunhes, *Géographie humaine de la France*, i. 93; Bonney, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xiii. 123; Vámbéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 160 *sq.*

[3] Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, i. 11; Bowen, in *Jour. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, xxxiii. 152.

even force an already stationary agricultural people to desert its dwellings and migrate.

All nomadism is dependent upon the water supply; even the camels in the Sahara and the sheep on high plateaus in the Berber regions are under water's dominion. Where the supply of water is reduced to a minimum even nomadic life is impossible. In the desert regions it is the oases which attract inhabitants.[1]

In the sand-wastes of Turkestan the population moves and settles according to the water supply. The inhabitants leave their villages and move to the cooler land of the Bakhtiars for the sake of water.[2]

The watercourse is the sole deciding factor for the settlements of the central Caribs, who are not stationary in the true sense of the word. They carry on a sort of primitive agriculture "although they add variety to their food supply by hunting and fishing".[3]

Favourable geographical circumstances produce permanency more easily than otherwise. Semitic civilization shows that the Semites were originally a desert people, nomads who came from the centre of Asia and who finally reached Palestine, in the more fertile districts of which they became stationary.[4]

The geographical conditions are both cause and effect in migrations and in social life among peoples in the primitive stages of civilization. It is true that Brunhes and Vallaux feel that one can no more speak of geographical territories specially fitted for stationary settlements, than of spheres for wandering; yet even they admit "qu'à l'étude de la carte apparaissent des régions où les hommes se concentrent et s'agglomèrent: ici prédominent visible-

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[1] Briffault (*The Mothers*, ii. 509 *sq.*) points out that possibly it is not chance that "heaven is the abode of the gods". "When primitive man points to the sky he is but indicating the source of his water-supply, the natural object upon which his existence depends, and his concern for the powers that have their seats in the heavens is as practical as that of the farmer or of the seaman when they inspect the signs of weather." "The supreme gods of early religions not only dwell in heaven, but are the heavens or the heavenly bodies, thought of as controllers of the seasons and of atmospheric conditions." Frazer has shown that one of the chief functions, if not indeed the chief function, of all primitive priest-kings was the control of the weather, and more particularly of the rainfall.

[2] Hedin, *Zu Land nach Indien*, i. 282.

[3] Farabee, *The Central Caribs*, p. 12.

[4] *Cf.* Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii: ii. 203 *sqq.* (*cf.* ch. v).

ment les forces de fixation, sur d'autres régions les groupes se dispersent, se fragmentent, et semblent obéir sans cesse à des tendances centrifugales: là les forces de mouvement sont souveraines."[1] But they are opposed to the conception held by Ratzel of *Beharrungsgebiete* and *Bewegungsgebiete*.[2] But is not the wandering zone of olden times, which extended from the Gobi Desert over Central Asia and North Africa to the Atlas, the theatre of wandering peoples to-day, though the wanderings be more peaceful? Under no circumstances can it generally be considered as "une terre de fixation".

On the other hand Brunhes and Vallaux even go so far in their interpretation of the importance of geographical factors in human development that they dare to assert, speaking of wanderings, that "sauf quelques rares exceptions aucun grand groupe d'hommes ne mène la vie errante par suite d'un choix delibéré", and that "tous les groupes humains aspirent à se fixer. Tous ceux qui sont maintenus dans le nomadisme le sont contre leur gré".[3] To begin with, these exceptions which the authors speak of are numerous, especially in lower stages of culture, and secondly, we have seen that many nomadic peoples who could have transferred to permanency later, as a result of more favourable conditions, retained their inclination for the roaming life for numerous generations. And surely the gypsies are an excellent example of peoples who lead a wandering life of their own free will, and the Jews are also almost as good an illustration.

We have seen how the steppes and plains of eastern Europe, which are a continuation of Asia, were the playground of the nomads for long periods. Some districts north of the Black Sea are so still to-day, just as the Hungarian *puszta* still retains some of its nomadic character. The encroachment of stronger peoples has during the ages reduced the nomadic territory in our part of the world, so that it is now confined principally to the northernmost territories or highlands where semi-nomadism, or alpine nomadism still exists.

In Asia, north and west of the highlands of Central Asia, there are four wandering domains in typical conjunction with geographical conditions. The most northern district is Siberia, which almost

[1] Brunhes and Vallaux, *La géographie de l'histoire*, p. 202.
[2] Ratzel, *Politische Geographie*, pp. 171, 261.
[3] Brunhes and Vallaux, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

entirely belongs to the Arctic region. Here the severe climate has left its mark on the inhabitants, so that in most cases even immigrants on a higher plane of culture have been forced to abandon their civilization and adapt themselves to existing conditions. The geographical surroundings here call for reindeer nomadism, fisher and hunter culture. The latter may give the impression of being a distinct collector economy. Southern Siberia, to the degree that its mountains do not bar communication, is made up of the following spheres: the steppes and deserts of Central Asia, which are the home of cattle-breeding nomadism, and in the south to some extent of agricultural nomadism. It has been influenced by the richer Iranian land and its culture. The steppes of Central Asia are thus the original home of nomadism proper. Brunhes says that "le cadre naturel est prédisposé pour l'art pastoral et tel a été par excellence le domaine des pasteurs cavaliers, petits groupes d'hommes dispersés avec leur troupeaux sur un domaine immense mais devant se déplacer sans cesse, devant connaître par avance et de loin les pâtrages disponibles et les ressources en eau, acquérant ainsi, par la nécessité même de leur travail, un sens de la conduite et de la stratégie qui les prédisposait à la souveraineté de l'espace et à la domination de leurs semblables". From these districts some of the largest and boldest conquering expeditions have started, — Genghiz Khan, Timur, Kublai Khan. "C'est par ces steppes, par les aptitudes conférées au peuple pasteur, par la subordination géographique au milieu que s'expliquent en partie les qualités et les facultés qui ont fait leur pouvoir."[2]

The steppes of Central Asia through the plateaus of Asia Minor and the steppes north of the Caspian Sea act as a geographical connecting link with Europe.

The third Asiatic domain is the Iranian plateau, which in the interior is made up of dry, high plains, steppes, and deserts. Like the second district, the third also is the home of cattle-breeding nomadism. The valley land and rich river valleys have been the seat of a rich agricultural cultivation for a long time past. This is true particularly of the historic Two-River-Land, Mesopotamia. Southwest Asia again is, to a greater extent than the others, the

[1] Brunhes, *La géographie humaine*, ii. 802.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 802. In the deserts and on the plateaus and salt steppes of west Turkestan we find cattle nomadism, in the oases permanent settlement. Kunhenn, *Die Nomaden und Oasenbewohner Westturkestans*, p. 16.

home of cattle-breeding nomadism. Culture centres sprang up a long time ago only in the western coast lands. Thus, thanks to its soil and its climate, Arabia is designed for nomadism.

In Tibet, to go beyond the generally typical wandering spheres mentioned above, we find permanent agricultural settlements in the lowlands, and nomads in the highlands. The same is true of Mongolia. The vast steppe lands have from olden times been the home of cattle-breeding nomadism, while there has been agriculture in the river valleys to a certain extent. On the other hand China and India have from the beginning favoured settlement and cultivation.

In the fourth Asiatic region, in the mountains between Siam and China, as well as in the interior of the woodlands of the Malay Peninsula, primitive collector-hunter culture exists in many places. This primitive culture continues over New Guinea to Australia and Oceania.[1] The infertility of the interior of Australia has not only caused the inhabitants to split up into small groups, it has also made it necessary for the primitive population to seek its livelihood in an active wandering life.

In spite of the immense extent of the African continent, it does not divide into sharply separated geographical districts as does Asia. The unyielding character of its coasts, which are mostly without archipelagos, has not favoured expansion seaward. However, distinct subsistence-geographical provinces stand out here, too. First, there are North Africa's steppe and desert territories, favouring cattle-breeding nomadism principally. The people here have varied but they have always been nomads; in the northern desert regions agricultural nomads and in the eastern mountains hunter peoples and cattle-breeding nomads. In the southern steppe lands agricultural nomads and stationary peoples exist side by side. The Sudan forms two humanistic-geographical territories; in the western one we find settlements in richer districts and mixed cultures from fisher-hunter stages to a culture, particularly on the Guinea coast, affected by European influence; in the central Sudan on the other hand, there is mostly primitive nomadic culture, similar to that of Central Asia's virgin forests. In the eastern territories are old cultural provinces on the Nile. Mixed

[1] Friedl, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Wirtschaftsformen der Ozeanier; in *Pet. Mitth.*, xlix. 123 *sqq.*, 269 *sqq.*

cultures in the lake districts are often found in the Congo; in East and South Africa cattle-breeding nomadism on the steppe-lands, and more primitive cultures in the forest regions.[1]

At the mouths of rivers, tribes are generally stationary and carry on agriculture; higher up along the rivers we find fisher peoples. It is true that some agriculture is at times met with, even in typical nomad districts; but in such cases it is always temporary and, as Hartmann says, "in addition to, and only so long as the hostile season, that is the rainy season, offered his restless wanderings with his cattle herds a temporary goal".[2]

On the North American continent, the stationary primitive culture has developed most richly in the Atlantic regions in the south and in the high-lying Pueblo regions in the south-west. The north-western regions of America were, on the other hand, for a long time the seat of fisher and hunter peoples. In between, showing many forms of transition, lie the territories of lower and higher hunter peoples, nomadic prairie culture, and farthest to the north is the wandering sphere of the Eskimos and other Arctic tribes, where a harsh environment causes seasonal moves to various hunting and fishing grounds.

The Eskimos are the best example of how a simple people has been able to adapt itself to the severest living conditions. The dictatorial power of the geographical milieu appears nowhere so clearly as in the wanderings of Arctic peoples, in the whole circum-Polar civilization.

The uplands of Central America have been the seat of old cultures, with their richest development in the Maya culture. Agriculture was engaged in at an early date here. The thick forests of the northern sections of South America on the other hand have brought about fisher and hunter cultures. On the Brazilian uplands of the south, agriculture and stationary settlements have followed the river valleys and the coasts; they have even penetrated through to the outskirts of the forests which are otherwise the spheres of wandering hunter and fisher peoples. The introduction of the horse made European influence felt in the south. This served to bring about a change in the original hunter culture, creating in the pampas districts conditions similar to those fostering prairie

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[1] Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i. 210.

[2] Hartmann, *Die Völker Afrikas*, p. 12.

culture in North America. But the tribes on Tierra del Fuego who have not come in contact with this change still retain their original collector, fisher and hunter cultures, as do the tribes along the coast of the fjords of north-west America. The close relation existing between the mainland of Asia and the north-west coast of America has never been severed, thanks to the Bering Strait.

* * *

While speaking of geographical factors as governing migrations, attention should also be given to such natural phenomena as earthquakes, volcanoes and floods which, in lower stages of civilization especially, are the cause of fairly numerous unpremeditated wanderings.

Thurnwald particularly emphasized the importance of inundations, even among peoples who have advanced to a certain degree of permanency.[1]

The Zuñi, a Pueblo tribe who lived in an arid country in the extreme western part of New Mexico, according to their traditions journeyed there from the far north-west in quest of the "middle place of the world". The migration legend of the Zuñi relates that they were driven from their homes at this "middle place" by a great flood that covered the earth, to *To'wa yäl länne* (Corn Mountain), a beautiful mesa of red and white sandstone, about three miles and a half to the eastward.[2]

In the Kilimanjaro district of Africa, earthquakes have caused large migrations. The Gang people report that famine and war are the cause of their migrations; "famine and war are, however, in these countries most often the first result of earthquakes".[3]

Von Schwartz assumes that, formerly, wanderings were brought about to a great degree by geological causes, floods and other natural phenomena. He comes to this conclusion because flood legends (the author points out that the German ought to be *Sint-*

[1] Thurnwald, *Die Gemeinde der Bánaro*, p. 175; Karsten, *loc. cit.*, iv. i. 36.

[2] Stevenson, 'Ethnobotany of the Zuñi Indians', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xxx. 35.

[3] Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, p. 12.

fluth and not the Bible's *Sündfluth*) are numerous not only among the peoples of the Euphrates-Tigris countries, and among Semites and Hebrews but also among Eskimos, Botocudos, Kamchadals, island-dwellers in Oceania, and not only among peoples along the sea coasts and rivers but also among peoples of the interior.[1]

* *
*

Expansion seaward has met with greater geographical hindrances than expansion on land. To begin with, special means of conveyance were necessary in the former case. Many primitive peoples, as will be shown below, never succeeded in overcoming the sea, whereas others, who met with favourable geographical conditions, solved the problem in a surprisingly clever manner. But if the sea has offered the greatest obstacles, it has also given rise to the most extensive migrations. In the expansions of primitive peoples seaward, the influence of geographical conditions on migrations is to be seen most clearly.

Among primitive peoples seafaring on a large scale is only observable along the indented coasts of bays and fjords or in places where islands constitute a natural continuation of the mainland. Waste stretches along the coasts, or barren rocky coasts, as a rule bar peoples from the sea, whereas on the other hand a greatly indented coast in most cases brings about contact with the water, and not only contact with the coasts nearest at hand where fisher peoples live. The waters even induce longer journeys, as they can be compassed by coastwise navigation.[2]

In Australia and Africa, where the coasts as a rule are unbroken, seafaring among primitive peoples has scarcely developed at all. There are a few exceptions to this. The enormous expanse of the African mainland is, as Flume says, not in accordance with the formation of its coasts.[3]

Along the Zanzibar coast of East Africa, which are protected from the sea breezes by a small archipelago, intercourse is lively

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[1] v. Schwartz, *Sintfluth und Völkerwanderungen*, pass.

[2] v. Schwerin, *loc. cit.*, p. 2; Heiderich, 'Die Wirtschaftsgeographie', in Andrée's *Geographie des Welthandels*, i. 21 *sqq.*

[3] Flume, *Verkehrsgeographie von Südafrika*, p. 1.

at all times of the year according to Flume, but otherwise the natives seldom travel by water.[1]

From southern Asia three peninsulas project into the water. Of these, Farther India holds a unique position in that the Malay Peninsula directly touches upon the archipelago in the Sumatra Sea. Thus this peninsula plays a rôle similar to that of the Greek and Scandinavian peninsulas in Europe. It is assumed that without doubt the Malayan and Polynesian wanderings came from the west, from the continent of Asia where displacements of peoples were taking place everywhere. Pressure has not always ceased even when a people has reached the coast. The result has been journeys to sea, provided geographical conditions have been favourable. It has been established, particularly with regard to southern Asia, that far back in the ages tribes pressed from the north to the south, even though the exact date of these migrations is not known. Without doubt they did not take place at one and the same time. They covered long periods of time, centuries.[2]

The East Indian Archipelago forms a bridge between southern Asia and Oceania. A mass of small islands in Oceania often connect very distant large islands with one another, the lesser islands corresponding to stepping-stones over a stream. And if there are no islands between, sea breezes and currents come to the rescue; contrary winds and currents succeed each other at certain seasons. So, no matter how desolate an island in the middle of Oceania may seem to be, chance and the wind can lead humans to it.

In the sea journeys of the Oceanians, as well as in the sea journeys of primitive peoples on the whole, the influence of geographical factors on wanderings is most clearly to be seen. Naturally, other circumstances play a part too, but geographical circumstances seem to be the most fundamental. Therefore it may not be superfluous to give illustrations of the rôle of these factors.

No primitive people — unless we include gypsies under this heading — has gone on such long wanderings as the Oceanians. Easter Island in the east, and possibly even the west coast of South America, the Sandwich Islands and Hawaii in the northern hemisphere, and New Zealand in the southern make up the bound-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[2] Scobel, *Geographisches Handbuch*, i. 370.

aries of these journeys, which thus cover an expanse of more than 60° of latitude and 120° of longitude.[1] A writer as early as de Quatrefages observed: "En joignant par des lignes droites les points extrêmes de la Polynésie, l'extrémité sud de la Nouvelle-Zélande, les Sandwich et l'île de Pâques, on circonscrit un triangle qui n'a pas moins de 65 degrés environ du nord au sud et de 85 degrés de l'est à l'ouest. La Nouvelle-Zélande est à 1,700 kilomètres de toute terre, à 1,900 de toute île occupée par la race qui l'habite, le groupe le plus voisin des îles Sandwich en est éloigné de 3,000 kilomètres, et l'île de Pâques est à 1,300 kilomètres de ses soeurs, à 3,600 de la côte d'Amérique."[2] And Dr. Lang on his journey in the 1830's said of the South Sea Islands: "Exactly twice the extent of the ancient Roman Empire in its greatest glory, the same primitive language is spoken, the same singular customs prevail, the same semi-barbarous nation inhabits the multitude of the isles".[3]

By way of another geographical comparison we may imagine Denmark torn into pieces, scattered from one another in thousands of islands over so vast a sea that not only the whole of Europe but also the whole of Africa could lie within it. This, if we exclude New Zealand, gives us a fairly good picture of the whole extent of the Oceanic migrations.

It is possible that the natives in many cases only intended to take short journeys but were driven further onward by winds and currents, in short by oceanographical factors with which they had not reckoned.

The expansion over Oceania is so much the more impressive because it was carried out by primitive peoples in the most primitive vessels. By land a primitive migration can direct itself, as it were, through the best subsistence-geographical regions, avoiding mountains and deserts, pressing forward along the lines of least resistance. Migrations by sea are quite different. Seafarers

[1] Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, ii. 249; Lesson, *Les Polynésiens*, iv. 249; M. Brown, *The Riddle of the Pacific*, p. 263; Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 290 *sqq.*; Taylor, *Environment and Race*, p. 84; Churchill, *Sissano*, p. 158; Haddon, in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, l. 237 pass.; *Idem*, in *Geogr. Teacher*, xii. 15 *sqq.*; Dixon, in *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, lix. 261 *sqq.*; Stobes, in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.*, xxxix. 1; Thurnwald, in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, x. 261 *sqq.*; Johnston, *The Islanders of the Pacific*, p. 39 *sqq.*

[2] de Quatrefages, *Les Polynésiens et leurs migrations*, p. 79 *sq.*

[3] Lang, *View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation*, p. 2.

are for the most part dependent upon the food they have with them. "We can only imagine what mute tragedies of this sea must have accompanied the ignorant navigation of the Polynesian migration", says Churchill, "all of which has passed from human knowledge because none survived".[1] The voyage which brought the Maoris to New Zealand was protracted beyond the food supply possible to some of the canoes, and tradition has preserved for our information the knowledge that it was at the last necessary to have recourse to the crew as food, a double economy in that each paddler who kept his mates alive became also one mouth less to feed.[2]

Churchill points out that the possible landing points fall into three classes.[3] The simplest comprises those lands without habitants such as we believe to have been the case in the islands of the Polynesian Verge. Here the migrants might be expected to find a hand-to-mouth living, but to accumulate provisions for a further voyage would call for such a sojourn as would afford time for agricultural operations. Each such island would prove attractive to some of the fleet, which would be content to stay there and enjoy their new-found peace. Thus we should expect to find such islands of undiluted Polynesian races as we do find dotted along a line from the Carolines to Nuclear Polynesia. Each such island would form a new point of departure when the population approached the limit of productivity or when feuds arose within the confines of this proud and war-loving race. Thus each would be both settlement and crop colony. That such has been the case, even in default of tradition in Melanesia, is a permissible inference from what we know to have passed in Samoa and many eastern island communities, even to the outermost limit of the islands in the Pacific.[4]

Geographically and ethnologically we are quite well informed on the Melanesian-Polynesian area. We have data extending from Quiros and Mendana, Cook, Dumont d'Urville, La Pérouse to Codrington, Parkinson, Haddon, Rivers, Churchill and other modern inquirers. Williamson in the introduction to his book on *The Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia* discusses in

[1] Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 170 *sq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 170 *sq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 170 *sq.*

detail the origin and migrations of the Polynesians, subjecting earlier theories to a careful examination.[1]

Before beginning to discuss the reasons for expansion I shall try to give a brief summary of the unintentional and accidental oceanic migrations, *Verschlagungen* as they are later aptly called in German ethnography. Some examples from the most important *Verschlagung*-areas illustrate journeys of this kind. The newer ethnography of these peoples mentions more than a hundred similar cases.

Sittig, a German geographer, has mapped out the wandering routes in Oceania on a system by which we can distinguish four distinct wandering regions. The first includes the islands between the Philippines and the Kingsmill group, from lat. 0° to 15° North. The second extends westward from Samoa to Tonga, from lat. 0° to 22° South. The third is to the east of Samoa (eastern boundary Crescent Island) and the fourth includes the most southerly basin in the South Seas.[2]

. We shall not here take into consideration separate wanderings, or wanderings of a small number of persons. We shall deal principally with group wanderings, tribal wanderings. We have found evidence of the length of these journeys in the fact that at the time of the first European expedition of discovery to these regions, the explorers established that the Polynesians knew of the existence of other islands, other lands, than that they lived in.[3]

We are told by Thilenius, a fair expert on these wanderings, that the inhabitants of the Gilbert (Kingsmill) and Marshall Islands were driven across the sea westward to the Carolines in large numbers.[4]

In the *Nautical Magazine* we read of accidental journeys brought about by trade winds and currents between Ralick and the Caroline

[1] Williamson, *The Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia*, i. 1—39.

[2] Sittig, 'Über unfreiwillige Wanderungen im grossen Ozean', in *Pet. Mitth.*, xxxvi. 161 *sq.*

[3] *Cf.* de Quatrefages, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[4] Thilenius, 'Die Bedeutung der Meeresstromungen fur die Besiedelung Melanesiens', in *Jahrb. d. Wiss. Anstalt zu Hamburg* (1906), p. 84 *sq.* Churchill (*The Polynesian Wanderings*, p. 13 *sqq.*), who feels that one finds little support for the migrations in older literature, even questions Thilenius' theories on the expansion of peoples in Melanesia. He says that Thilenius put too much faith in the hydrographical charts, although Churchill admits the possibility of extensive migrations. However, Churchill's criticism in turn seems somewhat one-sided. *Cf.* Tregear, *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, pass.

Islands, voyages of more than 600 miles.[1] Hernsheim mentions unintentional sea journeys of 1,200 miles and more made by the Marshall Islanders.[2] Hernsheim personally took four natives with him from Mainas to their native home on the Kingsmill Islands. They had gone fishing between two islands and had been overtaken by a heavy storm which had hurled them a distance of more than 680 miles in ten days.[3] Dr. Werner, who calls the Carolinians the world's most active people, recounts a number of such voyages.[4] From the missionary letters de Brosses-Adelung informs us that in 1696 twenty-six inhabitants from Lamoursek in the Carolines were thrown up on Samar Island in two canoes. They had drifted for seventy days with the winds. Several of them had succumbed on the 600 miles' journey as a result of over-exertion and privation.[5] In addition to these journeys we know of journeys from Ternate near Celebes to Pellilu.[6]

There is much evidence to show that accidental journeys, brought about by the trade winds, took place between the Carolines and the Marianne Islands. The distance is not so great.[7]

Parkinson mentions voyages from the Kingsmill Islands which lasted for more than thirty days.[8]

Canoes came to the Shortland Islands from the Kingsmill Islands.[9] Parkinson was told in Ontong-Java that canoes often drifted away never to return, while others from other islands came instead. Parkinson has proved that unintentional journeys have taken place and still do so from the Kingsmill Islands to the Solomon Islands, and from the Kingsmill to the Ellice and Ontong-Java. The inhabitants of the latter island group show signs of intermingling with different regions in Polynesia.[10]

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[1] *Nautical Magazine* (1856), p. 404.

[2] Hernsheim, quoted by Sittig, *loc. cit.*, xxxvi. 164; *cf.* Erdland, 'Die Marshall-Insulaner', in *Anthropos Bibl.*, ii. l.

[3] Sittig, *loc. cit.*, xxxvi. 164.

[4] Werner, *Leben der Naturvölker*, p. 415.

[5] de Brosses, *Vollständige Geschichte der Schiffahrten*, p. 553; Ellis, *op. cit.*, i. 125; Semper, *Palauinseln im Stillen Ocean*, p. 356.

[6] Lesson, *op. cit.*, i. 369.

[7] *Ibid.* iv. 40 *sq.*, 42, 44.

[8] Parkinson, 'Zur Ethnographie der Ongtong-Java und Tasman-Inseln', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, x. 106.

[9] *Ibid.* x. 107 *sqq.*

[10] *Ibid.* x. 108.

Malinowski mentions shorter migrations in the Kula district east of New Guinea, with a definite north-south tendency.[1]

In the second and third *Verschlagung*-areas we find voyages in an easterly direction between the Kingsmill Islands and Rorotonga, between Rotuma and Samoa and Fiji. In the Fiji archipelago a mixed race has come about as a result of the lively traffic from Tonga. These people live on the "windward side" of the island group — pure Tongans populate the island in fairly large numbers.[2] Turner, who lived for a time in western Oceania, found persons in Vate who came from Tonga originally and who had come to the former island as a result of a chance, an accidental journey. He also came across Polynesians on the Lifu Island who had drifted ashore on this westerly island.[3] Natives of Samoa and Tonga have doubtless been thrown ashore on Tanna. Codrington mentions cases of Tongans who have landed on the Bank Islands merely to visit them.[4]

The boat of the English explorer, J. Williams, once drifted from Rarotonga to Tongatabu, a distance of more than 960 miles. Another time Williams transported wind-driven natives from Aitutaki to their native settlement.[5] They had drifted 1,200 miles westward in a rude canoe. Mention is also made of journeys between Mamihiki and the Australian island of Rurutu. Captain Beechey came across forty Tahitians, men, women and children, on Byam Martin Island who in a double canoe had been driven 1,000 miles from their homes on Chain Island.[6]

A case is mentioned from the Society Islands in 1820 of a canoe from Rurutu, an Australian island about 800 miles from Maurua, which landed on Maurua about 20 miles west of Porapora after a journey lasting more than fifteen days. The crew thought it had travelled at least 1,000 miles.[7]

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[1] Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 288 *sq.*; *cf.* Haddon, in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, l. 238, 250.

[2] Sittig, *loc. cit.*, xxxvi. 164.

[3] Turner, *Samoa*, pass.

[4] Codrington, 'The Melanesians', in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.*, i. 137 *sqq.*; Williamson, *op. cit.*, i. 2 *sqq.*, 27 *sqq.*, 114.

[5] Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, p. 132.

[6] Beechey, *Reise in dem Stillen Ozean*, i. 261; *cf.* Gudgeon, in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.*, i. 212.

[7] Lesson, *op. cit.*, iv. 57.

We find mention of canoes which have run between Paumotu and Tahiti[1] driven by north-easterly winds, between Raiatea and Tahiti,[2] and between Manua in the Samoan Islands group and Raivavai south-east of Manua, a distance of more than 2,000 miles.[3]

"There are reasons", says Sittig, "which force us to assume a racial affinity between the natives of Hawaii and other Polynesians". In Hawaii we find traces of Japanese and Chinese influence.[4] Relationship between the natives of the Sandwich and Society Islands is considered definite. The Berlin anthropologist Professor von Luschan speaks of Polynesian influence on the west coast of South America, no doubt descending from an earlier period.[5] This is not impossible, as Easter Island was early inhabited and from there to the west coast of South America is a distance of 1,800 miles, which we know that the Oceanians were capable of travelling.

The Chatham Islanders trace their origin to New Zealand while the Maoris of the latter country have in their possession detailed, extensive wandering traditions which go back forty generations, telling of their emigration to New Zealand from more distant places, probably the Samoan Islands group, which they left because of the encroachment of other peoples, internal strife and hunger.[6]

There are countless other examples, most of which mention more or less accidental wanderings from island to island over oceanic expanses of water, brought about by winds and currents.[7]

The space of time and the extent of these voyages seem to play a subordinate part. Journeys covering 3,000 miles are not unusual.

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[1] Ellis, *op. cit.*, i. 55; Lesson, *op. cit.*, iv 48.

[2] Lesson, *op. cit.*, iv. 48.

[3] *Ibid.* iv. 48 *sq.*

[4] Sittig, *loc. cit.*, xxxvi. 165.

[5] Presented in papers at the Univ. of Berlin, June 1914.

[6] Lesson, *op. cit.*, iv. 33; Williamson, *op. cit.*, i. 31; Gudgeon, *loc. cit.*, i. 212; *Idem, ibid.*, iii. 46 *sqq.*; *Idem, ibid.*, xi-xii. 179, 246 *sq.*; *Idem*, in *ibid.* v. 8; Best, 'The Maori Canoe', in *Bull. Dominion Mus.* (Wellington), vii. 272 *sqq.*; Percy Smith, 'The Migration of Kahu-Hunu', in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.*, xiv. 93 *sqq.*; Schaffer, 'Betrachtungen uber das pazifische Gebiet', in *Mitth. d. Geogr. Ges.* (Wien), lxxii. 97.

[7] Arentz (*Sydhavets Vikinger*, p. 5 *sqq.*) in this connexion speaks of "South Sea Vikings", which name does not seem to me to be quite appropriate considering the involuntary nature of the journey.

They may last six weeks or several months. Even without provisions the natives can get along, as they fish for their food and collect rain-water to drink. The journey of Bligh after the "Bounty" catastrophe has served to show Europeans clearly what enormous voyages small boats are able to make in the South Seas. There is no doubt that cannibalism was formerly practised on no mean scale on these journeys. Women accompany the men on trading expeditions and voyages planned for other purposes. They carry out women's work, do handiwork, cook, etc.

Attempts have often been made to look for the explanation of these extensive voyages in the natives' inherent longing for the sea, in a strong wandering instinct. As a matter of fact, it is not impossible that the Oceanians have an instinctive inclination for the water, though we must be careful not to assume that the wandering instinct is the primary reason for these seafarings. Without doubt the Oceanians like all other peoples have had a disposition for wandering; but to look upon this disposition, no matter how fundamental it may be, as an exhaustive explanation of their expansion seems to me to be contrary to the geographical and oceanographical facts. The strong migratory desire is rather a result of other forces that have been strongly operative for centuries.

De Quatrefages points to "les vents alizés, le grand courant équatorial" which pervades the greater part of the Polynesian sea world.[1] He asserts that whatever the reasons for the origin of the Polynesians may have been, they were not created on the spot. "Ils y sont arrivés par voie de migration volontaire ou de dissémination involontaire successivement."[2]

Lang says the same. "There is ... reason to believe that the westerly winds of the Indian Archipelago having once driven the Malays into the Pacific Ocean, these adventurous islanders passed from island to island till they peopled the numerous equatorial islands of that extensive ocean, and that individuals of the same seafaring and adventurous race, driven from their native isles by accident or by fortune of war, have in the lapse of ages been carried as far to the eastward as Easter Island, within eighteen hundred miles of the American continent, to New Zealand in the southern, and to the Sandwich Islands in the northern hemisphere."[3]

[1] de Quatrefages, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

[3] Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 78 *sq.*

Lesson finds that the reasons, "pour ne citer que les principales, étaient: le besoin de fuir l'oppression ou la vengeance du vainqueur, l'insuffisance du sol; les entraînements involontaires".[1] And concerning the Tahitians in particular, the author feels "que toutes ces causes y ont contribué".[2]

In some instances, no doubt, the islanders had a presentiment of land on islands close by; "on était convaincu aux Marquises que de nombreuses terres existaient dans les environs".[3] Numerous expeditions of this kind, accidental or otherwise, have set out from the Marquesas Islands; "c'était cette connaissance traditionnelle, qui portait les Marquesands à entreprendre sans hésitation de pareils voyages".[4] Priests were often to such a high degree the initiators and conductors of the trips that Lesson looks upon them as "la cause de ces migrations".[5]

De Quatrefages also mentions cases when, owing to over-population, the priests found religious motives for migrations. In the Carolines the priests announced at such times that the gods had revealed the existence of a chosen land to them and pointed out its direction. On the basis of this, a large number of young people left their birthplace in canoes in search of the new land.[6]

One can also conceive of warlike developments and encroachments being the reason for a number of migrations. Some of the Melanesian legends mention warlike developments.[7]

The reasons for the wanderings of Tongans and Hawaians seem to have been a desire "de fuir une patrie ingrate ou dan-

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[1] Lesson, *op. cit.*, iv. 33.

[2] *Ibid.* iv. 35.

[3] *Ibid.* iv. 34.

[4] *Ibid.* iv. 34.

[5] *Ibid.* iv. 34.

[6] de Quatrefages, *op. cit.*, p. 104. Macmillan Brown (*Peoples and Problems of the Pacific*, i. 212) who spent twenty years in Oceania, witnessed on Paumotan Island "under the leadership of one of the Roman Catholic missionaries the migration of all the inhabitants of an island to a neighbouring islet in order to tend and increase their cocoanut plantations".

And even if winds and currents played a large part in accidental wanderings, one can also reckon with social reasons behind the proto-Polynesian wanderings (the expression is Churchill's) "a sufficient stress of expulsion. For in the nature of the case," the author adds, "an attraction to happier lands in the Pacific could not exist." Churchill, *Sissano*, p. 169.

[7] Kleintitschen, 'Mythen und Erzählungen, etc.', in *Anthropos-Bibl.*, ii. 4.

gereuse".[1] We have mentioned the reasons for the wanderings of the Maoris.

In the seventeenth century the Fiji archipelago was exposed to invasion by large numbers of peoples from the Tonga Islands as well as from the Samoan Islands, who came for conquest. Fifty years later another invasion from the west forced the Fijians to emigrate towards Tonga, Samoa and Rotuma. Investigators have even found indications which lead to the Philippines, from where migrations could be traced from the time of the Spanish and Portuguese conquests, later to operate further over the island world.[2]

In the Society Islands as well as in the Friendly Islands and Mangareva, subsistence-geographical reasons seem to have brought about migrations.[3] Of course the white conqueror has caused wanderings here too, though possibly they were less universal than in Central America at the time of the European conquest. De Quatrefages on the other hand mentions instances of wandering expeditions from Guam to the Carolines which had gone on for a long time but which ceased with the coming of the whites. "Ces voyages avaient cessé à l'époque où les blancs arrivèrent aux Mariannes et les ravagèrent."[4]

Some traditions also give marriage reasons for the migrations.[5]

Macmillan Brown believes that the seafarers took women and children with them on their trips, if it were a case of journeys to land that could be sighted on the horizon; but when it was a question of travelling long distances with no land in sight, the women were left behind and the expeditions became purely masculine, hence the inferior position of all women in Polynesia. Later on, when new expeditions took place, the women were taken along, and housekeeping was carried on in great double canoes with houses on the platforms between the canoes.[6]

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[1] Lesson, *op. cit.*, iv. 36.

[2] Friederici, 'Veränderungen in der Südseekultur, etc.', in *Pet. Mitth.*, lxxvii. 140; Brewster, *The Hill Tribes of Fiji*, pp. 37 *sqq.*, 73, 78 *sqq.*; Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, pass.; Williams and Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, p. 3; Deane, *Fijian Society*, p. 3.

[3] Lesson, *op. cit.*, iv. 35.

[4] de Quatrefages, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[5] Tunguru Tuhua, 'Incidents in the History of Hore-Hore PA, etc.', in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.*, xv. 81 *sqq.*

[6] M. Brown, *op. cit.*, ii. 58 *sq.*

Without doubt the natives have not as a rule pressed forward from southern Asia over Melanesia to Polynesia with the sole purpose of discovering land. It is more likely that they were driven by winds and currents. The first wanderings at least are accidental. An element of half-conscious will may bring about further expansion. The possibility of seafaring has been established, inclination and desire have been awakened. Want of food caused by overpopulation may have led many islanders to go to sea on hazardous expeditions just as internal strife among the natives, and social and religious reasons, lie behind the sea journeys of others.

A map of Oceania immediately gives us an idea of the possibilities for wanderings offered by the geography of this vast region. Hydrographical and orographical conditions in all their kaleidoscopic variety also play a large part in these wanderings seawards.

Further, it is perfectly apparent that the wanderings in Oceania are most intimately connected with the winds and currents in that region. Most of the wanderings between Polynesia and Melanesia take place during the period of the south trades (May—Nov.).[1] Journeys in the opposite direction occur from December to March, and between the Moluccas and the Bismarck Archipelago in the beginning of January when the trade winds are light and irregular. The chain of islands between the Philippines and the Gilbert Islands lies in the path of the north-east trade wind, the chain of the Moluccas to the Society Islands in the currents of the south-east trade wind. From Celebes we can trace a path further over the Pelew Islands and the Carolines to the Marshall and Gilbert Islands, from where it turns southward to Tonga and Samoa, and then continues again towards the Indian Ocean. We know that the trade winds in the southern hemisphere are much stronger and more constant than those in the northern. This fact-combined with the accumulation of islands in the Malay Archipelago — is of particular importance for the westward migrations of the Malays from here. In the region of the islands between the Philippines and the Gilbert Islands the proximity of the mainland must affect the winds to a great degree, and this is also where the accidental migrations pile up. This shows to what an extent these wanderings are brought about by oceanographical factors. Journeys by the natives from the Pelew Islands to the Philippines are

[1] Thilenius, *loc. cit.*, p. 84 *sq.*

common, whereas there are none at all in the opposite direction.[1]

We can also give examples of true *Verschlagungen* from Europe. I do not now mean the voyages of the Greeks in the Aegean archipelago and the Viking expeditions of the Norsemen. Ancient writers, and writers of the Middle Ages, tell us of *Verschlagungen* of natives from America to Europe. Gomara for instance, in his *Historia de las Indias*, and Cornelius-Wytfliet tell us of "West Indians" who supposedly made trans-Atlantic journeys in small, fragile vessels until they finally landed on the coast of Europe.[2] From the time of Frederick Barbarossa come the reports of Aeneas Sylvius, later known as Pope Pius II, on "Indians" who stranded on the west coast of Germany. Similar statements are made by Cardinal Bembo and Solorzano, a writer of the Middle Ages.[3]

Recently the extraction of these legendary "Indians" has become clear and it is believed that they were — Eskimos. The descriptions of their physique, clothing, etc., make their origin quite plain. There is no reason at all why the Eskimos should not have come to the west coast of Europe in view of their familiarity with the sea and their ability to endure suffering and privation. If one takes into consideration in addition the sea winds and currents which in the Atlantic blow from west to east, one's attention is immediately called to the Labrador current which flows from the Dravida Pass, running between northern Labrador and Greenland out into the Atlantic. Besides, we are in possession of data from later periods telling of Eskimos who came to the British Isles in their kayaks.[4] In ancient days such journeys were without doubt more usual than they are to-day. From time immemorial communication was lively between Greenland and Iceland, between Iceland and the rest of Scandinavia, and Central Europe also. The natural formation of the Scandinavian countries and

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[1] Mahler, 'Siedelungsgebiet und Siedelungslage in Ozeanien', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, xi 15 *sq.*

[2] Gomara, *Historia de las Indias*, vii. pass.; Cornelius-Wytfliet, *Descriptionis Ptolemaicae Augmentum sive Occidentis Notitia*, p. 190.

[3] *Cf* Plischke, 'Verschlagungen von Bewohnern Amerikas nach Europa', in *Pet. Mitth.*, lxii. 93; Bembo, *Historiae Venetae*, vii. 257; Solorzano, *De Indiarum Iure*, i. ch. v. 51; Steenstrup, *Zeni'ernes Rejser i Norden*, p. 55 *sq.*

[4] In the Museum of Aberdeen are Eskimo canoes (kayaks) in which the Eskimo fishermen are said to have come to Scotland.

their well-developed hydrography must have lent itself to furthering its inhabitants' connexion with the sea.

In Europe, however, accidental migrations are an exception and cannot be compared with the wanderings of the South Sea Islanders, which command respect. They show, as is brought out by the above, how closely the lives of the natives are bound up with the surrounding elements of nature. The sea is their mighty ruler. With strong winds and currents, which in these parts are of long duration, the ruler of the Oceanic peoples steers his subjects on their daring journeys. In the course of time the islanders' nautical skill developed to such a degree that it led to voluntary expeditions, possibly at a very early time. But the first trips were without doubt accidental.

The sea — in its world-encircling unity and greatness — "the only Great Power on earth", as Kirchhoff called it,[1] connected countries which lay far apart from each other. The importance of the sea as an ethnographical and political highway of culture is nowhere so apparent as in Oceania, for even if cultural contact has had greater importance in the Mediterranean and in the Baltic Sea than in Oceania, the distances in the latter have been much greater.

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Primitive peoples are quite exceptionally equipped for long and continual wanderings. Their senses are so sharpened that every little thing that happens in nature is seen by a sure glance, and the least sound is caught by astonishingly sensitive ears. Their knack of making out their bearings is remarkable, as is their highly developed technical ability to make their way through virgin forests and wildernesses. Primitive hunters as well as the nomads of the steppe-lands and the wandering sons of the desert perceive the coming of roaming bands long before Europeans catch sight of them.

Lewis H. Morgan observes that barbarians, ignorant of agriculture, and dependent upon fish and game for subsistence, diffuse over large areas with great rapidity. By observing purely physical phenomena they would reach in their migrations the remotest

[1] Kirchhoff, 'Das Meer im Leben der Völker', in *Geogr. Zeitschr.*, vii. 241.

boundaries of a continent in much shorter time than a civilized people with all the appliances of civilization.[1]

One can seldom speak of marked-out paths among typical wandering peoples, whose migrations are irregular and for the most part consist of a vagrant roaming over extensive areas. But where regular and periodic wanderings take place we find careful bridge erections and river-crossings, with traces of paths and road-making here and there.

The geographical knowledge of primitive peoples often extends far beyond the nearest districts. Geographical charts, often naive and rudimentary, it is true, are to be found even in the possession of tribes on a very low plane of culture.[2] Traditions of the nature of the country in areas which have long been deserted are often retained among savage tribes for several generations. Von den Steinen mentions that the natives of Brazil carefully made note of the regions through which they travelled on their migrations in case they should journey that way again. They had a detailed map in their heads; they could even recall numerous unimportant topographical details in continuous succession.[3]

Investigators praise the ability of primitive peoples to make out their bearings and the location of places. Both Indians and Eskimos possess cartographical knowledge. The island inhabitants of Oceania have a remarkable knowledge of the sea winds and currents and their influence on the course of ships.[4]

Among the primitive Selk'nam in Tierra del Fuego, the successive wandering groups carefully study the tracks of the groups which have preceded them. When crossing rivers they look for the shallowest places, which are staked out with sticks. In winter the bands cross on the ice.[5]

Many African peoples, as for instance the forest pygmies,[6] Ba-Kelè and others, are admired for the excellent technique with

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[1] Morgan, in *North American Review*, cix. 393.

[2] Dröber, *Kartographie bei den Naturvölkern*, pass.; Weule, 'Zur Kartographie der Naturvolker', in *Pet. Mitth.*, lxi. 18 *sqq.*, 59 *sqq.*; Andrée, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, i. 197 *sqq.*, ii. 56 *sqq.*; Adler, 'Tschuktschenkarten', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lxiii. 196 *sqq.*

[3] von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 155 *sq.*

[4] Lasch, 'Einführung in die vergleichende Volkerkunde', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, i. 45.

[5] Gusinde, *The Selk'nam*, p. 304 *sq.*; *cf.* Gallardo, *Los Onas*, pp. 262, 394.

[6] Schebesta, 'Die Pygmäen Mittelafrikas', in *Pet. Mitth.*, lxxvii. 297.

which they take their bearings.[1] The same is true of primitive peoples in Asia. Bergmann observed that the sharp eyes of the Kalmucks serve as compasses on the Kalmuck steppe, which he compares with an open sea.[2] The Moi, who live high up in the hill regions of Indo-China, have "a wonderful memory for places and a marked sense of direction". They know exactly how the wind will rise or fall according to the season, and further, they have a highly developed sense of smell.[3] "The Eskimos' knowledge of their land and the sky which vaults above it, is, of course, both a necessity for communications and a consequence of them, and it would be futile to try to keep these two things separate."[4] The Eskimos in the Angmagssalik region used a sort of nautical chart carved in wood, though a great number of them relied on their memories even when they only had tradition to go by. And even those Eskimos who had never had a pencil in their hands could draw a coastline on paper surprisingly well.[5] The Caribou Eskimos have given names to the places they visit, "speaking names on their charts".[6]

As is known, the hunting and fishing technique of primitive peoples is, from a relative point of view, highly developed. A few examples follow.

Instinctive skill in hunting is characteristic of both Pygmies and Bushmen.[7] Among the Eskimos explorers have established the existence of a nice sense for everything that has to do with hunting. It is like an inheritance that has been transmitted from father to son.[8]

As has been pointed out, it is not only on land that savages

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[1] Avelot, 'Notice historique sur les Ba-Kelè', in *L'Anthropologie*, xxiv. 197.

[2] Bergmann, *Streifereien unter den Kalmuken*, i. 36.

[3] Baudesson, *Indo-China*, p. 7.

[4] Birket-Smith, *The Caribou Eskimos* (*Rep. Fifth Thule Exp.*), i. 153; *Idem*, in *Greenland*, ii. 166; *Idem*, in *Medd. om Grønland*, lxvi. 219.

[5] Simmons, 'Eskimåernas forna och nuvarande utbredning samt deras vandringsvägar', in *Ymer*, xxv. 178.

[6] Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos* (*Rep. Fifth Thule Exp.*), p. 146 *sqq.*; Mathiassen, *Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos* (*Rep. Fifth Thule Exp.*), pp. 91 *sq.*, 97.

[7] Haberlandt, 'Afrika', in Buschan, *Illustr. Volkerkunde*, i. 444; Weule, *Die Urgesellschaft*, p. 25; Torday, *Camp and Tramp in African Wilds*, p. 123.

[8] Birket-Smith, *The Caribou Eskimos*, i. 70 *sq.*, 102 *sqq.*, 117, ii. 161; Amdrup, Bobé, and others, *Grønland*, i. 98.

move about with striking dexterity. We have seen how they undertake voyages over wide expanses of water in small, fragile craft, voyages which last weeks, and even months. Their canoes, which seem to be so rude, are yet made by a master hand. We must bear in mind that on very low planes of civilization one often comes across more developed means of communication than on higher planes. Savages have all sizes of craft, from the small punt to fairly large ships which can take on board hundreds of warriors and oarsmen. Similarly, we find that on certain island groups at least, there are in addition large double boats and above all outriggers constructed with a positively consummate technique.[1] The Papuans and the Polynesians have more cleverly built ships than the inhabitants of the Euphrates-Tigris valleys.

Nautical skill is not possessed in common by all primitive coast peoples. It is a local condition provoked by the pressure of geographical factors. The more small islands an island group is divided into, the greater are the sea achievements of seafaring tribes, the more developed the technique of ship construction, the bolder their performances.

Among primitive peoples, the Oceanians and the Malays indisputably hold first place in the art of shipbuilding and the possession of nautical gifts. Among them also, mastery over the waters extends farther back in time than probably among any other peoples on the same or a similar plane of civilization. Not far behind them come the peoples of their antipodes — Eskimos and certain North American coast tribes among whom seafaring is lively, particularly at certain times of the year when the usually severe geographical conditions permit more extensive journeying.[2] The South American river tribes and tribes at the southern tip of the American continent are altogether under the dominion of the water. They are true "water peoples". Prof. Nordenskjöld who, like another Swedish explorer, Prof. Skottsberg, studied the Alacaluf tribes among the Fuegian Ona Indians, one of the earth's most uncivilized peoples, who at present inhabit the territory between the Straits of Magellan and the Gulf of Penas — covering a distance of six degrees of latitude — points out that these tribes are typical "sea nomads" who practically live their whole lives in canoes. Earlier the area

[1] v. Luschan, 'Raser och folkslag', in Hildebrand and v. Pflugh-Harttung, *Världshistoria*, i. 66; Weule, 'Australien', in Helmolt, *Weltgeschichte*, ii. 527.

[2] Byhan, *Polarvölker*, p. 92 *sq.*

inhabited by these people was still more extensive, reaching as far as Unless Bay and Magdalena Channel.[1]

According to the German sociologist Oppenheimer, "water nomads" or "sea nomads" are only "land nomads who extended their wandering to the sea". As soon as they learned to plough the sea, says this writer, the wandering shepherds turned into bold seafarers.[2] However, it is risky to generalize in such a manner, even if the assertion holds true in certain cases. The Phoenicians are an example of land nomads or land bedouins who changed into sea nomads, if by this expression one understands warlike sea pirates. The same is true of the Vandals, and of the peoples of Asia Minor, and the coasts of Dalmatia and North Africa, who in the beginning of history levied tribute on the wealthy coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. But in no case is it true of the Eskimos, for instance, or the Fuegian tribes, who have surely never been land nomads. Among the Fuegians and the peoples of the northern periphery we find just such typical hunter and fisher peoples as have not yet reached the higher form of culture that is represented by nomadism. And as for the Oceanians, we must in their wanderings see principally a manifestation of the rôle played by geographical factors.[3]

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[1] Nordenskjold, *Eldslandet*, p. 105; Skottsberg, *Båtfarder och vildmarksritter*, p. 118.

[2] Oppenheimer, *Der Staat*, p. 27.

[3] Concerning the capability of orientation and the technical side of wandering among primitive peoples, see for instance Frobenius, *Geographische Kulturkunde*, p. 452; Mason, *The Origin of Invention*, pp. 325 *sq.*, 355 *sq.*; *Idem*, *Primitive Travel*, pass. (generally); Willshire, *The Aborigines of Central Australia*, p. 17 *sq.* (Australia); Weule, in Helmolt, *Weltgeschichte*, i. 524, 527; Thomas, 'Australian Canoes and Rafts', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxv. 56 *sqq.* (Australia and Oceania); Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*, p. 104 (Loyalty Islands); Malinowski, *op. cit.*, p. 105 *sqq.* (Melanesia); Kramer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, ii. 244 (Samoa); Gifford, *Tongan Society* (*Bernice Pauahi Bishop Mus. Bull.*, lxi), pp. 217, 238 *sqq.*, 251 *sqq.*, 304 *sqq.* (Tonga Islands); Meyer, 'Die Schiffahrt bei den Bewohnern von Vuatom', in *Baessler-Archiv*, i. 257 *sqq.* (New Pomerania); Haddon, in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, l. 238; Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, i. 347 (New Guinea); Haddon, in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, l. 69 *sqq.* (Indonesia); Hose and McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, i. 203 (Borneo); Swoboda, in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, v-vi. 2 (Nicobar Islands); v. Rosen, *Traskfolket*, p. 202 (Bangweolo, Africa); Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i. 108 (Nigeria); Friederici, in Buschan, *Studien und Forschungen*, i. 1 *sqq.* (navigation of the Indians, generally); M. Schmidt, *Indianer-*

studien, p. 175 *sqq.* (Central Brazil); Eder, *Colombia*, p. 88 *sq.* (Colombia); Nordenskjold, in *Medd. f. Geogr. Fören.* (Göteborg), iii. 21 (Peru); Thornton, *Among the Eskimos of Wales, Alaska*, p. 127 *sqq.*; Richet, *Les Esquimaux de l'Alaska*, i. 77 *sq.*, 111 (Alaska); Birket-Smith, *Contributions to Chipewyan Ethnology* (*Rep. Fifth Thule Exp.*), p. 41 *sq.* (Chipewyan Indians); *Idem*, *The Caribou Eskimos* (*Rep. Fifth Thule Exp.*), i. 151, 185, ii. 76 *sqq.*, 172 *sqq.*; *Idem*, in *Medd. om Grønland*, lxvi. 260 *sq.* (Eskimos).

CHAPTER VIII

ROBBERY AND WARLIKE TENDENCIES AS REASONS FOR MIGRATIONS

In primitive stages there is often something warlike about the instinct of self-preservation. This is already noticeable among some fisher and hunter peoples.[1] In many instances hunting and fishing and nomadic habits go hand in hand with primitive robbery expeditions.

Among many primitive wandering peoples and nomads there is an evident combination of the nomadic and robbery instincts. "Robbery," says Zwemer, "is a fine art among the nomads, but the high-minded Arab robs lawfully, honestly and honorably."[2] As far back as research has probed, the coast peoples of eastern Asia have always presented the same picture of "incessant roaming about", sometimes in the rôle of friendly colonists, sometimes as pirates in the most distant parts of the archipelago, laying the foundation for settlements.[3] Weule asserts, speaking of the nomadic peoples in Asia Minor and North Africa, that not only cattle-breeding but also war and robbery in like degree belong to their habits "which as a matter of fact are reflected in the same patriarchal system as during the days of Abraham".[4]

The Arab and Moorish tribes of southern Morocco and Rio de

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[1] Some authors see a reason for this in the fact that the weapons used in hunting on primitive planes of culture can also serve as weapons of war. *Cf.* Seligman, *The Melanesians*, p. 293 *sq.*; Macrae, in *Asiatic Researches*, vii. 185, Letourneau, *La guerre dans les diverses races humaines*, p. 58; Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, i. 269; Lenz, *Skizzen aus Westafrika*, p. 82; Poutrin, in *L'Anthropologie*, xxxi. 45.

[2] Zwemer, *Arabia, the Cradle of Islam*, p. 264.

[3] Heine-Geldern, 'Sudostasien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 707.

[4] Weule, *Leitfaden der Völkerkunde*, p. 17.

Oro, when they have finished cultivating their scanty fields, turn out nearly every year for the express purpose of taking camels from the salt caravans between Timbuctoo and Taodenit, but the bands do not confine their operations to this area if they miss their objective. They have, it is said, on several occasions gone on until they have found a sufficient number of camels elsewhere to make their journey profitable. Thus they have come as far as Damergu and Tagama, south of Agades, a journey from the Atlantic half way across North Africa and back. The size of the robber bands depends upon the possibility of reaching watering-places.[1]

Nomadic peoples are often on terms of dissension or contention with their stationary neighbours. It is only if the latter are very powerful, as is the case e.g. in Uganda and in South-west Africa, that peaceful relations come about. The pastoral peoples of Uganda found it wise to live on good terms with their stronger neighbours, and secured peace by sending frequent gifts of cattle to the king and to the chiefs whose districts bordered on their migration area.[2]

The whole history of the desert peoples is characterized by periodic waves of migration, and the reason for the phenomenon is not only the economic-geographical circumstances but also the fact that the people live in oases, whose areas are as fixed as those of the islands of the sea, and therefore, when the population overflows, it is necessary that the surplus numbers should migrate en masse. Whenever the migration starts in one direction the impact is communicated throughout the whole desert region. It is the same phenomenon which one often finds in historic times. A nomad tribe crosses the boundary-line of its wandering territory, comes into warlike contact with the neighbouring people, and combats ensue which often may have results far exceeding the range of vision. One people presses upon the next and so on, until gradually there is a general displacement over the entire continent. Similar movements induced by nomad expeditions are clearly reflected among peoples who have already reached a higher form of civilization. The strength of Asiatic nomadism culminated under Genghiz Khan. It was at the same time the last great outburst of the high nomadic culture of Asia.

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[1] Rodd, *People of the Veil*, p. 188.

[2] Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 3 *sq.*

Driven from their pasture-grounds in Asia, the Tartars were forced to turn into robbers and conquerors. They met with success everywhere and were soon transformed into world conquerors. Nothing seemed to be able to hold back their onward march over mighty kingdoms.

Even among primitive peoples this combination of wandering and robbery is reflected. Dr. E. Schmidt says of the Tchola tribe in India that its nomadic character is intimately connected with its warlike tendencies.[1] The wandering Kurds are nomads but also robbers who attack their neighbours, the Armenians and Persians.[2]

Of the Sea-Dyaks in earlier times Gomes says, "Not only were the Dyaks head-hunters in those days, but many of them were pirates".[3] There was a great deal of piracy, secretly encouraged by the native rulers, who obtained a share of the spoil, and also by the Malays, who knew well how to handle a boat. The fleet of the Sea-Dyaks as well as that of the Malays was very large.[4] Thus here we have a certain correspondence to the piracy of the earlier barbarian states.

The tendency of the Bushmen to plunder other tribes and especially to steal the colonists' cattle is pointed out by Schurtz.[5] The Masai in East Africa carry on cattle-breeding on the steppes, and robbery wherever possible.[6] Prof. Karsten speaks of certain nomadized tribes in the Chaco as being "the most warlike tribes in South America".[7]

Siemiradzki believes, speaking of the South American Guaycurûs in lower Paraguay, that the name Guaycurûs is a collective name for "Chaco's mounted robber tribes" (Tobas and Lenguas).[8]

However, it may be said of robbery that as a rule such enterprises do not lead to a greater or more permanent migration.

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[1] Schmidt, 'Indien', in Helmolt, *Weltgeschichte*, ii. 379.

[2] Byhan, 'Nord-, Mittel- und Westasien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Volkerkunde*, ii. i. 401.

[3] Gomes, *Children of Borneo*, p. 12.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[5] Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 236.

[6] Haberlandt, 'Afrika', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, i. 563.

[7] Karsten, 'Något om Gran-Chaco', in *Terra*, xxviii. 29.

[8] Siemiradzki, 'Beiträge zur Ethnographie der sudamerikanischen Indianer', in *Mitt. Anthr. Ges. Wien*, xxviii. 224.

As we see, the nomadic instincts are easily converted into warlike desires. Wanderings which were first caused by the need of food are later, after the primary reason has ceased to be all-important, brought about by the love of battle and the desire for conquest. To this day, war among primitive peoples takes the form of aggression, often begun by the weaker side.

Later sociological research appears in general to have reached the conclusion that war on the lower planes of culture did not play the dominating rôle that one has been inclined to ascribe to it. Rather was it confined to certain small tribal groups, and was far from being a permanent institution.[1] It is not unusual for war among primitive peoples, particularly if it is a case of large tribes and peoples, to be preceded by something akin to a declaration of war.[2]

War as such, i.e. organized warfare, is no doubt not customary among primitive peoples. It is obviously more of the nature of occasional robbery and plundering raids, and primitive expeditions, for the whole character of war is quite different.[3] Warlike complications on lower planes of culture originate often in a struggle over hunting and fishing grounds, thus not so much in the struggle for political power as is the case on higher planes.

Even if there are direct reasons for war in some instances, it is difficult in many other cases to determine when it is a question of direct warlike reasons and when it is only a case of the encroachment of neighbours, or conquest, which has produced wanderings. "Pressure of population is a powerful but not a general cause of movement," says Bowman.[4]

Warlike developments in lower stages of civilization may, however, give rise to extensive wanderings. Conquered tribes are pursued. New tribes join in, either coming to the aid of the

[1] Holsti, *The Relation of War to the Origin of the State*, p. 16 *sqq.*; *cf.* Steinhausen, *Kulturgeschichte*, p. 5.

[2] Holsti, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 334; *Idem*, *The History of Human Marriage*, ii. 254; *cf.* also Wheeler, *The Tribe, and Intertribal Relations in Australia*, pp. 149, 160 *sq.*; Clavigero, *The History of Mexico*, i. 370; Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, ii. 420.

[3] Weule, *Der Krieg in den Tiefen der Menschheit*, pass.; Ratzel, *Politische Geographie*, p. 65 *sq.*; Steinmetz, *Soziologie des Krieges*, p. 65 *sqq.*; Nelson, in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xviii. 65 *sqq.*

[4] Bowman, 'The Country of the Shepherds', in *The Geogr. Review*, i. 421.

tribes attacked, or, because of blood-relationship or desire for power, joining the attackers.

"In dealing with the history of migrations," says Flinders Petrie, "it appears that there is a previous movement some centuries in advance of general migration. This usually consists of the more active men coming in as raiders or as mercenary troops, some of whom often rise to leading positions among the earlier inhabitants."[1] This, however, applies more to the large historical wanderings. Among primitive peoples it is more difficult to establish such forerunners, on a large scale at least, as the migrations in this instance only include small bands and families, etc. Flinders Petrie also only mentions the Syrian forerunners in Egypt, a couple of hundred years before the Arabian conquest of Egypt, the forerunners of the Huns a hundred years before the true migrations, and the Greek mercenaries in Egypt before the Greek conquest of the country.[2]

In some cases it is also obvious that purely warlike motives are behind primitive migrations.[3]

Primitive peoples and tribes which are known for being particularly warlike are almost always peoples who have not reached the stationary stage. On the contrary they are typical wandering peoples. We may mention as examples some South Sea Islanders and certain African tribes, e.g. the Galla, many Bantu peoples, and, among the North American Indians, the Iroquois in particular. That just these peoples are among the most active on earth is proved by the foregoing and the following.[4]

"It must be understood that there was internal warfare among the Polynesians. The later comers pressed forward and dispossessed the earlier," says Taylor, who finds that the Maori (an early type) were pushed farther and farther away by later types. The author thinks this was no doubt one reason why they left Tahiti.[5]

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[1] Flinders Petrie, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi. 191.

[2] *Ibid.* xxxvi. 191.

[3] In a later chapter I shall show how the "age classes" and "men u nions" of primitive peoples not uncommonly serve direct purposes of warlike organization. *Cf.* Vierkandt, *Naturvolker und Kulturvolker*, p. 82; *Idem.*, *Die Stetigkeit im Kulturwandel*, p. 32; Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Mannerbünde*, pass.; Weule, "Australien", in Helmolt, *Weltgeschichte*, ii. 527.

[4] *Cf.* Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*, p. 345; conc. the Oceanic peoples, see Lesson, *op. cit.*, i. 446,507,512; Holsti, *op. cit.*, chs. ii and iv.

[5] Taylor, *Environment and Race*, p. 89.

However, one must take care not to stress warlike causes too much here. Without doubt friendly contact, in spite of encroachment and migrations, has often been possible in Oceania, where the expansion of peoples, as we have seen above, must be ascribed to geographical conditions — currents and winds. Churchill generalizes on almost too large a scale when he assumes that it is impossible to consider the wanderings as peaceable, "for peace, even to the world's highest peoples, is an aspiration rather than a fact".[1]

But in many cases warlike causes have played a great part. Investigations have been carried out in New Guinea which, as far as the Orokaiva, for instance, are concerned, "give a vivid picture of the turbulent and restless life of these peoples with whom migration was, in the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing and pursuing," Williams says. He also gives details of these wanderings, which convey the impression of how one tribe presses upon the other and induces migration.[2]

Martin, who deals in detail with the wanderings of some of the Malay tribes which were brought about by geographical reasons, points out that the Malays and other tribes to a great degree contributed to the warlike pushing-aside of other tribes, thus giving rise to other wanderings. Immigration from Sumatra to the Malay Peninsula has forced many Malay tribes to retreat into the interior.[3]

Even if one hardly can go so far as Adolf Bastian, who feels that the wanderings of all American peoples were dictated by motives of war,[4] one is forced to believe that many such migrations are an expression of the warlike disposition of the Indians, produced and nurtured in severe surroundings. In North American ethnography one meets with a great number of migrations founded upon warlike reasons or warlike encroachment.

American research bears witness in numerous cases to how one tribe pressed upon another and forced it to migrate. The Iroquois, originally emigrants from beyond the Mississippi, and

[1] Churchill, *Sissano*, p. 171.

[2] Williams, *Orokaiva Society*, pp. 8 *sq.*, 103; *cf.* Chinnery and Beaver, in *Papuan Ann. Report*, Appendix iii, quoted by Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

[3] Martin, *Die Inlandsstamme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, p. 661 *sq.*; *cf.* Stevens, in *Veröff. Kön. Mus. f. Völkerkunde (Berlin)*, ii. 88 *sq.*; conc. Sumatra, see Volz, *Nord-Sumatra*, i. 177, 288 *sqq.*, 301; conc. Borneo, Hose and Shelford, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi. 60.

[4] Bastian, *Ethnologische Forschungen*, pass.

possibly a branch of the Dakota stock, made their way to the valley of the St. Lawrence and settled themselves near Montreal. Forced to leave this region by the hostility of the surrounding tribes, they sought the central region of New York. Skirting the eastern shore of Lake Ontario in canoes, for their numbers were small, they made their first settlements at the mouth of the Oswego River, where, according to their traditions, they remained for a long period of time. They were then divided into at least three distinct tribes, the Mohawks, the Onondagas, and the Senecas. Their traditions mention how these tribes in turn went on hostile expeditions against their neighbours' forcing them to migrate.[1]

Another example of a North American tribe which was gradually pushed onwards by warlike pressure exerted by its mightier neighbours was the Navaho, the most southern branch of the great Dené nation of Indians, now commonly known under the name of the Athapascan stock, who went on great migrations from Alaska towards New Mexico, where its members were found by the Spaniards. This was a typical migration tribe which travelled by slow movements. It pushed on southwards by easy stages along the eastern ranges of the Rocky Mountains region, until it met the sedentary Pueblos of New Mexico. Gradually it settled down here and became stationary.[2]

We are told that one of the tribes on the Upper Mississippi, now known as the Fox, was "a restless, fierce tribe which was almost always at war with some Algonquian neighbours or with the French", and that it carried on war frequently with the Illinois tribes, and finally drove them from their own country and took possession of it. Later we learn that the French, aided by the Chipewya, Potawatomi, and the Nenomince, attacked the Fox, and after two sharp battles drove them down the Wisconsin River, where they settled about twenty miles above Prairie du Chien. Later the Fox and the Sioux attacked the Chipewya, etc.[3]

The Omaha traditions also speak of war and warlike conquering expeditions.[4] So do the Pueblo traditions.[5]

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[1] Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota*, pp. 63, 663 *sq.*

[2] Ostermann, 'The Navajo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona', in *Anthropos*, iii. 857.

[3] Blair, *The Indian Tribes of Upper Mississippi Valley*, i. 294 note, ii. 146 *sq.*

[4] Dorsey, 'Omaha Sociology', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, iii. 212.

[5] Mindeleff, 'Aboriginal Remains in Verde Valley', in *Ibid.* xiii. 188.

The peoples of *A' 'kwine 'mi*, knowing that they could no longer reside in peace with the *Kinĕ*, left their homes and travelled westward, their victors pursuing them for a long distance and killing many of the people.[1]

The Chugatshes lived not long since upon the Island of Kadiak, but, in consequence of dissensions with their neighbours, they were obliged to emigrate and take up their residence on the mainland. Their traditions indicate that they came from the north, but having been driven from their ancient possessions, they made raids upon southern nations.[2]

Many South American Indian wanderings also appear to have been caused by warlike motives. As they most often took place in fertile regions, shortage of food can have played no real part in these movements. According to M. Smith, the celebrated South American investigator, the motives for the warlike advance lay in the desire to procure labour and slaves from strange tribes, by force if in no other way.[3]

The original home of the Tupi, Haddon points out, lay about the northern affluents of the La Plata. They are essentially a water people, living by fishing and hunting. Their migrations have always followed the beds of rivers or the coast. They drove the tribes already in possession from the south and north. The Tupi were an aggressive people addicted to cannibalism.[4]

We have evidence of how the Chipay Indians were driven by their enemies the Aymar Indians to the Carangas district in Bolivia, which is one of Bolivia's most desolate and inhospitable tracts.[5]

The Ackawoi in Guiana, in earlier days at least, went on long journeys for purposes of barter. Their expeditions were predatory. They would attack peaceful villages under cover of darkness, slay all who were able to offer resistance, enslave the defenceless, and

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[1] Hoffman, 'The Menomini Indians', in *Ibid.* xiv. 218.

[2] Bancroft, *op. cit.*, i. 71; *cf.* also Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, p. 84 (Yuchi Indians); Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, p. 158 (Creek Indians), MacGee, 'The Seri Indians', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xvii. 273 (Seri Indians); Coxe-Stevenson, 'The Sia', in *Ibid.*, xi. 16, 19 (Sia Indians).

[3] M. Schmidt, *Die Aruaken*, p. 34.

[4] Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, p. 106 *sqq.*; *cf.* Wissler, *The American Indian*, p. 255.

[5] Métraux, 'Chipayindianerna', in *Ymer*, lii. 234.

carry off the spoil. Thus "they became even more terrible to the peaceful tribes, because more subtile in their rapacity, than the formidable Caribs themselves".[1] The migratory movements of the Ackawoi would seem most capricious to a stranger, states the Rev. Brett, but they are all conducted with profound forethought, and according to a regular system, the result of the experience of ages. Their expeditions extend into Brazil and Venezuela, and as they halt and sojourn in various places, they sometimes occupy months, and sometimes even years.[2]

Haebler and von den Steinen assume that the wanderings of the Caribs were to a great extent determined by warlike motives.[3] Baron Erland Nordenskiöld mentions several cases of Indians who went on migrations only for the sake of plundering.[4] "War has of course played a big part in the tribes' wanderings," Nordenskiöld points out. "For all tribes except for the Incas, as far as is known, it has only been a case of plundering, collecting trophies, making slaves, or pushing out of the way".[5] Many Tupi Indians and Arawak tribes bear the mark of warlike impact.[6] Koch-Grünberg heard the Indians in north-west Brazil speak of their warlike migrations. He heard that the Tukano chief Maximiano as a *kurmi-asu* (youth) together with Buhagana men went on a warlike expedition against the Yahuna tribe. It took about a month before the abodes of the latter were reached. "This famous expedition — which is still spoken of in Tiguie after the lapse of forty years — in conformity with most Indian feuds was nothing but a nocturnal attack on a powerful Malock tribe, the members of which, unconscious of danger and exhausted after a great dance festival, were massacred while asleep."[7]

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[1] Brett, *Mission Work among the Indian Tribes in the Forest of Guiana*, p. 197 *sq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 197 *sq.*

[3] Haebler, 'Amerika', in Helmolt, *Weltgeschichte*, i. 189; von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 403.

[4] Nordenskiöld, *Sydamerikas indianer*, p. 126.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[6] M. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pass.; conc. the Guarani Indians, see Nordenskiöld, in *The Geogr. Review*, iv. 180 *sqq.*; Krickeberg, in Buschan, *Illustr. Volkerkunde*, i. 277; Wissler, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

[7] Koch-Grünberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*, ii. 258.

It is not at all unusual for social and political considerations to be a reason for the wanderings of primitive peoples. Internal disputes between certain neighbouring tribes often cause extensive displacements of peoples. One tribe presses upon another and steady movement follows. Stronger peoples have always borne down upon the weaker, until the latter have taken refuge in woods or swamps where their oppressors have had no desire to follow them, having no interest in such regions. Pressure does not always cease when a people reaches the sea coast or the shores of large lakes. Favourably situated places on the coasts easily become over-populated, which again results in new migrations.

However, one most be careful not to make general statements about the reasons which led to migrations because of pressure on the part of stronger, neighbours trusting onwards. One may presume that pressure of that kind was behind the peoples who were driven from the land of warmth and plenty to the inhospitable regions of the north, but one cannot, like Holmes, positively assert this to be the case even in all such instances.[1] Among cattle-breeding nomads, for instance, the migrations of the cattle northward may explain the movements of peoples in the same direction.

The wandering movements in eastern and Central Asia during historic times are examples of how one people encroaches upon another, bringing about great migrations. The migrations of the Middle Ages similarly illustrate this.

Many Turko-Mongolian peoples who were pushed onward, not to say pursued by other tribes, were forced to take refuge on the Siberian steppes and tundras.

Shirokogoroff has compared the process of the migrations of the Tungus, combined with those of other ethnical groups, with the tectonic process known among French geologists as charriage. In fact, says Shirokogoroff, at a certain period the Tungus occupied the whole region north of the Mongols, who were in the steppe regions, and groups culturally connected with the Chinese complex. Under the pressure of migratory masses from the north, certain groups went south and met with the solid opposition of another ethnical formation which stopped their movement. Groups arriving from the north pressed them again and they went on over the pre-

[1] Holmes, 'Handbook of Aboriginal Antiquities', in *Bull. Smiths. Inst.*, lxi. 39.

viously settled groups, but could not remain there for ever and so went back (Kirghiz, etc.). Some of these groups later on permeated the stabilized groups like a liquid mass in all possible directions which did not present great obstacles — that is, the movement followed the line of least resistance.[1]

Enormous migrations have taken place in India, where one people pressed upon the next long before the early Mohammedan invasions of northern India.[2]

The Chingpaw in the Brahmaputra Valley were still going on great wanderings in the 19th century, driving away many other tribes which happened to come in their way. All the tribes in the Brahmaputra Valley lived in fear of the Chingpaw, who spread out from the north towards the south. This advance southwards was in turn brought about by other pressure from the north, a heavy increase in population which came about through the inclusion of foreign elements. As the Chingpaw also engaged in hoe culture they had to advance over large areas. Similar migrations are mentioned among the Kuki, Lushai, Miri and Naga, who advanced westwards under English sway.[3]

Hutton asserts that the wanderings of the Sema Naga tribes in the hills between Assam and Burma were brought about by war and the pressure of other peoples.[4]

The Cherkess east of the Black Sea, who in the middle of the 19th century left their ancestral country where milk and honey flowed in order to migrate to Turkey, did so less for religious than for political reasons: the sight of the degrading slave status into which the Crimean Tartars had sunk, and the knowledge of how these Tartars had been bled and persecuted by Russian government officials. Threats from the usurpers drove them to migrate.[5]

Ever since the Exile, the Jews have been forced to wander from country to country and a full history of their migrations would be

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[1] Shirokogoroff, *Social Organization of the Northern Tungus*, p. 169.

[2] Russel, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, i : iv. 17, iv. 505 *sq.*

[3] Wehrli, 'Beitrag zur Ethnologie der Chingpaw (Kachin) von Ober-Burma', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, xvi. 7 *sqq.*; Shakespear, 'The Kuki-Lushai Clans', in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxix. 372.

[4] Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 6 *sqq.*

[5] Anholm, *I Gogs och Magogs land*, p. 34 *sq.*

almost identical with a complete history of that people. The compulsory migration of Jews to Babylonia in Biblical times, whence they spread to Persia, and, it has been conjectured, even up to Caucasia, is a typical instance of such movements. In the first century the centre of Jewish population was probably about Tarsus. Twelve centuries later they had spread out over the greater part of populated Europe. By the middle of the sixteenth century, owing to the expulsion and migrations from western Europe, the centre of Jewish population had moved over to Poland. Expulsion from England caused large movements, as did expulsion from Spain. In the present day, since the War, the persecution of Jews in Russia and Germany has given rise to great movements.

This phenomenon, that is to say, the encroachment of other peoples as a reason for wanderings without being directly involved in warfare, is usual among primitive peoples and nomads.

In addition to wanderings brought about directly by war, we have data from South America telling us of the encroachment of one people upon another. Large wanderings have taken place in the regions between the Rio Branco and the Orinoco. The Shirianá and the Waiká belonged to the oldest tribes there. The Arawaks immigrated from the west and south-west. The Caribs came later. The Yekuaná came from the north and the north-west and subdued even peoples on a higher plane of civilization.[1]

In the 17th century on the Atlantic coast of South America the Caraios had coast possessions from Uruguay almost to what is now Rio de Janeiro, and westward to the Andes. They pressed onwards from the south and moved along the coast towards the interior, from where they expelled the primitive Tapuyas. At Lagoa dos Patos they came into contact with a wandering Guayacurû tribe, the Charrùas. These diffusions meant endless struggles among a number of South American peoples who came in the path of the Caraios. Finally the latter found their way right to the Amazon River and extended their influence to the islands in the West Indies.[2]

Karsten writes of the Chaco Indians: "Both their enemies, partly other Indian tribes, partly men of an altogether different

[1] Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, iii. 15; Ehrenreich, 'Beiträge zur Volkerkunde Brasiliens', in *Veröff. Kön. Mus. f. Völkerkunde (Wien)*, ii. 65 *sq.*

[2] Thurnwald, 'Staat', in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, xii. 361.

race, and nature itself have always compelled them to live a nomadic life."[1]

Baron Erland Nordenskiöld has given me a good example of a chain movement of wanderings brought about by encroaching tribes. In 1910 the Toba Indians and their neighbouring tribes came into severe conflict with one another. At the same time the Ashluslay Indians were driven towards the northern Chaco. Shortly afterwards, other tribes in the Chaco moved farther north. In 1911 for instance, the Tsiraks lived considerably farther north than they did the year before, having evidently been pushed onward by the Ashluslay. The latter in turn made an assault in Sta. Cruz de la Sierra Guaraios and pressed the Sirioni Indians onward.

Internal struggles within one and the same tribe may also give rise to migrations.[2]

Fewkes writes of "an agricultural people in a homogenous state of culture" in Arizona, who were thus stationary; "in the course of time a hostile faction bent on pillage came into this region from east or west and drove the agriculturists out of their casas grandes or at least broke up the custom of building such structures." Some of the ancient housebuilders turned refugees and migrated south into Mexico, some followed the course of the Verde and the Tonto into the northern mountains. The author

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[1] Karsten, 'Indian Tribes of Gran Chaco', in *Soc. Scient. Fennica* (*Comm. Hum. Litt.* iv i), 36.

[2] Coxe-Stevenson (*loc. cit.*, xi. 41 *sq.*) mentions the following spirited dispute between the men and women of the Sia Tribe. The men cried, "Were it ten days, twenty days, thirty days, we could remain apart from you and not be unhappy." The women replied, "We think not, but we women would be very contented to remain away from you men for sixty days." And the men said, "We men would be happy to remain apart from you women for five moons." The women, growing more excited, cried, "You do not speak the truth, we women would be contented to be separated from you for ten moons." The men retorted, "We men could remain away from you women twenty moons and be very happy." "You do not speak the truth," said the women, "for you wish to be with us all the time, days and nights." After arguing for three days the women wandered in one direction and the men in another. The chiefs went with the men. The men hunted a great deal and had much game for food, but the women had no animal food at all. But the women turned back to the men who put them off. In the meanwhile the women had given birth to children whose fathers were said to be the sun, entirely unlike the Sia. Such wanderings have in turn given rise to numerous complications and new displacements.

likens the aboriginal migration of man in the south-west to the spread of vegetation or to the stocking of regions by animals from a centre of distribution, pointing out that the pressure of incoming hostiles played a part in determining the directions of the migrations.[1]

Numerous migrations resulting from internal struggles between tribes have taken place among the primitive tribes in Mexico.[2]

The traditions of African primitive peoples mention migrations brought about to a great extent by the pressure of strange tribes.[3] The central and southern portions of the African continent clearly reflect migratory displacements brought about both by reasons of war and by stronger, onward-pressing neighbours. The wanderings of the Bushmen, as well as those of the closely related Hottentots, constitute flights into the interior to more sheltered districts, caused by pressure on all sides. Encroaching neighbours, not least of which are the Kaffir tribes, start the Bushmen going. The movements of the Kaffirs in turn are apparently brought about by internal struggles among separate tribes. The Kaffirs force other tribes to go on wandering expeditions, too, e.g. the Bamangwato, Barolonga, and others.[4]

Arabian pressure from the north and persecution of the natives forced the tribes of Upper and Central Senegal to migrate. "Lentement, famille par famille, ils descendirent du Niger par les sentiers accidentés qui contournent les sommets escarpés des montagnes du sud du Fouta Djallon, gagnèrent le bassin du Lounkouré, qu'ils suivirent jusqu'à la mer." There the tribes separated, which again gave rise to new migrations.[5]

Bruel says of the Fang peoples that they went on wanderings not only because of trade motives but also when driven away by reasons of war. However, they have a tendency to return to their earlier dwelling-places, "si la paix ne tarde pas trop". Only lengthy wars can prevent them from doing so.[6]

[1] Fewkes, 'Casa Grande, Arizona', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xxviii. 153, 157.

[2] Joyce, *Mexican Archæology*, p. 23 *sqq.*

[3] Avelot, 'Les grands mouvements de peuples en Afrique', in *Bull. de géogr. hist. et descr.* (1912), pp. 28 *sq.*

[4] Barthel, *Völkerbewegungen*, pp. 9, 43.

[5] Chevrier, 'Note relative aux coutumes des adeptes de la société secrète des Scymos', in *L'Anthropologie*, xvii. 365 *sq.*

[6] Bruel, *L'Afrique équatoriale française*, p. 210; Brunhes, *La géographie humaine*, i. 484 *sqq.*

On the Slave Coast and Gold Coast of Africa wandering movements have come about through the pressure of one people upon another, in turn brought about by movement from the east.[1] Here again the encroachment of Mohammedan tribes from the north caused wanderings towards the south.[2]

Avelot has pointed to the great migrations in the Ogowe basin, particularly the wanderings undertaken by the Jaga and Zimba tribes from warlike motives, as resembling the wanderings of the Huns, in that in the 16th century they brought about reflex movements in most extensive areas there.[3]

The inhabitants of the Congo basin have lived under continuous pressure exerted by the Monbattu tribes, the Niam-Niam, etc., pressing southwards from the north-western portions of the interior. Some of the tribal wanderings in Africa between the Kassai and Lake Tanganyika have been the outcome of the advance of Arab hordes to the coastal districts, where they have carried on slave trade.[4] Central Africa in particular has numerous so-called *versprengte Volker* who have given way to superior adversaries and withdrawn to unfertile hill regions or swamp lands, or to unpopulated sea coasts.[5] The narrowing of the Hottentot wandering sphere in the seventeenth century led to great wanderings.[6]

In the inner portions of Africa the pressure of encroaching neighbours has at times been so strong that it has practically driven certain tribes out into the lakes. In the Bangweolo district, where the Batwa and Babisa peoples have for a long time been exposed to plundering and slave-hunting expeditions on the part of the Awemba peoples, a number of tribes have taken refuge on the swampy islands in Lake Bangweolo, where they lead an existence more sheltered from encroaching neighbours than on

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[1] Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, p. 8 *sq.*; *Idem*, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, p. 2; Chevrier, in *L'Anthropologie*, xvii. 365.

[2] Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, p. 2.

[3] Avelot, 'Recherches sur l'histoire des migrations en l'Ogôoué', in *Bull. de géogr. hist. et descr.* (1906), p. 377 *sqq.*

[4] Barthel, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 86; Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, p. 5 *sq.*; Wissmann, Wolff, *Im Innern Afrikas*, p. 141; Torday and Joyce, in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvii. 153.

[5] Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 45.

[6] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 171.

the mainland.[1] The Waking peoples also, around Lake Albert Edward in the Congo have their huts out on islands in the reed-encircled lake "to make the entry of possible enemies more difficult".[2]

It has been definitely established that the *primus motor* of the wanderings of simple peoples in recent times has, in many cases been the white colonization policy. In so far as it is a case of European colonization, which causes the primitive peoples to look for new dwelling-places in the interior of the country in order to evade the usurpers, colonization by foreigners is only an "external" cause of the wanderings, as it were, a cause which does not directly emanate from the primitive peoples' own lives. As such, it would only be necessary to state the fact; but, in view of the sweeping influence and the gigantic movements of peoples often produced by such "external" causes, there is every reason to point out a few examples. The European colonization policy has often been the signal for extensive migrations. In earlier times particularly, certain European colonists practically hunted the natives, forcing them to migrate unless they subjected themselves entirely to the usurpers. *Ubi tandem defuit orbis*: in Australia, in Tasmania, in South Africa, in the inner regions of South America, in the continent of North America. Russia followed a like practice in the attempt to settle Siberia. When gold was discovered in America the Indians were forced to leave the gold districts and withdraw to the reservations.[3]

The Spanish conquest brought about great migrations, particularly among the Pueblos, even if it has been established that about four hundred years earlier there were already large migrations from those regions, brought about by the encroachment of one tribe upon another.[4]

At the time of the founding of Cape Colony, many savage peoples were still spread about the greater part of South Africa. According to Fritsch and Barthel, who base their statements

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[1] v. Rosen, *Traskfolket*, p. 389.

[2] *Idem*, *Från Kap till Alexandria*, p. 164 *sq.*

[3] Allier, *Le non-civilisé et nous*, p. 257; Houghton, in *American Anthropologist*, xxix, N. S., 241 *sqq.*; Krickeberg, *loc cit.* i. 99.

[4] Mindeleff, in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xix. 645; Fewkes, in *Ibid.* xix. 581 *sq.*

[5] Becker, 'On the Migration of the Nahuas' in *Congr. intern. Américanistes* (ii: Sess., 1878), pp. 325 *sqq.*, 338.

on authentic Cape records, there were roaming tribes there. However, it did not take long for the English Cape government to put into effect vigorous measures which forced them to leave the coastland. Their outposts kept to the neighbouring mountain ranges for a long time, but even there they were systematically persecuted and driven towards more inhospitable tracts.[1]

The policy of the United States forced the Indians to retreat, and so brought about great wanderings during the last century.[2]

The influence of colonization on the wanderings of primitive peoples is clearly to be seen in South America too. "In most instances in South America", Bolinder writes, "los indios bravos, that is to say Indians who became hostile as a result of the whites' encroachment, were forced to withdraw to inhospitable parts, to virgin forests and hills".[3] Colonization by the whites, like European missionary activity, reduced the sphere of the Chaco Indians in South America.

We shall discuss this question further in connexion with colonization and emigration.

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[1] Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas*, p. 389; Barthel, *op. cit.*, p. 8 *sq.*

[2] Blair, *op. cit.*, i. 288 note.

[3] Bolinder, *Det tropiska snöfjallets indianer*, p. 165.

CHAPTER IX

COMMERCIAL MOTIVES

Nomadism, particularly in the form of cattle-breeding nomadism but also in the shape of agricultural nomadism, is not connected with invasions alone, but with trade interests also.

The mightiest invasions of olden times which issued out of Central and Eastern Asia and which had a strong influence on Europe in the Middle Ages, were, as has been stated, undertaken by nomadic peoples.[1] The struggle between the nomads and the agriculturists in certain ages has been one of the determining forces in history.

In the primitive state, plundering was without doubt an important occupation combined with nomadism proper. The desire to possess large herds came about not only with an eye to the increased possibilities of transportation, but also from the wish to own property. Robbery is a favourite occupation of the Arabs. Raids, *ghazu*, *ghazija*, on other tribes are customary, particularly in the spring when there is a sufficiency of pasture-lands and water. The Arabs then retreat to tribes living at a distance to protect themselves from revenge on the part of tribes living nearer at hand.[2]

The Masai, cattle nomads of East Africa, were formerly notorious for their raids on the Bantu.[3] Side by side with hunting and fishing some of the Orang tribes of Malacca go on actual piratical expeditions.[4] The wandering Kurds in Western Asia often go raiding.[5]

[1] Brunhes and Vallaux, *La géographie de l'histoire*, p. 206 *sqq.*; Syken, 'Tamerlan', in *Jour. Centr. Asian Soc.*, ii. 15 *sqq.*

[2] Byhan, 'Nord-, Mittel- und Westasien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 371.

[3] Haberlandt, 'Afrika', in *Ibid.*, i. 563.

[4] Heine-Geldern, 'Südostasien', in *Ibid.*, ii: i. 799.

[5] Byhan, *loc. cit.*, ii: i. 401 *sq.*

There is a closer connexion between war and trade among peoples on a lower plane of culture than is obvious at first glance. Even if peaceful and hostile contacts between peoples would seem to be widely separated, war and trade nevertless meet at many points. Warlike raids can open new routes for mercantile intercourse, just as on the other hand commercial competition can lead to bloody conflicts.

However, among peoples even on a low plane of culture trade motives are important and independent reasons for wanderings. If they do not embrace whole tribes they at least embrace a part of them. In these cases trade is often carried on with distant regions and is thus bound to a life of movement.

It is here necessary to differentiate between different forms of trade; just as it is necessary to point out that though a great number of savage peoples engage in trade, one cannot speak of trade among primitive peoples in general. It is in fact the first contact with foreign tribes that gives rise to new needs and the means of satisfying them. It has been presumed that trade is as old as mankind, being intimately connected with the means of subsistence. Professor Lindblom calls trade one of the primary elements of human culture.[1]

Professor Schmoller says that just as we know of no pathless countries, so we know of no peoples without a trace of trade or communications.[2] He supports his statement with examples from the savages of Africa. Peschel also claims that trade was already carried on during the earliest periods of mankind.[3] But nevertheless, the fact that certain tribes acquired things not to be procured within their own territories should not lead us to the conclusion that trade has existed throughout the ages among all peoples. Among certain Australian negroes, some natives of the Andaman Islands, Malacca, Ceylon, Tierra del Fuego, and some of the Bushmen tribes trade would seem to play no rôle at all.[4] Among collector,

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[1] Lindblom, 'Handelsmetoder bland primitiva folk', in *Handel och samfardsel*, p. 1.

[2] Schmoller, *Grundriss der allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre*, i. 462.

[3] Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, p. 209.

[4] Spencer, *Descriptive Sociology* (types of Lowest Races), p. 47; Labillardière, *An Account of a Voyage*, ii. 276; Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, i. 373; Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Sudafrikas*, p. 418 *sqq.*; Martin, *Die Inlandsstamme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, pp. 663, 875.

fisher and hunter peoples food is only rarely an article of barter, and as for primitive handicraft, it is generally the rule for each person to be his own craftsman. But if we thus fall in with peoples among whom not even barter is of any real significance, where trade transactions are more in the nature of gifts than exchange, it is not necessary to go as far, for instance, as Bücher, who credits primitive peoples with no trade whatsoever. The reason for this would seem to be that Bücher conceives trade as being a methodically organized purchase of commodities which are sold again at a certain profit to the seller.[1] This, however, unnecessarily restricts trade to what it means to peoples on a higher plane of culture, which is further emphasized by the fact that Bücher avoids using the term exchange, which must be considered to be the foundation of all later trade. It is based upon the peaceful contact of tribes. That such exchange exists is made clear by Westermarck's description of the hospitality which primitive peoples extend to each other.[2]

Peaceable communication does not conflict with the fact that trade often developed out of a less peaceable form of wandering expeditions, raids on foreign peoples and countries.

Barter is widespread among primitive peoples and, as is the case with Australian savages, is often connected with extensive wanderings. A reason for this may be looked for in the great differences in character between different tracts of land and the resulting uneven distribution of nature's products. One district is rich in goods and possessions which the neighbouring one lacks entirely. In territories bordering upon each other, trade is especially promoted by the contact of different cultures. To illustrate this, mention may be made of the Miorli negroes along the Diamantina in Australia, who are noted for their extensive trade journeys. They travel up the Diamantina River to Cork, from there eastward to Ancheron Creek and Tocal, and then down Thomson River, where they exchange spears, yellow ochre, oyster-shells and other goods for boomerangs, shields, etc. It is not unusual for whole tribes to take part in these journeys.[3]

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[1] Bücher, *Die Wirtschaft der Naturvölker*, p. 26.

[2] Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. ch. xxiv.

[3] Graebner, 'Handel bei Naturvolkern', in Andrée's, *Geographie des Welthandels*, i. 152 *sq.*

As Professor Lindblom points out, it is difficult at present to make first-hand studies of the trade methods of primitive peoples, since it is scarcely possible to find such peoples anywhere in their original form. They have changed and developed through contact with Europeans and other peoples. However, primitive trade-forms still exist here and there, and we can obtain an idea of earlier trade methods from ethnographical literature.[1] Lindblom has proved that trade may often be traced to the friendly exchange of gifts among peoples on a low plane of civilization. It often takes the form of dumb or silent trade (secret trade). Commodities are deposited in a certain place for exchange by one of the parties, which withdraws before the other party comes to the place to fetch the goods. Roving and hunting tribes often carry on this type of silent trade with stationary neighbours on a higher plane of civilization.[2]

A similar silent trade is still practised by some wandering peoples, the pygmies of Africa, the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Kubu in Sumatra, and the Punan tribe in the interior of Borneo.[3] This sort of trade was known in classical antiquity.[4]

There are investigators who see in this silent trade, or depôt trade, from which markets later developed, the intermediary transition from the collecting-hunting stage to agriculture.[5] Through the trade in question collector tribes are easily led to desert their collecting-hunting activity in order to live on the exchange products of trade instead, especially when the product of exchange is rice. Afterwards imitation leads them to cultivate land. They engage at first in hoe culture, abandoning a piece of land after having cultivated it once, especially if death has overtaken the family. Collecting-hunting is not altogether abandoned either, for the simple reason that the harvest does not suffice to cover the needs of the entire year. This description by Heine-Geldern[6] should not, however, be considered as applying to all primitive peoples.

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[1] Lindblom, *loc. cit.*, p. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 6 *sq.*

[3] Lasch, 'Einführung in die vergl. Volkerkunde', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, i. 19; Lindblom, *loc. cit.*, p. 9; Kürchhoff, 'Alte und neue Handelsstrassen', in *Geogr. Zeitschr.*, xv. 520; Peschuél-Loësche, *Volkskunde von Loango*, p. 3; Chasin, *Die Wirtschaft der Bantuneger in Kamerun*, p. 96 *sq.*

[4] v. Luschan, 'Über die alten Handelsbeziehungen von Benin', in *Verh. vii. intern. Geogr. Kongr.* (Berlin 1901), p. 607 *sqq.*

[5] Heine-Geldern, *loc. cit.*, ii: i. 794.

[6] *Ibid.* ii: i. 794.

Trade motives have without doubt played a large part in spreading the Oceanians over the enormous expanses of water of the South Seas. However, in view of the fact that research has proved that numerous unintentional voyages were brought about by wind and currents, it is far-fetched to say that trade was the principal reason for the expansion, as Lindblom does.[1] One may conclude that the journeys of the Polynesians were connected with pearl-fishing and resulting interests,[2] but the question is, as I have said, whether the geographical-hydrographical factors did not determine these journeys rather than the trade interests, which certainly were of a more local character.

Travellers have mentioned interesting trade wanderings from New Guinea. Every year in the latter part of September or at the beginning of October, at the end of the south-east trade-wind season, a fleet of large sailing canoes, belonging to the Motu tribe, leaves Port Moresby in British New Guinea for the delta country around the Gulf of Papua. The canoes are laden with earthenware and other useful things as well as ornaments. The canoes return after three months with the north-west monsoon wind, filled with sago. The origin of these journeys, which have taken place for generations, among the Motu tribe called *Hiri*, is very vague.[3] We also hear of similar trading expeditions engaged in by the Massim tribe in New Guinea.[4] The Motu tribe in British New Guinea has legends telling of trading carried on for centuries.[5] The primitive tribes in the Padang district of Sumatra engage in extensive wanderings brought about by trade motives.[6]

The rubber boom plays a large part in the economic life of certain Malay peoples. It became the usual thing for Malays to spend their time felling and clearing a piece of forest land for which they had obtained a grant, planting it with rubber and then selling it to Chinese. Land which had been planted with rubber ceased in this way to possess the properties which had been considered by these tribes to be inherent in land, namely that of being entailed within a family and within a tribe, of being under the control

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[1] Lindblom, *loc. cit.*, p. 17.
[2] Hambly, *The History of Tattooing and its Significance*, p. 240.
[3] Seligman, *The Melanesians*, p. 96.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 526.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 97 *sqq.*
[6] Maas, *Durch Zentral-Sumatra*, i. 546.

of the headmen of tribe and family. It became as marketable a form of property as goats or buffaloes had hitherto been.[1]

Speaking of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands Man points out interesting consequences of the subsistence-geographical conditions. There commodities are exchanged between the coast and inland tribes, thus bringing about wandering expeditions. This exchange has not come about from a lack of food in either case, but from a desire to vary a menu which would become too monotonous if it were not possible to trade food.[2]

Fishing and hunting are important occupations on the Nicobar Islands, but trade is also carried on extensively. The Kar Nicobarans particularly have for a long time engaged in sea trade on a large scale between the Nicobars and Chowra. The large fishing fleets are navigated with the help of the sun and the stars, the monsoon winds facilitating their passage.[3]

Trade plays a large part in the wanderings of many African peoples. In certain parts of Central and South Africa particularly, various tribes engage actively in wandering expeditions to the coast, where the natives purchase salt, flour and hunting equipment with their hard-won ivory and rubber. That these wanderings are important to the natives may also be seen from the fact that in their eyes a tribe's rank and dignity decreases in proportion to its distance from the coast. The Fang and Bakele tribes as well as the Bangala people are noted for their trade journeys.[4]

The Lokele, properly a fishing tribe in the Congo region, carry on trade with the European factories, for which reason they go on journeys.[5] Some African pygmies are in a complicated way dependent upon Negro chiefs, with whom they exchange bananas and maize in return for forest products. "Every little Pygmy community", says Powell-Cotton, "enters into a sort of compact with the headman of some other forest tribe whom it supplies with fresh meat and honey, leaves to thatch his houses, pliant creepers for use as ropes, and other forest produce in exchange for

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[1] Mowbray, *Matriarchy in the Malay Peninsula*, p. 8.

[2] Man, 'On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xii. 105.

[3] Swoboda, 'Die Bewohner des Nicobaren Archipels', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.* v. 194.

[4] Barthel, *Völkerbewegungen*, pp. 62, 70.

[5] Thurnwald, *Die menschliche Gesellschaft*, i. 83.

bananas, sweet potatoes and maize".[1] Among the pygmies, the Babenga are especially noted for carrying on commerce with the stationary peoples. The Babenga supply the latter with meat obtained on hunting expeditions, and take manioc, maize and bananas in turn. Every stationary group has its hunting band, and one often finds "chasseurs s'accordant avec des agriculteurs, mais les deux groupes conservant leur profession propre et d'ailleurs ne s'unissant jamais entre eux".[2]

The Wassakuma-wa-mueri in Victoria-Nyanza carry on a lively cattle trade with Arabs and Europeans in order to obtain fabrics and pearls.[3] The Wasuaheli, and other Negro tribes in East Africa related to them, roam through large territories in the capacity of wandering traders.[4]

Brisk trading has always existed between the inland and coast tribes of Africa. Formerly, at least in Senegambia, the black slave-traders supplied the inhabitants along the coasts with iron, resin and butter made from fruits. They received salt in return.[5] The Fang tribes are driven towards the European settlements for purposes of trade, but they always return to their former dwelling-places even if reasons of war at times drive them away.[6]

At the end of the last century at least, it was still customary for the Bafiôte tribes in the Congo district to make regular trips to the European colonies along the coast. The natives exchanged their domestic animals for European factory commodities, spirits and other things.[7]

Brunhes and Vallaux assume that it is "la recherche du sel qui a souvent poussé les tribus nègres vers la mer, sur la périphérie de l'Afrique" and that inversely it is "le commerce des esclaves qui a conduit vers l'intérieur les traitants arabes".[8]

[1] Powell-Cotton, 'Notes on a Journey, etc ' in *Jour. African Soc.*, xxv. 4; *cf.* Hobhouse, in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychol. u. Soziol.*, iv. 403 *sq.*, 414; Haberlandt, *loc. cit.*, i 546.

[2] Febvre, *La terre*, p 302; *cf.* Bruel, *L'Afrique équatoriale française*, p. 199.

[3] Schlobach, 'Die Volksstämme der deutschen Ostkuste', in *Mitth. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xiv. 185.

[4] Meyer, *Die Barundi*, p. 175; *cf.* Maunier, 'Recherches sur les échanges rituels en Afrique du Nord', in *L'Année sociologique*, N. S. ii. 12.

[5] Park, *Vom Gambia zum Niger*, p. 40.

[6] Bruel, *op. cit.*, p. 210 *sq.*

[7] Chavanne, *Reisen und Forschungen im alten und neuen Kongostaate*, p. 390.

[8] Brunhes and Vallaux, *op. cit.*, p. 252; see also Father Guillemé, in *Africa*, v. 40 *sqq.*

Throughout the whole of the South American continent trade plays a large part in the lives of the natives. Krause and von den Steinen refer to the extensive trade journeys of the Indians of Brazil. Many tribes were found to possess, among other things, hunting and war equipment for which they had bartered with distant peoples. Almost every tribe has a speciality which it exchanges for that of other tribes. Thus, for instance, the Caribs trade in hammocks and earthenware. The Suija carry on trade with the Kamayura, who trade with the Mehinahus, Nahuquas, etc.[1] In some instances many articles of exchange are transported over distances which are not insignificant. The natives even go on longer journeys to non-neighbouring tribes.[2]

Baron Erland Nordenskiöld draws attention to the fact that in South America even enemy tribes may have trade relations with each other, since their traders and medicine-men are allowed to wander through enemy territory.[3]

One form of exchange of labour, or rather of making use of labour, is the cause of the Bogota Indians' wanderings from the heights along the Isthmus of Panama to the Atlantic coast, where they help the negroes with their cultivation for a small return.[4]

There are data concerning Indian sea voyages undertaken for mercantile reasons as early as in the 16th century, from the Tainish Islands to Florida.[5]

Professor Karsten has told me that the Toba Indians on the Pilcomayo, who live principally by fishing, carry great quantities of fish to the Chiriguanos who cultivate corn but do not fish. In return the Chiriguanos pay with corn and similar produce.

Among several Eskimo tribes visiting and trading journeys are to some extent closely connected, "but whatever may be the primary motives — whether a meeting between families from various places is accidental or intentional — it is obvious that it

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[1] Krause, *In den Wildnissen Brasiliens*, p. 157 *sqq.*

[2] Nordenskiöld, *Indianlif*, p. 4 *sqq.*

[3] *Idem*, *De sydamerikanska indianernas kulturhistoria*, p. 123; *cf. Idem*, in *Jour. Soc. Américanistes*, N. S. iv: ii. 42; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 168; Markham, *Travels in Peru and India*, p. 247; Latcham, *El comercio precolombiano en Chile*, pass.

[4] Nordenskiöld, *Indianerna på Panamanäset*, p. 172.

[5] Lovén, *Über die Wurzeln der Tainischen Kultur*, p. 49.

always leads to a certain amount of trading".[1] Speaking of the Caribou Eskimos, Dr. Birket-Smith has pointed out the close connexion existing between hunting, "fetching", visiting and trading journeys. By "fetching journeys" he understands "those which concern the products which are not to be found on the spot, but which must be fetched from other regions. These are commodities such as wood, which is taken from the small copses in the southern river valleys and also in the form of driftwood in the lower Thelon River, or soapstone, which occurs at Qiqertarjuaq, Rankin Inlet and Thaolinton Lake. These products do not demand any particular skill to produce them, as for instance is the case with sea mammal products, and therefore the Eskimos prefer to fetch them themselves, within reasonable distances, instead of trading for them".[2] Dr. Birket-Smith points out that the same takes place elsewhere in the Eskimo world.[3] A considerable part of the commerce consists of an exchange of gifts. The distribution of gifts is a permanent institution on visiting journeys, and there is no doubt about the fact that in earlier days there was actual trading besides the exchanging of gifts.[4]

The Chuckchi in Siberia have in addition to carrying on reindeer nomadism long been intermediaries for the trade between the savages along the shores of the Bering Strait in America and the Siberian fur-hunters.[5] On the Tshuja steppes, the largest valley plain of Altai, farming cannot be carried on successfully and cattle-breeding nomadism is possible only in parts nearest the rivers. The inhabitants of the steppe base their livelihood on trade and transportation.[6]

Nomadic expeditions are often undertaken in connexion with trade with neighbouring peoples. The exchange of commodities contributes towards creating a special rhythm in the wanderings.[7]

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[1] Birket-Smith, *The Caribou Eskimos* (*Rep. Fifth Thule Exp.*), i. 159.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 159.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 169, note.

[4] *Ibid.* i. 159 *sqq.*

[5] Nordenskiold, *Vegas färd kring Asien och Europa*, ii. 14, 122; *cf.* Hildebrand, 'De lägre naturfolkens konst', in Nordenskiöld, *Studier och Forskningar*, p. 311.

[6] Granö, *Altai*, ii. 178.

[7] Bernard and Lacroix, *L'Evolution du nomadisme en Algérie*, ch. vii; Vidal de la Blache, in *Annales du géographie*, xxii. 244.

In India among other places we find a peculiar social and mercantile combination which is not unusual in primitive conditions, namely, the relations existing between the Todas on one hand and their neighbours the Badágas and Kothas on the other. The Badágas supply the Todas with what grain they need, the Kothas supply them with ironware. In exchange both tribes have the right to make use of the Todas' settlements and fields while the Todas are on wanderings.[1]

It is not only natives that carry on trade among themselves. In recent decades typical examples of savages have been found who have forced their way to distant places in order to come into active contact with the colonists. Such wanderings often last for weeks and even months.

Bartering was for a long time the original form of trade among the peoples living along the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. The earliest trading of the Phoenicians consisted almost exclusively of bartering. Similar trading journeys from Arabia and Persia are known to history to have existed two thousand years B. C. And in the Far East the trading of the Chinese with the Europeans for a long time retained its original character of exchange. In the North bartering continued for a long time between Scandinavia, Greenland, Iceland and the Continent.

However, there are traces of higher forms of trade connexions even among primitive peoples. Market trading has often arisen among them. In it are to be found the first germs of money transactions. It is not unusual for market trading to force the trading tribes to go on long journeys, as the market-places are often situated far from their places of abode. This is particularly true when there is a question of the big annual markets in which people and tribes from far-distant places take part.[2]

In certain parts of southern Tibet, according to Dr. Sven Hedin, there are three different kinds of wanderers: the pilgrims (the Nakchu pilgrims), the nomads (the Gertse nomads) and the gold-diggers from Lhassa. However, in addition to these nomads and pious wanderers there are nomads who wander about for trade-economic reasons. These constitute "the salt caravans and ordinary merchants, the former having about the same habits as the nomads,

[1] Graebner, *loc. cit.*, i. 158.

[2] Bücher, *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*, p. 31; *cf.* Graebner, *loc. cit.*, i. 163.

as they are dependent on the grazing for their sheep caravans; the latter chiefly follow the administrative roads".[1] Dr. Hedin says that one comes across fairly well organized digging-wanderings in southern Tibet; "the principal thing for them is to reach their gold-mines as quickly as possible".[2]

Among peoples on a somewhat higher plane of culture the caravan expeditions of ancient times between eastern and western Asia are well known, as is the "Silk Road" along which trade progressed during the Byzantine and Mongolian eras, and also the expeditions of the Phoenicians and the Hanseatic League.

It is likely that markets are an outgrowth of silent trade. As timidity and suspicion gave way, people began to meet to exchange commodities at the places where they had formerly traded unseen. In most cases markets doubtlessly developed from female trade.

Market trade, to the extent that it embraces food, which is the commodity mostly traded, is not seldom entrusted to the women. The men on the other hand often engage in expeditions to distant places and peoples, the object in most cases rarely being to obtain food but rather articles of adornment or enjoyment. In time these trading expeditions became organized and grew into caravan trade for mutual support and protection against plundering.[3]

Markets arise most easily between neighbouring groups who have commodities to offer one another, as for instance between fisher and hunter, and agricultural peoples. This type of market existed formerly between the agricultural tribes in the vicinity of the North American lakes and the more northern hunting tribes, as well as among the peoples of Africa to a marked degree. The market-places are most often to be found in the boundary areas between different settlements, which alone is reason enough to cause extensive wanderings from different directions. In Africa the market-places are generally inviolable districts within which no disputes or conflicts are permitted.[4]

In Africa in particular, small local market-places are to be found in great numbers. Market trading among the Bantu tribes is

[1] Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, III. 126.
[2] *Ibid.* IV. 114.
[3] Lindblom, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 12 *sq.*

in some places so lively that it has forced all other forms of trading into the background. The Urundi in East Africa are especially known for their lively market trading.[1] Also in Central Africa almost every mile boasts a market-place, where the surrounding tribes gather weekly to exchange goods and commodities.[2]

The caravan trade shows clearly the rôle played by nomadism in the development of trading. It gives rise to a lively transit trade between the oases and leads to the erection of big markets and emporiums at the terminals and crossroads, which often also gradually become the centre of industrial activity. Nomads also act as middlemen for stationary peoples. Nomadism is often bound up with trading over long distances, though such trade does not develop to any extent unless it has at its disposal expanses of water which encourage long sea journeys through the equal division of land and water.

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[1] Graebner, *loc. cit.*, i. 166; *cf.* for general purposes, Haddon, *Head-Hunters, etc.*, p. 256 *sq.*

[2] Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Wissman, Wolff, *Im Innern Afrikas*, p. 220 *sq.*

CHAPTER X

MAGICAL AND RELIGIOUS MOTIVES

In the lower stages of civilization racial and tribal migrations are, as we have seen, brought about to a great extent by geographical and climatic conditions. The instinct of self-preservation, self-support, compels collector, fisher and hunter peoples to lead a vagrant life. The physical environment is also responsible for nomadism, both for cattle-breeding and agricultural nomadism.

But as we have also seen,[1] in the lower stages of civilization there are other reasons for wanderings, though the search for food (the subsistence-geographical reason) may be the dominant one. There are reasons of a political nature, of war and conquest, of trade. And, as we will see, motives pertaining to religion and superstition and magic are also of no small importance.

Sickness and death among primitive peoples often cause the afflicted tribe to break up and look for new quarters, evil spirits being held responsible, and particularly so if the leader of the tribe or some other important member is stricken with death or meets with an accident. The best method of warding off the spirits is to move. An occasional death need only cause a change of hut or tent, but even that may lead to a general migration.[2]

In the Darling valley in Australia a succession of dry periods or epidemics causes the natives to desert their dwelling-places and look for new ones, as again evil spirits are believed responsible.[3] Lévy-Bruhl says of Oceanic peoples that diseases with a high death-rate are blamed on powers that are impossible to escape in any other way

[1] *Supra*, pp. 192 *sqq*, 225 *sqq*.

[2] Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, i. 217; Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 154, 193, 200.

[3] Horne and Aiston, *Savage Life in Central Australia*, p. 171.

than by fleeing from the place where they hold sway. For this reason one island may be entirely deserted for another.[1]

Even so early a writer as De Quatrefages recorded the exodus of the population of an island in Oceania (in this case one of the Carolines) when the inhabitants threatened to become too numerous for the island to support. It took place in obedience to a divine command. A priest declared "qu'un dieu lui avait révélé l'existence d'une terre de délices; il en indiquait la direction, et sur cette assurance une jeunesse ardente montait sur ses pirogues et cinglait ou ramait vers le point signalé".[2]

Among some of the natives of New Guinea epidemics also cause migrations.[3] The more or less permanently settled Bataks in Silimi Senina in northern Sumatra look for new dwellings in cases of sudden illness, as they believe evil demons to be responsible.[4] The Sakais in Sumatra change their dwellings not only for subsistence-geographical reasons but also if death or sickness become frequent.[5]

The Kenyas of Borneo, who as a rule are stationary, make preparations "to move spontaneously when danger threatens the house".[6] The same is true of the inland tribes of Borneo where, according to Hose and McDougall, "the occurrence of fatal epidemics" is thought to be a "run of bad luck and succession of evil omens". Villages are moved to other locations, and even a chieftain's death is sufficient cause for this, as the occurrence of such calamities leads the people to believe that the place of their abode is deficient in the favourable spiritual influences which the inhabitants regard as essential to their welfare.[7] Furthermore, Hose and McDougall say that "among all these peoples animistic beliefs abound; they hold themselves to be surrounded on every hand by spiritual forces both good and bad, some of which are

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[1] Lévy-Bruhl, in a discussion following a lecture held by the author of this book on primitive wanderings in "L'Institut français d'Anthropologie" in Paris; *cf. L'Anthropologie*, lx. 290.

[2] de Quatrefages, *Les Polynésiens*, p. 104.

[3] Thurnwald, *Die Gemeinde der Banaro*, p. 175.

[4] Volz, *Nord-Sumatra*, i. 84.

[5] Moszkowski, *Auf neuen Wegen durch Sumatra*, p. 95.

[6] Hose and McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, ii. 16.

[7] *Ibid.* i. 55; Hose, *Natural Man*, p. 36; Heine-Geldern, 'Südostasien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 792, 832. Concerning Celebes see Kaudern, *Ethn. Studies in Celebes*, ii. 160 (the Torodja).

embodied in the wild creatures, especially the birds, while some are manifested in such natural processes as the growth of the corn, the rising of the river in flood, the rolling of thunder, the incidence of disease".[1] They are constantly concerned to keep the evil influences at a distance, by the observance of many rigidly prescribed customs, and, to a less degree, to secure by propitiatory acts the protection and the friendly warnings of the benevolent power.[2]

Martin points out that the wanderings of the inland tribes of the Malay Peninsula are due to the natives' dread of disease and their fear of the spirits of the dead, which cause them to move their settlements. He witnessed the breaking up of an entire village because two deaths had taken place there. One death could also be sufficient cause for moving. That the subsistence-geographical reasons which otherwise determine change of habitation are also related to sickness and death is revealed in a native legend which Martin quotes Stevens as citing. According to this a tribe was punished because it did not obey a divine decree forbidding it to remain more than four days in one place.[3]

The *E-remtâ-ga* tribe on the Andaman Islands also migrates in case of death within the tribe, the deaths being attributed to evil spirits. This is true particularly in the dry season.[4]

Rivers, who gives geographical reasons for the migrations of the Todas in the Nilgiri Hills in southern India, also mentions sickness among the cattle as causing the tribe to move on with their herds, this being the only means of fighting disease. Another important reason for migrating is that certain villages and pasture-lands are considered holy and command annual visits from their worshippers. Some of these places, as for instance Piedr and Kusharf, lie in distant mountains and are uninhabited except at these ceremonial times. Another place, Nasmiòdr, is visited only once a year for a month's time by the Wúrsúhir tribe from Kars, and purely for religious reasons, as its pasture-lands yield little.[5] The Moï race in Indo-China who, ac-

[1] Hose and McDougall, *op. cit.*, i. 55.

[2] *Ibid.*, i. 55.

[3] Martin, *Die Inlandsstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, p. 662.

[4] Man, 'On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii. 104 *sq.*, 152 *sq.*

[5] Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 123 and note.

cording to Baudesson, are "nomadic" in character, also migrate because of accidents or epidemics which they believe to be acts of vengeance on the part of the local gods. The author mentions serious misfortunes, such as fire, an epidemic, or unpleasantly frequent raids by tigers, as being invariably attributed by the Moï to the evil influence of the genius of the place. To dispute the possession of the ground with so powerful a divinity would be sheer madness, and accordingly the native yields gracefully and betakes himself elsewhere without regret. The choice of the next habitation is not a mere matter of chance. The geomancer is called in to consult the omens, and no selection is made until after ripe reflection.[1]

Though the nomadic instinct of the gypsies is in a class by itself and has very little to do with religious motives, it is of interest to note what Spittel says of the gypsies of Ceylon. They remain in one place ten days at the most, after which the ground begins to burn. "This, they say, is the result of a curse laid on them for the sin of ill-treating snakes".[2]

Some of the primitive hunting tribes in the French Congo, in spite of the fact that agriculture is unknown to them and that they also wander about for that reason, are accustomed to "déserter complètement leurs villages" immediately upon the death of the leader or some other important member of the tribe.[3] Powell-Cotton says of other primitive tribes in Equatorial Africa that their wanderings are not only dictated by subsistence-geographical reasons but also by deaths within the tribe.[4] Governor-General Bruel also confirms that migrations dictated by religious motives are usual among numerous tribes in Equatorial Africa. It is customary for these tribes, particularly if a chief dies, to desert their village and build up a new one in a new place. Since these tribes do not believe in natural death, they think that they can best escape bewitchment by leaving the village it has visited.[5] This explains the

[1] Baudesson, *Indo-China*, p. 12.

[2] Spittel, *Wild Ceylon*, p. 230.

[3] Avelot, 'Recherches sur l'histoire des migrations en L'Ogôoué', in *Bull. de géogr. hist. et descr.* (1906), p. 25.

[4] Powell-Cotton, *In Unknown Africa*, p. 41 *sqq.*

[5] Bruel, *L'Afrique équatoriale française*, p. 210. According to van Oberbergh (*Les Mayombe*, pp. 143, 147) the Mayombs in the Congo district "changent aussi d'emplacement quand trois ou quatre décès se produisent, dont ils ne peuvent s'expliquer la cause".

wandering trend in an otherwise stationary people. Among the reasons for the continual moving about of the Wanyamwesi peoples is the dread of the influence of witchcraft which, according to Spellig, plays an important rôle. If several cases of illness or death follow quickly one upon the other, the entire population of the village is called upon to move its dwellings within a few days.[1] By the Kaffirs of South Africa "a period of drought is thought to show that the ancestral spirits who preside over the affairs of the nation have been angered by the neglect of the living members of the clan".[2]

Baron Erland Nordenskiöld mentions that it is the custom among the Yuracare Indians in South America to burn all the huts in their village as soon as a death takes place and then move on with their household goods and cattle, often to far distant places, ravaging and destroying everything in their path. The Indians believe that they have thus escaped the spirits of the dead, *sínoksé*, who are thought to have caused the deaths.[3] Professor Karsten has made the following observations concerning the Chaco Indians. "The Indians cannot persuade themselves to continue living in a place which is evidently haunted by evil spirits".[4] Thus among the Chaco Indians it is not always the food supply which determines wanderings; death and the superstitious dread of it often causes extensive migrations. When there is a death in a family, the relatives burn all their huts and wander to other parts. Among the Cheroti and Mataco Indians, for example, if several deaths take place at the same time, owing to an epidemic, the entire village is burned and its inhabitants wander on. The natives believe the place to be haunted by evil spirits. An occasional death in a family may be considered accidental and need not always lead to a general migration, according to what Prof. Karsten tells me. In such cases it is customary for only the nearest relatives of the deceased to look for new dwellings. The natives migrate on a large scale only when severe epidemics rage. The same is true of the Toba Indians. Even though these Indians are more stationary now than formerly, they nevertheless retain many wandering

[1] Spellig, 'Die Wanjamwesi', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lix. 219.

[2] Kidd, *South Africa*, p. 65.

[3] Nordenskiöld, *Indianer och hvita*, p. 42.

[4] Karsten, 'Indian Tribes of Gran Chaco', in *Soc. Scient. Fennica* (*Comm. Litt. Hum.* iv. i.), 36 *sq.*; *Idem*, in *Terra*, xxviii. 36 *sq.*; *Idem*, *Bland indianer i Ekvadors urskogar*, i. 68.

customs. The Toba Indians are by nature "restless and desirous of wandering". Among them, too, wanderings are caused by the superstitious fear of death.[1] The Colorado Indians in Ecuador, according to Karsten, always desert their dwellings and their farms in case of sickness, thus making a lot of trouble for themselves. However, they feel that such a house is always haunted by the demons of disease and death, which may at any time become a menace to the living. Karsten reports that this idea flourishes among most of the Indian tribes in South America. It has sometimes happened that a white man has bought such a deserted "estate" for a trifle and then lived for years almost for nothing on the fruits of the Indians' labour.[2]

Father Martin Gusinde tells me that in addition to subsistence-geographical reasons the Selk'nams in Tierra del Fuego move if they have a series of bad storms. The district is being punished for some reason and must be deserted.

The Indian medicine-men on the Isthmus of Panama — the tribes are often on long wanderings — make extensive journeys throughout their country to learn from older and wiser colleagues.[3]

Bancroft, basing his information on a rich source of material, says of the reasons which forced the Nahuatlacas from Aztlan, north-west of California, to move, that they "can only be conjectured; but they may be supposed, however, to have been driven out by their enemies, for Aztlan is described as a land too fair and bounteous to be left willingly in the mere hope of finding a better". The native tradition relates that a bird was heard for several days constantly repeating the word *tihui, tihui,* meaning 'let us go, let us go'. Huitziton, foremost and wisest among the Nahuatlaca chiefs, took this to be a message from the gods directing the people to seek a new home. In making a declaration of such moment he needed the support of another influential man. He accordingly persuaded another chief called Tecpatzin, who at first seemed sceptical, that the bird's note was nothing less than a divine message, and the two announced it as such to the people.[4]

According to local tradition, a Pueblo tribe which after long

[1] *Idem*, 'The Toba Indians of the Bolivian Gran Chaco', in *Acta Acad. Aboensis* (*Hum.* iv.), 10 *sq.*

[2] *Idem*, *Bland indianer*, i. 68.

[3] Nordenskiöld, 'Indianerna på Panamanäset', in *Ymer*, xlviii. 92.

[4] Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, v. 305 *sq.*

wanderings had settled in Little Colorado left the place after being attacked by swarms of sand-flies which caused deaths among the children. The deaths were looked upon as a vengeance of the gods.[1] Speaking of the Tusaya Indians, Mindeleff mentions that in addition to their "unconscious drifting migration" there were conscious migrations which took place when whole villages were deserted at once and new ones built up in new areas. Both the legends and the ruins of old villages testify to this. The failure of some particularly venerated spring was good cause for the abandonment of the village situated near it, and a series of droughts lasting several years in succession was a mark of the gods' disfavour which led the people to migrate. Even a series of bad dreams which might be inflicted on some prominent medicine-man by over-indulgence in certain articles of food would be regarded as omens indicating a necessity for a change of location. Such instances are not unknown. Toothache, too, is dreaded for mythical reasons, and is construed as a sign of the disfavour of the gods; so that many a village has been abandoned simply because some prominent medicine-man was in need of the services of a dentist.[2]

Bowman, who otherwise places great emphasis on the subsistence-geographical reasons for wanderings, has nevertheless established that "superstitions may lead to flight akin to migration" and that "epidemics may be interpreted as the work of a malignant spirit from which men must flee".[3]

Of the Quiché people in Central America during the pre-Toltec period Bancroft states that according to their tales "the people multiplied greatly in a region called the East, and migrated in search of gods to Tulan-Zuiva, the 'seven caves', where four gods were assigned to the four leaders. In the new country, however, they suffered from cold and the lack of sunshine and so continued their journeys by land and sea".[4]

From various directions on the North American continent come native tales of extensive migrations under "divine leadership",

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[1] Mindeleff and Stephen, 'A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, viii. 32. The continuation of the tradition which tells why the tribe chose new grounds is not without interest in regard to the psychology of wandering.

[2] Mindeleff, 'Localization of Tusayan Clans', in *Ibid.* xix: ii. 645 *sq.*

[3] Bowman, 'The Country of the Shepherds', in *The Geogr. Review*, i. 421.

[4] Bancroft, *op. cit.*, v. 181.

dating from about 500 B.C. and A.D. 1200, "the purpose of which was to find a locality which fulfilled certain ardently-desired conditions connected with religious cult".[1] Stories of various periods from Central America relate how small bands of natives under the leadership of a prominent member of the tribe "bent on a peaceable but unexplained errand" journeyed from distant countries to unknown destinations in order to study the stars from high mountains. It is possible that many of these wanderings took place in an attempt to find the "immovable star", of which tradition speaks. The Polaris cult may have caused similar journeys.[2]

As I have pointed out earlier, it is necessary in these religious wanderings to differentiate between longer and shorter movements. In cases where migrations are determined by the fear of evil spirits we have to do with fairly local religious motives. When the local reason for moving disappears, migrations cease. Movements resulting from causes attributed to "evil spirit" need not always be connected with reasons of magic. The fact that one or more prominent members of a tribe have died in a place may simply have led to the supposition that the place in question was not as healthy as might have been thought, which resulted in looking for new dwellings. In other cases, however, one can find religious motives of such intensity that one is almost tempted to speak of a religious instinct determining migrations.

The South American investigator Max Uhle has thrown light upon the religious wanderings of the Indians to Pachacamac, one of their principal shrines, to which they make pilgrimages in many ways akin to the pilgrimages of the Arabs.[3] Research has disclosed even more concrete examples of religious migrations of primitive peoples which can be traced back hundreds of years, such as the wanderings indulged in by the South American Indians from the coastal regions of Brazil up to Peru, and from the interior to the east coast to search for *imortalidad y descanso perpetuo*, the earthly paradise where people never die. In some cases such conceptions can be traced to the Christian influence, particularly among tribes which had been visited by missionaries or which in some other way had come in contact with the Christian

[1] Nuttal, 'The Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilization', in *Papers of the Peabody Mus.*, ii. 43.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 43 *sq.*

[3] Uhle, *Pachacamac*, p. 1, pass.

religion. Thus, one cannot be entirely certain that the conceptions of an earthly paradise which form part of the religion of some of the Guaraní Indians in Paraguay, for instance, are not reminiscences from the time when the Jesuits, in the beginning of the 17th century, came in contact with these tribes, though after the destruction of the missionary stations in Verá and Guarirá in 1630 it is scarcely possible that the Indians were further exposed to foreign influence.

Cases are also known in which Christian influence must be considered as being practically out of the question. Old Spanish authors tell of the existence of distant tribes whose tales, dating from the pre-Christian era, mention native wanderings in search of everlasting life on earth. This information is given us by Jiminez de la Espada, among others.[1] Roth tells us that the Indians of the Arawak tribe came to Florida to look for "the fountain of youth".[2]

Dr. Métraux has investigated the wanderings and religion, and the religious motives leading to these wanderings, of the South American Tupi-Guaranís.[3] These Indians have for centuries been an unusually active wandering people. Their wanderings extend from the western part of the Amazon territory over the whole of present-day Brazil and even to Brazil's borderland towards the Pacific Ocean. These journeys, like those of the Caribs and Arawaks, appear to have been extensive even before the time of Columbus. Dr. Métraux states that these wanderings, instead of coming to an end at the time of the European conquest of South America, called forth new movements to regions which the natives had never occupied before. Dr. Métraux has succeeded in esta-

[1] Jiminez de la Espada, in *Relaciones geográficas de las Indias* (Publ. el Ministerio de Fomento), iv. cxxl.

[2] Roth, 'An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-Lore of Guiana Indians', in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.*, xxx. 151: "Far to the north there existed a land abounding in gold and in all manner of delights; but above all possessing a river of such wonderful virtue that whoever bathed in it would be restored to youth. They added, that in times past before the arrival of the Spaniards, a large party of natives of Cuba had departed northward in search of this happy land and this River of Life, and, having never returned, it was concluded that they were flourishing in renovated youth, detained by the pleasure of that enchanting country."

[3] Métraux, *Migrations historiques des Tupi-Guarani*, p. 12 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *La religion des Tupinamba et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupi-Guarani*, p. 201 *sqq.*; *cf.* also *Idem*, *La civilisation matérielle des tribus Tupi-Guarani*, pass.

blishing that the first religious wanderings of the Tupi Indians took place at the beginning of the 16th century.[1]

Nimuendajú-Unkel has left a detailed account of the later migrations of the Guaraní Indians.[2]

Migrations from the interior of the South American continent to the coast — in attempts to find "the land without evil" — have taken place for several hundreds of years, as has been said. They still continue in the present day. Traditions bear clear witness to the fact that they have been caused neither by intruding enemies nor lack of sustenance. Medicine-men and priests guided these Indians on their journeys. They were forced to engage in severe struggles with other tribes with whom they came in contact, but the religious wandering zeal overcame all obstacles. First the Tañygua tribe left its abodes and marched to the east under the leadership of Ñanderyquyní, a dreaded sorcerer. They advanced along the right shore of the Paraná River through Apapocúva to Oguauníva, where their chief died. His successor, Ñanderuí, led the march onward, according to the saga, across the Paraná to the west shore of Ivahy and the districts of Villa Rica and from there, across the Tibagy at Morros Agudos. The journey continued ever eastward. The troop crossed the Rio das Cinzas and Itararé and at last, outside of the town of Itapetininga, at the settlements of Paranapitanga and Pescaria, they came across the first colonists, who immediately tried to enslave them. They escaped, however, and, adhering closely to their original plan, continued their journey not to the west but towards the south-east, towards the sea. In the Sierra dos Itatins they encamped to make preparations for the wondrous trip across the water to the land where one never dies. However, news of their arrival to the coastal region of Ribeira had hardly had time to spread before attacks upon them were made. But they stood their ground and, following the orders of their best warriors, they forced the enemy to retreat. By peaceful means they at last succeeded in winning what they had not attained by battle: friendly relations with the Brazilians. In 1837 the government gave the inland Indians land by the Rio do Peixe and the Rio Itariry. There were only 200 men then in the wandering tribe. Since then the number has decreased still further.[3]

Some of the inland Indians who had gone on this religious wandering to the coastal regions were successful in carrying out their plan of reaching the sea. These were the members of the Oguauníva tribe who reached Bananal, where some of them still live.

There have been similar religious wanderings in these same districts in later times. After numerous bands of Indians had tried to accomplish the same journey undertaken by the Tañygua and Oguauníva tribes and failed as

[1] *Idem, Migrations historiques des Tupi-Guarani*, pp. 15, 21 *sq.*

[2] Nimuendajú-Unkel, 'Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocúva-Guaraní', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xlvi. 287 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.* xlvi. 358.

a result of combats with warlike tribes, a new movement arose. The Apapocúva, a Guaraní tribe, advanced under the leadership of their mighty medicine-men Guyracambí and Nimuarapoñy towards the east. Guyracambí made two attempts to reach the sea, but these failed too, owing to the opposition of the Brazilian government.

Several migrations of a similar nature took place in these regions in the latter part of the 19th century according to Nimuendajú-Unkel. We cannot here discuss all these movements of tribes "who in Matto Grosso in their madness and delusion and while looking for the happy other side were destroyed to the last man by disease and misery without anyone even having understood their plans and intentions".[1] These migrations all have the same character, the same motive: the search for the earthly paradise, *Yvy Marãey*, where no one ever dies.

The supposed existence of such a paradise still leads occasional Indian tribes to-day to go on similar expeditions. Nimuendajú-Unkel did not succeed in discovering where the Indians imagined this paradise to be. The medicine-men differed greatly in their opinions on that subject. The Apapocúva, for example, are acquainted only with the existence of an ocean to the east. They know nothing of an ocean to the west, though one might expect the opposite if the forefathers of the Guaraní Indians had gone from the high plateau of the Andes to the lowlands and coastal regions.[2] None of these Indian tribes attempted seafaring. On the contrary, when they reached the sea they withdrew to the highlands. The important part which the ocean plays in the imagination of these inland Indians is nevertheless worthy of note.

As has earlier been mentioned there can be no question of intruding enemies having caused these migrations. Not in a single instance do the native traditions mention hostilities in Matto Grosso from where the migrations began. There is no intimation of unfriendly visits. The only enemies they had anything to do with were the Guayacúru hordes which pressed down from the north-west. However, they were defeated by the Guaraní and became dependent upon them.[3] Nor would the fact that the Tañygua, after they had freed themselves from slavery at Itapetining, advanced towards the sea towards inhabited tracts instead of returning to their wilderness, tend to prove that the migrations were dictated by fear of onward-pressing peoples. Nimuendajú-Unkel says that historical facts corroborate what the Indians averred: that the

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[1] *Ibid.* xlvi. 292.

[2] *Cf.* v. Martius, *Beitrage zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Südamerikas*, i. 182; Koch-Grunberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*, ii. 292 *sq.*

[3] Rodriques de Prado, 'Historia dos Indios Cavalleiros ou da nação Guaycúru', in *Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geographico*, i. 25.

Guaraní march towards the east was not caused by fear of hostile tribes, still less by the hope of finding better conditions on the other side of the Paraná, or the possibility of coming closer to civilization. These migrations were caused solely by fear that the destruction of the world was at hand. The Indians hoped thereby to reach the land without evil.[1]

Without doubt the religious impulse is the predominant one in the migrations mentioned here. Similar wanderings, which we shall deal with later, occur in other parts of the world. But it seems to me that Nimuendajú-Unkel, inspired by his discovery of the Guaranís' religious migrations, sees religious motives more or less behind all primitive Brazilian wanderings. The author points out that practically the whole Brazilian coast was in the hands of the Tupi and Guaraní tribes at the time of its discovery by the Europeans. Since they were more competent in warfare than the inland tribes, Nimuendajú-Unkel assumes that they easily took possession of the east coast; otherwise it would have been impossible for the Tupis and Guaranís to penetrate so far. That a warlike, seafaring people should spread along the coasts seems natural to the author: "though to me the motives linking the plans of the Tupi hordes for conquering the coasts remain altogether obscure".[2] Their seafaring had not advanced beyond the most primitive stage, sea-fishing was not their principal means of livelihood, but rather hunting and wandering agriculture. Besides, the conditions for livelihood were more unfavourable at the coast. Moreover, at the time of the discovery of South America these Indians still had the character of an inland tribe. If the Tupis had spread along the rivers, the explanation would not have been hard to find; but here it is a case of movement towards the coast, which is made difficult by the deltas of the rivers. Thus, summing up the whole, Nimuendajú-Unkel comes to the conclusion that the principal incentive for the migrations cannot have been a warlike desire for expansion but must be looked for among religious motives. Competence in warfare was developed during the migrations and so made it possible for these tribes to reach the coast.[3]

It may be said against this generalization that at the time when South America was discovered, the map of its peoples, according

[1] Nimuendajú-Unkel, *loc. cit.*, xlvi. 358.
[2] *Ibid.* xlvi. 358, 401 *sqq.*
[3] *Ibid.* xlvi. 401 *sqq.*

to the unanimous verdict of ethnologists, presents a picture of perpetual, chaotic migrations of about the same type as those of Asia, the great crater of migrations. Peoples press upon each other, the food problem and the gradual development of warlike interests become of prime importance. When a people reaches the sea, movement does not stop. It is not always possible for a people to return in the direction from whence it has come. Other peoples now hold sway there and new tribes are pushing towards the sea. The only possible solution is to spread out along the coasts, unless an extensive archipelago invites further wandering seaward — as for instance in the Indonesian archipelago and in Oceania.

It is impossible to ascertain if at the dawn of history religious motives played any part in the primitive South American migrations as was the case later on when they caused the wanderings of the Tupis and the Guaranís. However that may be, it seems to me that Nimuendajú-Unkel's theory runs along too simple lines, though the religious wanderings of later date, of which Nimuendajú-Unkel, Métraux and others have proved the existence, are of undeniable interest and illustrate convincingly the existence of religious motives in primitive migrations.

This same motive, the search for the eternal fountain of youth, for paradise on earth, is to be found among many primitive peoples. For the sake of comparison I mention a few parallel cases.[1]

The ancient Egyptians, according to some reports, even went on wanderings around the world, to "the ends of the earth", in search of an earthly paradise of everlasting life and eternal youth. It is said, moreover, that the Egyptians had localized conceptions of the situation of this paradise; some islands on a delta land resembling that of the Nile were its seat, or else it was situated somewhere in southern Arabia or in Somaliland. During the fifth dynasty it is said that expeditions were sent out principally no doubt to look for gold and precious stones for use in providing the elixir of immortality. During these journeys the Egyptians spread archaic culture far and wide. However, all this is mere hypothesis.[2]

We hear of similar expeditions undertaken by other ancient peoples. It is likely that they not infrequently had a purely worldly purpose, the search for precious stones and gold. The ancient

[1] *Cf.* conc. the Oceanians, Fischer, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, lxiv. 204.

[2] Perry, *The Origin of Magic and Religion*, pp. 59, 70.

Chinese imagined the Kwen-Lun Mountains to be the home of the immortal queen of the west, the owner of the magic peach tree. These mountains have long been important sources of jade and gold. But the ancient Chinese also had conceptions of some islands where the inhabitants lived an everlasting life. They fitted up large expeditions in the time of the great politician Shi-huang-ti, with thousands of youths and maids who, in obedience to the directions of the masters of the Tao, were to sail to P'englai, the islands of the immortals in the eastern seas, and bring back with them the elixir of immortality. Enormous sums were spent on such expeditions.[1] The Japanese, too, had conceptions of paradise islands which they called Horoisaa. The Sumerians thought that there was an earthly paradise in connection with the mysterious country Dilmūn in Bahrein, an island in the Persian Gulf.[2] We find similar ideas in Indian epics such as the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, according to which there were races of immortals living in certain distant countries far to the north.[3]

Among the ancient Mexicans similar conceptions brought about migrations. The Spaniards, upon their arrival in America, sent out expeditions to find "the fountain of youth" which was supposedly located somewhere in the centre of Florida.[4] Corresponding ideas about an earthly paradise, an eternal fountain of youth, existed among numerous peoples as has been said before. Vidal de la Blache goes so far as to say that no people existed "chez lequel ne survive la réminiscence obscure d'un état d'inquiétude, de *Trieb*...., qui le forçait à émigrer de place en place jusqu'au moment de trouver ce séjour définitif, sans cesse promis par la voix divine, sans cesse écarté par des maléfices".[5] —

Even among primitive peoples there exists a fixed idea behind their pilgrimages. The Mexican Indians are accustomed, im-

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[1] Karlgren, 'Kina', in Tunberg and Bring, *Världshistoria*, xv. 67 *sq.*; Perry, *op. cit.*, pp.67, 73 *sqq.*

[2] Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 68. *Cf.* the Babylonian *Giljameš epic.*

[3] Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 78 *sq.* The Greeks and Celts also imagined the existence of an earthly paradise vaguely to the north, which, however, did not lead them on wanderings. *Cf.* Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 80. According to *The Old Testament* (both in Genesis and in Ezekiel, xxviii) belief in an earthly paradise, an earthly Eden, among the Jews can be traced back to the pre-Christian era.

[4] Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 84 (about the ancient Mexicans), p. 59 (about the Spaniards).

[5] Vidal de la Blache, *Principes de géographie humaine*, p. 45.

mediately after harvest time and as soon as all harvest ceremonies have been properly observed, to send special delegations to distant mountain regions for the purpose of gathering a herb which constitutes their guardian deity. These expeditions to the regions where the root is to be found often last more than forty days. All sorts of ceremonies precede the journey, and while the pilgrims are away the foremost man of the tribe remains in the temple and follows them all the way in his thoughts. For this purpose he has a piece of cord of bark fibre with as many knots as the journey takes days. The leader of the pilgrims has a similar cord. Each day one knot is untied. Since the wayfarers encamp each day in a given place it is thus possible for their kinsmen at home to keep track of them and protect them from accidents.[1]

The Yezidees, who keep to the Sindkar mountains in Mesopotamia and who are to be found in smaller numbers in Caucasia, go on long annual pilgrimages to the grave of Sheik Adis who founded their religion.[2]

The Hindus make pilgrimages to Benares and other holy places on the Ganges. They journey from the mouth to the source, going up along one bank and down along the other. The Buddhists go to Kapilavastu, Budh-Gaya, Sarnath and Kusinara. Among the Indians of the Jain sect at least, there is an economic side to the religious moment. It is not only for the sake of their beliefs that they make pilgrimages to the holy places; numerous tradesmen pursue them there with their wares. "The festivals at the holy places are always in connection with fairs and all kinds of amusements."[3] Many thousands of persons make pilgrimages daily to Orissa, where the temple of Puri dedicated to Vishnu enjoys great esteem. On holy days the number increases at times to a hundred thousand. Pilgrims come from all parts of India, and women are far from being in the great minority. This is explained by their subordinate status, the monotony of their lives being broken only by these pilgrimages.

In Tibet several holy places are the goal of extensive wanderings. Many Tibetans undertake journeys beyond the boundaries of their own country. They travel to China, Bhutan, Nepal,

[1] Lumholtz, *Blandt Mexicos Indianere*, ii. 109 *sqq.*

[2] Byhan, 'Nord-, Mittel- und Westasien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, ii: i. 403.

[3] Løventhal, *Indien*, p. 246; Schlagintweit, *Indien*, i. 186.

Turkestan and India, and even at the present day pilgrimages are not uncommon in China and Japan.[1]

However, pilgrimages make us think principally of the religious wanderings of the Arabs and the crusades of the Middle Ages. As these can scarcely be considered as belonging to primitive surroundings, I shall merely draw a few parallels for the sake of comparison, since here, too, we have to do with religious wanderings of extraordinary dimensions.

Both the Mohammedan and the Christian pilgrimages are determined by the desire to seek out holy places, the tombs of saints, places with relics. They may be connected with the thought that there are local gods who have to be sought out if one wishes to commune with them. Since the pilgrims are engaged in holy matters and come in touch with holy objects, they themselves are readily considered to possess holy qualities. But neither Mohammedans nor Christians, any more than the Hindus and the Chinese, have shown any desire to adorn sanctuaries at important pilgrim resorts in order to tempt larger numbers.

The first expansion of the Arabs in North Africa and the Pyrenean peninsula had a religious motive, as far as the outer world was concerned at least. This wholesale migration which caused such great changes in the existing conditions of the commonwealth and state was intended to spread the teachings of Mohammed with fire and sword. The Arabian migration in turn led to other migrations, peoples left their earlier settlements in order to escape the scourge of Islam.[2] Pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina, the Haddj and Ziyārah wanderings continue to this day. Pilgrimages, journeys to holy shrines, which as a matter of fact are a survival from the time preceding Mohammed and which the Prophet felt he ought to retain and include in his religion, are the holiest goal of the Arab's life, constituting, as is well known, one of the main duties in his religion, the others being fasts, particularly the Ramaḍân fast, prayers and alms.[3] The pilgrimages have become "the circulation

[1] Waddell, *Lamaism*, pp. 278, 305; Vámbéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 459; Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, p. 322. The Japanese make pilgrimages to Nikko, Ise and Fuji, the Chinese to the tombs of Tai-chan and Confucius. *Cf.* Rust, in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, v. 1754.

[2] Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, p. 5.

[3] *The Korân*, ii: 180 *sqq. Cf.* Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 314, 725; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 106; Zwemer, *Arabia, the Cradle of Islam*, p. 37; Raunkiær, *Wahhabiternes Land*, p. 18, 20.

of blood in the great organism",[1] and Mecca is the heart-muscle which keeps the circulation going. This national movement of the Mohammedans does not confine itself to Arabia. To-day it still extends over large parts of Asia and Africa.[2]

As has been pointed out, the Arabian pilgrimages are often combined with economic and mercantile interests. Jacob, the German Arabist, calls attention to the importance of caravan trade to the pilgrims and to how Mecca has developed into an important commercial town. That the religious feeling is not always too strong is proved by the fact that some Arabs arrange for agents to make pilgrimages to Mecca for them.[3]

In addition to the pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina and other important places in Arabia, the Mohammedan also takes journeys to more local points. Every year at a certain time some of the mountain tribes in Algeria, for example, go on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Yahia, the saint of Maafa, in order to share in the holiness of the Jebel Busa mountain.

At a certain date in every year a pilgrimage takes place to the tomb of Sidi Yahia, following which the pilgrims betake themselves to the hallowed slopes of the Jebel Busa in order to obtain some of the holiness which the mountain is believed to be capable of bestowing upon the faithful. Just before entering the defile that leads to Maafa, the track by which the Ouled Ziane nomads move northwards in the spring, and southwards in the autumn in their migrations with their flocks and herds to and from the northern slopes of Aures, will be found very clearly defined by walls of stones so that the herdsmen shall have no excuse for allowing their animals to stray and inflict damage in the fields of the Shawia. The gorge of Maafa itself, studded with juniper and other trees, winding for some miles between precipitous cliffs, is certainly extremely picturesque, but the most interesting point to be noted in it by the student of native manners and customs is the existence of some cave dwellings, which are inhabited to-day.[4]

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[1] Lehmann, *Stallet och vagen*, p. 223.

[2] Duguet, *Le pèlerinage*, pass. Arabian Malays from Sumatra have gone on wanderings all the way from this island to Mecca. Moszkowski, *Auf neuen Wegen durch Sumatra*, p. 137 *sq.* Alexander (*From Niger to the Nile*, ii. 3*sqq.*) tells of a migration at the beginning of this century of 8000 persons from West Africa through the Sudan to the Red Sea and Mecca.

[3] Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, p. 148; Torrey, *The Commercial-Theological Terms in the Koran*, pass.; Westermarck, *op. cit.*, i. 97; Lane, *op. cit.*, 247 *sq.*; Wallin, *Förstа resa till Cairo*, p. 103; Sell, *The Faith of Islam*, pp. 278, 287 *sq.*, 298.

[4] Hilton-Simpson, *Among the Hill-Folk of Algeria*, p. 92.

History tells us about the journeys of the ancient Greeks to their oracles, and about the religious wanderings of the Medes and the Persians. The Jewish pilgrimages to Jerusalem have continued through the centuries. The first Christian pilgrimages to the tombs of the apostles and the martyrs merged into the Crusades, which give to the history of Europe in the Middle Ages one of its most characteristic outlines. The farther away a place was, the more it stimulated the ardour of the pilgrims.

During the Middle Ages almost all countries had pilgrim resorts. Rome with its many precious memories early attracted large streams of pilgrims, especially during the so-called jubilee years when absolution was granted more liberally than usual. Religious exaltation induced people to go on pilgrimages and to embrace the hermit life. During the Middle Ages there was general unrest among the peoples, an unrest which outwardly at least was of a religious character, and which the Church well knew how to turn into religious channels of this kind. It was not only to Rome that the pilgrims went in numbers. Still greater numbers travelled from city to city, visiting holy places and worshipping relics. There were of course other motives than religious reasons and "homeless piety" behind many of these pilgrimages. Was not the unrest of the Middle Ages to a great degree a natural reaction from the narrow-mindedness of the times, an expression of a natural need for movement, and a desire for adventure, even if money-making and political aspirations also played their part? "What magic power was not granted the Red Cross which loosened all chains, which freed the serfs, which lifted the yoke from the debtors' shoulders, which caused great visions to dazzle the doer of deeds, and placed in the way of the chivalrous adventure-lover loftier aims than he had dreamed of, and all this with the blessing of the Church; all with the promise of certain blessedness?" These words of Dr. Olrik's undoubtedly paint the Crusade spirit in just about its right colours, and the author no doubt speaks the truth when he says that the Church well knew that thousands upon thousands of soldiers joined the Crusades only to win fame and spoils. However, that was of small importance as long as the object of the Church hallowed the means.[1] That made the pilgrims inviolable, not to say holy.

[1] Olrik, 'Riddarväsen och korstågskultur' in *Världskulturen*, iv. 51. It is true that voices were early raised in protest against the worldly side of

Religious journeying during the period of the Crusades grew into an actual organization, an institution. Large inns were erected at the halting-places, and handbooks were published, giving information about places worth seeing in the locality. The Crusader longed to reach his goal, but that did not prevent him from appreciating all that the journey and the road had to offer.[1]

The Catholic Church of to-day has again made religious journeying popular. The Catholic countries have always had and still have numerous pilgrim resorts such as, Santiago de Compostela in Spain, Tours and Lourdes in France, Cologne and Treves in Germany, Einsiedeln in Switzerland; and in the north, Odense with St. Knud's church and Trondheim with St. Olaf's tomb, and the monasterial church of Birgitta in Vadstena.

The Catholic pilgrimages, in common with those of the Hindus and the Mohammedans, are often based upon faith in the cure of illness. The blind, the lame, and the leprous flock in numbers to the holy places, and reports of miracles and healings are constantly kept circulating by the agents of the Church. Promises made to the gods during illnesses and law-suits also result in pilgrimages.

Religious persecution has also brought about national movements through the ages. Ever since the exodus of the children of Israel, brought about by the oppression of the Pharaohs, and ever since Egypt was visited by cattle pests, hail-storms and swarms of grasshoppers,[2] the Jews have been forced to wander from country to country, so that their history is almost identical with the history of the wandering peoples. History affords numerous examples of emigration occasioned by religious reasons. We mentioned earlier the national movements caused by the spread of Islamism, emigrations which followed upon the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, Puritan and Huguenot emigrations, and several similar movements

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the Crusades, that is, objecting to the motives which not uncommonly lay behind the journeyings. "*Non Hierosolymis fuisse, sed Hierosolymis bene vixisse laudandum est*", explained Hieronymus, a Father of the Church. And Augustinus urged: "*Ad Christum amando venitur non navigando*". It was a prosperous period for the sale of indulgences as these could be had at all holy places. This was a madness against which the travelling reformers fought. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

[1] Hirn, *Eremiter och pilgrimmer*, pp. 13, 24.

[2] *Exodus*, chs. ix—xi, ch. xiii. 30—51, ch. xv. 22.

which need not be discussed in this connexion. After the Lamaistic reforms a large percentage of the Tibetan clergy led a life of permanent wandering.[1]

In the travels of the ancient Icelanders as told in their sagas one can find traces of their being brought about by magic or religious reasons, so to speak, as for instance when Ingemund and his men, through Finnish witchcraft and "phantom's will", went from Norway to Iceland during the reign of King Harald Fàirhair.[2]

Belief in the transmigration of souls, which has its roots deep in the imagination of primitive peoples, is among those religious phenomena which in different variations (all of which more or less agree in the important details) are to be found among most peoples on a low plane of civilisation. This conception is generally founded upon reincarnation: the souls of the dead are transplanted into various animals, plants and inanimate objects.[3]

It would be interesting to investigate in greater detail to what extent the conception of the transmigration of souls among wandering peoples has been influenced by these peoples' earthly migrations. It would not be strange if the roving, changeable life that the nomads lead should affect their conceptions of the wanderings of the soul. For example, the natives of Borneo think that the souls of the dead wander "on foot through the jungle until they reach the crest of a mountain ridge".[4] The Caribs on the islands believed that the souls of the courageous after death wandered to "the happy islands" where they lived a wonderful life of song and dance.[5] Herbert Spencer, on the basis of extensive though now of course antiquated ethnological data, thought he had proved that in the conceptions of the transmigration of souls and the kingdom of death among primitive peoples one could find the reflection of earlier wanderings during life. Thus, beliefs

[1] Brunhes and Vallaux, *La géographie de l'histoire*, p. 250.

[2] 'Vatusdòla-Saga'; *cf.* Petersen, *Historiske Fortællinger om Islændernes Færd Hjemme og Ude*, iv. 19, 23.

[3] Karsten, *Inledning till religionsvetenskapen*, pp. 79 *sqq.*, 88 *sqq.*, 102 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *Naturfolkens religion*, pp. 47 *sq.*, 56 *sq.*, 90 *sq.* *Cf.* Wachtmeister, *Primitiv själavandringstro*, pass.; Kaudern, *På Madagaskar*, p. 278.

[4] Hose and McDougall, *op. cit.*, i. 40.

[5] Rochefort-Poincy, *Histoire naturelle et morale des Isles Antilles de l'Amérique*, p. 430.

in the crossing of rivers, long land journeys, etc. are to be found among peoples who during their lifetimes go on such expeditions. So also the belief in the soul's wandering across the sea is to be found among peoples who have spread seawards. These conceptions would later be modified of course. Spencer was of the opinion that the original places of settlement of the peoples could be determined from the site of the distant abode of their spirits. The dead souls had not gone away. The idea of the spirits returning to their original country came about after the migrations of the peoples. "The stationary descendants of the troglodytes think they return to a subterranean other world, whence they emerge, while immigrant races have for their other worlds the abodes of their fathers to which they return after death: over land, down a river, or across the sea, as the case may be".[1] It seems to me, however, that the question as a whole lacks sufficient detailed analyses to permit of definite hypotheses.

Since we know to what a great extent the life of primitive peoples is enmeshed in magical and religious conceptions, it is not out of the question that similar conceptions among primitive wanderers should lead to migrations. It is possible that research has not always paid sufficient attention to such motives, since the natural tendency is to ascribe migrations principally to subsistence-geographical and political reasons. But the religious motives which in higher stages of culture are often connected with economic, political and other interests, are not seldom, as I have tried to show, the cause of extensive tribal and racial migrations among primitive peoples in various parts of the world.

[1] Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, i. 224 *sqq.*, 233 *sq.*

CHAPTER XI

SOME PARALLELS TO MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS DRAWN FROM HISTORY

A. General Cases.

Even if, in studying the wandering instinct, we have to give particular attention to the wandering phenomenon among peoples on the lower planes of culture, in whom it exists more undisguisedly, it is of interest to touch upon some parallels to migratory movements drawn from history, and especially to look for the reasons lying behind these.

There is a decided difference between the wanderings of "cultureless" peoples and later historic and modern movements of peoples.

The life of primitive peoples is often identical with a constant wandering existence, often aimless wanderings, an expression of one of the most elementary human instincts still altogether uncurbed in primitive circles, brought about as a rule by subsistence-geographical but also by religious, warlike, commercial and other motives. The wanderings of peoples on a low plane of culture are often mass wanderings which include the whole tribe, the whole people. In the course of their historical development the wanderings gradually become individualized. They turn into a wandering of certain groups, certain classes of people.[1] Historic wanderings also may be mass movements, but this is seldom the case in higher stages of culture. The myth-surrounded migrations of the ancient peoples of Israel have the stamp of mass movements, which is also true, periodically, of the successive colonial political movements of the

[1] Haddon (*The Wanderings of Peoples*, pp. 26, 48) distinguishes between "cultural drift" and "racial drift". *Cf.* also Flinders Petrie, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi. 190, pass.; Birkner, *Die Rassen und Völker der Menschheit*, p. 369 *sqq.*

peoples of the Mediterranean around the most historic waters of the earth, and particularly of the great migrations in the beginning of the Middle Ages, and later on of the diffusion of the Arabs and the wanderings of the Slavs. The Viking expeditions and the Crusades are already somewhat more individualized wanderings. Colonization and emigration become a group movement.

The Phoenician, Greek and Roman civilizations extended their influence through migrations and by planting colonies. In many instances, the reason behind this expansion is to be found in the relative over-population of the tribal land. In some cases it had a political motive, the desire to plant military colonies or to provide new homes for the proletariat. We see in other culture-worlds, too, how a relatively surplus population causes emigration and the founding of colonies of a sort. As the population of Cuzco increased and greater food supplies were found necessary, the Incas extended their dominions by a series of conquests. It was a kind of systematic establishment of colonies.[1] Whenever the population of some tribes of the Barundi in East Africa has seriously increased, the result has most often been migrations towards Ruanda, Urundi and Uha.[2]

The first historic wandering epoch extends to the time of the great geographical discoveries which mark the transition of the late Middle Ages to modern times. Up to this point the wanderings were almost exclusively land events or, in cases where water was crossed, it was a question of the great European seas, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Baltic Sea. The Viking expeditions were the first long sea journeys. With the exploits of Columbus and his contemporaries wanderings became mostly trans-oceanic events.

The Viking expeditions, the first seaward wanderings of any great proportions, deserve special mention. These brilliant, manly feats of courage are thought by many investigators to usher in a new wandering phase in the history of the Nordic peoples. Doubtless this is so, but at the same time we must bear in mind that the expeditions of the Norsemen did not arise spontaneously as a result of the attack on Lindisfarne or Holy Island, off the coast of Northumberland.[3] The Viking expeditions were most

[1] Nuttal, in *Papers of the Peabody Mus.*, ii. 149.

[2] Meyer, *Die Barundi*, p. 160; *cf.* Johnstone, *The Wonderland of Eastern Congo*, pp. 27, 33.

[3] Schück, *Svenska folkets historia*, i. 159, 176.

far-reaching at the end of the 700's and the beginning of the 800's, when the armies and fleets increased in numbers and importance. The expeditions had been going on for a long time before that, however. The Viking expeditions may be looked upon as the last waves of the Teutonic wanderings. During this entire period wanderings had been going on among the peoples in the North. The movement quieted down at times, only to break loose anew with increased force. Large migrations from the North to western Europe had been going on since olden times.[1] The entire Northern cultural development bears deep traces of connexions with western Europe earlier than the days of the Norsemen.[2] In certain cases it is still uncertain which paths and directions were taken on these journeys, as it was not until the 9th century that the Scandinavians began to emerge from the obscurity surrounding them. However, there is not the least doubt but that the wanderings took place.

This movement was still clearly a case of mass wanderings. A whole tribe wandered, men, women and children journeyed to foreign countries. The contemporary sagas and accounts mention mighty migrations, not of solitary warriors but of people in great flocks.[3] In the descriptions the events are often collected into one movement, whereas in reality it was a case of a continuous series of events extending over long periods of time and having many motives. The Vikings had an exceedingly strong craving for movement, an instinctive reaction against monotony and tranquillity with a force resembling that of nature peoples. Again, social and political reasons began to make themselves felt; obviously it was better to emigrate than to submit to new invaders. The success of the

[1] Montelius, *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, p. 255; *cf. Idem*, in *Nordisk Tidskrift*, i. 35; Müller, *Vor Oldtid*, p. 117; Rosenberg, *Nordboernes Aandsliv*, i. 23 *sqq.*; Schück, 'Studier i Ynglingatal', in *Upsala univ:s årsskrift* (1910), p. 150; Gustafson, *Norges Oldtid*, p. 97 *sq.*

[2]) Vogel, *Nordische Seefahrten im frühen Mittelalter* (*Meereskunde*, iii), p. 5; Mawer, *The Vikings*, p. 4; Bugge, *Vikingerne*, ii. 12; Petersen, *Historiske Fortællinger om Islændernes Færd Hjemme og Ude*, i. 18; Engelhardt, in *Mém. de la Soc. d'Ant. du Nord* (1872—1877), p. 199; conc. Finland, see Montelius, in *Finsk Tidskrift*, xliv. 44; Wiklund, *När kommo svenskarna till Finland*, p. 24; T. E. Karsten, in *Sv. Litt. Sallsk. i Finland, Förh. o. Upps.*, xxvii. 131; Hackman, in *Opuscula arch. O. Montelio 70:o Dicata*, p. 316.

[3] *Cf.* 'Rydaarbogen', in *Script. rerum Danicarum*, i. 148, iii. 302; W. Gemmeticensis, in *Patrologia* (Migne), cxlix. 770 *sqq.*; Dudo, in *Hist. Norm. Script. Antiq.* (Duchesne), p. 55 *sqq.*; Säve, *Gutniska Urkunder*, pass.; Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, i. 18.

first extensive expeditions, the relative over-population of the North, — i.e. the disproportion existing between the population and the amount of land under cultivation — also naturally contributed to a great degree to sever home ties, particularly as the law in places, especially on the Danish Islands where there was a large surplus population, ordered part of the people to emigrate.[1] What is more, the Viking Age was not so far distant from the time when the inhabitants of Scandinavia still belonged to the "moving" stage, and roamed around extensively.[2]

Bugge points out that the Vikings' methods of travelling and of fighting in many respects resembled those employed by primitive peoples.[3] This similarity to the Polynesians, Malays and other half-savage peoples cannot be looked upon as accidental, although the Norsemen were on a much higher plane of culture in other respects. We know of other very similar sea expeditions from other parts of the globe, in other ages and by other peoples. The Oceanic peoples in the South Sea engaged in them, as also the peoples along the coasts of the Aegean Sea, the Japanese, etc.

In addition to over-population, subsistence-geographical reasons were also a principal cause of the Viking expeditions. The Norsemen suffered from a lack of fishing waters and hunting-grounds. Nordenstreng tells us that "in proportion to the shortage of food, lots were drawn in the starving settlements and a larger or smaller number of the younger men were forced to emigrate from the country and seek a livelihood elsewhere".[4]

The cessation of the Viking expeditions, that is to say, the cessation of the expeditions of the Scandinavians, goes hand in hand with social development in the North and in particular with the spread of Christianity in Scandinavia.[5]

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[1] Steenstrup, *op. cit.*, i. 207; Montelius, *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, p. 252; Bugge, *op. cit.*, ii. 11 *sq.*; Schück, *Svenska folkets historia*, i. 184 *sqq.*; Hildebrand, *Sveriges historia*, i. 223 *sq. Cf.* the ancient Aryan inst. of wandering, "*Ver sacrum*", Tiander, Датско-русскія-Изслѣдованія, p. 48 *sq.*

[2] Bugge, *op. cit.*, ii. 11 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.* ii. 7, 48.

[4] Nordenstreng, *Vikingafärderna*, p. 15 *sq.*

[5] The conception of the state and state organization must be considered to be older in the North than Christendom. *Cf.* Hjärne, *Skandinavisk laghistoria*, pp. 178 *sqq.*, 205 *sqq.*

A modern wandering phenomenon, which before the World War almost bore the stamp of mass migrations, is the emigration movement of the present day. The rapid development of transportation during the last century to a great degree contributed to it. But on the other hand, the transportation system is doubtless an expression of the need created by the centrifugal forces of humanity, the need to expand and, at the same time as cultivation increases, the need for greater and stronger social intercourse. The increased transportation facilities, allied with the hunger for education, but also assisted by the restlessness of the time, have created another modern form of travelling, — touring.

From Europe alone the emigrants to America during the twentieth century amounted to almost thirty million persons. These figures clearly testify to the meaning and mass character of movement. Who could have foreseen at the time of the brave Columbus' circumnavigation of the globe that only three centuries later forty million people would have crossed the Atlantic? Before the war as many emigrants as had formerly crossed the Atlantic in a year or several years were carried across by a single steamer on one journey.

The principal reasons for these emigrations are to be found to a great extent in the same tendencies which determined earlier wanderings, although these tendencies have become considerably differentiated as development has progressed. It goes without saying that modern emigration is brought about by different reasons in different countries. Economic and social conditions, political and, in certain cases, also religious oppression, the force of habit and tradition on the character of a people, have all combined to create the large movements of recent times. Relative over-population, the difficulties an increasing population finds in living under the present-day system of property ownership, the pressure exerted by the inability to expand agriculturally, and other political-economic conditions unfavourable to founding a family and supporting several children, these and similar circumstances have all been strong forces leading mankind to wander. There is a great temptation to emigrate, particularly in cases where unfavourable economic, social and political conditions in the motherland coincide with favourable conditions abroad.

In countries and kingdoms where it is possible to expand within the country's boundaries, where virgin soil is still to be found, colonization has

mostly been internal. Emigration to foreign countries is the result of being unable to expand internally. This does not particularly characterize the Northern countries, however, from which emigration in large numbers has always been the rule. Emigration has always been strongest from the most over-populated or famine-ridden districts. The first incentive to the Doric wanderings lay in a relative over-population, as with the expeditions of the Vikings. Machiavelli begins his *Florentine History* with the following statement: Several times the people living beyond the Rhine and the Danube, born in a healthy and fertile settlement, increased to such a degree that part of the population was forced to leave its native place and look for a new home abroad.[1] The drawing of lots determined which section of the province was to migrate.

However, emigration has not always ceased, even when more favourable conditions have set in in the motherland. Without doubt a strong psychological vein runs through the motives for emigration from the Northern countries. After more favourable agricultural conditions have made their appearance, deep-seated ideas of the difficulties connected with living on the soil have acted almost as effectively as the difficulties themselves. It is the human ambition to try to improve their status, combined with a strong touch of anxiety and dissatisfaction, a distrust of the native country, an overestimation, in fact a superstitious belief in other countries, which forces people to move on, Sundbärg writes of the emigration from Scandinavia.[2] This dissatisfaction is manifested in a restless desire to travel and search for adventure, a yearning which easily severs home ties and which has existed for a long time among the northern Teutons. The movement spreads when once it has taken hold. Its attraction for the folks at home becomes great, the surroundings in which the children grow up often bear its stamp, become "Americanized" as it were, predisposing the children towards migration.

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Emigration is often augmented by colonization. On the whole these phenomena are quite closely related. However, colonization, which in itself is a wandering phenomenon, is conceivable without emigration in the modern sense, for example

[1] Machiavelli, *Florentinska historia* (Swed. trans.), p. 11.
[2] Sundbärg, *Emigrationsutredningen*, App. xvi. 191.

commercial colonization like the former Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch colonization, or the British mercantile political colonization. On the other hand colonization is a step beyond emigration; the latter again, which at times includes colonization, generally turns towards earlier colonized lands and peoples. It is the emigrants who have populated the world, says René Gonnard.[1] But it is colonization combined with emigration which created the Great Powers on the other side of the ocean as well as Australia and the Union of South Africa, and it is to a great extent thanks to emigration that these countries have steadily received further contributions to their population.

Up to the outbreak of the World War emigration was principally a trans-oceanic phenomenon. There was even then an intra-continental wandering, a Russian migration eastward to Siberia, a German, Austrian, Belgian and Swiss migration to the Latin countries, a noticeably large Italian wandering towards France. But the trans-oceanic movement was particularly strong: a European migration to the New World, Africa and Australia, a yellow movement from Asia to the Pacific region, Central and South America. In the European wanderings Spaniards, Britons, Germans and Italians predominate, followed by Slavs, and peoples of the Balkans, principally Greeks and Turks.

When war broke out in 1914, emigration decreased suddenly to an insignificant percentage of its former volume. The following year it was practically paralyzed. Instead of the 1.3 millions who emigrated the year before the war, the number in 1915 was in the neighbourhood of 300,000. When America entered the war immigration to the U. S. A. practically ceased. On the other hand, from the day that war was declared, re-emigration of sons fit to do military duty began from America, particularly to Germany and, from the spring of 1915, to Italy. Re-emigration from America also continued strongly during the years immediately following the war. Later it is true that emigration to the U. S. A. increased somewhat. However, the total emigration to the United States amounts to about 500,000 yearly. If one takes into consideration re-emigration from America, the net increase is only about 300,000 persons. The United States has shut its doors, or more correctly,

[1] Goddard, in the introductory notes to his *Essai sur l'histoire de l'émigration*; *cf.* Gregory, *Human Migration and Future*, pass.; Lot, in *Revue historique*, cxix. 40.

it has almost entirely shut those doors which had gradually been closing during the preceding thirty years.[1]

In this diminished trans-oceanic emigration, political and economic reasons have also naturally played a part: on the one hand a poor rate of exchange in some European countries, and on the other hand better conditions in countries which had gained by the war and from which formerly emigration had taken place on a large scale. These better conditions made themselves felt particularly in the working and farming classes, which formerly produced most emigrants. However, the principal reasons are to be found in the restrictions imposed on the other side of the Atlantic.

Can emigration be checked? Hardly. It is to too great a degree based upon an elementary human trait, which even in the present day is liberated by subsistence-geographical, in other words, economic reasons, to let itself be fettered by the passage of laws, or the restriction of passports. These measures may lead the migratory streams into new channels, but they can scarcely keep them from flowing onward, as has been illustrated by the war and its consequences. The World War has also given rise to involuntary movements of people to an undreamed — of extent. Instead of overseas migrations to the American continent, the emigration from Europe is now intra-continental in character. This new emigration has so far not been made the subject of close study, but the statistics of different countries give us an idea of its volume. From 1920—24 this intra-continental migration was as great as the

[1] A series of American *Acts of Congress* (1882, '84, '92, 1902, '07, '12, '17), increased the requirements laid down for immigrants. The *Johnson Bill* which was placed before the House of Representatives in December 1920 wished to prohibit immigration to the country entirely for the space of one year, but it was vetoed by the Senate. The *Dillingham Bill* of Feb. 1921 limited the immigrant quota for European nationalities to 3 per cent of each nationality in the U. S. in 1910. The law of 1924 went still further. It stipulated 2 per cent instead of 3 per cent and took as the basis for computation the number of persons of each nationality landed in the U.S.A. since 1890.

It has been aptly said that the United States is almost entirely surrounded by a Chinese wall against the Chinese and Japanese elements. This wall has not escaped being the object of bitter comment, particularly on the part of Japan. *Cf.* for inst. Pan-Nai-Wei, *L'immigration asiatique aux États Unis d'Amérique* (Fr. translation). Canada, Australia and New Zealand have also begun the policy of restrictions. Asiatic entrants are prohibited by the *Canadian Immigration Act.*

trans-oceanic. At present it is considerably smaller, owing to special restrictions.

The Negro slave trade brought about the transportation of large numbers of people in the middle of the 19th century,[1] but the Negro wanderings within the United States have been still more extensive and have lately made the Negro problem once again of current interest in the country. The Department of Labour estimates the Negro migration at 400,000 to 500,000, others estimate it higher. Between the censuses of 1920 and 1930, the population of the industrialized states along the Eastern seaboard increased by 75.5 per cent. In the industrialized states around the Great Lakes the increase was 81 per cent.[2] Shortage of labour in Northern industries was the direct cause of the increased Negro migration during the war. This direct cause was augmented by other causes, among which was the increased dissatisfaction with conditions in the South, the ravages of the boll-weevil, floods, change of crop systems, low wages, poor housing, rough treatment on the plantations, lynching, and desire for travel.

The war and the treaty of peace gave birth to an involuntary movement of fantastic size. It has been figured out that in all 62 million persons (equal to the population of Germany) were on the march during the years of the World War, people from practically all ends and corners of the earth. Among the unwilling movements in connexion with the war the mass transportation of war prisoners from the west towards the east must surely be included, and particularly that from east to west, from Russia and Siberia towards Central Europe. Siberia harboured almost half a million prisoners of war, a large part of whom began to move upon the outbreak of the Russian revolution; Bolshevism increased the wandering horde.

After the war, the migration from Russia attracts special attention. From Russia proper the emigration to America before the war, in proportion to the enormous expanse of the country, was never important. The stream which went to the New World was scarcely larger than the stream towards Asia. But with the overthrow of Czardom in Russia, the wave surged westward. A steady stream of people fled from the reign of terror, persecution, starvation, disease.

A special emigration which began principally as a result of the

[1] Montgomery, 'Survivors from the Cargo of the Negro Slave Yacht "Wanderer"', in *American Anthropologist*, x. 611 pass.

[2] *Cf.* Fors-Bergström, 'På väg till södern', in *Svenska Dagbladet*, 12.8.1934 (App.); U. S. Dep. of Labor: *The Negro at Work*, ii. 10.

pogroms in Russia was the Zionist emigration to the Holy Land where, since then, about forty Semitic villages have been founded.[1]

The Northern countries were little affected by these events, though the percentage of Russians in Finland, particularly in East Finland, decreased substantially. In the new Baltic formations an inter-Baltic movement has come about simultaneously with the withdrawal of Germans and Russians from these tracts also.

Particularly noticeable is the displacement of peoples within the sphere of the Magyars, and in the Balkans. In the Balkans proper, one comes across one of the most striking displacements recorded in the present day, namely the exchange of the Greco-Turkish population, the compulsory removal of over one million Greeks from Asia Minor to Hellas. To this should be added about half a million Turks who emigrated from North Greece to their own country, plus the shifting of a Greco-Bulgarian population of about 300,000 persons. Thus in the space of a couple of years there has been a displacement of practically two million persons in the restless corner of Europe.

In the voluntary intra-continental migration France has with each year begun to assume a more marked position as the largest immigration country in Europe. Before the war the need of foreign industrial labour and farm labour was already strongly felt. It is to be noted that the growing stream of immigrants corresponds to a real need for foreign labour.[2]

In contrast to France, Italy is an emigration country. Over-population and cramped quarters have of physical necessity made it so. Intensive agriculture and particularly intensive industrialization during the years following upon the war have without doubt created increased possibilities for employment at home. But we have seen that Italy without any emigration cannot bear the strain of the big increase in population and that she seeks to expand her territories in Africa.

The Pyrenean countries are still important emigration centres. The trans-oceanic migration, which has considerably decreased,

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[1] Koulicher, 'La théorie des mouvements des peuples et la guerre civile en Russie', in *Revue intern. de sociologie*, xxxii. 501 *sqq.*, 506 *sq.*; Karnecki, 'Vagabondage et bolchevisme', in *Ibid.* xxxi. 354 *sqq.*

[2] Moureaux, *Les migrations humaines*, pass.; Moisson, 'Mouvement de la population du département des Hautes-Alpes au xix^{e} siècle', in *La Géographie*, xx. 111 *sqq.*

has Spanish and Portuguese America as its principal goals. Emigration to France from both Spain and Portugal increased greatly after the war.

England holds a unique position as an emigration country since the war. To begin with, British emigration to the United States meets with no serious difficulties, thanks to the large percentage of Britons in the country, and there is nothing at all in the path of emigration to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the provinces of South Africa. The latter in particular, as well as Australia, are glad to admit British labour. The British emigration policy consciously strives to direct the emigrant stream to the Dominions in order to decrease unemployment at home.

The German emigration policy seems to oppose rather than favour emigration; but since the Nazi regime has come into power there has been a not insignificant emigration from the country. Owing to the fact that Germany lost her colonies as a result of the World War, some of the German workers have returned from them to the Fatherland. Intensive industrialization provides work for a vast body of labour.

Dutch emigration could well be directed to the colonies, but instead it finds its way to Belgium and France to a striking degree. Belgian emigration has France as its goal. Trans-oceanic Belgian emigration is most insignificant, only a thousand or so per year, which is a noteworthy fact for Europe's most densely populated country.

Poland need have no emigration problem for some time to come. The country is not particularly densely populated. Both its industry and agriculture still have great possibilities of expansion.

Among the Northern countries, Denmark particularly has a fairly large American quota. The overseas emigration from the North has, since the war, principally had Canada as its goal, the soil and scenery of which country in many particulars resemble these of the Northern countries. However, emigration from all the Northern countries has greatly diminished since the war, and especially emigration from Finland. The reason for this may be looked for in political freedom and a higher standard of living.

A considerable inter-Scandinavian emigration has existed since the war between Sweden, Norway and Denmark. Fair-sized colonies of Swedish working-men are to be found in the neighbouring countries.

In addition to the general intra-continental wandering movement and the migration between countries, one sees in Europe, and to a still greater extent in America, a continual movement away from the rural districts to the towns, and to a less extent vice versa. This movement is particularly lively in America, France and Germany. Only in Russia under the Soviet regime are towns depopulated.

Thus emigration as a trans-oceanic phenomenon has noticeably decreased. Instead it has grown more intra-continental in character. The large immigration countries have begun to pay attention to the modern wandering problem in quite another manner than before. This is true not only of these countries. The wandering problem on the whole has grown international, and taken its place in the foreground of the world's problems. The international Geneva spirit, if I may be permitted to use the expression, has begun to make itself felt even in the sphere of emigration.

B. Special Cases. Troubadours, Vagrants, Tramps.

It is not only in the peripheries that the waves caused by the great wanderings are observed to continue with force for some time. In Central Europe, in the Teutonic, Roman and Celtic culture-worlds we find throughout the Middle Ages and far into modern times a continual wandering stream of no mean force. At that time whole classes of society wandered. I am not here so much referring to the journeying craftsmen and the like, which were to be found in Germany particularly, as to all the *fahrende Leute*, *fahrende Schüler*, singers, fiddlers, schoolmasters, charlatans,[1] etc. who gave a certain quaint stamp to life in the Middle Ages and who have left indelible traces on the romantic poetry of the times. It is fairly simple to prove that the wanderings of these vagrants were principally dictated by motives definitely pertaining to food and occupation. I shall confine myself principally to the German world. Music and song were already on a high plane there in the Middle Ages. The Teutons sang the praises of ancient heroes and

[1] Hampe, *Die fahrenden Leute in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, pass.; Steinhausen, *Kulturgeschichte der Deutschen im Mittelalter*, p. 129; Rowbotham, *The Troubadours and Courts of Love*, pass.

their achievements, and the wandering bands saw to it that these songs did not sink into oblivion. They had other important work to carry out, too. For an extended period during the Middle Ages they were the foremost dispersers of important news, the carriers of tidings of all kinds from different parts of the country, in fact it was not unusual for their songs to be the means of passing on secret political information. Their wandering activities in this case thus anticipated the postal service and newspapers, and also the political courier of recent times.

However, it is not only the Germans who represent the "fahrende Leute" type. As early as the time of the first friendly contact between Romans and Germans, a large number of Roman comedians and conjurers crossed the Alps in search of a more appreciative audience for their tricks than was to be had among the blasé inhabitants of the Roman towns.[1] It was for the most part liberated or runaway gladiators who recruited these troupes. The Teuton appreciation of athletic games and combat made these strangers very popular. For a time they pushed aside the native bards to a certain extent, owing possibly to their greater external charm and the lightness of their art. However, the steadily growing influence of Christendom was a contributing factor too. The heathen elements of the old Teutonic songs did not fit in with the new teaching. On the other hand Christendom supported a new type of *fahrende Leute*, namely the real beggars, vagabonds, the *Sterzler*, *Bettelrichter*, and *Bettelvögte*, all various names by which they are referred to in literature. Gradually all homeless wanderers began to be looked upon as belonging more or less to one category.[2]

Soon the fiddlers came up against other dangerous competitors, *fahrende Leute* of higher position. These were school-masters, doctors, craftsmen, priests and others. The printing art in turn created a new roving type, *die Hausieren*, who journeyed round

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[1] Other elements, beggars, etc. often joined the bands of *fahrende Leute*. They have left behind them fainter traces than the others, but they served to increase the size of the bands materially, and to give a more intense colour to the wandering life. It seems to me that it is justifiable to assume that the former type represents the veritable tramps, unaccustomed to life in regulated society, persons who through unfavourable social or rather anti-social conditions began to slip away from community life. Thanks to the prevailing state of affairs they happened to find a mission to fill.

[2] Hampe, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

the country and began to spread the new broadsheets and pamphlets in quantities. With their coming the bards and fiddlers finally lost all significance as the bearers of news.

* * *

The vagabond life did not disappear with the vagrants of the Middle Ages. It is to be found in all ages up through the present, although the *fahrende Leute* of the Middle Ages, both within the Teutonic and the Roman worlds, attract particular attention.

There are similar movements in the present day which reveal an exceedingly strong wandering instinct and so give us a conception of the rôle played by the anti-social factor in wanderings, or let us rather say, prove the existence of typical negative tendencies almost similar to those of the gypsies and gypsy-like tribes in India. Careless or neglected upbringing, lack of home or family in childhood, combined with unhealthy surroundings, are responsible for vagabondage.

The wandering artist life easily leads to vagabondage and begging, says Schurtz, adding that the artist lacks attachment to the soil, association with his family, and at the same time the security which grows out of steady and useful, ordinary economic work.[1]

According to Schurtz, roving peoples whose mode of life resembles that of the gypsies are to be found among the African "half-cultures". They are held in contempt but not actually persecuted, and have a definite part to play among the dominant peoples. Schurtz mentions the Griots in Senegambia, a kind of travelling fiddlers who have a sort of monopoly of the performance of music as a trade, but who are also employed as singers, heralds, and messengers. They are greatly scorned, they are allowed to marry only within their own group, and they have to bury their dead in hollow trees, as they are not allowed to bury them in the earth. Among the nomadized Somal and the partly stationary Somalgalla are a number of vagabond tribes, e. g. the Woboni who devote themselves to elephant hunting, the Midgan who practise hunting and surgery, the Jebir who interpret dreams and who manufacture talismans etc. Similar roving peoples are to be found in southern Arabia and in India. Schurtz believes that in these

[1] Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 505.

cases it is a question of the remains of a primitive population which has retained its mode of life through the ages, even after peoples on a somewhat higher plane of culture have taken possession of its territory.[1] However, the character of these vagrants would rather tend to show that they had immigrated from other countries.

Almost every modern community has various kinds of *Taugenichts* and socially loose individuals. A very interesting type of vagrants are the American tramps or "Hobos" as they are usually called. For a time these tramps were a grave social menace.

> The American Josiah Flynt, who like Jack London for years lived the life of a tramp both in America and Europe, estimates the number of professional tramps in America at 60,000. A third of them are constantly on the go. Mr. Flynt thinks that the whole tramp brotherhood is in transit during the summer particularly. During this season of the year each tramp travels an average of fifty miles, though many travel as much as 2000. A large number make use of modern means of transportation. They travel secretly under railway cars, in freight trains, coal-trucks etc. They have developed an excellent technique, at times well known to the conductors, many of whom began as tramps.[2]

They are to be found practically all over America, though they are not evenly distributed throughout the continent. They have very special wandering spheres in different states, and each large state has its own tramp club or camp, where the wanderers gather. The most northern sections of America are practically outside the zone of vagabond life. A tramp seldom pushes farther north than Quebec. The eastern states are the principal hunting-grounds of the tramps and here one finds their "intelligentsia". The state of New York is the most famous tramp-den in the entire United States. In the western sections of the continent tramp life flourishes strongest in Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota and Colorado, and part of California.[3]

The American tramps at least are individuals of no means, unaccustomed to a better life in ordered surroundings. They seldom try to improve their condition.[4] They are not always from

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[2] Flynt, *Tramping with Tramps*, pass.; *cf.* Jack London, *The Road*, pass.

[3] Flynt, *op. cit.*, p. 82 *sqq.*

[4] Exceptions are the so-called "blanket tramps" who travel between Salt Lake City and San Francisco. Flynt, 'The American Tramps', in *The Contemporary Review*, lx. 254.

the dregs of society; among them one often comes across talented though degenerate individuals who could make their way in any class of society of their choosing if they would only be willing to assume obligations.

Like the gypsies the tramps have a strong sense of belonging to one another. Their cleverly devised method of communicating with each other is also somewhat similar to that employed by the gypsies.

Gypsies can be tramps, but the genuine professional tramp and the *Tachey Romany*, or true gypsy, have very little in common. Tramps sometimes marry gypsies, in which case they adopt the latter's mode of life.[1]

The term "tramp", as a rule, refers only to the Anglo-Saxon vagabond, though Europe in no way lacks a vagrant type which could be placed in the same category. I shall here use the term to denote certain general types of European vagabonds. Flynt says, basing his statement on statistics compiled by Dr. Berthold, that in Germany before the World War 200,000 persons were arrested annually for begging. Half of this number were veritable vagabonds, 80,000 were *bona fide* wanderers searching for work, and the rest were beggars.[2] The German vagabonds were, as a rule, complete vagabonds socially. They belonged to no party, they had no station in life.

The Russian vagabonds of former days were a more interesting type than the German. The loose social state of affairs in the country and the lack of control made it possible for them to engage in a vagabond life more freely than their German brothers. As a result of the low railway fares in Russia a positive "hegira" from one part of the country to the other had come about, but the vagabonds preferred the true roving life, without contact with the railway system. Dr. Wirth mentions that he came across "gold-diggers" (which is what they called themselves) in Russia who in the severest weather without a roof overhead wandered from Upper Seya through seven degrees of latitude to Blagoveshchensk.[3] The tramps, or *Goriums* or *Brodiagi* as they were generally called in Russia, preferred Ukrainia though they were to be found throughout the empire. There was also a religious sect among the Russian vaga-

[1] Cuttris, *Romany Life*, p. 1 *sq.*

[2] Flynt, *Tramping with Tramps*, p. 146.

[3] Wirth, *Der Weltverkehr*, p. 82.

bonds who to some extent resembled the *scholastici and clerici vagantes* of the Middle Ages. The wanderings of the latter were sanctioned by religion in a time when religion and education were somewhat identical conceptions. The Russian, who is a slave of superstition, believed that he would be rewarded in heaven for giving gifts to vagabonds, which explains to a great extent the popularity of trampdom in Russia. The religious wanderers often went on journeys a thousand miles in length. Ordinary tramps travelled by the thousand to such monasteries as Soloviecki in the White Sea and Troitzke in Moscow.[1]

Some authors speak of the *Rallar-folket* in Norway as being typical of Norway.[2] However, this type of wandering labourer is to be found in other Northern countries too, although these people are not necessarily, as Falkberget claims to be the case with the Norwegians, descendants of peasants from the days when the oldest son inherited the farm and the others were driven from home penniless and as a result became "loose existences".[3]

The American vagabonds, as well as the European, live generally by begging, rag-picking, shoeblacking, selling newspapers, etc. Thieving plays a part in their lives, too. The true tramp prefers to do nothing at all.

Mr. Nels Anderson has studied 400 migrants in America and shows that the reasons why people leave home are to be found in seasonal work and unemployment, industrial inadequacy, personality defects, crises in the life of a person, and also in racial and national discrimination. In addition the author mentions such motives as "Wanderlust".[4]

From the social point of view, vagabonds are often more or less unattached individuals who are so intimately bound to the roving life that they cannot leave it. "Often one could not get them to change places with the rich even if that were possible", says Flynt.[5] No doubt the reason why vagabondage is so attractive is because it never grows monotonous.[6]

[1] Flynt, *op. cit.*, p. 167 *sq.*

[2] Falkberget, 'Rallar-folket', in *Nordisk Tidskrift*, xli. 99 *sq.*

[3] *Ibid.* xli. 104.

[4] Anderson, *The Hobo*, pass. A hobo is a migratory worker. A tramp is a migratory non-worker; *cf.* Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 87, 137.

[5] Flynt, *op. cit.*, p. 167 *sq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 7. The so-called "wandering workers" (*Wanderarbeiter*) from older periods especially, though their number is still large, should not generally

With the exception possibly of a certain type of wanderer, for instance the former religious tramps of Russia who practically constituted a sect by themselves, the reasons for vagabondage in America as well as in Europe may in most cases be looked for in anti-social and in certain cases in pathological circumstances. No doubt many normal healthy individuals are to be found among the tramps, — the continual wandering life is hardening, though on the other hand illness and infection easily weaken the constitution. In many instances the reasons for vagabondage are similar to those which determine many other wanderings both among primitive peoples and moderns, even if the development be different. Over-population and lack of food have without doubt turned many people into tramps, especially among individuals without the backbone to fight economic and social difficulties. The ancestors of many tramps were no doubt peaceful, harmless, country villagers, small retail traders, tailors, shoemakers, etc. who passed their free time in saloons and public-houses and who had so many children that the community was not able to support them all. The loose life of the fathers tainted the children who, with not a care in the world, left home to look for a living elsewhere. Flynt feels that two-thirds of the American vagabonds could become good citizens if it were not for their thirst for liquor.[1]

It is fairly natural for the children of vagabonds to become vagabonds. Heredity is not alone responsible for this. It is probably brought about to just as great an extent by environment and the art of imitation. I have earlier in another connexion mentioned the significance of environment. The Danish psychiatrist, Dr. G. E. Schrøder, points out that "it is on the whole illuminating that for a morally defective person there is a support and stimulus in being surrounded by like-minded persons who possibly even admire him".[2]

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be confused with tramps. This type of wanderer which exists principally in Germany ("Sachsengänger", "Landsberger", "Schlesier", as they are called there) has hardly anything in common with the true vagabond. The wanderings that these workers undertake are strictly periodic affairs and are based upon a working plan. They roam through certain tracts at certain periods of the year, returning to their home districts at stated times. *Cf.* Mendelson, "Wanderarbeiter", in *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, viii. 541 *sq.*

[1] Flynt, *op. cit.*, p. 187; *cf.* Kline, 'Truancy as related to the migratory instinct', in *The Pedagogical Seminary*, v. 381.

[2] Schrøder, *Psykiatrisk Undersøgelse af Mandsfanger i Danmarks Straffeanstalter*, p. 75.

Vagabonds are often young in years, which is the reason why vagabondage often escapes being psychologically analyzed, since the relation between instinct and will only appears clearly in maturer years. We must remember that among children, the Wanderlust is often a perfectly natural manifestation. However, it seldom takes definite shape before the age of ten.[1] If it does the reasons are generally pathological.[2] Cases are known, especially in America, of children who have gone off by themselves on long trips from city to city, from one side of the continent to the other, on journeys lasting for months and under the most miserable of conditions.[3] It seems to me that Flynt has not entirely succeeded in solving this problem of the wandering instinct when he blames such escapades altogether on an excited imagination which has not been tempered and guided in the home.[4] It is most likely that the reasons for such chronic cases of wandering lie deeper. Neither can I, like Flynt, look upon it in the same way as one looks upon the leanings towards kleptomania seen in some children. The wandering tendency, the need for movement, is an entirely too elementary and universal phenomenon to be spoken of in general terms

[1] Stanley Hall and Smith, 'Curiosity and Interest', in *The Pedagogical Seminary*, x. 352; Young, 'Children's Travel Interest', in Barnes, *Studies of Education*, ii. 338; Stier, *Wandertrieb und pathologisches Fortlaufen bei Kindern*, p. 113, Mayer, *Wandertrieb*, p. 6 *sqq.*

[2] The children of tramps are brought up to be vagabonds. They are seldom allowed to taste the joys of home life. It would be almost as impossible to uproot the wandering habit among them as among the gypsies. Their imaginations are roused by descriptions of hazardous trips and wonderful scenery. In America particularly, the alluring pictures painted by tramps often entice children to go roaming around the country. The power which such a lost, seedy-looking individual has on children is often remarkable. He comes to a place and spends a couple of hours there, during which time he gathers round him such children as seem to him to be suited for the life and begins to canvass them systematically. He always succeeds in getting part of them to go with him as he is a trained talker. He often falls in with children from good homes who only in their wildest dreams have come in touch with tramp life. However, he knows just how to play upon their imaginations, and promises them such a fascinating life that they are completely bewitched and fall victims to the shabby vagrant. If they take part in such journeys for any length of time it is difficult for them to return to a routine life, in spite of having endured privation and other sufferings (Flynt, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 70 *sq.*).

[3] Flynt, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

in connexion with bents of so different a nature. In many children the wandering instinct may be an altogether natural expression of the need for movement which brings to the fore certain cravings that are easily satisfied. To attempt to stifle it is only to increase its force. The desire to wander often goes hand in hand with a perfectly natural interest in taking a look round, "curiosity and interest" as it is called by Stanley Hall and Smith,[1] which need have nothing in common with a pathological disposition. Rather is it an intellectual phenomenon. In other cases, a strongly developed desire to wander is more or less an expression of an anti-social character, the reasons for which are to be found in neglected upbringing, unfavourable social conditions, an unsound environment, etc. Vagabondage still further strengthens the anti-social tendencies. The ethical sense weakens. In addition tramps often become the victims of alcoholism. The lax life they lead, combined with their irregular and often poor diet, is without doubt calculated to bring about disturbances of a mental or physical nature in cases where they do not already exist.

There has generally been an inclination to see a criminal element in tramp life. Even if this has not been positively identified, connecting links have been figured out between tramp life and violations of the law. However, it is incorrect generally to assume that vagabondage in itself need be criminal. No doubt there is a certain connexion between the two in some cases. Many vagrants have been in contact with the law before disappearing from society. Often, however, a tramp at the beginning of his vagabond life is a relatively healthy individual both in mind and body. His mode of life is to blame if soon afterwards he comes into the hands of the law. Present-day society with its system of property ownership does not offer the same possibilities for wandering on a large scale as do the countries of primitive peoples. The vagabond of to-day cannot, as formerly, with hardly a care in the world, "put life on the highway above the forms of existence of ordinary people".[2] A tramp needs means to live on as he wanders. Often he has nothing and so seizes whatever he comes across, thus easily coming into conflict with the law. As a rule, tramps are punished for misdemeanours committed in connexion with tramp life —

[1] Stanley Hall and Smith, *loc. cit.*, x. 352.

[2] Hirn, *Den gamla postvagnen*, p. 9.

disorderliness, drunkenness, debts, petty theft, disciplinary offences, etc. Such illnesses as are ascribed to vagabonds may also be the result of prison confinement. Short prison terms as well as long ones are inclined to bring about various derangements. If an individual is suffering from a pathological condition there is no doubt but that this will be aggravated by the shut-in prison life, only to break out with renewed force as soon as given the opportunity. On the other hand many criminals who have served prison terms for entirely other reasons than pathological ones have found it difficult afterwards to regain their position in society and have thus become vagabonds for want of regular occupation. But in many cases the abnormal wandering instinct is most likely a result of a pathological condition.[1]

The closer relation existing between the psychic peculiarities of tramps and their life, and particularly the conditions of their life before embracing trampdom and the reasons which brought about the event, have previously received little attention. In cases where the question has been studied at all, attention has been paid only to the fact of vagabondage itself, and to a greater degree to the phenomenon among tramps serving prison terms. Dr. Karl Wilmanns treats these phenomena from many sides.[2] Wilmanns' work, which covers a number of years of experiment, is based upon the clinical studies of German tramps and the anatomical progress of the phenomenon which gives rise to this form of vagabondage. Dr. Wilmanns has investigated more than fifty cases of pathological character, most of which ended in prison. These cases are reported in detail.[3] Investigations similar to those made by Dr. Wilmanns in Germany have been made by the Danish psychiatrist G. E. Schrøder in the prisons of Denmark,[4] and on a still larger scale by Professor Ch. B. Davenport in America,[5] as well as by Dr. Tramer

[1] To draw the line between the various forms of the pathological wandering instinct is very difficult. Buttner (in *Zeitschr. f. die Behandlung Schwachsinniger*, xxviii, 170) distinguishes among psycho-pathological manifestations dependent upon lighter psychical or physical derangements which can be traced to epileptic, neurasthenic, hysterical disturbances as well as cases of paranoiac, and paralytic disturbances.

[2] Wilmanns, *Zur Psychopathologie des Landstreichers*, pass.

[3] *Idem*, 'Das Landstreichertum', in *Monatsschrift f. Kriminalpsychol. u. Strafrechtsref.*, i. 605 *sq.*; *cf.* also Foerster, *Schuld und Sühne*, p. 74 *sqq.*

[4] Schrøder, *op. cit.*, pass.

[5] Davenport, *The Feebly Inhibited*, pass.

in Switzerland, who made a study of such cases in a lodging house.[1]

Davenport has not only investigated the development and life of individual tramps; he has also looked into their families, in order to discover if any relative shows the same traits of character. He found it difficult in many cases to find out anything about the life of tramps previous to the wandering period, as they had long ago lost all contact both with families and birthplaces. However, school certificates, employment papers, army papers, investigation of police records and prison annals helped him.

A study of the cases investigated by Wilmanns, Schrøder and Davenport immediately reveals the connexion between the wandering instinct and a number of anti-social and pathological phenomena. In many of the cases examined by Wilmanns pathological signs are noted as far back as the tramp's eighteenth or twentieth year, at which age he began to take an interest in highway life, often as a result of unfavourable social surroundings.[2]

Tramer's investigations show that the abnormal vagabond life is determined by the following exogenous factors: vagabonds are either bastards, or the children of drunkards, or orphans who have had to take care of themselves from a tender age, with little or no schooling. To these are added the following endogenous factors: physical or mental weakness, epilepsy or neurasthenia, *Dementia praecox*. Tramer also includes the wandering instinct as a reason, "der Drang zum Wandern, der übermächtig und unbewusst

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[1] Tramer, *Vaganten*, pass.; Raecke, 'Über epileptische Wanderzustände', in *Archiv f. Psychiatrie*, xxiii. 107 *sq.*

[2] This period has often been preceded by mental disturbances of various kinds. "The development of the psychosis in almost every case about which sufficient information could be had proved to be insidious," Wilmanns points out (*Zur Psychopathologie des Landstreichers*, p. 17). Generally the first sign was a peculiar change in character, the former industrious and quiet young man became restless, dull, irritable and gradually completely indifferent, after which he finally took to the road. In some cases the pathological condition can suddenly disappear, at least ostensibly, without leaving any traces. The pathological wandering instinct presents a wealth of variations and nuances. The mental derangements included a thinning out, or a lack of the regulating inhibitory mechanism which allows the normal individual to govern his craving for movement, and thus the indicated pathological manifestations in the former case often assume an explosive character. (*Cf.* Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 17).

kommt und sich durchsetzt".[1] Thus Tramer runs more or less in a circle, unless by wandering instinct he only refers to the pathological wandering instinct. Among the cases examined by Tramer were labourers who worked in order to be able to wander. This investigation on the whole also proves that the principal reasons for pathological vagabondage are anti-social.[2]

The American families of Jukes and Kallikak, and the Swiss family of Zero (the names are fictitious) are interesting examples of an abnormal wandering instinct. It was generally supposed that the Zero family because of its roaming life descended from some band of *fahrende Leute* which for unknown reasons had established itself in the Swiss Alps. At times the Zeros have even been looked upon as gypsies. Dr. Jörger[3] has, however, traced their lineage, made heredity calculations, etc., and reached the conclusion that they are neither the one nor the other. They have no oriental blood at all. On the paternal side they are nothing but degenerate Swiss peasants — data from the 16th and 17th centuries establish the Zeros as a respected peasant family — but on the maternal side they are descendants of vagrant, giddy women of foreign origin. All the living Zeros can be traced back to one forefather, Andreas Zero, a Swiss peasant born in 1639. Three branches issued from him, the second of which became degenerate and produced vagabonds. Andreas Zero's grandson, Paul A. Zero, who became the forefather of the degenerate branch of the family, married an Italian woman of the *fahrende Leute* type. His son P. Jos Zero followed in his father's footsteps and married a Markus, which family is still a vagabond family bearing the same name. It originally immigrated to Switzerland from Germany. P. Jos Zero had no permanent home during his life, which is proved among other things by the fact that all of his seven children were born in different places. The later Zeros are thus descendants of marriages between Swiss Alpine peasants and homeless Italian women in which the maternal heritage has been dominant.

The first vagabond generations lived a harmless wandering life. They rested during the winter, but as soon as summer came they broke up camp and with "Kind und Kugel" like the gypsies, tent waggons harnessed to donkeys, either in families or bigger caravans, they travelled around the countryside. They lived like gypsies and were on the whole popular. Their excursions covered, to begin with, the land of their birth. They seldom crossed its boundaries. Later generations extended the wandering sphere. Gradually the family assumed gypsy characteristics, a carefree gaiety, lack of a sense of duty and moral obligation, religious indifference, an anti-social manner

[1] Tramer, *Vaganten*, p. 58.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

[3] Jörger, 'Die Familie Zero', in *Archiv f. Rassen- u. Gesellschafts-Biologie*, ii. 493 *sq.*

of life. All attempts made by society to improve them were practically futile. However, the family shows no directly criminal tendencies.[1]

According to what I have been told by Prof. H. Lundborg at Upsala there is a very remarkable case in the family of Dean Lars Levi Laestadius in North Sweden. His mother was a member of a wandering family, and upon becoming a widow, enjoyed roaming around the countryside. Her youngest son, who was a high-school graduate and who studied theology for some time at Upsala, could never settle down to a routine life. He lived as a vagabond during the latter part of his life and when he died a few years ago in Värmland he was buried at the expense of the community. He was not a drunkard. Prof. Lundborg has brought still another case to my attention. A Dutch acquaintance of his committed suicide in Stockholm during the War, after having spent a number of years of his life wandering and travelling around the world. The man, who a year or so before his death had written letters to Lundborg describing his life in detail, came from a respected but psychopathic Dutch family mixed with German-Italian blood. In addition to a poor maternal and paternal inheritance, it has been established that the man suffered from neglected upbringing, an excited imagination in childhood, depressed spirits, restlessness, etc.[2]

. The pathological wandering instinct, as has been said, presents a number of great variations. Ultimately, no doubt, its root is to be found in typical negative defects of a psychic or moral nature. This is what makes a normal social life in regulated society impossible.

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[1] *Ibid.*, ii. 493 The Jukes and Kallikak families are possessed of similar traits. *cf.* Laquer, *Eugenik und Dysgenik*, p. 30 *sqq.*; Goddard, *The Kallikak Family*, pass.; v. Hentig, *Strafrecht und Auslese*, p. 160; *cf.* also Schrøder, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Dorph, *De jydske Zigeuner*, p. 5 *sq* ; *Søren Kierkegaards Papirer* (Heiberg, Kuhr), iii. 22.

[2] On the psychoanalytic conception of the pathological wandering instinct, see Alexander, 'Ein besessener Autofahrer', in *Imago*, xvii. 174 pass.

CHAPTER XII

THE WANDERING INSTINCT OF THE GYPSIES

The wandering instinct stands out strongest among the gypsies, but the chain of reasons leading to gypsy migrations is not as clear as, for example, the reasons leading to the wanderings of the hunter peoples or the nomads. Here it is not a case of direct geographical, political or mercantile causes of wandering.

Among this enigmatical people it is not a question of wanderings indulged in by certain tribes while other tribes remain stationary. Instead, roving about is a social custom common to all. It is an elementary concern of the whole people. One may say that the wandering phenomenon is brought to a focus in them. Therefore it will not be irrevelant if in the following pages I dwell somewhat at length on gypsy wanderings.

Can the gypsies be counted among wandering peoples belonging to a primitive stage of civilization? Most certainly. For though the gypsies have lived for hundreds of years in the centre of modern culture and have thus been predestined, one would think, to imbibe culture from all directions, they have kept their original nature practically intact, uninfluenced by their environment except in certain parts where they have to a very slight extent intermingled with the population.

The gypsies are not without intelligence or talents, but they stick with such intense conservatism to their old traditions that very little which is new finds its way to them. Their language, their customs and habits show only slight traces of foreign influence.[1] Probably it is their language which to a great extent has

[1] Grellman, *Über die Zigeuner*, p. 51; Schwicker, 'Die Zigeuner', in *Die Völker Österreichs-Ungarns*, xii. 110 *sq.*

kept them so isolated, as they have had this means of intercourse entirely to themselves. It is only in the last forty years that their language has become in some degree known.

To-day the gypsies are scattered throughout the world. No obstacle, however strong, but has been overcome by them, no threat or edict, however harsh, has blocked their forward march. Like mighty rivers they have spread out, but they have shown no desire for conquest or for fame.

The gypsies supply a vast wealth of material for fantasy and romantic poesy, but science has not as yet succeeded in penetrating deep in their life. Older, mostly uncritical books about them give but little information about their language, highway life and occupations. It is only in recent years that gypsy research has followed stricter, more scientific lines.[1]

Gypsy history is very vague. Investigators of the 17th and 18th centuries have presented theories which are better known as fantastic speculation than scientific hypotheses.[2] Not long ago it was still thought that these people originally came from Egypt. As Egypt formerly was considered to be the home of magic, the gypsies felt that their alleged Egyptian descent would strengthen people's faith in the power of their sorcery.[3]

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[1] With the founding of the British 'Gypsy Lore Society' research had a sounder base. A critical investigation of gypsy wanderings and their reasons is totally lacking.

[2] To mention a few Camerarius (*Philippi Camerarii Operae* (hor. sub.), ch. xvii. 95) thought them to be *Torlaqs* or *Turkish monks*. Salmon (*Heutige Historie*, p. 319 *sqq.*) made them into fakirs or Mamelukes. Hasse (*Zigeuner im Herodot*, p. 2 *sq*) backed by a modern visionary Paul Bataillard proves that the gypsies were already in Europe 3000 years ago; see Bataillard, 'Sur les origines des Bohémiens ou Tsiganes', in *Bull. Soc. d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 2 Sér., x. 546; *Idem*, 'Les Tsiganes de l'âge du bronze', in *Ibid.*, 2 Sér., x. 563. According to Hasse these are the same peoples that Herodotus calls *Sigynes*, and Strabo *Sigines*, Ptolemaeus *Ciageses* and *Sinsines*, *cf.* Herodotus, *Historiarum libri*, ix: 9 and Myres, 'The Sigynnae of Herodotus', in *Anthropol. Essays pres. to E. B. Tylor*, p. 255 *sqq. Cf.* also Hansen, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Volkerwanderungen* (*Ost-Europa nach Herodot*), p. 179. They were also called *Amorites* and *Chaldeans*; *cf.* Tetzner, *Geschichte der Zigeuner*, p. 93. Steur (*Ethnographie des peuples de l'Europe*, iii. 266 *sqq.*) has developed the theory that the gypsies were descendants of "the inhabitants of a sunken Atlantis", *cf.* also Crawford, 'On the Origin of Gypsies', in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. London*, iii. 25.

[3] Robert, *The Gypsies*, pass.; Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, ch. ii; Brepohl, *Die Zigeuner nach Geschichte und Religion*, p. 5.

As late as the 19th century philologists tried to prove that the gypsies were of Hebrew descent, pointing to certain similar elements in their language. Southern, a student of gypsies of the beginning of the 19th century, tried to establish their Arabian origin.[1] Grellman was the first to present clear proof of their origin in Hindustan.[2] In his footsteps follow such students as Pott, Miklosisch, Reinbeck, Colocci, MacRitchie, and others.[3] The ethnological and etymological research of to-day has supported this contention, but as yet it is uncertain as to when the gypsies began to migrate from India and for what reasons.

Nor does their own 'history' give us much information about their past. The gypsies are a reserved people. They do not part with their secrets readily. Besides, they are for the most part a people without tradition. They have exceedingly few reminiscences from earlier times. They suffer from no homesickness for some distant birthplace. They say, according to Brepohl, that the wrath of the Lord has doomed them to eternal wandering because their forefathers were guilty of unforgivable sins in the Holy Land.[4] When the gypsies first spread throughout Europe the legend went round that the gypsy, like the Wandering Jew, was doomed to eternal restless roving. According to Schwicker the Hungarian gypsies have a similar legend, but they claim in addition — which is more interesting — that their tribe numberless years ago was driven out of India by an intruding people. After that they were forced farther and farther west.[5] Reinbeck states, basing his information on old documents, that even upon their first appearance in Europe the gypsies claimed that they had been thrown out of India as punishment for offences they had committed.[6] Here, however, myth and history often run into one another. Obviously, the primitive traditions of the gypsies can give us an inkling as to their origin, but we must bear in mind that it is only an inkling. One must take such legends with a grain of salt. However, since their legends so often mention expulsions, we may conclude that such an expulsion occurred for some reason or other in the dim, grey past.[7]

Ethnological as well as etymological and anthropological research tends to prove that India, more definitely the Punjab and

[1] Southern, 'Origin and Character of the Gypsies', in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxii. 291 *sq.*, 407 *sq.*

[2] Grellmann, in *op. cit.*, pass., and *Idem*, *Historischer Versuch uber die Zigeuner*, pass.

[3] Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, i. and ii., pass.; Miklosisch, *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas*, pass.; Reinbeck, *Die Zigeuner*, pass.; Colocci, *Gli Zingari*, pass.; MacRitchie, *Accounts of the Gypsies of India*, pass.

[4] Brepohl, *op. cit.*, p. 4; Liebich, *Die Zigeuner in ihrem Wesen und in ihrer Sprache*, p. 12; Bercovici, *The Story of the Gypsies*, p. 37 *sqq.*

[5] Schwicker, *loc. cit.*, xii. 7.

[6] Reinbech, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[7] *Cf.* Brepohl, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Rajputana in North-West India, is the original home of the gypsies. To this day tribes are to be found there which have a striking likeness to the gypsies. Among these, particular mention may be made of the homeless Changar-tribe which wanders about in the Punjâb. The Changar build temporary reed huts for themselves and live in boats made of reed on the rivers, subsisting in true gypsy style. "They are particularly interesting because of their great similarity to the gypsies", writes Trumpp.[1] Mention may be made besides of the peoples belonging to the Jât, Nat (or Bazigar), Dôm, Zott, and Dard tribes. Their method of living also greatly resembles that of the gypsies. They have no particular religious form of worship, accepting indifferently whatever form prevails in the nearest village to their camping-ground. They are practically strangers to social and civil discipline. They rove around in large bands. Their language, their customs and habits, their physique, all resemble the gypsies. They are just as uncivilized as the gypsies and know just as little about their early history.[2] The Jât tribe particularly is known for its extensive wanderings.[3]

Of the wandering robber tribes in the wilder parts of Rajputana, with branches in the Punjab, Central India and the United Provinces, Crooke says they are "a mixed race in whom Dra-

[1] Trumpp, 'Die heutige Bevölkerung des Panjâb, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche', in *Mitth. Anthrop. Ges. Wien*, ii. 294; *cf.* also Miklosisch, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[2] Mitrowic, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Lebensweise, etc. der Zigeuner*, p. 15; Schlagintweit, 'Wander- und Zigeunerstämme im nordlichen Indien', in *Globus*, xlvi. 74; *Idem*, *Indien*, ii. 193; Bergner, 'Zigeunergeschichten', in *Ausland*, lxii. 1036; Nyrop, *Romanske Mosaiker*, p. 36; Habel, 'Über die Zigeuner', in *Die Natur*, li. 79; de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les migrations de Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*, pass.; Macauliffe, 'Remarks on the Origin of the Gypsies', in *Verh. vii. intern. Orientalisten-Congr. (Berichte)*, p. 82 *sqq.*; Risley, 'The Origin of Gypsies', in *Man* (1902), p. 180 *sq.*; Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajahs*, p. 183 *sqq.*; Gluck, *Zur physischen Anthropologie der Zigeuner*, p. 1; Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, i. 242 *sq.*; Sinclair, 'The Oriental Gypsies', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, N. S., i. 201; Grierson, 'Doms, Jâts and the Origin of Gypsies', in *Ibid.*, i. 76; Woolner, 'The Indian Origin of Gypsies in Europe', in *Jour. Panjâb Hist. Soc.*, ii. 118; Pischel, 'Die Heimat der Zigeuner', in *Deutsche Rundschau*, xxxvi. 372; Bercovici, *op. cit*;. p. 23 *sq.*, Scott-Macfie, *Gypsy Lore*, p. 10; Lewy, 'Die Zigeuner', in Doegen, *Unter fremden Völkern*, p. 167; Cuttris, *Romany Life*, p 4.

[3] Campbell, 'Thâna Boats', in *Gaz. Bombay Presidency*, xiii. 711 *sq.*; Ibbetson, 'On the Origin of Gypsies', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, i. 223 *sq.*; Charnock, 'On the Origin of the Gypsies', in *Anthropol. Review*, iv. 89; Burton, *The Jew, The Gypsy and El Islam*, p. 211.

vidian blood predominates". The so-called gypsy tribes differ little, he adds, in appearance from these criminal groups. They can hardly be ranked as distinct tribes. "The typical name for such people is Nat, 'dancer', or Bazigar, 'performer' in Northern India, while in the Deccan the Khatis are probably a branch of the same race, or rather a mongrel group associated in the same way of life."[1]

There are tribes on the northern frontier in India whose habits "are nomadic, and they dwell chiefly in tents, almost entirely monopolising the trade across the mountains, which is carried for the most part on the back of their sheep. They also cultivate a little, principally in the Terai, where they always lodge during the winter months for *Dhoopsekná* as they call it, — that is, to bask in the sun — and where they graze their herds on the rich herbage with which the mountains are overgrown".[2]

Mathorez also assumes that the gypsies come from Hindustan, and are the descendants of the Jât tribe near the mouth of the Indus and the Sindh country.[3] Burton, too, has proved the existence of Indian tribes resembling the gypsies. He also draws particular attention to the Jât tribe.[4] Amero has found parallels to the gypsies in the Banjaris (or Bandjarras) tribe which makes a living by transporting commodities and by kidnapping.[5] Investigators have also tried to prove that a connection exists between the gypsies and the Todas in India, now an almost extinct tribe.[6] In a number of the gypsies' own tales and folk songs, as pointed out by Lo-Johansson, flows a 'holy river' which scientists have interpreted as the Ganges.[7]

Von Schlagintweit and Schurtz state that the gypsy movement ought to have had excellent possibilities for development in India, where the wandering tribes and the skilled workmen castes stand in close relation to one another. Many wandering tribes here still cling to their ancient life. Only a small fraction

[1] Crooke, *Natives of Northern India*, pp. 143 *sqq.* (*cf.* also p. 120).

[2] Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, p. 127.

[3] Mathorez, *Les éléments de la population orientale en France*, p. 3.

[4] Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 *sq.*, 136 *sqq.*, 213 *sqq.*; Thesleff, 'Report on the Gypsy Problem', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, N. S., v. 81 *sq.*

[5] Amero, *Bohémiens, Tsiganes et Gypsies*, p. 111 *sqq.*

[6] Symons, 'A Dissertation on the Wandering Tribe', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, 3. Ser., iv. 46.

[7] Lo-Johansson, *Zigenare*, pp. 20, 28.

of the tribes in question have shown any interest in higher culture.[1] The Indo-Ganges lowland is still a favourite haunt of wandering tribes. Most of these tribes at any rate are supposed to have the same origin. But in addition to those mentioned, there are still other roving hordes to be found in India, notorious for their perpetual raids and forays. Mr. A. L. Williams, chief of the Indian Police, has published an interesting study of these so-called "Indian criminal and wandering nomads".[2] He separates them into various tribes: the Bhantu, Badiya, Banjara, Baoriah, Biloc and Bhangi or Cubra, and presumes that they are all of common descent. They lead a gypsy-like life, though they carry on thieving and pillaging to a greater extent than do the gypsies. Faizu Irani, leader of a Bhantu tribe, told Williams that his tribe's wandering zone lies between Constantinople and Calcutta. Great speed characterizes their wanderings. Forty English miles are often covered in a single night. When the bands increase in number too quickly or make a nuisance of themselves they are deported by order of the government.[3]

It is not impossible that such tribes have something in common with the gypsies, even though their later history differs somewhat from that of the gypsies. The hypothesis seems plausible, though it cannot be proved.

Most investigators agree that it is fairly certain that the gypsies did not leave their native land for Europe of their own free will. Theories on the subject of gypsy migrations from India differ. Some scientists look for the cause in civil strife among the tribes. Data on such disputes have come down to us from the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, when large numbers began to migrate.[4] One supposition is that the gypsies as early as in the beginning of the first millennium, 1025-1026 to be exact, were forced to move westward from the Hindu Kush because of internal strife. After that they sojourned for some time in Persia until the

[1] Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 162 *sq.*

[2] Williams, 'The Criminal and Wandering Tribes of India', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, N. S., vi. 36. Proof has been sought of the gypsies' Indian origin in Indian gypsy music too; see Liszt, *Die Zigeuner und ihre Musik*, p. 282 *sqq.*; Nohl, *Allgemeine Musikgeschichte*, p. 306 *sqq.*; Wallaschek, *Primitive Music*, p. 62 *sq.*

[3] Williams, *loc. cit.*, vi. 36 *sqq.*; *cf.* Crooke, *op. cit.*, i. 242 *sq.*

[4] Williams, *loc. cit.*, vi. 115; Pischel, *loc. cit.*, xxvi. 372.

migrations set afoot by Genghiz Khan in the
century drove them to Europe.[1]

Grellman puts the period of the gypsy migrations from India at the time of Timur Lenk's invasion. The gypsies were torn from their mother country and then, either as a result of new invasions or the simple and hard logic of *vae victis*, were flung towards the west. Grellman's theory is supported by other scientists.[2]

All these theories are only suppositions with no verified foundation to support them. No doubt a succession of causes lies behind these strange people's wanderings during long periods of time. It seems most likely that the Indian gypsies were exposed to the great national movements that passed over India in the first millennium and were forced to wander farther and farther westward. Research has more and more leaned away from the opinion that this not unimportant migration of a people started from a single, restricted territory and upon one particular occasion. The theory that a powerful flood at some time inundated part of India collapses, as no one knows of similar floods. Neither is anything

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[1] (Clarke), in *Edinburgh Review*, cxviii. 117 *sqq.*; Amero, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 *sqq.*, 121 *sqq.*

[2] A more romantic hypothesis about the gypsy migrations is built around views voiced by the ancient epic poet Firdusi, who in his *Shah-Nameh* (*cf. Epische Dichtungen aus dem Persischen des Firdus* (Schak i: ii)) mentions that the Persian King Bahram-Gaur in the middle of the 6th century A. D. received from King Shankal in India 1000 of his subjects, both men and women, who were to entertain the Persian king and his subjects with music. These were called "Lulis" or "Luriens", which is the name of the Persian gypsies to this day. These wandering Luriens came to Persia but soon managed to displease the king, who decided to get rid of them. Finally he expelled them to the northern boundary of Syria, to the regions of Ainzarba, where, according to the Persian writer Tabari, they were attacked by the Turks. Part of them were captured and part driven westward to Asia Minor. Firdusi's account is unquestionably too legendary for us to be able to take seriously anything except possibly a certain connexion between the Luriens and the Persian gypsies. Even this is hypothetical. According to Majmú At-Tawârîkh, an ancient Persian writer, the gypsies are descendants of the Luriens (*cf.* Grierson, *loc. cit.*, i. 73; MacRitchie, *Accounts of the Gypsies of India*, p. 4). Hamza Isfahânî, another Persian writer of history who lived half a century before Firdusi, called these imported fiddlers Zutts or Zotts (*supra*, p. 269). According to Istakki and Ibn Haukal, Arabian geographers of the 10th century, the native land of the Luriens and gypsies is the moorland of the Indus between Al-Mansura and Makran. Grierson (*loc. cit.*, i. 73); Gobineau, 'Persische Studien', in *Zeitschr. Deutsch Morgenl. Ges.*, ix. 689.

known of any sweeping laws which would have forced a considerable part of the country's population to leave its boundaries. Accordingly, it is most likely that the gypsies before the beginning of their European era were a caste which was widely spread over extensive areas of India and which was gradually forced to leave its country. It is on this basis that one assumes that the gypsies in their own country were considered to be on a low plane of civilization, in short, that they were not wanted.[1]

At the time of their emigration from India the gypsies were without doubt a roving, primitive tribe resembling the tribes which to-day still wander in those territories. It is well-nigh impossible to think of their wandering instinct as a later acquirement, an *Erwerbung*.

To follow the gypsy marches from Asia to Europe is not easy. From Hindustan they seem to have gone via Persia, Kurdistan and Armenia to Asia Minor, whence one part wandered to Syria, Egypt and the Sudan,[2] and another part via Byzantium to Europe.[3]

Sampson, who also believes in the Indian descent of the gypsies, assumes that they came to Persia about A. D. 900. There they separated into two groups, the Benz gypsies and the Phen gypsies. The former went southward to Syria and became the forefathers of the Nawar in Palestine, the Kurbat in Syria, and the Karaci in what is now Persia and Trans-Caucasia, while the Phen, after staying some time in Armenia, wandered westward through Kurdistan, the Byzantine Empire and Greece, and reached Europe before the end of the 12th century.[3]

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[1] *Cf.* Lo-Johansson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[2] van Gennep, 'North African Gypsies', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, N. S., v. 192 *sqq.*; Felkin, 'Central African Gypsies', in *Ibid.*, i. 220 *sq.*; Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 233; Thesleff, *loc. cit.*, v. 82.

[3] From the Balkans some tribes pushed their way to South Russia, Hungary, Bohemia, Germany and northward. Others went to Slovakia, Italy, and over France to England. The following data about the spread of the gypsies in Europe are known: by 1417 they had forced their way to Byzantium; but as early as 1322 they had reached Crete and before 1346 Corfu. (*Cf.* Vámbéry, 'Die Zigeuner in der Türkei', in *Globus*, xviii. 279 *sq.*; Paspates, *Études sur les Tshighianés ou Bohémiens de l'Empire Ottoman*, pass.; Pittard, 'Anthropologie de la Roumanie', in *Bull. Soc. Sciences Bucarest*, xi. 128 *sqq.*, 327; Brepohl, 'Die Zigeuner im Byz. Reich', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, xx. 7 *sq.*; Cuttris, *op. cit.*, p. 3 *sq.*; Gjorgjévič, 'Roumanian Gypsies', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore*

The gypsies most likely reached the North via Holstein about A.D. 1420. For a long time they roamed over the heathy moors of Jutland, which were a glorious haunt for a homeless people. Here on the scarcely populated plains they were as far away from the eyes of the law as it was possible to be. The Danish gypsies — "Natmænd" as they are called — have since then never had a stationary abode in Denmark. "They are a wandering people burdened with heredity who look upon themselves as beings separate from the rest of the nation and are by the nation looked upon in the same way."[1] The gypsies did not reach Sweden and the Scandinavian peninsula until about the 16th century.[2] Since then they have roamed about there but have not as a rule been at all stationary. Some groups traverse all parts of the kingdom, others keep to defined areas.[3] They probably reached

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Soc., 3. Ser., viii. 7 *sqq.*; Lewy, *loc. cit.*, p. 168; de Goeje, 'Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie', in *Intern. Archiv f. Ethn.*, xvl. 171 *sq.*; Haberlandt, *Volkerkunde*, p. 296). In 1417—18 the gypsies come to Hungary, Bohemia, in the next few years to Hanover, Hamburg, Holstein (*Annales Regum Hungariae*, vi. 275; Wlislocki, 'Die Ragnar-Lodbrok-Sage in Siebenbürgen', in *Germania*, N. S. xx 362 *sq.*), another branch goes to Provence, Bologna, Italy 1420-21 (Grellmann, *Hist. Versuch*, ii., ch. i; Cora, *Die Zigeuner*, p. 15 *sq.*, Predari, *Origine e vicende dei Zingari*, p. 55) The gypsies are in Paris 1427 (Bordier, 'Les Tsiganes', in *Bull. soc dauph. d'éthn et d'anthr*, xi. 57 *sqq.*); in England about 1430, in Scotland few years later (Crofton, 'Early Annals of Gypsies in England', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, i. 5 *sqq.*; Winstedt, 'Early British Gypsies', in *Ibid*, N. S., vii. 5 *sqq.*; Sampson, 'Early Records of the Gypsies in England', in *Ibid.*, 3 Ser., vi. 32 *sqq.*; Thompson, 'The Social Polity of the English Gypsies', in *Ibid.*, 3. Ser., ii. 125). But it is a remarkable fact that no gypsy has ever yet crossed the Irish Sea, and "the *Insula Sanctorum* is as free from these wanderers as it is from snakes" (Keane, *The World's Peoples*, p. 334). But the gypsies are coming to America, Africa, Australia. On North America, see Thompson, 'Samuel Fox, etc', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, 3 Ser., iii.—iv. 23, Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 282 *sq.*; Bond, *The Gypsies of Monastir*, p. 3; Irwing Brown, 'The Gypsies in America', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, 3. Ser., viii. 145, 150, 154 *sq*; Marchbin, 'Gypsy Immigration to Canada', in *Ibid*, 3 Ser., xiii. 134. On South America· Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, p. xvi; Moraes, *Os Ciganos no Brazil*, p xvii.

[1] Dyrlund, *Tatere- og Natmændsfolk i Danmark*, p. 218 *sqq.*; Troels-Lund, *Dagligt Liv i Norden*, i 160 *sqq.*; Dorph, *De jydske Zigeuner*, p. 3 *sqq.*; Mylius-Erichsen, *Den jydske Hede*, pp. 85 *sq.*, 140 *sqq.*, 435 *sqq.*

[2] Olaus Petri mentions their presence in Sweden in 1512 or 1513, see *Olaus Petri Cronica* (Klemming) p. 305 ". . . . . 1512 . . . . The gypsy came to this country and to Stockholm. He had never been here before." *Cf.* Messenius, *Scondia Illustrata* (Peringskiold), p. 72; Ahlqvist, 'Anteckningar om svenska Zigenare', in *Ny Illustr. Tidning*, xii. 222, 242 *sq.*; *Svenska Fattigv. Lagstift. Betänkande* v. 83 *sqq.*, 89 *sqq.*

[3] Ehrenborg, 'Swedish Tsiganologues', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, N. S., iii. 111; Miskow, 'Gypsies in Sweden and Denmark', in *Ibid*, 3. Ser. viii. 137 *sqq.*

Norway via Sweden. Here too, since they first put in their appearance they have been completely homeless.[1]

The gypsies came to Finland via Sweden and Aland in about the 1500's.[2] Like the Northern gypsies in general, Finland's gypsies have long had no real contact with their kinsmen in other lands. This is true to-day even if strange bands now and then sweep through the country. Finland's gypsies are stationary in that they do not traverse the country in all directions.[3] They roam about in a limited area where, however, they are on the go practically all the time. Only in exceptional cases do they cross this boundary. It is possible in Finland to come across stationary gypsies, but even their settlements are not permanent. For a certain period each year they too go on journeys, though they return after some time to the same districts from where they started out.

Some years ago I journeyed along the highways in Finland and tried to follow the main gypsy thoroughfare through the country from East Finland up to Osthrobothnia. On many sides I saw well-kept untenanted houses. I was informed that they were the winter dwellings of well-to-do gypsies. During the warm season of the year, however, the owners and their entire families go on long trips.

At the turn of the century it was estimated that there were about one million gypsies in Europe, half of the number being in Hungary and Roumania alone.[4]

When the gypsies first came to Europe they managed to secure privileges from the Emperor Sigismund, and also, of course, from the Pope in Rome. They ingratiated themselves everywhere, bringing about confusion, disintegration, schism. They became a national plague. Evil times began for them.

Governments tried to surpass each other in fierce threats and

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[1] Etzel, *Vagabondenthum in Norwegen*, p 78; Sundt; *Beretning om Fante- og Landstrygerfolket*, pass.

[2] In 1559 there were gypsies on the Aland Islands They were sent back to Sweden About the same time or somewhat later Pontus de la Gardie imprisoned a gypsy band in Finland. Thesleff, in *Atlas o. Finland*, ii, text, 46, p. 29.

[3] Thesleff, 'Finlands Zigenare', in *Finsk Tidskrift*, xlvi. 394.

[4] Groome, *op. cit.*, p. 9; v. Luschan, *Volker, Rassen, Sprachen*, p. 77. The gypsies have gone under various names. In Turkestan they have been called *Baluji*, in Persia *Kauli* or *Kabusali*, in Egypt *Nuri* (plural. *Nawar*), in India *Dôm*, in France and Belgium *Bohémiens*, in Spain *Gitanos*, which in England became *Gypsy*, in Switzerland *Saracens* from the Arabian *Sarat*, in South Germany and the Netherlands *Heiden or Heathen*, in Scandinavia often, incorrectly, *Tartars*; *cf.* Sampson, 'On the Origin and Migrations of the Gypsies', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, 3. Ser., ii. 157 *sq.*, Fremder, *Les vagabonds bohémiens*, pp. 5, 8.

edicts obliging them to leave the country. The brutal practices of the Middle Ages were carried out without mercy wherever they fared. Several hundred gypsies were burned at the stake.[1]

But the cunning of the East tricked the wisdom of the West. The gypsies continued to exist. Nothing availed against them. More humane methods were also tried, but they failed too, almost everywhere. In several places the gypsies were thought to be a holy people. It was considered a charitable act to facilitate their stay in Europe.[2]

Charles III of Spain and his wise minister Aranda strove zealously to turn the gypsies into useful, able people. Maria Theresa tried to teach them to work in the fields. She also trained them in useful trades. The charitable Emperor Joseph II did likewise. Similar examples could be mentioned from the North as well as from the South. It proved impossible everywhere to persuade the gypsies to settle down, to move into ordinary houses.[3]

All attempts to make resident people of the gypsies have failed. In Germany in the the middle of the 19th century an attempt was made at colonization. Gypsy children were taught in schools, gypsy adults were maintained at work of their own choosing. However, it was not long before they broke out of their institutions and fled to the

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[1] Some examples: The Speier Diet (1498) decreed that the gypsies being betrayers of Christendom should be expelled from the country (Brepohl, *Die Zigeuner*, p. 1). The national assembly in Orleans (1565) decreed that the gypsies should be destroyed with fire and sword. The Italian princes reacted in the same way. Emperor Leopold II's resolution was still harsher: "Das Zigeunerwesen sollte von Grund ausgerottet werden", *cf.* Frödisch, 'Böhmische Zigeuner', in *Mitth. Vereins Ges. Deutschen in Böhmen*, vi. 203; Cora, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Weissenbruch, *Ausführliche Relation von der famosen Zigeuner-Bande*, pass.; Thomacius, *Tractato iuridica vagabundo*, pass.; Rosenvinge, *Gamle Danske Love* (*Kong Christian V:s Lov*), iii: 20, art. 3; *Aarsberetning fra Geheimearchivet*, i. 52, and iii. 66; *Norske Rigsregistratur*, ii. 563 *sq.*

[2] Tetzner, *op. cit.*, p. 28. The gypsies make their living for the most part by trading horses, or more correctly, thieving them, fortune-telling, magic tricks, cobbling shoes, tinkering, music, begging, thieving, occupations which can "be learned and plied without antagonism to the nomadic instinct of the people". *Cf.* Cuttris, *op. cit.*, p. 269; Wiener, 'Gypsies as Fortune-Tellers and Blacksmiths', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, N. S., iii. 8 *sqq.*; Bond, *op. cit.*, p. 3; v. Wlislocki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, p. 214; Reinbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 61; Schwicker, *op. cit.*, p. 118 *sqq.*; Tetzner, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Etzel, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Brepohl, *Winterleben der Wanderzigeuner*, p. 8; Winstedt, 'Gypsy "Civilisation"', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, N. S., i. 319; Scott-Macfie, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[3] Tetzner, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 37.

highways, never to return. All later attempts at organizing them in colonies have also failed.[1]

The gypsies are too proud and love highway life too much to look upon a new mode of life, no matter how comfortable and carefree it may be, as anything but a misfortune. Children are born and brought up in the open. A day or two after a baby's birth its birthplace is left behind and the family wanders onward without even bothering to remember its name. The mother carries the infant from place to place. She carries it on her back in true gypsy fashion in a bundle consisting of the mother's and the baby's clothes tied together. The open sky, trees, a cave or a tent quickly erected, is the gypsy family's roof in bad weather. There is one thing which in gypsy eyes outweighs everything else, and that is their unrestricted liberty which fascinates them with the power of magic; the complete freedom and "quick change of abode", as Liebich says.[2] Only the strongest necessity is able to force the

[1] Challier (see Bataillard, *La nouvelle loi sur la circulation des nomades*, 16/7 1912), in an extensive thesis on the origin of the gypsies and legislation regarding them in France, says that it would seem as if part of them renounced 'l'eternel vagabondage', as for instance the gypsies in Cyprus, in Wallachia, in Moldavia, in the Pyrenees. However, such settlements can be traced back to submission to some ruler. The gypsies were bound in a sort of slavery.

In Roumania the gypsies were slaves until the middle of the 19th century, when attempts were made to get them to cultivate the land and live on it. But they proved themselves incapable of "de cultiver leur lot, et même de le garder". Most of them leased their holdings to the peasants. The desire for vagabondage was much stronger than any other desire. "On les voit camper partout où ils trouvent de l'ouvrage, souvent après avoir fait leur possible pour ne pas en trouver". (Ernst, in *La grande encycl.* vii. 80).

Mothorez (*Les éléments de la population orientale en France*, p. 6) says of the gypsies in France: "s'il est advenu que, dans quelques provinces françaises, certaines familles de Bohémiens se sont definitivement implantées et se sont assimilées à la population, on doit reconnaître que la majeure partie d'entre eux ont toujours vécu de l'existence vagabonde et ont constitué un véritable danger pour les habitants et leurs propriétés".

The Reverend George Hall (*The Gypsy's Parson*, p. 57) feels that though the number of resident gypsies in England has increased, "the tendency to settle is entirely a thing of our times". He believes that police regulations are responsible for this.

[2] Liebich, *op. cit.*, p. 81. There are data from many countries as to how old gypsies, in order to lighten the burden they feel themselves to be to the wandering tribe, seek death of their own free will while the assembled tribe sings a melancholy song: "*Dscha tele, dscha tele. O polopen baro wele*". ("Go

gypsies to settle down. And "even among those who are stationary", Thesleff writes, "the nomadic instinct is merely dormant. Often it breaks out with renewed, intensified force for no obvious reason".[1] As proof of how foreign settlement is to the gypsy nature it need only be mentioned that the gypsy language entirely lacks an expression for the conception of 'to dwell' whereas it has five words to express the conception 'to wander'.[2] *Nullam habet domum, qui ubique habitat.*

Some gypsies only wander within certain boundaries. Others go on tremendous journeys. Sinclair has spoken with numerous bands of South Russian gypsies who had for years made circuits through the Caucasus and over Russian Central Asia. Some had traversed Siberia, others had been in Persia, Syria and Egypt.[3] On their wanderings around the world they can talk to their racial kinsmen wherever they meet. "They recognize each other as brother gypsies, and talk over gypsy life, and everything pertaining to their race with the greatest interest", says Sinclair, adding that they all lead about the same kind of life and marry within their own race on their journeys.[4] The gypsies are the only people who during all the time they have wandered in Europe have retained their primitive racial character in all climates and in all countries and who are almost rebellious towards civilization.

"La Patrie des Tziganes c'est la terre entière et leur tente est leur foyer".[5] They cannot conceive of boundaries between different countries, nor grasp the meaning of ownership. The gypsy would rather die in his tent than between four walls.[6] They are everywhere strangers, everywhere at home. The dream of all gypsies is a good

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down, go down, the world grows larger — room must be made for a younger generation."), Dyrlund, *op. cit.*, pp. 326, 329.

[1] Thesleff, *Zigenare*, p. 7.

[2] Liebich, *op. cit.*, p. 81. As proof of the gypsy light-heartedness is often cited the fact that they have no word for to-morrow and only a vague conception for yesterday; *cf.* Lo-Johansson, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[3] Sinclair, 'The Oriental Gypsies', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, N. S., i. 199. Spittel says of the gypsies in Ceylon that they have their favoured camping-grounds sanctioned by heaven only knows what immemorial years of use. "To these they come with a periodicity as seasonal as the roaming of a herd of elephants". Spittel, *Wild Ceylon*, p. 230.

[4] Sinclair, *loc. cit.*, p. 199.

[5] Popp-Serboianu, *Les Tsiganes*, p. 60.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

tent, beautiful horses, a gaily painted carriage and gay attire. "Roaming is their profession". It is usually impossible to mistake a gypsy encampment, "the squat shelters, the hobbled donkeys, the grubbing fowls, the strange folk".[1]

There is in the gypsy a power stronger than all others, a power that severs all ties, and that is their unsubjugated wandering instinct. We come across it in the gypsy in a more intensified and at the same time possibly more primitive form than in any other wandering people.

Why have not the gypsies like other peoples gradually advanced towards a higher culture and settled down? It must be admitted that they have not lacked the opportunity. At some time in the dim past they began their march to Europe. They have pushed past stationary peoples, who have risen above the stage of primitive cultivation; they have pushed on through regions with a high culture. Certainly they have met with suspicion, contempt, expulsion. It is true that people have tried to get rid of these dark, uninvited guests, thieves and robbers. But more humane methods have also been used.

Attempts at colonization have been made. The gypsies early came to uninhabited northern tracts where they were free to

[1] Spittel, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

Winsted ('The Norwood Gypsies', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, N. S., ix. 147) reproduces a "Gypsy Ballad" (published in the *Kentish Register and Monthly Miscellany*, i. 194), which contains a good deal of the race's psychology:

A wandering gypsy, Sir, am I,
From Norwood, where we oft complain,
With many a tear and many a sigh
Of blustering winds and rushing rain.

No rooms so fine, nor gay attire
Amid our humble sheds appear,
No beds of down, nor blazing fire,
At night our shiv'ring limbs to cheer, etc.

Gypsy poets have also looked for the answer to the gypsy nomadic instinct:

D'où nous venons? L'on n'en sait rien.
L'hirondelle
D'où vous vient-elle?
D'où nous venons? L'on n'en sait rien.
Où nous irons? Le sait-on bien?

settle at will and cultivate the soil like their neighbours. They have imitated no more advanced form of culture. Nothing has been able to persuade them to leave their nomadic life. Why?

We cannot dismiss the problem as does Scott Macfie by stating merely that "the Wanderlust is more deeply rooted in the gypsy than in the Bedouin".[1] They are "an unsettled and restless tribe which wanders aimlessly, driven forward by an untameable and deeply rooted instinct which governs its life", says Thesleff, adding that their passion for wandering may become dormant from time to time, but it breaks out with renewed vigour without any appreciable cause, as has been the case lately amongst the tent-gypsies of the South, who at the present time (this was about 1900) have become more mobile than ever and wander without thought of distance if only the ground be beneath their feet.[2]

The craving for a wandering life is not something that is extinguished in a single generation. As it has taken many generations to grow, so it requires the work of generations to make it disappear. It exists in the very nature of the wanderers, in their blood; they cannot do otherwise.

The race's fondness for a nomadic life is not only a habit but an inborn craving. Lo-Johansson mentions a case to illustrate this. A distinguished Russian family adopted a little gypsy girl and brought her up among other children. She knew nothing of her early life, and pains were taken never to mention it. When the girl was about fifteen years old a band of Finnish gypsies came to the town where she lived and encamped close by. The girl's foster-parents took her to visit the camp one day to see how she would react. They did not mention her descent to her. A few days later the girl had vanished, leaving no trace behind her. She had joined her gypsy kinsmen never to return to her home.[3]

Of the peoples wandering freely around the earth, the gypsies are the healthiest. They endure cold and heat without harm. The most incredible hardships have no effect on them. Their isolated life — they keep to themselves, never mixing with other people — has probably to a certain degree strengthened their racial characteristics. And to a certain extent selection, and several hundreds

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[1] Scott Macfie, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[2] Thesleff, in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, N. S., v. 84 *sq.*
[3] Lo-Johansson, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

of years of intermarriage, in addition to a life that always runs more or less along the same lines, have contributed to this. Those gypsies who possibly have become stationary, (I say possibly, as science knows of few such cases), have separated themselves from the tribe and gradually been absorbed by other peoples while the real wanderers propagate the race. The instinct of self-preservation is strong in primitive peoples. The gypsies must realize that becoming stationary (when that has happened) makes them lose their own peculiar nationality. Besides, highway life is fascinating, as it never grows monotonous. Primitive peoples react strongly to the feeling of monotony. However, these circumstances do not constitute the whole explanation. The roots of the problem lie deeper. As far as I can make out, the main reasons lie in certain negative traits or rather in a certain typical constitutional bent of a negative psychic and moral nature which is more marked in the gypsies and their kinsmen than in any other wandering people. As I see it, the elements of this constitutional bent would lie in their exceeding religious and social laxity, in an almost complete disability to adopt and develop the social and civil order which constitutes the most elementary condition for permanent settlement and higher culture.

As pointed out earlier in this chapter, we assume, of course, that at the time of their exodus from India the gypsies were already a roving tribe which had never had a stationary home.[1] It is fairly impossible to look upon the wandering instinct as a later acquirement (*Erwerbung*). The wandering instinct may have been socially accentuated by the steady journeying, the nomadic habit may have been strengthened, but the latent disposition has always existed. And the reason for it, as I have said before, seems to me to lie in certain negative traits to be found in the social and religious spheres. All students of gypsy life agree that the gypsies lack social and religious conceptions to a very marked degree. The following examples illustrate this.

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[1] Berovici (*The Story of the Gypsies*, p. 316) holds that the reasons for the gypsy wanderings are that "compared to other inhabitants the gypsies were already a superior group when they first appeared in Europe. Considering themselves superior, they refused to adapt themselves to the method of life of the inferior native inhabitants in whose midst they camped, and thus prevented themselves from growing with them." This, however, is a far-fetched explanation.

George Borrow, the distinguished gypsy enquirer, the so-called "Romany Rye" or gypsy gentleman,[1] who lived with the gypsies from his childhood and knew their nature better than most, came to the conclusion that they have not a trace of religious belief.[2]

Another distinguished student, C. G. Leland, also stresses that the gypsies, as opposed to the most primitive savages, feel no positive religion, no ties which bind them to a higher sphere, no dread of the future. They have just one or two unimportant superstitions which they employ exclusively in economic matters and which have no connection with religious conceptions.[3]

The gypsies have no religion, no feeling for anything holy and superior, in fact no inkling of such things, writes Tetzner.[4] Liszt also stresses their total absence of religious feeling. They have no Bible, no dogmas, no tradition or history.[5]

"The gypsies have neither religion nor religious sense", says Scott Macfie.[6] Motais-Avril claims: "Les Bohémiens n'ont aucune religion. Ils ignorent ce qu'est Dieu, l'âme; ils n'ont du reste aucun mot pour l'exprimer".[7] Cuttris, on the other hand, does not entirely deny the existence of religion among the gypsies even if "religious symbolism and ceremonial do not attract the gypsy".[8] "Leur conception de la religion est en conformité aver leur conception de la patrie", says Popp-Serboianu, adding that the Europeans' religion seems to them to be just as much opposed to nature as the boundaries which separate the countries.[9] More or less stationary gypsies are to found in Bulgaria "qui ont adopté l'islamisme, mais le pratiquent avec très peu de ferveur et d'exactitude".[10] Pischel declares that the gypsies never worry about age, birthplace, descent and religion. They are all matters of equal indifference.[11] "They have no God, but there is no impudence in their atheism; they deny not neither do they affirm; but their nimble

[1] See Hallstrom, *Levande dikt*, p. 173 *sqq.*
[2] Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, pass.
[3] Leland, *The Gypsies*, pass.
[4] Tetzner, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[5] Liszt, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 70, 197.
[6] Scott Macfie, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
[7] Motais-Avril, *Les voyageurs forains*, p. 10.
[8] Cuttris, *op. cit.*, p. 217 *sq.*
[9] Popp-Serboianu, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
[10] Lamouche, *La Bulgarie dans le passé et le présent*, p. 50.
[11] Pischel, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der deutschen Zigeuner*, p. 118.

minds glide from under dogma's claims just as do their lithe bodies from the constraint of a fixed abode". Thus wrote Paul de Saint-Victor in the 1870's.[1] Other students express similar opinions. Achleitner presumes that they cannot distinguish between the conception of God and that of the Devil.[2] And Esquiros believes that of all stimulating moral means the religious feeling is the one towards which the 'Romani' are most indifferent.[3]

"Possibly just because they live without religion they are looked upon by the population with a certain superstitious dread and one endows them with supernatural power", says Nyrop.[4]

In no other people has one been able to trace such recklessness in sacred matters, Thesleff remarks. The gypsies have been now Mohammedans, now Protestants. Often they let their children be baptized five or six times in hopes of receiving christening presents, but they have always and everywhere trampled religion and morals underfoot.[5] Concerning Finland's gypsies, Thesleff notes that he has found no trace of heathen or Christian beliefs among them. The inkling of Christianity that they have plays no part in their lives.[6]

When gypsies adopt a European religion it is only a formal act to which they attach no importance. Often they do not know to what religious sect they belong. They adopt the state religion only when forced to do so.[7]

Many other students of the gypsies express themselves along the same lines as the above, among them Liebich,[8] Colocci[9], Brepohl,[10] Scott Macfie,[11] Skou,[12] Simson[13] and others.[14]

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[1] de Saint-Victor, *Hommes et dieux*, p. 161.

[2] Achleitner, 'Zigeuner', in *Allgemeine Zeitung* (München 1900), nos. 71—73, p. 11.

[3] Esquiros, *L'Angleterre*, p. 138.

[4] Nyrop, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[5] Thesleff, *Zigenare* (Sep. of *Nya Pressen* 1897), p. 4.

[6] Thesleff, 'Zigenare', in *Atlas ö. Finland*, text ii. 46, p. 34.

[7] Black, 'The Gypsies in Armenia', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, vi. 328.

[8] Liebich, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[9] Colocci, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

[10] Brepohl, *Die Zigeuner*, p. 8.

[11] Scott Macfie, 'Gypsy Lore', in *The Univ. Review* (1908), p. 11.

[12] Skou, *Paa Fantestien*, p. 41.

[13] Simson, *The Social Emancipation of the Gypsies*, p. 11.

[14] Gjorgjević, 'Die Zigeuner in Serbien', in *Ethnol. Forschungen* (1903), p. 21; Morwood, *op. cit.*, p. 281; Scott-Macfie, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Gypsies say of themselves, according to Gjorgjevič, that there are seventy-seven and a half confessions of faith in the world and the last half belongs to the gypsies. Thus they express the thought: "No creed has a footing among them. They follow no religion completely, as they look upon no religion as being permanent or binding".

Even though one cannot believe such positive statements unconditionally, at least they point in a definite direction. They serve to prove that those traces of religious conceptions which may be observed among the gypsies play no real part in gypsy life. Religious rites which one often finds in a highly developed form among primitive peoples are to all intents and purposes lacking among the gypsies. For instance they have no marriage service. When girls or boys reach a certain age, which among the gypsies is very low, they marry without any cult ceremony and then wander onward together. Marriage has no religious character whatsoever.[1]

Without doubt the gypsies are more irreligious than any other primitive people, for though many of these peoples show the same distrust and distaste towards religion as taught by missionaries and foreign settlers, still the very core of religion is not foreign to them. Though they are not responsive to new forms and customs, it is seldom that primitive peoples show so little feeling for religious conceptions and ideas. The gypsies do not even practise magic superstition to any extent,[2] whereas most wandering peoples are ensnared in such beliefs.

There are authors who speak of the gypsies' religion and who even attempt to describe it. Heinrich von Wlislocki, for example, has written an entire book on the gypsy faith but his work scarcely gives the impression of being authentic.[3]

The only element which seems to have any religious significance for the gypsy is mother earth. Von Wlislocki is right in this instance when he says that the gypsies regard the earth with a half-religious veneration,[4] be it a question of plain or mountain, river or lake.

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[1] Brepohl, *op. cit.*, p. 12 *sq.*; Gjorgjevič, *loc. cit.*, p. 60

[2] Lehmann, *Aberglaube und Zauberei*, p. 213.

[3] v. Wlislocki, *Volksglaube und religiöser Brauch der Zigeuner*, pass.; Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, i. 39, 68, ii. 20.

[4] v. Wlislocki, 'The Worship of Mountains among the Gypsies', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, iii. 161 *sqq.*, 211 *sqq.*; v. Adrian, *Der Höhencultus asiatischer und europaischer Völker*, pass.

The gypsies live in families and often roam about in tribes, but they lack all real conception of higher social organization, not to mention civic organization. Nothing fetters these people, who desire liberty above everything, and who scornfully cast off the least attem pt at coercion placed upon them by the community. The gypsy cannot tie himself down to any particular locality, as he objects to subordinating himself to the simplest demands of legitimate society. Liszt says that authority, laws, dictates, obligations are all unknown quantities to a gypsy.[1] Gjorgjevič and Achleitner express themselves almost similarly: "The fatherland, the state and the family, the past and the future are all things which have no meaning to the gypsy".[2]

In opposition to the Hebrew nation, which blindly obeys laws, the gypsy scorns them. We seldom come across even any custom that has such a hold on the gypsies that it takes the place of a law as is often the case among other primitive peoples. The only fundamental custom to which the gypsy is bound is the Wanderlust. The gypsies have no history, no conception of a continuous development. They have not even an unbroken tradition, but instead only a few hazy memories concerning the achievements, that is to say wanderings, of former generations.

Some old authorities tell tales of gypsy kings and gypsy chiefs along general lines. However, certain authors have a tendency to transfer to the gypsies ideas and institutions which pertain to primitive peoples in general. There have been gypsies headed by a chosen leader, but the chief's powers have not been great nor of a permanent, social nature. The gypsies needed a leader, particularly in olden times, in order to be able to traverse land and sea at will. They needed a spokesman to present their views and conclude agreements with governments when attempts were made to hinder their marches. We do not know how they chose their leaders, but we do know, thanks to several writers, that these had little power.[3] The chief had no judicial authority. This is

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[1] Liszt, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Spittel, *op. cit.*, p. 232 *sq.*

[2] Gjorgjevič, *loc. cit.*, p. 31; Achleitner, *loc. cit.*, No 71; Morwood, *Our Gypsies*, p. 12; Nyrop, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[3] As early as 1840, v. Heister (*Ethnologie der Zigeuner*, p. 55) wrote: "Die Anführermacht reicht bei so untergeordnetem und lockerem gesellschaftlichem Zustand nicht weit". *Cf.* Axon, 'A Gypsy Tract from the Seventeenth Century', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, N. S., i. 68 *sq.*

signified by the gypsy proverb: the leader is just as honest as any other gypsy. If a gypsy violates the law, the "community's" animosity is not directed at him but at whoever happens to be his judge (if there is any animosity, that is). But if the guilty gypsy is punished in spite of everything, his kinsmen consider him a martyr and are indignant at the judge.[1] The right of the fist is the only law which the gypsy honours and respects. The Norwegian authority Skou tells us that if any one of them calls on the arm of the law, he is considered abnormal and is regarded with hate by the entire tribe.[2]

We see, then, that the gypsies have a typical, constitutional bent which manifests itself principally in an unusually complet lack of social organization and social adaptation as well as in a lack of religious conception. It is in these negative traits, combined with a natural disposition for movement, which in turn is connected with other fundamental needs, that I see the principal reasons for gypsy wanderings.

As we shall see more clearly later on, most typical wandering peoples have a very definite lack, or at best, a lax conception of the social sense. This is equally true in certain cases of their religious sense. And as I have shown, where there is an abnormal wandering instinct — in the sense that I have intimated — among peoples of more advanced stages of culture, the instinct not uncommonly has its foundation in anti-social tendencies of a similar typical nature.

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At first one might feel tempted to draw certain parallels between the gypsies and the Jews. Both are more or less wanderers, both are scattered throughout the world. The Jews like the gypsies have "la hantise du déplacement et le goût des migrations".[3] The wandering gypsy has also associated with the wandering Jew.[4] But while the gypsy has no history at all, the Jew has practically

[1] Grellman, *op. cit.*, p. 105. The leader can punish a thief, but in that case the punishment serves only as a reminder to the thief and the other members of his tribe to do their thieving more cleverly and hide their stolen goods more carefully; Grellman, *op. cit.* 105.

[2] Skou, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[3] Kadmi-Cohen, *Nomades*, p. 20 *sq.*

[4] Wiener, *loc. cit.*, iii. 10.

the most detailed history of all present-day peoples. The gypsies have hardly any literature, the Jews the most authentic literature in the world. The gypsies have, as has often been proved, practically no religion at all, or at all events religion plays a very small part in their lives; the strength of the Jews is in their religion.

The wandering disposition of the Jews was originally brought about by geographical conditions. Kadmi-Cohen, in an excellent analysis of Jewish mentality, indirectly reached the conclusion that it is geographically founded, though the author did not directly deal with this theme. But he agrees with Victor Duruy's statement that the Arab and the Jew have the same origin. "À l'origine, ils (les juifs) furent donc nomades".[1] The infertile regions where the Jews first lived led to nomadism and kept the race from permanent contact with the soil. We have mentioned[2] the legend of Cain, the tiller of the soil, who murdered Abel, the shepherd, as significant. It was Abel who came to personify the characteristics of the race among which shepherd nomadism then played an important part. Nomadism among the Jews "a sa source au fond du coeur sémite"[3].

It is true that Jewish migrations in historic times have often been provoked by persecutions, but the question remains whether the original nomadism brought about by geographical reasons has not been just as determining a factor as the political-religious factor in shaping the Jew's wandering life. We note large Jewish migrations in the middle of the 16th century (the Jewish migration towards eastern Europe), and in the 19th century (the Jewish migrations to America).

The nomadic habits of the Jews have also to do with the fact that the Jewish race has not been able to attach itself to the soil, has not been able to build states of its own. Does it not say in Liviticus: "And the land shall not be sold in perpetuity; for the land is mine: for ye are strangers and sojourners with me".[4]

In this appears the original nomadic character of the Jew, the geographical background, so to speak, for his wandering life. This too,

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[1] Duruy, *Histoire du moyen âge*, ii., ch. iv, quoted by Kadmi-Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[2] Supra, p. 108.

[3] Kadmi-Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[4] Leviticus, ch. xxxv. 14—16.

through numberless generations, developed later on into a wandering instinct.

However, there are similarities in the mobile psychology of the Jew and the gypsy. Both peoples, thanks to the 'orgeuil de tribu', have succeeded in preserving their racial peculiarities which have kept them from contact with the rest of the world. What Kadmi-Cohen has to say about the Jews in this connexion applies to the gypsies equally well. The author claims that they have succeeded in leading an almost paradoxical existence, in continuing for "une durée illogique", to keep their identity independent of persecution and massacre.[1]

[1] Kadmi-Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WANDERING IMPULSE AND PSYCHOANALYSIS

At this point I shall take occasion to touch upon the wandering problem in the light of its connexion with psychoanalysis. The psychoanalysts, it is true, have given little attention to the wandering impulse of primitive peoples. Their investigations deal principally with the wandering phenomenon among neurasthenics, though, they do not altogether deal directly only with *poriomania* or the pathological wandering impulse — which we have no reason to discuss in this connexion. But the studies of the psychoanalysts are to a certain extent of interest to us in that they believe that there is a certain parallelism between the mentality of neurasthenics and the psyche of primitive peoples, even if Freud admits that the analogy must not be carried too far. According to Freud this parallelism lies in the fact that neither neurasthenics nor primitive peoples can differentiate sharply between thought and action. Neurasthenics are repressed in their actions; thought is a compensation for action. In the case of primitive man thought is immediately carried out in action; action is thus a compensation for thought.[1] Thus in both cases there is a touch of psychic infantilism.

Psychoanalysts of course attribute the wandering disposition to reasons of sex. Winterstein points out that poets earlier suspected this but that it was the privilege of the psychoanalysts first to suggest the true relation. Migration is a form of sexual longing, that is to say, like modern travelling it becomes an outlet for this longing. The journeys of strolling craftsmen, of wandering scholars, were

[1] Freud, *Totem und Tabu* (*Gesammelte Schriften*, x), pp. 23, 216; *Idem*, *Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse* (*Gesammelte Schriften*, vii), 271 *sqq.*, 438 *sqq.*; Róheim, 'Die Psychoanalyse primitiver Kulturen', in *Imago*, xviii. 302 *sqq.*

also at bottom erotic. "*Die Ruhelosigkeit der Gespenster*" was connected with their permanently unsatisfied eroticism. The sailor's attraction to the sea, the aviator's to the air are also attributed to sex. The modern desire to travel which manifests itself most strongly in the spring is directly connected with the love life. The psychoanalysts even go so far as to feel that they are able to localize certain typical dispositions of character physiologically; thus the hypogastrium would not only be the seat of sex but also of "*die Lust zum Reisen*".[1]

The psychoanalysts believe — which is a near approach to the theory held by Kline — that travelling for the purpose of winning a bride (which seldom happens under modern conditions) was historically founded upon the custom of fathers driving their pubescent sons from the door to win brides and kingdoms in foreign lands.[2] Róheim, one of the better-known psychoanalysts, who also claims a sexual origin for the wandering impulse, says that it is founded upon an earlier flight from father and mother, and in a dearth of women in certain stages. "Die der Mutter entzogene Libido wird zur Besetzung immer neuer Gegenden verwendet, wobei die Inzestverdrängung die Besetzung immer wieder loslöst und eine räumliche Reihenbildung ein verhältnismässig rasches Nacheinander der 'Erdmütter' entstehen lässt".[3] Róheim believes that he has found this trait among the Polynesians. Their legends mention wanderings by land and sea in search of an object for the incestuous disposition. In many legends of the South Sea Islands "the search for women constitutes the reason for wanderings", says Róheim.[4] The dearth of women and expulsion or flight from mother and father was thus mainly responsible for the wandering impulse. Among such peoples, Róheim points out, there is always a tendency to repeat the original flights. In this way and through the search for compensatory objects the peoples become wandering peoples, — since "jede Niederlage der Brüder mit dem darauf folgenden 'Urvater' eine gewisse Tendenz seitens der Brüder einen auf Inzestflucht beruhenden unvollkommenen Siegeswunsch vor-

[1] Winterstein, 'Zur Psychoanalyse des Reisens', in *Ibid.*, i. 489 *sqq.*, 503; Róheim, 'Die Wilde Jagd, in *Ibid.*, xii. 466 *sqq.*

[2] Winterstein, *loc. cit.*, i. 493.

[3] Róheim, 'Die Völkerpsychologie und die Psychologie der Völker', in *Sigm. Freud zum 70 Geburtstag* (*Imago*, xii), pp. 282, 285.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 282.

aussetzt, der wiederum dem nichterreichten Genitalprimat der genitofugalen Libidoströmung entsprechen würde. Der Libido genitofugal, das Volk zentrifugal".[1]

The Freudian School might have added to the evidence it has built up along matriarchal lines the thesis of woman's social and family supremacy which is to be found in one of its most revealing forms in the "home son-in-law" institution among the peasant and rural population of a large number of European countries, not least in the North, consisting in the fact that the bridegroom 'eats himself into' the family of his wife. This "home son-in-law" institution, which logically could have been used as proof for incest flight and the individual origin of mass wanderings, was without doubt purely social in character and at bottom, in other words it emanated from the need of subsistence and labour, under polygamic conditions at any rate, when there was no social conformity between the size of the paternal plot of land and the number of children.

Naturally the instinct of reproduction as well as that of self-preservation has played a part in forming the wandering impulse. But is it inevitable that this longing and desire, with which the psychoanalysts make such play, should always find its explanation in terms of sex? As for the theory they build around some kind of postulated original flight from father and mother with the accompanying tendencies, surely it is too far-fetched to account for all the manifestations of the wandering impulse. The statement made by Rivers[2] and quoted by Róheim in speaking of Melanesian migrations to the effect that human wanderings in contrast to those of animals are often engaged in only by males, while women are altogether missing or are in the minority, is doubtless true. However, it applies only to hunting and fishing expeditions, and possibly amatory journeys, among peoples who have already attained to a certain degree of permanency. Large tribal migrations and migrations of whole peoples in the form in which they still typically take place among collector, hunter and fisher peoples on a low plane of civilization, and to a great extent among nomads, both cattle-breeding and agricultural nomads, are always engaged in by both sexes. Men, women and children all wander together. On the other hand, among more or less stationary peoples who send out

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 282.

[2] Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, ii. 295.

hunting and fishing expeditions, it is almost always the males alone who take part in them. Women, children and old people remain behind. The members of such expeditions, which often cover months, thus to a great extent lack female company and so it is rather difficult to assume an erotic reason for these wanderings. The annual journeys of the Eskimos, with the accompanying lengthy absences from their wives who stay at home, contribute to the institution of borrowed wives ("*Konebytning*") in new and temporary camping-places during the wanderings. This system, however, is a result of, rather than a reason for, the journeys.[1]

It seems difficult to believe in sexual reasons for the general tribal wanderings of primitive peoples who are forced by nature to lead a life of movement. Naturally such reasons may be at the bottom of individual journeys or even group journeys, but it is impossible to think of them as having contributed to any real extent to the formation or even the strengthening of the wandering impulse. So far such a theory must be looked upon as belonging to the sphere of extremely vague conjectures. For even if wanderings which among primitive peoples were brought about by marriage through capture, or to a certain extent through sale, can be traced back to erotic motives, it is without the least doubt too bold a step to begin generalizing from this on the subject of the erotic basis of the wandering impulse.

We lack proof for the assumption held by Róheim that peoples among whom it was customary for the men to hunt women developed into wandering peoples. Róheim mentions the Polynesians and the Greeks,[2] neither of whom were a pronounced wandering people. Polynesians have journeyed hundreds of miles by sea, but their migrations were for the most part based on geographical conditions (currents and winds). They are on the whole stationary. And in spite of the warlike expeditions and sea journeys of the ancient Greeks, they too must be looked upon as having been stationary to a great degree. The most primitive peoples are, as a rule, wandering peoples, but among them the marriage ceremonies are decidedly more simple than among peoples who have already imbibed a certain amount of primitive culture. Thus the wandering life was certainly a fact long before those marriage ceremonies and family customs

[1] Birket-Smith, *Eskimoerne*, p. 161.
[2] Róheim, in *Imago*, xii. 282.

which the psychoanalysts regard as the cause of the wandering disposition had even come into existence. We certainly lack any substantial ethnological proof that flight and wandering were related to repressed incestuous impulses.

It is true that there are data which tell us that invading wandering tribes, as for instance the invading Melanesian tribes from Melanesia to New Guinea, devoted themselves to abducting women. According to Thurnwald they "were interested in obtaining women as all migratory tribes are poor in women".[1] However, no such theories as the Freudian School has constructed concerning the wandering impulse should be built on such inadequate information.

Psychoanalysts attach importance to the fact that poets have seemed to allude to the fundamental sexual reasons for wanderings, which we must look upon as being rather vague proof. Even if there is an erotic motive, among other motives, in the wanderings of Odysseus, — where the longing for home is after all as strong as the desire for travel and adventure! —, in the wanderings of Tannhäuser in the Venusberg, in the voyages of the Flying Dutchman and the escapades of Faust, does this prove that the modern desire to travel, for instance need always have as its basis the assumptions of the psychoanalysts? May it not very simply be explained as restlessness, as a reaction against confined conditions, a longing for change and adventure, in those instances when it is not a natural intellectual interest in foreign countries and peoples?

The abnormal wandering impulse in turn — the pathological impulse which will not be further discussed here — is based upon the individual's unsocial nature rather than upon sexual circumstances, just as undeveloped social conditions among primitive peoples signify a retardation of the tendency towards permanent settlement.

Wanderings brought about by magical and religious motives are to be found among primitive peoples as well as among peoples on a high plane of culture. But when the hermits retired from the world into solitude, was it for the motives given by psychoanalysts as the reasons for wanderings? The religious crusades of the Middle Ages, as has been said before, doubtless included many motives other than purely religious ones, as for instance, a chivalrous longing for adventure, interest in earning a livelihood, or political aspira-

[1] Thurnwald, *Die Gemeinde der Bánaro*, p. 191. Ratzel (*Anthropogeographie*, i. 456) believed the abduction of women to be a result of migrations on low planes of civilization.

tions, if they were not purely and simply a natural reaction to the oppression and narrowness of the period. As Yrjö Hirn points out, the Crusades were to a great extent an expression of an unsocial, positively pathological, wandering unrest to which the Roman Church successfully gave a religious bent and motive by creating the brotherhoods of wandering monks and organising and extending the practice of pilgrimage.[1]

Again surely a love of the sea has little to do with the motives suggested by psychoanalysts, even if the unrest of the age of puberty has a sexual foundation. It would be absurd to look upon this unrest as being at the bottom of the longing for the sea and a seafaring life. In its heart of hearts the "divine unrest" which spread from Spain during her age of discovery to the other Powers of Europe was surely based upon political ambition and desire for power. It was only from the period of colonial conquest onwards that poets began to sing the praises of life at sea and stress its irresistible charm. "The northern unrest" which gave rise to the expeditions of the Vikings was no doubt also a reaction from local close quarters and narrowness, though of course a good deal of the same longing for adventure which characterized later Northern journeys and expeditions was behind these voyages too. Can we say of Crusoe's "sea fever", to take a literary example, that his wandering impulse which increased with each voyage and which lasted into his old age, was a morbid impulse, that it had a sexual basis? Hardly.

Is sex at the bottom of the wanderings of the gypsies, those people who represent the wandering disposition most markedly and most mysteriously? Are not these wanderings rather, as we have seen, a case of an unsocial tendency, doubtless an inherited wandering disposition, coming down through numberless generations from the days when the gypsies for some reason or other were driven from the regions they originally inhabited in northern India — where similar wandering tribes are still to be found — and as a result of the migratory waves in Asia were driven from country to country without succeeding in finding refuge anywhere, without being able to settle down in any place? There is no doubt but that the unsocial and even irreligious character of the people has helped to strengthen the wandering bent. And surely it would be far-fetched to look for the reasons behind the century-long wanderings of the Jews in the explanation given by the psychoanalysts.

[1] Hirn, *Ön i världshavet*, pp. 10, 24.

Thus, far from being able to find any tangible evidence or even acceptable hypotheses in the Freudian School's analysis of the origin of the wandering impulse or the wandering disposition, I cannot get away from the impression that their theories are merely a series of one-sided speculations (which is on the whole true of psychoanalyzing ethnology) which have little connexion with ethnological facts. The instinct of self-preservation and the instinct to eat belong to the most primary instincts, which, particularly in low stages of civilization, bring about migrations and a roaming life. While these instincts even among the higher animals are more or less unconscious, they are already conscious to some degree in the case of primitive man, and find expression in long wanderings in search of food. "Animals eat when they are hungry, man eats so as not to be hungry. Animals are guests of the earth, man is the host", says Moszkowski.[1]

Will, created by numberless psychical and physical factors, plays a part in the wanderings of man. To the extent that the instinct of self-preservation includes the instinct of reproduction it may of course be said that the sexual element plays a part in wanderings. However, this does not mean that it is the foundation upon which the wandering disposition principally rests.

The wandering impulse of man has not been biologically analyzed in the same way in which investigations have been made of the migratory phenomenon among birds and animals, and can hardly be so. To what degree the protoplastic and internal secretory forces are operative it is hard to say; but, as a rule, subsistence-geographical reasons are at the bottom of the wanderings of peoples, particularly those on a lower plane of civilization.

[1] Moszkowski, *Vom Wirtschaftsleben der primitiven Völker*, p. 2.

CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LAXITY AS CONTRIBUTORY CAUSES TO PRIMITIVE WANDERING LIFE

The social looseness of the most primitive stages of culture must no doubt be a contributory cause of the continued and vigorous existence of forms of wandering life to this day. And of course the opposite is true too: the nomadic life of the lower stages which as yet can claim no true culture still contributes to a degree to accentuate the anti-social trait. A striking characteristic of the primitive nomads is their exceedingly simple social order. As Shirokogoroff says, "the migrations very often produce confusion of social institutions".[1]

I do not wish to assert that this laxness, which manifests itself in a lack of higher social and political discipline, true boundaries, etc., exclusively characterizes migrating peoples. It is peculiar to primitive peoples in general. But as I have tried to show in the foregoing, it is just among these peoples that we come across the typical wandering peoples, collector, fisher, and hunter peoples. It is true that even these peoples do not altogether lack social organization. The family tie which unites them, and which Westermarck states to be a universal distinguishing feature of peoples on a low plane of culture, implies — as does association under the leadership of the elders — a certain form of social union. However, these peoples lack many other institutions which are necessary for established community life. Territorial boundaries (in which I do not include the so-called wandering zone boundaries) are still more or less foreign to collector, fisher and hunter peoples. Their communities present a picture of a more or less homogeneous, undifferentiated body. They are almost totally without classes, rank, chieftainship, judicial institutions and definite boundaries.

[1] Shirokogoroff, *Social Organization of the Northern Tungus*, p. 210, note 3.

Thurnwald asserts as a general fact that wandering peoples on the whole lack those permanent institutions which are to be found among higher peoples.[1] If chieftainship exists, its power is weak. It is not based upon any judicial or political sanction; rather has it grown out of certain customs which have come about through the needs of daily life.[2] Great equality prevails among all the tribal members of peoples on a low plane of civilization. In this connexion special mention may be made of the North[3] and Central Australians.[4] Each tribal member has the same rights; no one enjoys any special privileges.[5] But similar data might be quoted from other parts of the world.[6] Leadership, where it exists, is seldom connected with any political or judicial authority. The leader's "power" lies in certain personal dominant traits of a physical or psychical nature, or in magical supernatural qualities which are attributed to him. Among peoples where the family is the social unit in which the tribe has grown up, the heads of the families are the leaders of their group.[7] Such an organization often coincides with the elders' council, with so-called "age classes" or club-like

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[1] Thurnwald, *Die menschliche Gesellschaft*, i. 86; *cf. Idem*, in *Zeitschr. f. d. gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, lxxxvii· ii. 288.

[2] Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 161.

[3] Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 10, 12.

[4] Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 20; Spencer and Gillen, *Across Australia*, i. 232, ii. 256

[5] *Cf.* also Oldfield, 'On the Aborigines of Australia', in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. London*, iii, N. S., 256; Eyre, *Journal of Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii. 315; Schürmann, 'The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln', in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 226; Taplin, 'The Narrinyeri', in *Ibid.*, p. 32; Wyatt, 'Some Accounts of the Manners, etc. of Adelaide, etc. Tribes', in *Ibid.*, p. 160; Wheeler, *The Tribe, and Intertribal Relations in Australia*, p. 46 *sqq.*; Mathew, 'Australian Tribes', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xxxviii. 942; Seligman, *The Melanesians*, pp. 158, 453; Fison and Howitt, *Kamiraloi and Kurnai*, p. 211.

[6] *Cf.* Hose and McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, i. 182 *sqq.* (Borneo); Portman, *A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, i. 40 *sq.* (Andaman Islanders); Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, ii. 194 (Tribes of South Africa); Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, p. 259 (North American Indians); Falkner, *A Description of Patagonia*, p. 123 (Patagonian Tribes); Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 45 (Californian Tribes); Dunbar, 'The Pawnee Indians', in *Magaz. Americ. Hist.*, iv. 261; Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, pp. 68, 70 (Bedouins); Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, p. 415 (Caucasian tribes).

[7] Westermarck, *op. cit.*, i. 597; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 132.

organizations and secret societies whose members, as Dr. Vierkandt points out, "through common hunting and pillaging parties were early imbued with a bent towards association and who had the faculty of subordinating themselves and on this basis continued being together".[1]

As for the typical wandering peoples it seems to me that among them we can establish a connexion between their wandering life and their defective social organization. Whether the latter is a condition or only an accentuated cause of their migrations is difficult to determine. At all events there is an intimate reciprocity between the wandering life and a loose social organization.

The associations of the primitive collector, fisher and hunter peoples are, as Westermarck remarks, often very small since the subsistence-geographical conditions seldom permit of larger units.[2] Among numerous natives of Australia who are constantly on the march the tribal units are exceedingly small, consisting of only a few families.[3] Of the migratory Australian tribes at Encounter Bay and Herbert River, Lumholtz says that a family generally consists of 20 to 25 individuals. "How many such small divisions it takes to make a tribe it is impossible to say, as there exists no sort of organization. . . . It is probably not far from the truth to estimate a tribe at two hundred to two hundred and fifty individuals".[4]

The forest Veddahs of Ceylon, who live by hunting and therefore journey about constantly, live in very small bands.[5] Each family has its own special hunting district; the country is cut up into a

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[1] Vierkandt (*Stetigkeit im Kulturwandel*, p. 32) rightly remarks that the question here is one of moral force only and not of legal political force. *Cf.* also *Idem*, in *Allgemeine Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsgeschichte*, ii. 2.

[2] Westermarck, *op. cit.*, i. 672 (ch. xxiv); *cf.* also Hobhouse, in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychol. u. Soziol.*, iv. 404 *sqq.*, 413 *sqq.*; *Idem*, in *Ibid.*, v. 190; Hose, *Natural Man*, p. 41.

[3] O'Connell, *A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland*, pp. 82 *sq.*; *cf.* Meyer, 'Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe', in Woods, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 191; Gason, 'Of the Tribes Dieyrie', etc., in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv. 176.

[4] Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 176 *sq.*

[5] Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, p. 118; Bailey, 'An Account of the Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of Ceylon', in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. London*, ii. N. S., 285.

chess-board as it were. During the dry season each family lives in its own square, scarcely coming in contact with its neighbours. When the rainy season makes its entry the various families betake themselves to the plateaus to common centres in order to "be able to intermingle a little more freely than is possible on the plains". Here those heads of families who are cleverest physically or mentally enjoy a certain influence over the others. The admission of the existence of such influence depends, however, only on good-will and good-natured subordination and in time on growing custom.[1] The Voguls in Asia, who are typical wanderers[2], live in small families in the woods. "Since they have no other diversion than hunting they are forced to live as far from one another as possible".[3] A man's influence depends upon his character, his energy, his luck in hunting, his cleverness in magic. Numerous circumstances have led Thomas to conclude that "the social organization of the primitive wandering peoples was very loose, much like the lower castes of Alaskan Déné".[4] The Central Arawaks are forced by their geographical environment to live in small villages.[5]

Among many of the savage peoples on the South American continent a certain connexion between the wandering life and the lack of higher social organization is also to be found.[6] For the most part there are no chiefs. The family group or the horde has a leader, but the power of a leader does not exist.[7] Each Botokudo horde has a chief, Baron Nordenskiöld says, but at the same time he points out that the power of the chief is most insignificant. It lasts no longer than his strength lasts.[8] As I have said before, one must count the Botokudos among the most typical wandering

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[1] Sarasin, *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon*, iii. 475 *sqq.*

[2] Pallas, *Reise durch versch. Provinzen des russischen Reichs*, quoted by Hildebrand, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[4] Thomas, 'Some Suggestions in regard to Primary Indian Migration in North America', in *Congr. intern. des Américanistes*, xv. 1.

[5] Farabee, 'The Central Arawaks', in *Univ. Pennsylv. Anthr. Publ.*, ix. 12.

[6] Nordenskiold, *Sydamer. ind. Kult. hist.* p. 180; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 227; Krause, *In den Wildnissen Brasiliens*, p. 51 *sqq.*

[7] Wied Neuwied, *Reise nach Brasilien*, p. 32.

[8] Nordenskiöld, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

peoples.[1] Among the Ţampopata-guarayo and the Chacobo wandering Indians Nordenskiöld could discover no chief who commanded others, and among the Yuracáre who live in families there were no other leaders than the fathers of the families.[2]

Prof. Karsten claims that the anti-social trait is typical of the half-civilized Indians by the Bobonaza in Ecuador.[3] Koppers feels that the extreme primitiveness of the Yahgan tribe in Tierra del Fuego stands in relation to its primitive collecting, fishing, and hunting husbandry.[4] Speaking of other primitive tribes in Tierra del Fuego Gusinde points out that no standing organization can exist there as the uncertain search for food forces the members of the tribe apart.[5] Among the Ona, an uncommonly active tribe in Tierra del Fuego,[6] the husband is the head of the family, whose members obey him blindly, — if they do not do so they are punished. There is no tribal leader. In war they have no commanders. Each person fights for himself.[7] They lack all signs of government or rank. No member of the tribe is higher than any other member.[8] Even the North American hunting tribes in the Rocky Mountains live in small families and their social organization is most undeveloped.[9]

Speaking of the Eskimos, Prof. Otto Nordenskjöld says that "if one excepts their shamans (*angekokker*) there are no leaders or chiefs of any kind among the Eskimos, no keeping together of tribes, no laws nor administration".[10] And Nordenskjöld feels that there are scarcely any other peoples among whom such institutions are less developed than among the Eskimos.[11]

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[1] *Supra*, p. 75.

[2] Nordenskiöld, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[3] Karsten, *Bland indianer i Ekvadors urskogar*, i. 182 *sq.*

[4] Koppers, *Unter Feuerland-Indianern*, p. 288 *sq.*

[5] Gusinde, 'Zur Forschungsgeschichte der Feuerland-Indianer', in *Mitth. Geogr. Ges. Wien*, lxxiii. 252.

[6] Gallardo, *Los Onas*, p. 296; Nordenskjöld, *Från Eldslandet*, p. 105; Skottsberg, *Båtfärder och vildmarksritter*, p. 118.

[7] Nordenskjöld, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[8] Cook, *Voyage round the World* (Hawkesworth), ii. 58.

[9] Schoolcraft (*Information resp. the Indian Tribes of the U. S. A.* i. 224); and Nieboer (*Slavery*, p. 191 *sq.*), asserts that the same is true of other North American tribes.

[10] Nordenskjöld, *Polarnaturen*, p. 30 *sq.*

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 30 *sq.*

I may also mention a few examples from the African continent of the connexion existing between the wandering life and a deficient social organization.

"Low social organization and lack of efficient social action form the most striking characteristic of the Negro race", says Reinsch, adding that "a lack of social fellow-feeling, and absence of every vestige of patriotism, is shown by the readiness with which Negroes allow themselves to be used to fight against their neighbours".[1] Many Bushman and Hottentot tribes belong, as I have earlier pointed out, to the typical wandering peoples.[2] On the basis of ethnological material, Febvre concludes that the Bushmen, wandering hunters, have no political organization. Their small communities are "fragiles". If the number of tribal members increases somewhat, the tribe breaks up into smaller groups. The districts they occupy, so to speak, are only areas in which they wander.[3] The hordes of the lowly Bushmen consist of two or three families.[4] The authority of a chief does not exist. The social organization is lax. They have no stationary dwellings and no property.[5] The southern Bushmen, the Narons, had no leaders nor even a word for chieftainship. The most complete equality exists in the Bushmen's small hordes, Thulié states, not only as regards influence but also as regards property. No one possesses anything in person. What one person owns, everyone owns.[6] Almost similar is the information about the Hottentots. In a country where there are no differences of birth or rank, all are of necessity equal, writes Le Vaillant.[7] Tribal ties hardly bind the Hottentots, according to Barthel. They roam around in small hordes and divide into still smaller flocks for the smallest reason, — for instance if food runs short in a district.[8] Of the Koranns, a Hottentot tribe, Barthel

[1] Reinsch, 'The Negro Race', in *Americ. Jour. Sociol.*, xi. 149 *sq.*, 155.

[2] Zastrow, 'Über die Buschleute', in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, xlvi. 1 *sqq.*; Frobenius, *Geographische Kulturkunde*, p. 348; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, p. 18.

[3] Febvre, *La terre*, pp. 303, 307.

[4] Thulié, 'Instructions anthropologiques, etc.', in *Bull. Soc. d'Anthr. Paris*, iv, Ser. iii. 409 *sq.*

[5] Passarge, *op. cit.*, p. 17 *sq.*

[6] Thulié, *loc. cit.*, iv. Ser. iii. 410.

[7] Le Vaillant, *Travels from Cape of Good Hope into the Interior Parts of Africa*, ii. 83, 86 *sq.*

[8] Barthel, *Völkerbewegungen*, p. 16.

says that their constantly roving life has never permitted of political or social organization.[1]

Among all the pygmies the social, religious and cultural conditions are little developed.[2] The same is true of several other African wandering peoples, and even of some nomadic tribes on a higher plane of culture. The African Bedouin, Platz asserts, has never yet bowed his head to a conqueror. He lives in the greatest freedom. Possibly he is conscious of a patriarchal power which is in the hands of one of the elders of the tribe, or a sheik, but he knows that even such power is temporary and limited.[3]

Hose says of some of the jungle peoples on Borneo who engage in wandering hoeing that "the village communities have little or no political organization, beyond the fact that each has a 'headman' and occasionally unites with a neighbouring village for defensive purposes".[4]

Among the Semang each group has its hereditary area but is nevertheless permitted to wander around in the whole territory belonging to the tribe.[5]

The social structure among primitive peoples and especially among wandering peoples is thus in certain respects quite incoherent. Here and there one comes across more permanent forms, but in any case it is only a question of the simplest sort of primitive

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[2] Haberlandt, 'Afrika', in Buschan, *Illustr. Völkerkunde*, i. 546.

[3] Platz, *Der Mensch*, p. 426. Steinmetz (*Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Oceanien*) gives us other examples of nomads who are not stationary and who are strikingly non-cohesive. The purpose of Steinmetz is not to establish the connexion mentioned here, but since the investigations to no small degree concern themselves with the peoples' social and political organizations, settlements, etc., we can on the basis of these draw certain general conclusions on the question discussed above. Certain tribes in the Sudan, for example, which are not stationary, present an undeveloped organization. Class differences, chiefs, etc., do not exist. The conceptions of right and wrong are uncertain. See esp. Nicole, 'Die Diakite-Sarrakolesen', in Steinmetz, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 135; Tellier, 'Kreis Kita', in *Ibid.*, p. 117; Beverley, 'Die Wagogo', in *Ibid.*, pp. 213, 216; Kraft, 'Die Wapakomo', in *Ibid.*, p. 290 *sqq.*; Viehe, 'Die Ovaherero', in *Ibid.*, p. 299. *Cf.* also Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas*, p. 444; Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 540 (The wandering Congo pygmies); Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, pass. (The Tshi-speaking peoples).

[4] Hose, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[5] Schebesta, *Bei den Urwaldszwergen von Malaya*, p. 79.

social unions. As yet we meet with no kind of organized state.[1]

The state and the organization of the state assumes, in my opinion, that there is an organized union of individuals within a limited territory who either because of a common descent or common nationality or because of a common history feel themselves to be united to each other through their laws and their institutions. Naturally, the origin of the state must be looked for in the most primitive social unions. The social feeling can be traced to man's altruistic instincts; the seed of social integration lies in the family; blood relationship, geographical kinship, religious consolidation have further promoted this development.[2] Gradually certain groups form. More permanent and definite organizations develop, custom and tradition become commands of duty, moral commands against the breaking of which public opinion revolts. Custom becomes law. It becomes the "rule for action" which Westermarck shows us to be the original character of custom.[3]

Among wandering peoples one seldom finds even the institutions with so-called men-houses which are characteristic of a great

[1] To see states, as does Prof. Lenz for example, in certain African tribal unions (Lenz, *Skizzen aus Westafrika*, p. 274) or to speak of wild states as does Dr. Steinmetz, where the question is obviously one of the simplest forms of social union, seems incorrect to me. (Steinmetz, *Ethnologische Studien*, i. 365, 382). The same mistake is also made by Dr. Broda ('Primitive Communism' in *The International*, iv. 147) and Prof. Bosanquet (*The Philosophical Theory of the State*, p. 3) who says: "Wherever men have lived there has always been a state".

[2] Westermarck, *op. cit.*, ii. 199 *sqq.*, 222 *sqq.*

[3] *Ibid.* i. 118. It seems to me that Wundt (*Völkerpsychologie*, viii. 102 *sq.*) in speaking of wanderings puts too much stress upon the importance of wanderings in the "founding of states", and the development of state organization through migrations. This is true to a certain extent in higher stages of culture, when a higher nomadic people subdues a lower one, but it is hardly the case among primitive peoples. Among the reasons for the founding of states in the former case geographical reasons must certainly be numbered. When the geographical surroundings are favourable, organization is considerably easier than if they are unfriendly. As Wundt himself says, "the great body of the people who make up the wanderings are little changed as a result of them. If through conquest and pushing onward new states appear, this is due to the leaders, and leadership is little developed among peoples on a low plane of culture. But it is obvious that in higher stages of culture the fact that wanderings broaden out from tribal communication to communication between peoples is a force in the founding of states".

number of primitive but stationary peoples. Nomadism affords no possibility for the development of an institution such as this, and their circumstances compel them to nomadism.[1]

As far as I can discover, the nomads do not even possess any true conception of the idea of state, nor any notion of creating a state. What they have is chiefly the desire for conquest and a dynastic idea, so to speak: that of holding the leadership or chieftainship of the wandering hordes. But in this is to be seen what the German sociologists call *Hauswacht*, *patria potestas*, rather than a true factor in a body politic. Schmidt and Koppers point out that the almost total lack of initiation rites for youths and maidens also indicates an undeveloped conception of the state in these stages. Where such initiation rites exist they have no doubt been borrowed from other peoples.[2]

The nomadic peoples have never succeeded in creating permanent state organizations. They have nowhere founded large kingdoms. Of the great conquests of an Attila, a Genghiz Khan, a Tamerlane, to name only the foremost nomadic leaders, what was there left after only a short time? Their dominions came to an end with the leaders. The days of the supremacy of the Huns, Tartars and Mongols were soon past.

It is true that the nomads have a fairly well developed wandering organization, but their political organization is loose. Their conception of fixed boundaries is vague. The great Mercator added to a map over the land of the Scythians and Parthians "Sacae Nomades sunt, civitates non habent".[3]

That which is striking in Semitic history, says Kadmi-Cohen, is the almost complete lack of organized and permanent states. There is, he admits, some sort of kingdom in Arabia, but it is of a fairly peripheral nature, and in other cases it has been the foreign influence which has asserted itself in the organization of states.[4] Neither Jew nor Arab has been able to create permanent communities for a long time. The history of both these peoples lacks discipline and state-organization.

Whereas among collector, fisher and lower hunter peoples each man thus owns just as little property and has just the same rights

[1] Hodson, *The Primitive Culture of India*, p. 33.
[2] Schmidt and Koppers, in *Der Mensch aller Zeiten*, Iii:1 215.
[3] Ratzel, *Politische Geographie*, p. 57.
[4] Kadmi-Cohen, *Nomades*, p. 76 *sq.*

as every other man, among certain higher hunter peoples differences in rank and power have already developed along with differences in possession. Side by side with cattle-breeding, and the more systematic cultivation of the soil we find the idea of the state developing. Pastoral peoples, even though they have not created permanent states, have developed the idea more than the hunters. Among the agricultural nomads the conception takes on a permanent shape at the same time as the character of the wanderings changes. The migrations pass from the stage of aimless rovings to periodic wanderings. They are directed by a definite idea and take place within a definite, often a limited territory. In this regulation of wanderings lies the germ of progress towards the state.

Von Richthofen rightly remarks that a certain power of governing and ruling is inherent in the nomad.[1] Trade interests soon develop. The nomads lay the foundation of a permanent estate. Their herds of cattle have considerable initial value. The nomad is already in certain cases a capitalist living on interest, as Hildebrand correctly notes.[2] A new basic value makes its appearance when the cattle-breeding nomad turns temporary agriculturist: the land value. There are thus to be found in the nomads certain tendencies towards political organization, though these have been too weak to lead to the creation of permanent communities or states.

Thus I regard the absence of higher social and political organization as a not unimportant cause of the active and flourishing wandering life in lower stages of culture. The permanent wandering life must naturally increase social looseness.

However, it is not only the lack of social permanency which leads to migrations of peoples on a low plane of culture. In my opinion religious indifference plays its part as an accentuating factor, even though it may be of decidedly secondary importance.

In addition to those hypercritical investigators who deny that every people has some religion,[3] there are monographs by sociologists questioning the existence of conceptions of faith among certain peoples, or at least trying to prove that such conceptions play no part in the social and spiritual life of these peoples. It is un-

[1] v. Richthofen, *Siedelungs- und Verkehrsgeographie*, p. 138.

[2] Hildebrand, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[3] For inst. Peschel, Zeller; *cf.* Roskoff, *Das Religionswesen der rohesten Naturvölker*, p. 36 *sq.*

necessary to say that one cannot accept all such conclusions unreservedly. It is not impossible for them to have been arrived at through misinterpretation and misunderstanding, as in some cases other investigators have brought quite contrary reports from the same people. Nevertheless there is a great deal of information presented by trustworthy scientists which tends to prove that some wandering peoples have very loose religious conceptions indeed.

The religion of the primitive Australians is generally reported as being very little developed.[1]

Kamstrup, who lived for fifteen years in Sumatra, found that the primitive Bataks there, who had been driven from the coast to the interior by the Malays, had no real religion. He says that even their magic had not developed far.[2]

Kunhenn says of the nomads in Turkestan that to them religion was of secondary importance. They called themselves Mohammedans, it is true, "but prayers, fasts and other religious observances received little attention".[3] Von Schwartz feels that on the whole religion is little developed among the nomads, so little that they have no priesthood.[4] Fritsch and Schneider point to certain African wandering tribes as being highly indifferent to religion.[5] Of a wandering Fang tribe in Africa Dr. Lang writes that "their religious ideas have almost no influence on the Fans".[6]

Koch-Grünberg says of the Kapapolitani, wandering Indians of the Maku tribe in the Sâo Felipe region of South America, that they live "*sem fé, sem lei, sem rei*", without faith, without laws, without king.[7] Prof. Nordenskjöld doubts whether the Ona Indians in Tierra del Fuego hold any belief,[8] and Prof. Skottsberg also denies that the Fuegians have any religious conceptions.[9] Cooper

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[1] Buschan, 'Australien und Ozeanien', in Buschan, *Illustr. Volkerkunde*, ii: i. 30.

[2] Kamstrup, *15 Aar paa Sumatra*, p. 51; de Moubray, *Matriarchy in the Malay Peninsula and Neighbouring Countries*, p. 8.

[3] Kunhenn, *Die Nomaden und Oasenbewohner Westturkestans*, p. 53.

[4] v. Schwartz, *Turkestan*, p. 57.

[5] Fritsch, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Schneider, *Die Religionen der afrikanischen Naturvölker*, p. 53; Roscoff, *op. cit.*, p. 43. Concern. the nomads in Northern Africa, see Bernard and Lacroix, *L'Evolution du nomadisme en Algérie*, p. 273.

[6] Lang, 'The Religion of the Fans', in *Man*, v. 55.

[7] Koch-Grunberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*, i. 198.

[8] Nordenskjöld, *Eldslandet*, p. 123.

[9] Skottsberg, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

says of the Ona Indians that "there is no evidence for an Ona belief in anything like a supreme Deity".[1]

Thessman claims that the primitive Tshama Indians in the Ucayali district of the Amazon River are practically without religion. "A startling nothingness meets us in the religious sphere".[2]

Speaking of the California Indians Bancroft says that "they build no houses, do not cultivate the soil, they have no boats, nor do they hunt to any considerable extent. They have no morals nor any religion worth calling such. The missionary Fathers found a virgin field whereon neither god nor devil was worshipped". He sees in their migrations one of the reasons for this.[3]

Religious questions are of no importance in the life of the hobo and the tramp. "The hobo shows unmistakably his aversion to all efforts to remake his character or to reshape his destiny", says Nels Anderson.[4]

Similar examples, which might be multiplied, do not prove the degree of religious indifference but do show the presence of a certain religious looseness.[5]

We cannot believe such categorical statements unreservedly, as I have said above, but nevertheless they tend to prove that among certain peoples magic and religious matters are of small importance and play no true part in their lives. If we investigate we find clearly that the peoples who are said to lack religious conceptions or whose religion is little developed are peoples on a low plane of culture, or in other words typical wandering peoples. This is not at variance with the fact that the religious conceptions of peoples who have risen above the most primitive stages of culture are at times the cause of migrations.

It is undoubtedly true, however, that the lack of a religious sense has had nowhere near the same influence on migrations as reasons of an anti-social nature. The former is often very difficult to prove and may have played a greatly subordinate rôle, whereas the loose social conditions have, in my opinion, been the basic cause of many wanderings.

[1] Cooper, 'Analytical, etc. Bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra del Fuego, etc., in *Bull. Smiths. Inst.*, lxii. 149; Dreyer, *Naturfolkens Liv*, p. 16. *Cf.* on the other side Gusinde, in *Festschrift P. Schmidt*, p. 269 *sqq.* (the Selk'nam).

[2] Thessmann, *Menschen ohne Gott*, p. 183.

[3] Bancroft, *The Native Races*, i. 135.

[4] Anderson, *The Hobo*, p. 261 *sq.*

[5] Conc. the gypsies, see *supra*, pp. 281 *sqq.*

CHAPTER XV

THE WANDERING SPIRIT

In the preceding chapters we have discussed the types of human migrations and the various reasons for them. I have pointed out earlier that we must not assume an elementary wandering instinct to be the driving force just because peoples and tribes have gone on longer and shorter journeys. Many migrations have taken place imperceptibly through the gradual extension of boundaries.

Between the migrations of birds and animals on the one hand, and the migrations of peoples on the other, there is a vast difference, even if, as a rule, subsistence-geographical reasons are at the bottom of them all. The wanderings of the former are in all probability purely a matter of instinct, whereas, in human wanderings, will plays a part. Even if the goal is not always consciously clear there is a personal turn to migrations, especially on the higher planes of civilization. Man's wandering capacity is not so considerable as that of the lower beasts of prey, for instance, but technical inventions have increased his possibilities of movement enormously.

The wandering instinct seems to be inborn in birds, but hardly in man as a family, for otherwise his development would scarcely have progressed beyond the wandering stage.

With the development of civilization the necessity for wandering has to some extent been relaxed; but in the infancy of the human race man was perforce of a roving restlessness, driven by circumstances to wander in search of food. There is always the tendency to return to the primitive state, so the civilized man is more or less insistently urged by nature to disregard the conventions of society.

We have seen that the fundamental reason for migrations not only in primitive stages but even on higher planes lies in the geographical conditions combined with the instinct of self-preser-

vation, the need of food. The geographical factor penetrates the social factor and vice versa.

Other circumstances, too, such as trade interests, warlike reasons, the pressure of mightier neighbours who force the weaker to migrate, and social and political reasons, can bring about great wanderings just as magic and religious motives have caused large displacements of peoples and mass movements. I have tried to show that many such migrations have ceased when the direct reasons causing them have ceased. On the other hand, there are innumerable cases in which the wandering life has continued even though the external causes of the wanderings, so to speak, have ceased to function, as a result, for instance, of improved subsistence-geographical and social conditions. This is to be seen most vividly in the case of the gypsies, among whom the wandering instinct stands out to an unusual degree. We have seen the same trait among modern anti-social tramps who cannot overcome the desire to wander and who often suffer from an almost pathological mania for wandering.

However, even in the lower stages of civilization we can establish the existence of migrations, even mass migrations, which cannot be assigned merely to the above-mentioned geographical or social or religious reasons. They are based upon deeper psychological reasons.

When mention is made of different tribes who wander in order to hunt or fish, but who cease wandering and become stationary if they reach a district where the supply of food is sufficient to feed them, we see clearly that the geographically-influenced food instinct is the driving force behind their migrations.

However, there are numerous examples of primitive peoples who could become stationary and engage in agriculture, either because the subsistence-geographical circumstances are favourable or because they are surrounded by neighbours on a higher plane of culture whose good example they could copy. Nevertheless, they do not do so, a fact which investigators are inclined to ascribe to laziness and scorn for the effort that such a transition would require. Father Schmidt, and Skeat and Blagden say that the wandering negritic Semang tribe on Malacca, for instance, do not think it worth while to begin to cultivate the soil.[1] It is clear that the roots of

[1] Schmidt, *Die Stellung der Pygmaenvölker in der Entwickelungsgeschichte des Menschen*, p. 55 *sq.*; Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, i. 341.

such an indisposition lie deeper and are to be found in a wandering tendency, brought about by subsistence-geographical reasons operating over centuries, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, to begin on a new mode of life.

Martin points out that the Senoi and Semang tribes are continuously on the move with no goal in view. "They move around constantly like wild animals and remain three or four days at the most in one and the same place".[1] Stevens and Grünwedel say of another negritic tribe in Malacca, the Orang-Pangang (or Negrito Semang as it is also called) which is to be found in the vicinity of the Perank River, that it is difficult to keep it within bounds for any length of time. The author supplied its members with more than enough food and gave them gifts, but nevertheless without the least warning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, disappeared and did not come back again. These people cannot endure being in one and the same place, says the author, which is what makes the results of all investigations so uncertain. Even families break up to wander, though later on they come together again. A single tribe to-day may go forth in twenty separate groups to-morrow.

The other negritic tribes of Malacca are not quite so restless, according to Stevens and Grünwedel. Their wanderings are brought about by more direct causes and they keep more together on their migrations. They also prefer to keep to the forests, though it makes no difference what part of the forest it is so long as it is uninhabited by any other tribe. Instead of one house or one hut, the Orang-Utan have several different abodes, one of which is occupied by one tribe one day and by another on the next. The huts are erected in definite places and are common property to such a degree that several families appropriate one and the same house if necessary, though as a rule, five or six abodes are raised in one place. In addition to these abodes there are shelters made of a few palm-leaves. The more permanent houses are store-houses rather than dwelling-places.[2]

The coast-dwellers of the Andaman Islands, who are not quite so much influenced by the seasons as the forest-dwellers, as they

[1] Martin, *Die Inlandsstamme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, pp. 1, 569.

[2] Vaughan-Stevens and Grünwedel, 'Materialien zur Kenntniss der wilden Stämme auf der Halbinsel Malâka', in *Veröffentl. Kön. Mus. f. Völkerkunde* (Berlin), iii. 98 *sqq.*, 126.

can fish and collect molluscs and hunt all the year round, nevertheless go on migrations for other purposes during both the cool and the hot seasons. They pay visits to one another and in fine weather the men often go off on turtle-hunting expeditions for several days, leaving the women and children and older men in the village, where they provide for themselves with vegetable food and with shell-fish from the reefs.[1] In addition to subsistence-geographical, fishing, and religious reasons for wanderings among the *Àryô-to* on the Andaman Islands, Man also mentions "the love of a change, and the prospect of seeing some of their friends". These wanderings are seldom extensive, as they keep within the tribe's own territory for the most part. The visiting tribe travels along the coast and spends "a few days or weeks at each halting-place, according to its special attractions".[2]

Reade tells us that some natives of Equatorial Africa are perpetually changing the sites of their villages.[3] There are many fairly stationary African Negro tribes, among whom hunting and fishing for the sake of food, however, is a common concern of all the tribal members. These expeditions, which are really subsistence-geographical in nature, are at the same time "des fêtes publiques, de veritables solennités", which are not alone "des expéditions de réapprovisionnement; elles tiennent aussi de la partie de plaisir et du pique-nique". At such times their settlements are guarded by the old and the sick. Even infants are taken along on the journeys.[4]

That stationary tribes engaged in land cultivation are not always so permanent as they seem is to be seen from statements made by Baron Nordenskiöld, e. g. on the Churápa Indians. They have fields under cultivation, he says, but at times their Indian blood will tell and they set out on wanderings.[5]

Prof. Karsten says of the Toba Indians that although they are now much more stationary than they used to be, they have preserved many of their ancient nomadic habits. "The Toba Indian is by nature restless and desirous of wandering. The villages are frequently moved from one spot to another". The reasons vary,

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[1] A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, p. 40.

[2] Man, 'On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii. 121.

[3] Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 535.

[4] Cureau, *Les sociétés primitives*, p. 263.

[5] Nordenskiöld, *Indianer och hvita*, p. 27.

but dwelling-places are even deserted "without any apparent necessity at all". Individual families also often wander with their whole property to some other part of the country, for the sake of change or to see their relatives and friends there.[1]

Again, concerning the half-civilized Canelos Indians on the Bobonaza in Ecuador, who for the most part have stationary dwellings, Prof. Karsten writes that they are happiest when the time comes for them to set out on fishing and hunting trips. "The anti-social trait which is so often pointed to as being characteristic of Indians in general is to be found in its most typical form among the half-civilized Indians on the Bobonaza".[2]

It was thought that the primitive peoples of North America, Africa and other places could be tamed by persuading them to give up their roaming life and teaching them to pursue agriculture. This has been the goal of the policy in the United States, where the Indians are kept on reservations. However, time and again the desire to wander has broken out anew among these tribes. Whole tribes have broken up and started out wandering, in spite of the hardships offered by the life.

Prof. Tanner believes that "the old nomadic instincts" have disappeared from the Skoltlapps and that "the nomad's intuitive moving-energy" no longer obviously manifests itself.[3] However, the semi-nomadism to which these Skoltlapps devote themselves is surely an expression of the old wandering need, in this case brought about seasonally by subsistence-geographical reasons.

We see this restlessness in a high degree in modern civilization. The extraordinary development of the means of communication has greatly favoured migrations. The present-day travelling about of tourists both nationally and internationally has, during the last decades, reached an extent undreamed of before. This must to a great extent be put down to the spirit of the time. It is a reaction against indoor life and overworked nerves, though no doubt a certain atavistic wanderlust is at the bottom of it all.

A great deal is said in the short dedication with which Major Powell-Cotton introduces his book on an expedition *In Unknown*

[1] Karsten, 'The Toba Indians of the Bolivian Chaco', in *Acta Acad. Aboensis* (*Hum.* iv), 10 *sq.*

[2] Karsten, *Bland indianer i Ekvadors urskogar*, i. 182 *sq.*

[3] Tanner, 'Antropogeografiska studier inom Petsamo-området, in *Fennia*, xlix: iv. 157 *sq.*

Africa. It is not dedicated to any one person but "to the Wandering Spirit, to whose influence England owes her Empire — By one who felt the magic of her spells".

"The American people", says Irving Brown, "have much of the Romani restlessness, they are unattached to the soil. It is not merely because of national prosperity that more automobiles per head are owned in the United States than in any country on the globe".[1]

There is no doubt that in such cases we come up against a phenomenon of a psychological nature which we can put under the heading of wandering instinct or wandering impulse. Modern psychology generally differentiates between instinct and impulse (*Trieb*). Psychological terminology is far from definite, it is true, and particularly when we come to the subject of will we are faced with a great chaotic range of various definitions. As a rule instincts are looked upon as being inherited and inborn, not acquired during the life of an individual.[2] As for 'wandering impulse' versus 'wandering instinct', I am inclined to agree with Westermarck's interpretation of the terms. He does not use instinct as a contrast to impulse. He merely sees a difference in the scopes of instinct and impulse, in which impulse characterizes certain great psychical reactions, such as the egoistic impulse, the altruistic impulse and the reproductive impulse, whereas instincts are the necessary mechanical results of certain inherited dispositions in the brain, the power to react in a certain way to different stimuli.[3]

In accordance with this, I choose to speak of a wandering impulse in that this is an instance of a psychical reaction of a fairly universal nature. However, I do not mean by this that the wandering impulse is an independent and unitary quality which will be hereditary according to certain definite laws. I do not conceive the wandering impulse as a completed fundamental impulse, something which *a priori* belonged to mankind, any more than we can look upon our brains and our nerves as having been always the same. But a disposition for movement has without doubt always existed, a disposition, instinctive in character, which has

[1] Irving Brown, 'The Gypsies in America', in *Jour. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, 3. Ser. viii. 145.

[2] See for inst. Söderhjelm, *Instinkterna och det mänskliga känslolivet*, p. 7.

[3] Prof. Westermarck, in his psychological papers, read in the Univ. of Helsingfors.

constituted the necessary, axiomatic pre-condition of the wandering phenomenon. When this disposition has been subjected to certain stimuli, wanderings have resulted. It is likely that man has not been created with a conscious need for food either. Hunger and thirst have at first manifested themselves as feelings of unease and discomfort which have caused him to grasp at first one thing and then another in an attempt to do away with these unpleasant sensations. In the case of the need for movement a number of the most usual habits and needs (such as the periodically returning need for food), geographical and climatic factors, social, religious and political circumstances have, so to speak, stabilized and accentuated the disposition for movement.

The wandering habit thus gradually transforms into a real need for movement which already makes itself felt in primitive stages of civilization, even when the direct reasons behind migrations, principally subsistence-geographical reasons, have ceased to function. "The habit of changing dwelling-places is so strong that they could not desist from it, even if it were not absolutely necessary from the point of view of food", says Wilhelmini in speaking of Australian savages.[1]

The principal impelling agent of the wanderings must have been the want of food. The faculty of shifting abodes was of course always there; the necessity of moving further on also had a subsistence-geographical basis. The annual repetition became an established habit, at last an ineradicable instinct. However, there can be but little doubt that the prime impulse arose from geographical conditions.

The wandering impulse, the wandering spirit, is consolidated through many hundreds and thousands of generations and often survives when the actual conditions are no longer the same as those which gave rise to it in the first instance.

As I have said in connexion with nomadism, it scarcely seems to me correct to ascribe to the nomads or still more primitive wandering peoples special psychical qualities supposed to be more characteristic of them than of other peoples. In the lower stages of civilization the instinct of self-preservation is identical with the instinct to eat, and in their case it requires a roaming life. Naturally, the wandering habits of these peoples, determined by centuries of tradition, and an inherited disposition, are more strongly accentuated than those of many other peoples

[1] Wilhelmini, quoted by Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 235.

and so of course play an extremely important rôle in their lives. However, the conditions necessary for the development of this latent disposition towards movement are without doubt to be found in geographical and climatic circumstances. Primitive peoples need not necessarily be wandering peoples. Ethnology supplies many instances of more or less stationary peoples on low planes of civilization, the geographical milieu having invited settlement. The disposition for wandering, the instinct for subsistence, develop in the struggle for existence, and in suitable geographical surroundings they may constitute the main condition for the wandering impulse, which in turn — among peoples who like the gypsies have been wanderers for hundreds and hundreds of generations — can become the main impulse of their being.

Geographical and climatic circumstances are actual factors in the production and control of certain forms of subsistence, which in turn, especially in primitive phases of civilization, determine migrations. The psychical factors, the disposition towards movement and the inherited tendency, are in their turn the rudimentary basic and releasing agents.

The conditions under which primitive peoples especially have lived their lives, generation after generation, must have exerted a strong influence on their intellectual life; in other words the wandering life, through the cooperation of environment and latent disposition, gradually became their second nature, which kept its influence after the original reasons for wanderings ceased to prevail. The need for subsistence — the term is used here to cover as wide a field as possible — in combination with the original roving tendency has without doubt produced wandering habits which became intimately bound up with the lives of the peoples. The habits and mode of living of hunter and fisher peoples, originally brought about by the instinct of self-preservation as a result of severe geographical and climatic conditions, have been retained for a long time even though the surroundings of these peoples have improved. Grubb points this out in speaking of the Chaco Indians. After first stressing the various reasons which apparently determine the wanderings of the natives, he says, "But it is not only the necessity of obtaining a livelihood that forces the Indian to wander. He is driven, as it were, by a restless spirit, the result of generations of hard and peculiar circumstances, fixing a habit upon him which becomes second nature,

and he finds it impossible, even when not impelled by necessity, to remain long in any place".[1]

The connexion between the inborn wandering disposition to which it seems to me that an instinctive, a physiological character must be ascribed, and, say, the true need for subsistence, takes the shape of a habit. I do not mean by this that the acquired habit became hereditarily fixed and was passed on as inborn. Naturally, one may find among later generations a certain latent bent for the wandering life, but this does not give one the right to speak of the wandering impulse as an hereditarily transmissible quality.

The motives for wanderings, if I may express myself thus, are undoubtedly not inborn among even the most primitive peoples. They depend on habits which have grown out of certain instinctive needs, and which become socialized under the influence of the imitative impulse and the social feeling of sympathy.

Imitation has doubtless played an important part in this, not least in the lives of primitive peoples. Since time immemorial men have been under the influence of each other, imitating each other's sayings and doings. Yrjö Hirn has succinctly expressed this fact in the well-known words: "As children we imitated before we understood, and learned to understand through imitation".[2] Imitation in combination with habit and surroundings is the vehicle of continuous development. It is in this way that a generation to a great extent gets its intellectual "inheritance" from earlier generations, even when this is not passed on along the path of physiological inheritance.

Thus I look upon the wandering impulse, the wandering spirit, and why not also upon the desire to wander, as a secondary phenomenon descending from a necessity prolonged through generations of peoples on a low plane of civilization, that is, from a necessity determined by subsistence-geographical conditions through numberless centuries. This atavism could most nearly be described as a traditional remnant. The wandering "urge" operates even after the original reasons for the wanderings have ceased to function.

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[1] Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, p. 60 *sq.*

[2] Hirn, *Konstens ursprung* (*The Origin of Art*), p. 76; *cf.* Tarde, *Les lois de l'imitation*, p. 82: "La société, c'est l'imitation"; Baldwin, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race*, p. 233; Steffen, *Sociologien*, p. 35; Sully, *Studies of Childhood*, p. 322.

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