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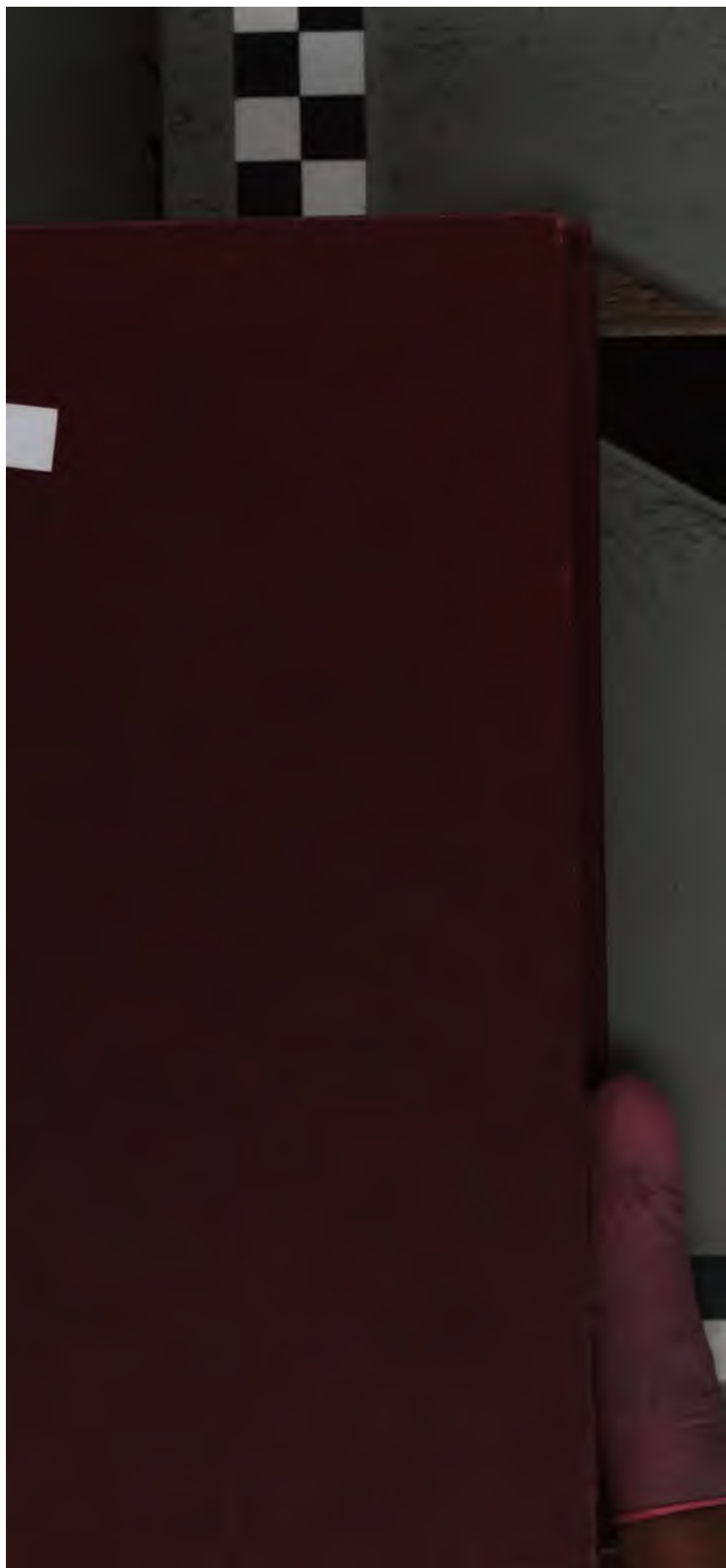
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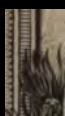
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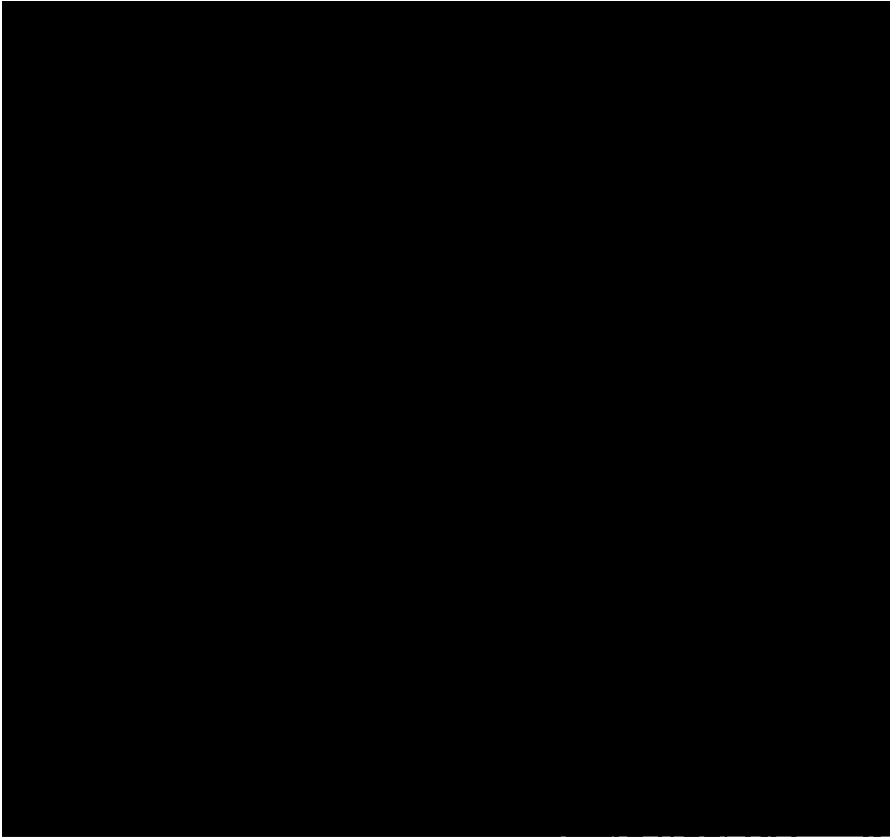
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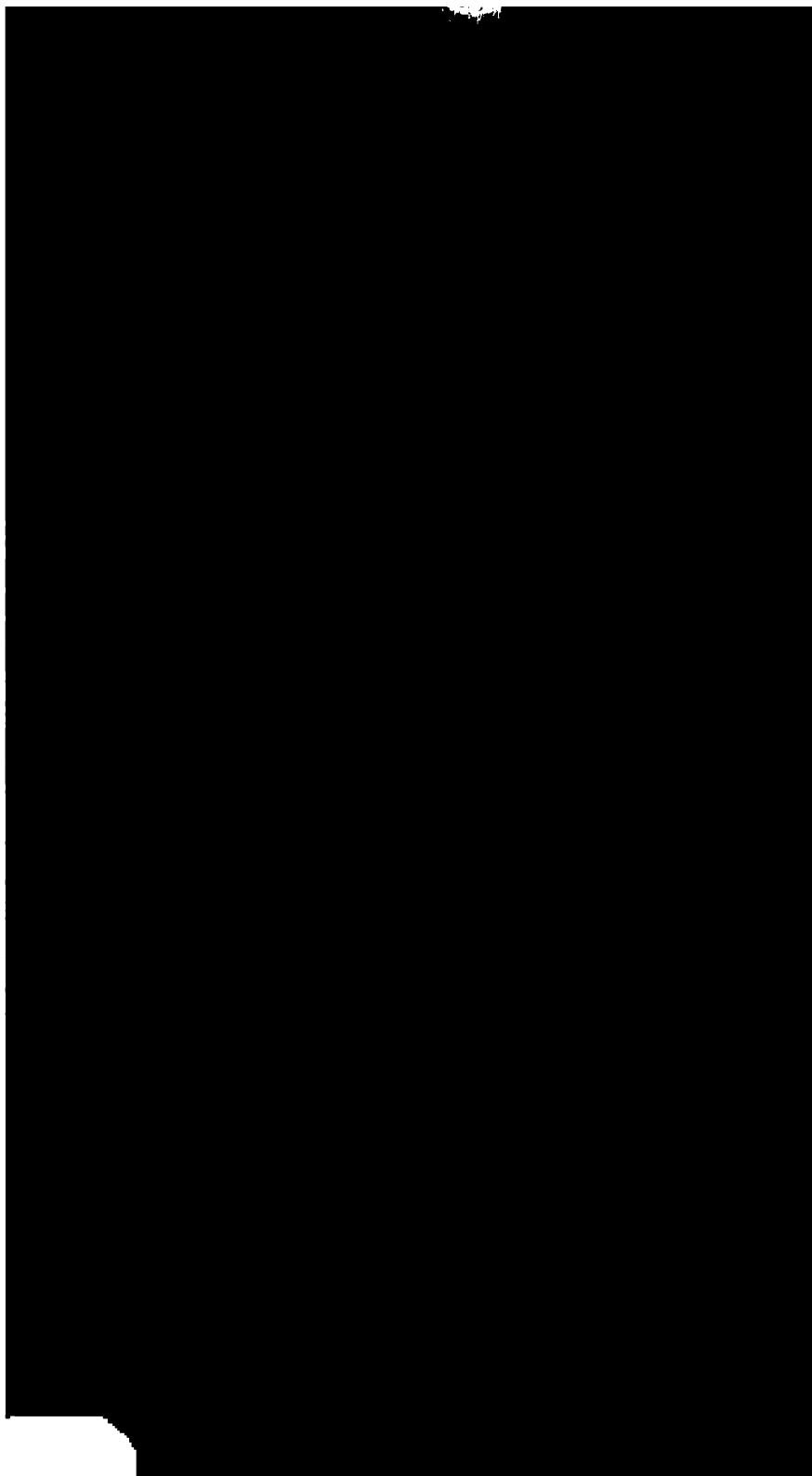


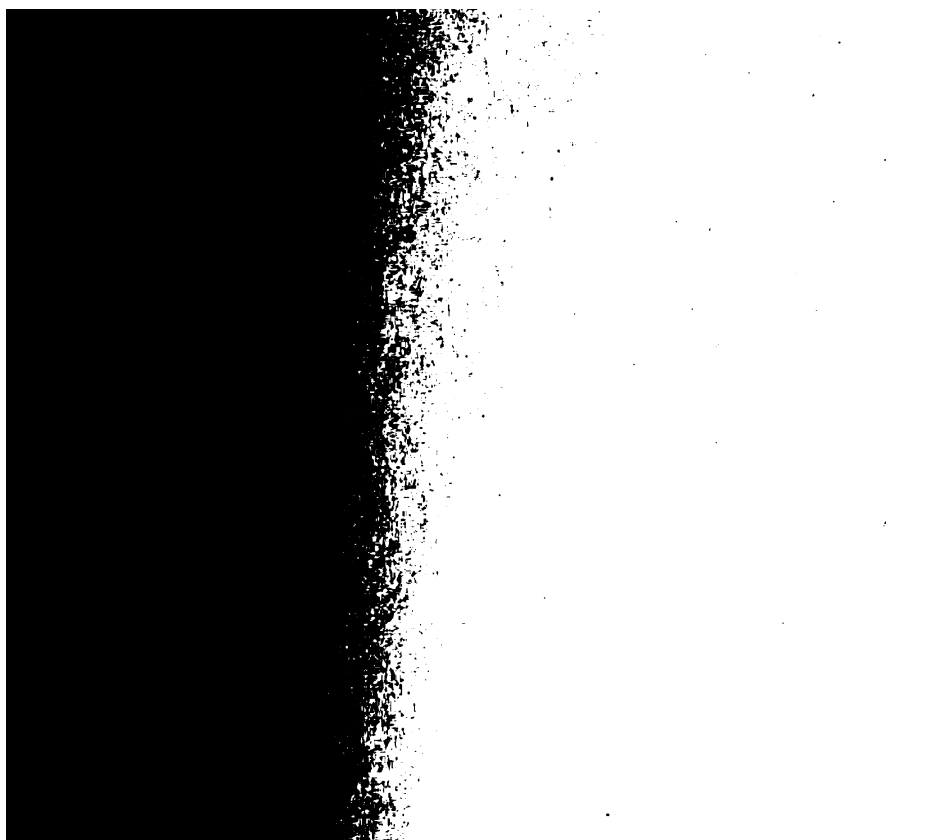


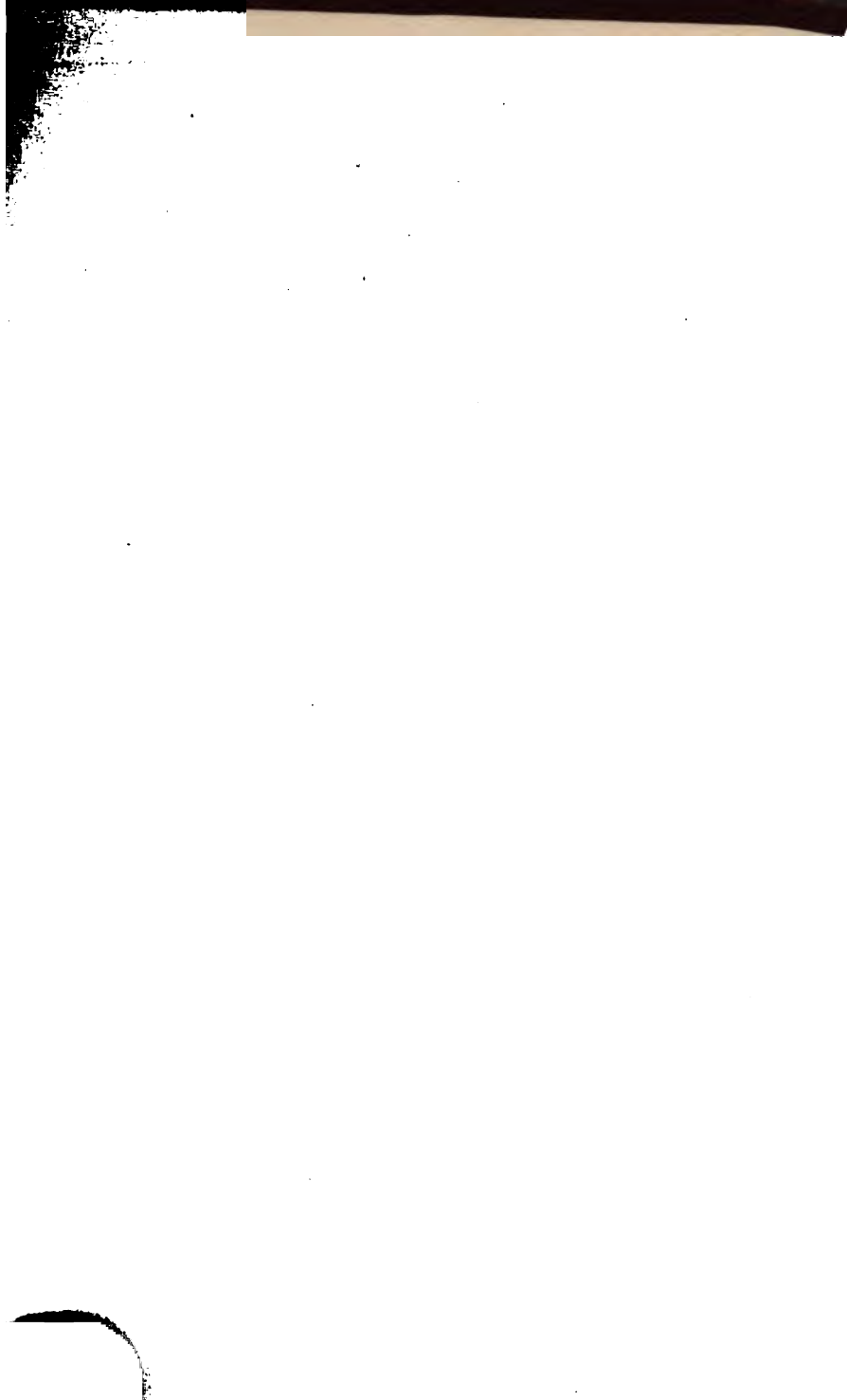
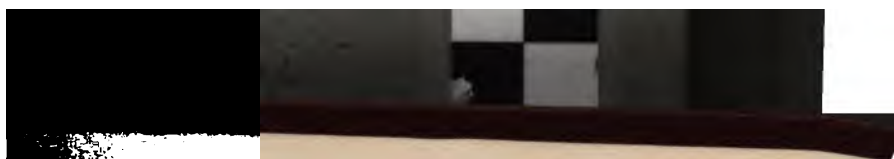
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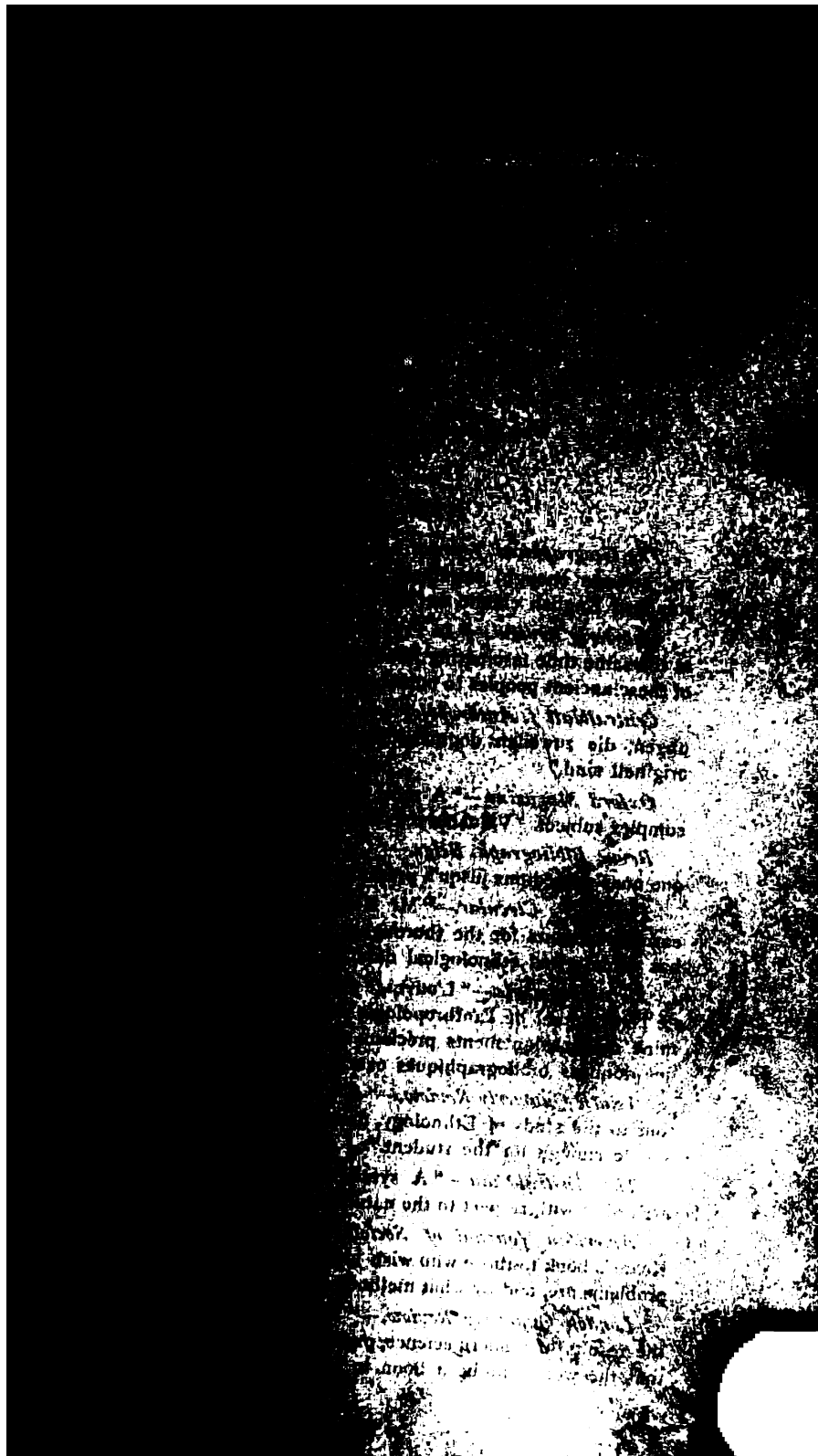














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...the first peopling  
...of each movement were  
...with profound modifications,  
...of linguistic characters, and  
...original seats of the parent stocks.  
...are past recovery, so that the  
...must always remain to some  
...the history of the world and of  
...of the more serious gaps have

...large extent occupied with that  
...when most of the now  
...constituted in their primeval  
...developments and migratory  
...intervals after the first peopling  
...By such movements were  
...displacements, and dislocations,  
...with profound modifications,  
...of linguistic characters, and  
...original seats of the parent stocks.  
...are past recovery, so that the  
...must always remain to some  
...the history of the world and of  
...of the more serious gaps have

been often most unexpectedly made good by the combined efforts of philologists, physical anthropologists, and especially archæologists, who have come to the welcome aid of the palethnologist, hitherto groping almost helplessly in this dark field of human origins. Thus the questions dealing with the early seats, migrations, and later inter-relations of the Caucasian peoples on both sides of the Mediterranean—Hamitic Berbers and Egyptians, Iberians, Picts, Ligurians and Pelasgians—may now be profitably studied, thanks to the craniological measurements of Prof. Sergi and Dr Collignon, the linguistic inquiries of the late G. von der Gabelenz, and the antiquarian researches of Schliemann, de Morgan, Prof. Flinders Petrie, and especially Mr A. J. Evans, in various parts of this most interesting of all ethnical domains.

Availing myself of the results of their labours, I have here endeavoured to show that the Berber and Basque races and languages were originally one, that the Ligurians were not round-headed Kelts but long-headed Afro-Europeans, and that the Pelasgians belonged to the same pre-Hellenic stock, to which must now be credited the Ægean cultures of pre-Mykenæan and Mykenæan times. Should these conclusions be confirmed by further investigation, modern research may claim to have reconstructed the ethnical history of the wide-spread Mediterranean peoples, who still form the substratum, and in some places even the bulk, of the North African, Italian, Spanish, South French, and British populations.

By analogous processes the dense clouds of ignorance have been somewhat dissipated in which have hitherto been wrapped the origins, early migrations, and present relations of the Bantu Negroes, of the proto-Malayan and Malagasy members of the Oceanic Mongol family, of the Koreans and Japanese, of the Jats and Rajputs, of the Uigurs, Samoyads, and other less known Finno-Turki groups, and, passing to the New World, of the Dakotan Redskins, of the Aztecs, Mayas, Quechua-Aymaracs, Caribs and Arawaks.

Another no less important object has been the elucidation of those general principles—scarcely more than formulated in the *Ethnology*—which are concerned with the psychic unity, the social institutions and religious ideas of primitive and later peoples.

From this point of view the present may be regarded as a continuous illustration of the first volume, and students of such sociological subjects as the family, clan and tribe, totemic, matriarchal and shamanistic usages, current views on primordial promiscuity and group marriages, early philosophies, theogonies, theories of the universe, assumed revelations involving sublime concepts of a Supreme Being in savage peoples of low cranial capacity, will here find some fresh materials not perhaps unworthy of their consideration.

Special attention is given to the subject of coincidences in mythologies, folklore tales, and popular superstitions, such as the prevalent belief in the were-wolf (tiger, leopard, jaguar), and other strange but common modes of thought which may now be followed round the globe from Europe through Malaysia to Africa and the New World. The references to these matters, which will be easily found by consulting the index, may help the student in deciding between the antagonistic views of Prof. Max Müller, who still holds that all such coincidences "have a reason if only we can find it<sup>1</sup>," and of those anthropologists who think that, where contact and outward influences are excluded by time and space, such parallelisms are proofs rather of the common psychic nature of man, everywhere acted upon by like causes during the early struggle for existence. Certainly the fresh data here brought together seem to lend strong support to the view that all these manifestations of the dawning reasoning faculty have their root in primitive economic conditions. They are associated in the first instance with the question, not of spirit or ancestor-worship, which comes later, but of the food supply, as shown by M. A. Bernard for the taboo of the New Caledonians (pp. 142-3), and by Mr W. E. Roth for the Australian class-marriage system (pp. 153-4). It follows that, like the physical characters of man, such mental phenomena, and especially those reflected in early social and religious observances, can no longer be profitably studied apart from the standpoint of evolution<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Fortnightly Review*, Oct. 1898.

<sup>2</sup> See also Mr C. L. Henning's suggestive paper *On the Origin of Religion*, in *The Amer. Anthropologist* for Dec. 1898, which reached me too late to be consulted during the progress of the work.



A few words will suffice on the general plan and arrangement of the subject-matter. Two preliminary chapters, forming a close link between the two volumes, deal in a summary way with the cradle, origin, and migrations of the pleistocene precursor, with the Stone and Metal Ages (where it was important to accentuate the vast duration of the Neolithic period), and with the evolution of writing systems, with which is ushered in the strictly historical epoch. Then follow the chapters which are devoted *seriatim* to the primary groups and chief sub-branches of the human family. Each of the main sections is introduced with a general *Conspectus*, in which are briefly summarised the more salient features connected with the primeval home, past and present distribution, physical and mental characters, and chief sub-groups of the several main divisions. With the view of making this volume a trustworthy book of reference on the multifarious subjects dealt with, I have everywhere aimed at accuracy in the statement of facts, which are as far as possible drawn from the best available sources, and supported by careful reference to recognised authorities. But in the handling of such a body of scattered materials, errors both of omission and commission can scarcely have been avoided, and I can but hope that they will be found neither numerous nor serious.

A. H. K.

ARÁM-GÁH,  
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PLEISTOCENE MAN.

...and has ...  
...of ...  
...at ...  
...with ...  
...and ...  
...of ...

CHAPTER I.

CONSIDERATIONS.

...one Centre by Pleistocene Man—The  
...Habitat—But all sprung from  
...Man—The Human Cradle-land—  
...Transition from Pliocene to Pleistocene  
...Pleistocene Man and his Works—Progress  
...Groups specialised in pre-Neolithic  
...Age—The early History of Man a  
...Varieties the Outcome of their several  
...Geographical with Racial and Cultural

...of the many difficult ques-  
...History of the human family,  
...readily borne in  
...existing varieties,  
...specialised precursors  
...times. As both  
...by me some-

The World  
peopled by Mi-  
gration from  
one Centre by  
Pleistocene  
Man.

...to show their direct bearing on the  
...species from that remote epoch to

...man is specifically one, though not  
...he must have had, in homely  
...from which the peopling of the  
...migration, not by independent  
...species in so many independent

It follows further, and this point is all-important, that, since the world was peopled by pleistocene man, it was peopled by a generalised proto-human form, prior to all later racial differences. The existing groups, that is, the four primary divisions—*Ethiopic*, *Mongolic*, *American* and *Caucasic*,—have each had their pleistocene ancestor, from whom each has sprung independently and divergently by continuous adaptation to their several environments.

If they still constitute mere varieties, and not distinct species, the reason is because all come of like pleistocene ancestry, while the divergences have been confined to relatively narrow limits, that is, not wide enough to be regarded zoologically as specific differences<sup>1</sup>. No doubt Dr R. Munro is right in suggesting that “during the larger portion of the quaternary (pleistocene) period, if not, indeed, from its very commencement, man had already acquired his human characters.”<sup>2</sup> But by “human characters” are here to be understood, not those by which one race may be dis-

<sup>1</sup> *Eth. Ch. VII.* On the strength of this statement I have been claimed as a polygenist both by Sergi and by Ehrenreich, the latter remarking that “mit dieser jedenfalls naturgemässen Auffassung bekennt sich Keane, so eifrig er den Monogenismus verächt, doch im Grunde zum Polygenismus” (*Anthropologische Studien über die Urbewohner Brasiliens*, Brunswick, 1897, p. 19). As well charge a writer with polygenist views who should say that most of the Whites born in “Greater Britain” are sprung from *different* groups of emigrants from the British Isles. The founders of the British colonies, though different individually, were of one stock, and so the pleistocene founders of the first human groups were also different individually, but of one stock, from which all mankind has sprung. As polygenist theories are again somewhat rife on the Continent, it may here be pointed out that excessive polygenism tends to discredit the very evolutionary teachings which its advocates profess to uphold. Starting from several absolutely independent centres, it arrives at the same results that are reached by the evolutionist starting from one absolute centre. Hence it is not needed in any scheme of human origins, while a little reflection will show that, without doing any great violence to their principles, these pluralists may readily accommodate their extreme views to the assumption that the primary varietal groups have been developed in different geographical areas (zoological zones) from so many undifferentiated groups of the generalised pleistocene stock. Had they sprung from specifically different pliocene anthropoids, as held by Sergi and others, the differences would now be not merely specific, but generic, which nobody maintains.

<sup>2</sup> *Address, Anthropol. Section, Brit. Ass. 1893.*

tinguished from another, but those more general qualities of body and mind, by which man himself was already distinguished from all the other anthropoid groups.

Till recently this statement must have been regarded as mere speculation. But it acquires a large degree of probability, if not absolute certainty, by the remains of *Pithecanthropus erectus*, found in 1892 by Dr Eugène Dubois in the pliocene beds of East Java<sup>1</sup>, that is, the very region which more than one eminent naturalist had pointed to as the probable original home of mankind.

Since their discovery these remains have been subjected to the strictest scientific scrutiny, with the result that their human character has been placed beyond reasonable doubt. They have, indeed, been described by some anatomists as rather pre-human than actually human<sup>2</sup>; but nobody now denies that they at least represent a form intermediate between man and the higher apes, or rather between man and the generalised Simian prototype, which is practically the same thing. They do not bridge over the impassable gap between Man and Gorilla or Chimpanzee; but they form, none the less, a true link, which brings Man much nearer than before to the common stem from which all have diverged<sup>3</sup>.

No one has studied the question more carefully than M. L. Manouvrier, who concludes that *Homo javanensis* walked erect, was about the medium height, and a true precursor, possibly a direct ancestor, of man. Virchow's usual suggestion that the skull was "pathological," such as might be picked up anywhere, is severely handled; it is

But all sprung  
from the Pliocene  
Precursor.

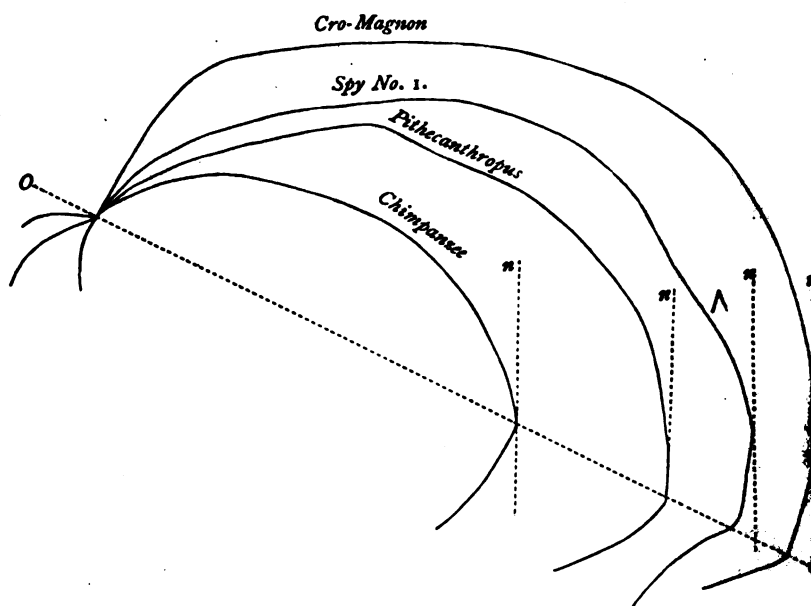
The "First  
Man."

<sup>1</sup> *Eth.* p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> O. C. Marsh, *Amer. J. of Sc.* June, 1896.

<sup>3</sup> They also supply some of the essential elements of a human prototype, so that Virchow's assertion that "Noch ist kein einheitlicher Urtypus für die Menschen festgestellt" (*Rassenbildung &c.*, 1896, p. 5) no longer holds good. So also is turned aside the shaft of the polygenists, whose theory "dispenses with a cradle of mankind which causes the monogenists so much brain-cudgelling. We no longer need to find a single centre for man, and then start him on hypothetical wanderings over the globe" (Ehrenreich, *op. cit.* p. 21). The single centre, and the hypothetical wanderings, it may now be retorted, no longer present any serious difficulties, while the objections to the polygenist view remain unanswered and unanswerable (*Eth.* p. 156 sq.).

pointed out that the cranial capacity decreases with the antiquity of all the skulls hitherto brought to light, and that this skull has a capacity of from 900 to 1000 c.c., that is, "stands at the level of the smallest which have been occasionally found amongst the reputedly lowest savage peoples."<sup>1</sup> An accompanying diagram shows its position intermediate between Chimpanzee and the Man of Spy<sup>2</sup>, and Manouvrier adds that it may perhaps be more directly connected with the Australian race. "The differentiation of the human races having probably been but slightly



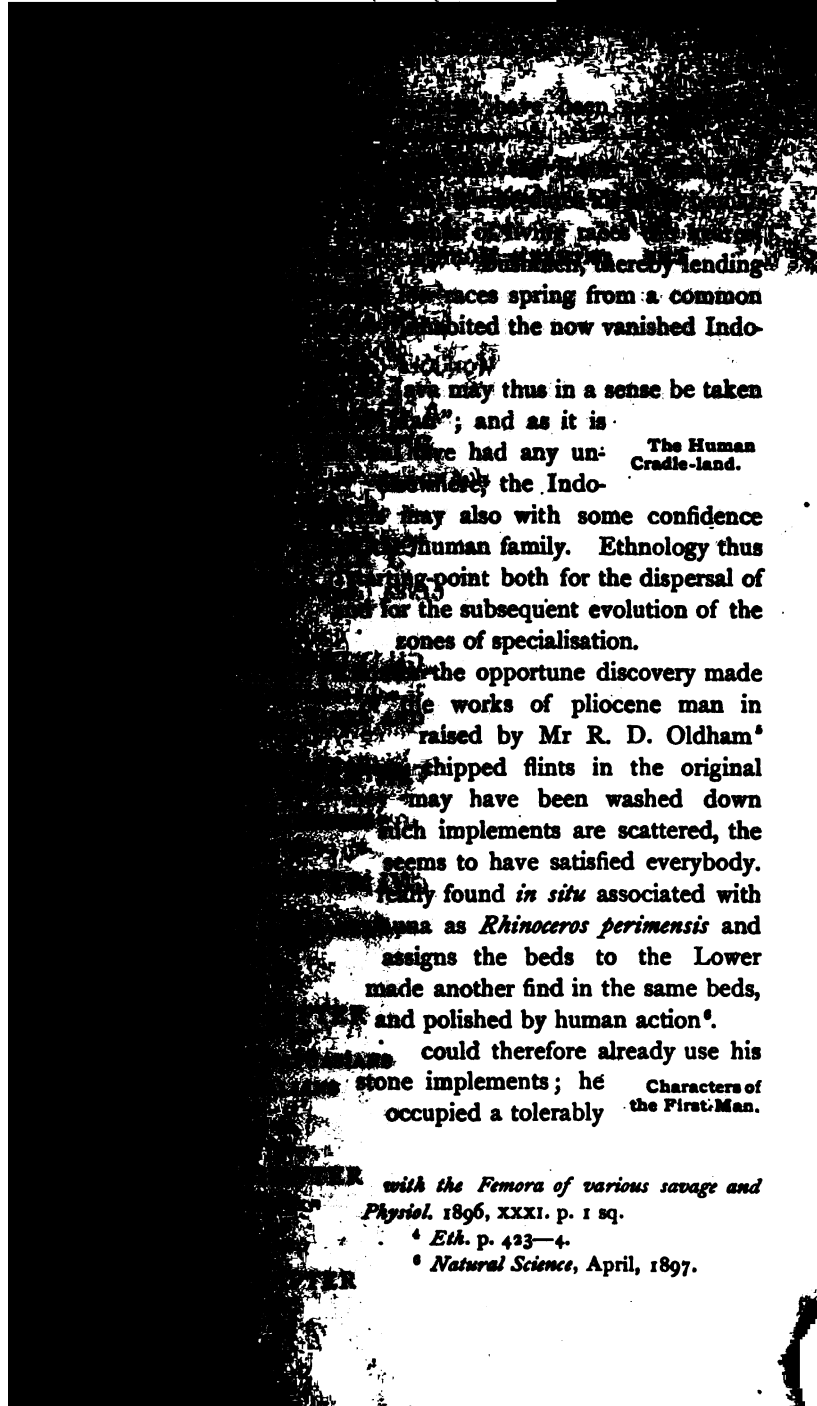
POSITION OF P. ERECTUS.

(Manouvrier, *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 438.)

developed in the pliocene epoch, I may be permitted to suggest that the race of Trinil [Java] was the common ancestor of many

<sup>1</sup> *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> *Eth.* p. 146.



of living races...  
 ...thereby lending  
 ...spring from a common  
 ...the now vanished Indo-

...may thus in a sense be taken  
 ...; and as it is  
 ...had any un-  
 ...the Indo-

The Human  
 Cradle-land.

...may also with some confidence  
 ...human family. Ethnology thus  
 ...point both for the dispersal of  
 ...for the subsequent evolution of the  
 ...zones of specialisation.

...the opportune discovery made  
 ...the works of pliocene man in  
 ...raised by Mr R. D. Oldham<sup>4</sup>  
 ...shipped flints in the original  
 ...may have been washed down  
 ...such implements are scattered, the  
 ...seems to have satisfied everybody.  
 ...found *in situ* associated with  
 ...as *Rhinoceros perimensis* and  
 ...assigns the beds to the Lower  
 ...made another find in the same beds,  
 ...and polished by human action<sup>5</sup>.

...could therefore already use his  
 ...stone implements; he  
 ...occupied a tolerably

Characters of  
 the First Man.

*with the Femora of various savage and  
 Physiol.* 1896, XXXI. p. 1 sq.

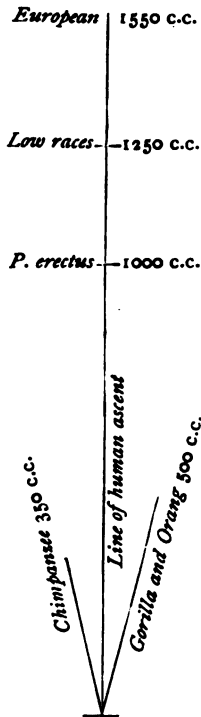
<sup>4</sup> *Eth.* p. 423-4.

<sup>5</sup> *Natural Science*, April, 1897.





wide domain, comprising at least the Sunda Islands and Indo-China, regions at that time still connected by continuous land across the shallow waters, nowhere over fifty fathoms deep, which now flow between the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Sumatra and Java. Lastly, he was about the average height, say, 5 feet 6 inches, and had a cranial capacity of perhaps 1000 c.c., that is, double that of the highest apes (Gorilla, Orang, both 450 to 500), not greatly inferior to that often occurring amongst the lowest present races (Australians, Negritoes, Bushmen, 1100 to 1300), and just midway between Gorilla and the highest present races (Europeans 1500), as shown in the subjoined diagram.



SIMIAN STEM.

In an instructive paper "On the Intermediary Links between Man and the Lower Animals," read before the Edinburgh Royal

...assumed that the transition  
...so that the  
...links of this  
...the other hand the  
...with skulls in all

The Transi-  
tion from Pliocene to Pleistocene Man.

...a slightly changed Simian type up to  
...greater. He regarded the  
...line of demarcation between  
...this standpoint the Java  
...category of human; but if this  
...independent in any degree on mental  
...justified in regarding it as a  
...a long time after the attainment  
...religious, moral and intellectual  
...characters: Many fossil remains of man  
...which marked different stages in the  
...back such investigations were  
...the did the brain-case become. If the  
...man were correctly defined as the  
...and Quaternary [Pleistocene]  
...how far back we had to travel  
...from which men and anthropoids had  
...to-day, he concluded, were also  
...which had been thrown into the  
...of evolution.

...the view always advocated by me that  
...the globe after he had acquired the  
...other physical and in mental respects  
...from his nearest akin. But no doubt  
...imentary organs, and consequently  
...his, combined with his other advan-  
...acquire sufficient supremacy over all  
...himself the one universal species.  
...coincides with that of the habitable  
...occupied the whole of this domain in the

...and speech created thought,  
...of the universe."

*Prometheus Unbound*, 11. 4.

pliocene age itself may well be doubted, and in the absence of sufficient evidence must in any case be left for the present an open question. Reasons have elsewhere been given<sup>1</sup> for rejecting Sergi's tertiary *Hominida*, assumed to be already specialised in pliocene times, and the more probable view seems still to be that the occupation of the globe was not effected, or at least not completed, before the early pleistocene epoch. In other words, the earth was mainly peopled by the generalised pleistocene precursors, who moved about, like the other migrating faunas, unconsciously, everywhere following the lines of least resistance, advancing or receding, and acting generally on blind impulse rather than of any set purpose.

The first Migrations.

That such must have been the nature of the first migratory movements will appear evident when we consider that they were carried on by rude hordes, all very much alike, and differing not greatly from other zoological groups, and further that these migrations took place prior to the development of all cultural appliances beyond the ability to wield a broken branch or a sapling, or else chip or flake primitive stone implements<sup>2</sup>.

Herein lies the explanation of the curious phenomenon, which is such a stumbling-block to premature systematists, that all the works of early man, and man himself, everywhere present the most startling resemblances, affording absolutely no elements for classification, for instance, during the times corresponding with the Chellian or first period of the Old Stone Age. Years ago Virchow declared that there was no distinguishing between the forms of palæolithic implements found in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, and those who have examined the collections in Argentina, the United States, and Europe will readily assent to that statement.

Uniform Character of Early Man and his Works.

After referring to the identity of certain objects from the Hastings kitchen-middens and a barrow near Sevenoaks, Mr W. J. L. Abbot proceeds: "The first thing that would strike one

<sup>1</sup> *Eth.* p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Lucretius:—

"Arma antiqua manus, ungues, dentesque fuerunt,  
Et lapides, et item silvarum fragmina rami."

...of these implements is the remark-  
 ...to those of Dordogne. Indeed  
 ...significant 'Reliquie Aquitaines'  
 ...from these specimens." And  
 ...places over a wider horizon, discovers  
 ...: "so identical in form and  
 ...that they might have been manu-  
 ... On the banks of the Nile, many  
 ... (present level) implements of the  
 ... discovered, while in Somaliland, in an  
 ... elevation above the sea, Mr Seton-  
 ... number of implements formed of flint  
 ... from their form and character, might  
 ... of the Somme and the  
 ... ancient Solent." And on the very  
 ... John re-echoes my theory that man  
 ... thence to Europe.

...Australia seem cast in almost the  
 ... the oldest known in Central  
 ... hitherto discovered in the latter  
 ... the same uniform long-headed  
 ... though not everywhere, well into  
 ... at first sight one might suppose that  
 ... of the pleistocene precursors were  
 ... the immensely long Old Stone Age, to  
 ... a period of some 300,000 years  
 ... the glacial epoch.

... were always and everywhere going on,  
 ... in the less favoured  
 ... periods of the Old Stone  
 ... was so great that in  
 ... afterwards surpassed or even equalled.  
 ... brought flints of the Solutrian period  
 ... and many such objects ascribed by

Progress  
 during the  
 Stone Ages.

p. 133.

... Meeting, Toronto, 1897. See also Dr  
 ... Lille, 1897.

French archaeologists to the first would be assigned in England to the second Stone Age.

With this advancement in culture, that of the physical man must have gone on hand in hand. Hence it seems a reasonable assumption to suppose that even before the close of palæolithic times all the great divisions of mankind had already been specialised in their several geographical areas. In any case we may safely conclude that the existing primary varieties had been everywhere fully constituted in that intermediate period between the Old and New Stone Ages, which archaeologists have found it so difficult accurately to determine, and in which some have even imagined a complete break or "hiatus", separating the two periods by an undefined interval of time.

No such interval is conceivable everywhere, else we should have to suppose, not only that the natural history of the human species began again with the dawn of neolithic times, but also that this fresh start from nothing was made not by one generalised but by many highly specialised forms, not (on the creative assumption) by one pair planted in one region, but by several pairs or groups dotted in convenient localities over the face of the globe. Even for Europe no break of continuity is now admitted by the best observers, and Sir W. Turner, amongst others, assumes that "when Neolithic man reached Western Europe he in all likelihood found his Palæolithic predecessor settled there, and a greater or less degree of fusion took place between them."<sup>1</sup>

Assuming therefore that the evolution of the human species was practically completed in all its fulness some time before the beginning of the New Stone Age, we may perhaps form some approximately accurate notion of the date to which, not the pliocene and pleistocene forerunners, but their specialised late palæolithic descendants may be referred. I have already ventured to suggest a period of about 100,000 years for the duration of the Post-Pleistocene epoch, which largely coincides with the New Stone Age<sup>2</sup>. Those who may have felt inclined to look on this as a somewhat

The Primary Divisions specialised in pre-Neolithic Times.

Duration of the New Stone Age.

<sup>1</sup> *Nature*, Jan. 13, 1898, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> *Eth.* p. 55.

It is necessary to consider, first, the question of the Carse in the light of recent research, especially the views of Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian writers referred to in the following pages, and the date assigned to the appearance of the Carse by no less an authority than Sir John Lubbock, showing that there is undoubted evidence of the Carse in North Britain during the formation of the Carse. An observer explains that the Carse is a terrace 100 feet above the present sea-level, and is a narrow strip of the sea, which in post-glacial times, if not quite across the land from the north, at least the region south of the Forth from the north, and, after the separation of Britain from the Continent, another land connection, a narrow isthmus, which the men of the New Stone Age crossed when the upheaved 100-foot terrace was a forest growths that have since

been raised 100,000 years sufficient for such a distance. The level of marine beds, appearance of the Carse, and the connection of Britain with the Continent. In the Falkirk district Neolithic remains are at the base of the bluffs which overlie the old sea-coast. In the Carse of Forth was found at the very base of the Carse above the buried forest-bed of the Tay

and was also of long duration even in the Carse. It is evident by Carl Wibling, who calculated the changes on the south-east coast of the Carse since its first occupation by the men of the Carse have required a period of "at least

See also, London, *Nature*, Jan. 6 and 13, 1898.

See also, *Geographische Anzeiger*, Karlskrona, 1895, p. 5.

Still more startling are the results of the protracted researches carried on by Herr J. Nuesch at the now famous station of Schweizersbild, near Schaffhausen in Switzerland<sup>1</sup>. This station was apparently in the continuous occupation of man during both Stone Ages, and here have been collected as many as 14,000 objects belonging to the first, and over 6000 referred to the second period. Although the early settlement was only post-glacial, a point about which there is no room for doubt, Dr L. Laloy<sup>2</sup> has estimated "the absolute duration of both epochs together at from 24,000 to 29,000 years." We may, therefore, ask, if a comparatively recent post-glacial station in Switzerland is about 29,000 years old, how old may a pre- or inter-glacial station be in Gaul or Britain?

From all this we see how fully justified is Mr J. W. Powell's remark that the natural history of early man becomes more and more a geological, and not merely an ethnological problem<sup>3</sup>. We also begin to understand how it is that, after an existence of some five score millenniums, the first specialised human varieties have diverged greatly from the original types, which have thus become almost "ideal quantities," the subjects rather of palæontological than of strictly anthropological studies.

And here another consideration of great moment presents itself. During these long ages some of the groups—most African negroes south of the equator, most Oceanic negroes (Melanesians and Papuans), and Australian and American aborigines—have remained in their original habitats ever since when may be called the first settlement of the earth by man. Other again, the more restless or enterprising peoples, such as the Mongols, Manchus, Turks, Ugro-Finns, Arabs, and most Europeans, have no doubt moved about somewhat freely; but the later migrations, whether hostile or peaceable, have for the most part been confined to regions presenting the same or like

<sup>1</sup> *Das Schweizersbild, eine Niederlassung aus paläolithischer und neolithischer Zeit*, in *Nouveaux Mémoires Soc. Helvétique des Sciences Naturelles*, Vol. XXXV Zurich, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 350.

<sup>3</sup> *Forum*, Feb. 1898.

The early History of Man a Geological Problem.

The Human Varieties the Outcome of their several Environments.

of the tropics. Wherever different climatic conditions intruders have failed to secure, they have perished outright, or disappearing by complete assimilation to the aboriginal population. "black Arabs" in Egyptian Sudan, "black" races in Abyssinia and West Sudan (Himyarites), Finns and Turks in Hungary and the Balkans, Bulgars, Osmanli), Portuguese and Spaniards, English in tropical or sub-tropical regions. In temperate or European half-breeds alone are capable of surviving.

It is thus seen to be, like all other zoological species, the result of their several environments. They are not the result of sudden transitions and inherited characters have been modified. Sudden transitions are usually followed by a rapid emigration of women and children, those of the most robust health, to the new environment in the first degree, but it should be noted that, as incitement to it." Acclimatization is usually slow, but in all extreme cases, it can be effected at the sacrifice of life, and by slow processes, which is perhaps Natural Selection. By the process we suppose the world to have been first

It should be remembered that the first migration was inter-glacial, if not in pre-glacial ages, when the climate was everywhere much milder than at present. The different zones of temperature were not so far from one region to another more than at present times. In a word the pleistocene migration was not so difficult in adapting themselves to their new environment as modern peoples have when they emigrate,

and women brought back by Lieut. Peary in 1897 were unable to endure our temperate climate, and the survivors were so enfeebled that they had to be carried by homes to save their lives. Even for the journey to the coast is a journey to the grave.

Peary, New York, 1896, p. 24.



for instance, from Southern Europe to Brazil and ~~Russia~~, from the British Isles to Rhodesia and Nyassaland.

What is true of man must be no less true of his works; from which it follows that racial and cultural zones must coincide, while a correspondence must also exist between these and the zones of temperature, except so far as the latter may be modified by altitude, marine influences, or other local conditions. A glance at past and existing relations the world over will show that such harmonies have at all times prevailed. No doubt the overflow of the leading European peoples during the last 400 years has brought about divers dislocations, blurrings, and in places even total effacements of the old landmarks.

But, putting aside these disturbances, it will be found that in the eastern hemisphere the inter-tropical regions, hot, moist and more favourable to vegetable than to animal vitality, have always been the home of savage, cultureless populations. Within the same sphere are also comprised most of the extra-tropical southern lands, all tapering towards the antarctic waters, and consequently too contracted to constitute areas of higher specialisation.

Similarly the sub-tropical Asiatic peninsulas, the bleak Tibetan tableland, the Pamir, and arid Mongolian steppes are found mainly in possession of somewhat stationary communities, which present every stage between sheer savagery and civilisation.

In the same way the higher races and cultures are confined to the more favoured north temperate zone, so that between the parallels of  $24^{\circ}$  and  $50^{\circ}$  (but owing to local conditions falling in the far East to  $40^{\circ}$  and under, and in the extreme West rising to  $55^{\circ}$ ), are situated nearly all the great centres, past and present, of human activities—the Egyptian, Babylonian, Mykenæan (*Ægean*), Hellenic, Etruscan, Roman, and modern European. Almost the only exceptions are the Minæan and Sabæan (*Himyaritic*) of Yemen (*Arabia Felix*) and Abyssinia, where the low latitude is neutralised by altitude and a copious rainfall.

Thanks also to altitude, to marine influences, and the contraction of the equatorial lands, the relations are almost completely reversed in the New World. Here all the higher developments took place, not in the temperate but in the tropical zone, within

Correspondence of Geographical with Racial and Cultural Zones.

the Andes, China, Chibcha and Maya-  
 these alone ranged northwards a  
 the  
 the iso-cultural bands follow the  
 deflections, and the human varieties  
 the conditions of their several en-

## CHAPTER II.

### THE METAL AGES—HISTORIC TIMES AND PEOPLES.

Progress of Archæological Studies—Sequence of the Metal Ages—The Copper Age—The Bronze Age—The Iron Age—Hallstatt Culture—Man and his Works in the Metal Ages—The Prehistoric Age in the West—And in China—Historic Times—Evolution of Writing Systems—Hieroglyphs and Cuneiforms—The Alphabet—The Persian and other Cuneiform Scripts—The Mas-d'Azil Markings—Alphabetiform Signs on Neolithic Monuments—Character and Consequences of the later historic Migrations—The Race merges in the People—The distinguishing Characters of Peoples—Elements of Classification.

IF, as above seen, the study of human origins is largely a geological problem, the investigation of the later developments, during the Metal Ages and prehistoric times, belongs mainly to the field of Archæology.

Progress of  
Archæological  
Studies.

Hence it is that for the light which has in recent years been thrown upon the obscure interval between the Stone Ages and the strictly historic epoch, that is to say, the period when in his continuous upward development man gradually exchanged stone for the more serviceable metals, we are indebted chiefly to the patient labours of such men as Worsaae, Steenstrup, Forchhammer, Schliemann, Sayce, Layard, Lepsius, Mariette, Maspero, Montelius, Brugsch, Petrie, Peters, Haynes, Sir J. Evans, A. J. Evans and others, all archæologists first, and anthropologists only in the second instance.

From the researches of these investigators it is now clear that copper, bronze, and iron were indeed successively introduced in the order named, so that the current expressions, "Copper," "Bronze," and "Iron" Ages remain still justified. But it also appears that overlap-

Sequence of  
the Metal Age.

...of the metallic times, were everywhere  
 ...it is quite impossible to draw  
 ...between the successive metal  
 ...already known by vague tradition  
 ...and it is no less certain that  
 ...between copper and iron.  
 ...the question of copper, which  
 ...and Bronze times, that this  
 ...an independent position in the  
 ...that confusion should prevail on  
 ...the metals, unlike stone, came to  
 ...they were soon found to be indis-  
 ...in a sense the "Metal Ages"  
 ...to the end of time. Hence it was  
 ...be found in prehistoric graves asso-  
 ...implements", and then with bronze  
 ...the arrival of the English in Australia,  
 ...paukas, and the like, are now  
 ...in the graves of the aborigines.  
 ...Copper Age prior to that of Bronze,  
 ...long duration, except  
 ...has been placed  
 ...recent investigations.

The Copper Age.

...been paid to the subject by Dr

...etique reperta,  
 ...quam ferri cognitus usus."  
 ...of stone and copper in pre-Aryan times and  
 ...age. Italian archaeologists have introduced  
 ...= copper, adj., and *lithos*, stone), of  
 ...civiltà denominata neolitica o neo-  
 ...dall' uso della pietra finamente  
 ...dell' inumazione con sepolture in grotte  
 ...in forme e modi molto più avanzati  
 ...in Europa, i quali avevano sepolture  
 ... (*Arti e Italiani*, Turin, 1898, pp. 199, 200).

J. H. Gladstone, who finds that copper was used by the Egyptians in the Sinaitic Peninsula, that is, in the eastern mines of the Wadi Maghára, from the 4th to the 18th dynasty, perhaps from 5000 to 3000 B.C. During that epoch tools were made of pure copper in Egypt and Syria, and by the Amorites in Palestine, often on the model of their stone prototypes<sup>1</sup>.

Probably from the same source was obtained the copper which had already come into general use in Babylonia some 6000 years ago. After a careful analysis of the metal objects from Tell-Loh<sup>2</sup>, M. Berthelot concludes that the employment of copper in Chaldæa, about 4000 years before the new era, for the manufacture of arms and utensils, and for other purposes, is placed beyond doubt<sup>3</sup>.

Amongst the not over-numerous authentic documents attesting a Copper Age in Western Europe must now be included the new or *cache* of pure copper ingots found at Tourc'h, west of the Aven Valley, Finisterre, described by M. de Villiers du Terrage, and comprising 23 pieces, with a total weight of nearly 50 lbs.<sup>4</sup> These objects, which belong to "the transitional period when copper was used at first concurrently with polished stone, and then disappeared as bronze came into more general use," came probably from Hungary, at that time apparently the chief source of this metal for most parts of Europe. Of over 200 copper objects described by Dr Mathæus Much<sup>5</sup> nearly all were of Hungarian or South German *provenance*, five only being accredited to Britain and eight to France.

The study of this subject has been greatly advanced by Herr J. Hampel, who holds on solid grounds that in some regions, especially Hungary, copper played a dominant part for many centuries, and is undoubtedly the characteristic metal of a distinct

<sup>1</sup> Paper on "The Transition from Pure Copper to Bronze, &c.," read at the Meeting of the Brit. Assoc. Liverpool, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> M. de Sarzec's finds, *Eth.*, p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> *L'Âge du Cuivre en Chaldée*, in *La Nature*, April 3, 1897.

<sup>4</sup> *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 526 sq. This antiquary aptly remarks that "l'expression âge de cuivre a une signification bien précise comme s'appliquant à la partie de la période de la pierre polie où les métaux font leur apparition."

<sup>5</sup> *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 526 sq.

<sup>6</sup> In *Die Kupferzeit in Europa*, 1882.

...based on the study of about 500  
 ...and preserved in the Buda  
 ...all the facts attesting a Copper  
 ...Italy, Cyprus, Troy, Scandinavia,  
 ...he concludes that a Copper Age  
 ...wherever the ore was found,  
 ...Italy, Spain, Britain, Cyprus,  
 ...indigenous, and giving evi-  
 ...local features'. In fact we  
 ...an independent Copper Age was  
 ...of the Great Lakes of North  
 ...the Bantu peoples of Katanga and  
 ...Copper is not an alloy like bronze,  
 ...occurring in large quantities and  
 ...the surface in many parts of the  
 ...it should have been found and  
 ...epoch in several different centres,  
 ...been so soon superseded in so many

...however, the passage was slow and  
 ...of tin, which  
 ...places by an alloy  
 ...arrived at by  
 ...with no little skill by those

The Bronze Age.

...in 1840, the ores of different metals  
 ...first smelted together empirically,  
 ...satisfactory results were obtained.  
 ...of metals, of which percentages  
 ...specimens, such as those of the  
 ...analysis yielded tin, lead, silver, iron,  
 ...nickel, cobalt, and zinc in varying

...in *Zeitschr. f. Eth.*, 1896, No. 2.  
 ...*vorgeschichtlicher Bronzen*, in  
 ...authority agrees with Hempel's view that  
 ...in Transylvania (Hungary)  
 ...welche zugleich die Bronze-

Some bronzes from the pyramid of Medama analysed by Prof. J. H. Gladstone<sup>1</sup> yielded the high percentage of 91 of tin, from which we must infer, not only that bronze, but bronze of the finest quality, was already known to the Egyptians of the 4th dynasty. Yet M. J. de Morgan, who does not question this inference, and thinks that copper was also known to the Egyptians about 5000 B.C., holds that nowhere in Africa was there either a distinct Copper or a Bronze Age. In America the transition was from stone to copper only, but the passage was in Africa everywhere from stone to iron<sup>2</sup>.

On the other hand it is shown by M. Maspero that all the Metal, as indeed also the Stone Ages, were successively passed through in Babylonia, where metal implements, first of copper, then of bronze, lastly of iron, abounded in immense variety from remote times<sup>3</sup>. Metal tools of fine temper were here certainly needed for carving the extremely hard diorite statues found in 1881 by M. de Sarzec at Sirgalla (Legash), which cannot be much less than 6000 years old.

In Europe the transition from copper to bronze is supposed to have taken place everywhere much about the same time. But we shall see that the date, about 2000 B.C., usually assigned to the change, will have to be set back fully 1000 years, at least for some localities. Indeed the narrow views hitherto current regarding the chronology of the Metal Ages have already received a rude shock from the fruitful researches especially of Mr A. J. Evans in the Eastern Mediterranean. Warning notes are already heard in all directions, and Chr. Blinkenberg amongst others remarks that the Mykenæan culture had attained its bloom in the 15th and following centuries, pre-Mykenæan graves and their contents must be dated back to the very beginning of the second, and even to the latter part of the third millennium B.C.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. Bib. Archaeol.* 1892, pp. 223-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte, &c.*, 1896. M. de Morgan here overlooks the development of a copper industry above referred to in various parts of Central Africa, apparently at a very early date.

<sup>3</sup> *The Dawn of Civilisation*, 3rd ed. 1898, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *Præmykeniske Oldsager; Bidrag til studiet af Grækenlands ældste Kultur*, Copenhagen, 1896.

...showing a direct transition from  
 ...then the Iron  
 ...in that region  
 ...to Europe and Asia. But trading  
 ...to have been established between  
 ...Egypt—and the Mediterranean  
 ...period than is generally supposed.  
 ...the allusions to iron long before  
 ...amongst these peoples, and in fact  
 ...regarded as a "precious metal."  
 ...no doubt known at a very early  
 ...and even as late as Homer's  
 ...a lump of it constituted one of the  
 ...of Patroclus<sup>1</sup>."

The Iron Age.

...evidence that there could have been  
 ...only a slight knowledge of the metal,  
 ...commonly supposed to have  
 ...B.C., or at most some 150 years  
 ...Olympiads (884 B.C.), that is, mostly  
 ...history for the Greek world.  
 ...not one, but two Iron Ages, the  
 ...a considerable time. It pre-  
 ...Italy (Umbria and Venetia); it had its  
 ...at *Halstatt* beyond  
 ...thence eastwards  
 ...German and Slavonic  
 ...Cecythia, Istria, Bosnia, Herzegovina,  
 ...basin.

Halstatt and La Tène Cultures.

...associates the pre-Phoenician or  
 ...partly reconstructed from the signs  
 ...the bronzes and earthenware of  
 ...parts of Umbria<sup>2</sup>: These characters  
 ...with those of the pre-Neolithic  
 ...M. Ed. Piette<sup>3</sup>, and on the other

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, p. 168.  
<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 218 sq.  
<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, 1896, p. 385 sq.



with Mr A. J. Evans' pre-Phoenician Cretan ~~script~~ and other grounds Sergi joins the new school of archaeologists in their demand for an extension of the Metal Ages, remarking that "this script appears in its forms and variants to be extremely old, and in my opinion it seems as if it ought to cause the ~~entire~~ established chronology of the First Iron Age to be set back in Italy and elsewhere<sup>1</sup>."

From Hallstatt Prof. W. Ridgeway<sup>2</sup> believes on good grounds that the use of iron spread to Switzerland, Italy, France, Spain, Greece, Eastern Germany, and in fact to the whole of Europe, everywhere largely replacing the bronze tools and weapons which we know from Tacitus were then in common use.

The Hallstatt period, which is supposed to have reached its bloom about 800 B.C., was continued in Switzerland and some other places quite into Roman times. But during the last centuries of its existence it was replaced in Gaul by a later Iron Age, which from its chief centre is usually referred to as the *La Tène* period. It was to some extent of local origin, and in a great measure independently developed, though not uninfluenced by southern, especially Massilian (Greek) forms. Eventually the *La Tène* culture superseded the Hallstatt in all the lands of Keltic speech, and the somewhat abrupt transition from one to the other is perceptible in Switzerland, where *La Tène* forms were introduced by later immigrants, also no doubt of Keltic speech.

Notwithstanding their quite recent date, as compared with the early rise of the Eastern civilisations, all these metal periods must be regarded as strictly prehistoric for Central and Western Europe; they are antecedent to all trustworthy historical records, which in the West with one or two exceptions, such as the foundation of the Greek colony of Massilia (Marseilles, 539 B.C.), go no further back than Roman times.

That the peoples of those days were physically well developed, and in a great part of Europe and Asia already of Aryan speech, there can be no reasonable doubt. A skull of the early Hallstatt period, from a grave near

Man and his  
Works in the  
Metal Ages.

<sup>1</sup> *Arsi e Italici*, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> *The Starting Point of the Iron Age in Europe*, Paper read at the British Assoc. Liverpool, 1896.

...described by Prof. Virchow as long-  
 ...of no less than 1585 c.c., strongly  
 ...and narrow face and nose, and in  
 ...specimen of the regular-featured, long-  
 ...  
 ...great abundance in the graves, especially  
 ...periods, but a detailed account of which  
 ...of archaeology, interest us in many ways.  
 ...and incised metal-ware of all kinds  
 ...the progress of the arts of design and  
 ...development from the first tenta-  
 ...artist at pleasing effects. Human and  
 ...depicted, occasionally afford a curious  
 ...and fashions of the times. On a clay  
 ...in Posen, is figured a regular hunt-  
 ...on horseback, or else on  
 ...arrow, pursuing the quarry (nobly-  
 ...to the penthouse after the chase.<sup>4</sup>  
 ...primitive, but on that account all the  
 ...in connection with analogous representa-  
 ...how in prehistoric art such figures  
 ...and purely ornamental, as in  
 ...and textiles from the Ancon Necro-  
 ...of primitive peoples, although to  
 ...geometrical and freely-invented  
 ...more than degraded animal and

...the reason why so many of the drawings  
 ...so inferior to those of the cave-dwellers  
 ...They are often mere convention-  
 ...prototypes, comparable, for instance,  
 ...which are known to be degraded

<sup>4</sup> *Ballstattzeit*, in *Verhandl. Berlin. Ges. f.*  
*Darstellungen auf schlesischen Gräbgefässen*  
 1897.  
<sup>5</sup> *Eth.*, pp. 88 and 249-50.

Of the so-called "Prehistoric Age" it is obvious that no general definition can be given. It comprises in a general way that vague period prior to all written records—dim memories of which—popular myths, folk-lore, demi-gods<sup>1</sup>, eponymous heroes<sup>2</sup>, traditions of real events<sup>3</sup>—lingered on far into historic times, and supplied ready to hand the copious materials afterwards worked up by the early poets, founders of new religions, and later legislators.

That letters themselves, although not brought into general use had already been invented, is evident from the mere fact that all memory of their introduction beyond the vaguest traditions had died out before the dawn of history. The works of man, while in themselves necessarily continuous, stretched back to such an inconceivably remote past, that even the great landmarks in the evolution of human progress had long been forgotten by later generations.

And so it was everywhere, in the New World as in the Old amongst Eastern as amongst Western Peoples and in China. In the Chinese records the "Age of the Five Emperors"—five, though nine are named—answers somewhat to our prehistoric epoch. It had its eponymous hero, Fu Hi, reputed founder of the empire, who invented nets and snares for fishing and hunting, and taught his people how to rear domestic animals. To him also is ascribed the institution of marriage, and in his time Tsong Chi is supposed to have invented the Chinese characters—symbols, not of sounds, but of objects and ideas.

Then came other benevolent rulers, who taught the people agriculture, established markets for the sale of farm produce

<sup>1</sup> Homer's *ἡμιθεῶν γένος ἀνδρῶν*, *Il.* XII. 23, if the passage is genuine.

<sup>2</sup> Such as the Greek *Andreas*, the "First Man," invented in comparatively recent times, as shown by the intrusive *d* in *Andres* for the earlier *Andras* "men." *Andreas* was of course a Greek, sprung in fact from the son Peneus and the first inhabitant of the Orchomenian plain (*Pausanias*, IX. 34. 2).

<sup>3</sup> For instance, the flooding of the Thessalian plain, afterwards drained by the Peneus and re-peopled by the inhabitants of the surrounding mountains (rocks, stones), whence the myth of Deucalion and Pyrrha, who are told by the oracle to re-peopel the world by throwing behind them the "bones of their grandmother," that is, the "stones" of mother Earth.

... of plants, wrote treatises on ... studied astrology and astronomy, and ... of the heavenly bodies."

... preceded by the "Age of the Three ... found in caves, ate wild fruits and ... blood of animals and wore the skins of ... (Cave Age). Later they grew less rude, ... and built themselves habitations ... (Neolithic Age). Thus is everywhere ... of sheer savagery, which lies behind all ... "Golden Age" of the poets fades with ... "Atlantis" into the region of the

... of strictly historic times, the most ... is perhaps the general

... of this most fruitful of

Historic Times.

... worth preserving was ... all useful knowledge tended to become ... possible to say when or where the ... the apparently multifarious sounds ... were exhaustively analysed and ... or so of arbitrary signs. But ... the various writing-systems in use in ... has revealed the process by which the ... about from rude pictorial repre- ... phonetical symbols.

... "winter counts" of the North Ameri- ... prehistoric rock carvings

... was a *pictograph*, the ... standing for a given

Evolution of Writing Systems.

... or human being. Then this figure, ... conventionalised, served to indicate not ... the full sound *man*, as in the word ... rebus. At this stage it becomes ... which, when further reduced beyond ... form, may stand for the syllable *ma* ... Further reference either to the idea ... monogram has now become the symbol

of a monosyllable, which is normally made up of two elements, a consonant and a vowel, as in the Devanāgarī, and other similar systems.

Lastly, by dropping the second or vowel element the same symbol, further modified or not, becomes a *letter* representing the sound *m*, that is, one of the few ultimate elements of articulated speech. A more or less complete set of such characters, thus worn down in form and meaning, will then be available for indicating more or less completely all the phonetic elements of a given language. It will be a true *alphabet*, the wonderful nature of which may be inferred from the fact that only two, or possibly three, such alphabetic systems are known with absolute certainty to have ever been independently evolved by human ingenuity. From the above exposition we see how inevitably the Phœnician parent of nearly all late alphabets expressed at first the consonantal sounds only, so that the vowels or vowel marks are in all cases later developments, as in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, the Italic group, and the Runes.

In primitive systems, such as the Egyptian, Akkadian, Chinese, Maya-Quiché and Mexican, one or more of the various transitional steps may be developed and used simultaneously, with a constant tendency to advance on the lines above indicated, by gradual substitution of the later for the earlier stages. A comparison of the Akkadian cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphic systems brings out some curious results. Thus at an extremely remote epoch, say 6000 years ago<sup>2</sup>, the Akkadians had already got rid of the pictorial and to a great extent of the ideographic, but had barely reached the alphabetic phase. Consequently their cuneiform group

Hieroglyphs  
and Cunei-  
forms.

<sup>1</sup> Such instances as George Guest's Cherokee system, and the crude attempt of a Vei (West Sudanese) Negro, if genuine, are not here in question, as both had the English alphabet to work upon. A like remark applies to the Irish and Welsh Ogham, which are more curious than instructive, the characters, mostly mere groups of straight strokes, being obvious substitutes for the corresponding letters of the Roman alphabet, hence comparable to the cryptographic systems of Wheatstone and others.

<sup>2</sup> "We discovered written records no less than 6000 years old, and prove that writing and civilisation were then by no means in their infancy." (J. Peters, *Expedition to Babylonia, &c.*, Vol. I. Philadelphia, 1897.)

of the value, mainly express full syllables, and not really complete words. Ideographs had a value, and then to mere syllables, and finally to mere consonants, which several consonants may be distinguished. Syllables composed of only one consonant

On the other hand, carried the system right on from pictures to letters, but retained all the initial, the initial tending to fall away, the final part of the hieroglyphs represented in various transitional states. In many cases they "had" the syllable, namely a mute consonant; for instance, the final *n* from *bn* and *pn*, and the final *n* and *s* to the human leg ] and to the

of the Euphrates stopped half way, and the vowel sounds *a*, *i* and *u* only<sup>2</sup>."

In the evolution, metaphor and analogy of course were the evolution of language itself. Thus the word for the animal and for courage, and so on.

The word took somewhat the form of a modern word: *mat*; *pu* = mat; *pu* = mouth,

where the sounds and not the components are alone attended to<sup>3</sup>.

It was formed a true alphabet, in which, the phonetic elements was represented by different characters derived

The Alphabet.

words having the same initial syllable.

*richesses*, which could be got by the process of elimination, that is, by discarding all symbols but one for the same sound.

The reduction was completed by the scribes, and the phonetic signs were rejected except

the 23 phonetic elements, the Phoenician alphabet was completed. Such may

<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 233.

be taken as the real origin of this system, whether the peoples in question were Akkadians, Egyptians, Minoans or Europeans, that is, whether the Phœnician alphabet had a cuneiform, a hieroglyphic, a South Arabian, a Cretan (Ægean), Ligurian or Iberian origin, for all these and perhaps other peoples have been credited with the invention. On this point there will be more to say when we come to discuss Himyaritic, pre-Mykenean, and Italic origins.

But whatever be the source of the Phœnician, that of the Persian system current under the Achaemenides is clear enough. It is a true alphabet of 37 characters, derived by some selective process directly from the Babylonian cuneiforms, without any attempt at a modification of their shapes. Hence although simple compared with its prototype, it is clumsy enough compared with the Phœnician script, several of the letters requiring groups of as many as four or even five "wedges" for their expression. None of the other cuneiform systems also derived from the Akkadian (the Assyrian, Elamite, Vannic, Medic) appear to have reached the pure alphabetic state, all being still encumbered with numerous complex syllabic characters. The subjoined table, for which I have to thank Mr T. G. Pinches, will help to show the genesis of the cuneiform combinations from the earliest known pictographs. These pictographs themselves are already reduced to the merest outlines of the original pictorial representations. But no earlier forms, showing the gradual transition from the primitive picture writing to the degraded pictographs here given, have yet come to light.

Here it may be asked, what is to be thought of the already-mentioned pebble-markings from the Mas-d'Azil Cave of the Madelenian (late Old Stone) Age? If they are truly phonetic, then we must suppose that Palæolithic man not only invented an alphabetic writing system, but did this right off by intuition, as it were, without any previous knowledge of letters. At least no one will suggest that the Dordogne cave-dwellers were already in possession of pictographic or other crude systems, from which the Mas-d'Azil "script" might have been slowly evolved. Yet M. Pietts, who groups














The Persian  
and other  
Cuneiform  
Scripts.

The  
Mas-d'Azil  
Markings.

...of the ...  
 ...the ...  
 ...the ...

THE ASSYRIAN CUNEIFORMS.

...the ...  
 ...the ...

- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
|    | "bird."                         |
|    | "sheep" (probably a sheepfold). |
|    | "ox."                           |
|    | "to go,"<br>"to stand."         |
|    | "hand."                         |
|   | "man."                          |
|  | "dagger."                       |
|  | "fish."                         |
|  | "reed."                         |
|  | "reed."                         |
|  | "corn" ("ear of corn").         |
|  | "god,"<br>"heaven."             |
|  | "constellation,"<br>"star."     |



these pebbles, painted with peroxide of iron, in the same categories of numerals, symbols, pictographs, and alphabetic characters, states, in reference to these last, that "13 out of 15 Phœnician characters were equally Azilian graphic signs" (1896). He even suggests that there may be an approach to an inscription in one group, where, however, the mark indicating a stop implies a script running Semitic-fashion from right to left, whereas the letters themselves seem to face the other way.

A possible connection has been suggested by Sergi between the Mas-d'Azil signs and the markings that have been discovered on the megalithic monuments of North Africa, Brittany, and the British Isles. These are all so rudimentary that resemblances are inevitable, and of themselves afford little ground for necessary connections. Primitive man is but a child, and all children babble and scrawl much in the same way. Nevertheless M. Latourneau has taken the trouble to compare five such scrawls from "Libyan inscriptions" now in the Bardo Museum, Tunis, with similar or identical signs on Brittany and Irish dolmens. There is the familiar circle plain and dotted  $\bigcirc$   $\odot$ , the cross in its simplest form  $+$ , the pothook and segmented square  $\rho$   $\square$ , all of which recur in the Phœnician, Keltiberian, Etruscan, Libyan or Tuareg systems. Latourneau, however, who does not call them letters but only "signes alphabétiques," merely suggests that, if not phonetic marks when first carved on the neolithic monuments, they may have become so in later times. Against this it need only be urged that in later times all these peoples were supplied with complete alphabetic systems from the East as soon as they required them. By that time all the peoples of the culture-zone were well-advanced into the historic period, and had long forgotten the rude carvings of their neolithic forefathers.

<sup>1</sup> *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 319.

...the sailing system, and the correlated ... soon took a foremost place ... and gradually acquired a ... the less cultured populations ... over the forces of ... development of naviga- ... of locomotion, inland ... mountain ranges ceased to ... to their movements, ... have never been arrested throughout

Character  
and Conse-  
quences of the  
later (histori-  
cal) Migra-  
tions.

... following the first peopling of the ... settlements and readjustments ... progress, although wholesale displace- ... events. With few exceptions, the ... hostile, or peaceful, were, for reasons ... of a partial character, while certain ... America and Australia, remained little ... till quite recent times. But for ... hemisphere the results were none ... continuous infiltrations could not fail ulti- ... modifications of early types, while the ... tended to produce a general ... amalgams. Thus the great varietal ... slow changes from age to age, con- ... groups, to maintain a distinct

... observed that the only mean- ... can have is that of a ... type has become ... population exceeding the ... by foreign elements". We are also ... "in the actual state of science the ... to which nothing definite may be ... the one hand, the original races can

The "Race" merges in the "People."

only be said to belong to paleontology, while the modern racial groups, now called races, are nothing but peoples, as peoples and peoples, brethren by civilization more than by blood. The term thus conceived ends by identifying itself with nationality.<sup>1</sup> It has been asked why, on the principle of convergence, a number of various races, if isolated long enough in a given area, may not eventually lead to a new racial type, without leaving any trace of its manifold origin.<sup>2</sup>

Such new racial types would be normal for the later racial groups, just as the old types were normal for the earlier groups, and a general application might be given to Topinard's famous dictum that *les peuples seuls sont des réalités*<sup>3</sup>, that is, peoples alone—groups occupying definite geographical areas—have an objective existence. Thus, the notion of race, as a zoological expression in the sense of a pure breed or strain, falls still more into the background, and, as Virchow aptly remarks, "this term, which always implied something vague, has in recent times become in the highest degree uncertain."<sup>4</sup>

Hence Dr Ehrenreich treats the present populations of the earth rather as zoological groups which have been developed in their several geographical domains, and are to be distinguished not so much by their bony structure as by their external characters, such as hair, colour, and expression, and by their habits and language. Relying on these essential factors, he proposes a general scheme of the primary divisions, which largely agrees with that already advanced in *Ethnology*, Part II.

Too much weight is no doubt given to language, which is called the "main point," while peoples are said to be realities "only so far as they are characterised by their speech; peoples stand and fall with their speech."<sup>5</sup> But with the general principle little fault can be found, and the cogent remarks on the intimate connection of peoples with their physical

<sup>1</sup> *Amer. J. of Sociology*, Jan. 1898, pp. 467-8.

<sup>2</sup> A. Vierkandt, *Globus*, 72, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Éléments d'Anthropologie Générale*, p. 207.

<sup>4</sup> *Rassenbildung u. Erblichkeit; Bastian-Festschrift*, 1896, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Anthropologische Studien*, &c., p. 14.

The distinguishing Characters of Peoples.

the intention of those anthropologists to do anything except the osteoid frame-work, that each of these groups belongs to the ethnical province in which we have their origin, or rather of their present position. As Bastian's remark that in order to be safe should not travel beyond the typical limits of the search for absolute beginnings we have to leave the mythologies.

was removed by Dr Dubois' discovery, and his theory may be accepted as a timely warning against extravagant and contradictory views' of the East and Italy, on the supreme and even the ethnological factor. We shall have to deal with the long-heads and the round-heads. It is of such importance need not be attached to them again to involve ethnological studies which were rescued by the establishment of ethnology towards the middle of the nineteenth century.

in dealing with the difficult question of classification should be sought in the attempt to neglect any of the elements of human classification. Hence in the broad groupings, which are based on the treatment of the second part of the *Ethnology*, the available data—physical and mental

Elements of Classification.

may be judged from the attitude of Prof. Lapouge towards M. de Lapouge, founder of the views regarding skull modifications are while his own belief in the persistence of the language. "Lapouge is unfortunately a medievalist [the theory that the Ligurians were] advanced by him on the development of the present time I hold without more ado *Ursprünglichen Stammes*, Leipzig, 1897,

characters, usages, religion, speech, cultural features, among the geographical range.

Such, broadly speaking, are the elements of classification, and wherever two or more groups are found agreeing in all, or at least in the more essential, of such elements, they may be regarded as branches of one stock. So far, and no further, is a strictly zoological or genetic classification possible in the present state of the multifarious inhabitants of the globe.

CHAPTER III

THE NEGRO: I. SUDANESE.

“Great Divide”—The Negro Domain—  
 of the Negro Type—Two Main Sections:  
 and Analogies—Sudaneses and Bantu  
 Language—West Sudanese Groups—  
 and Pottery; Religious Notions—  
 Industries; History; the Guiné and Mali  
 between the Inland and Coast Peoples;  
 Characters—*Tuani*—African Freemasonry—  
 The Liberians—The *Krumen*—The  
 of the Gold Coast and Slave Coast Tribes—  
 its true inwardness—Ancestry Worship and  
 The *Mossi*—African Agnostics—  
 Ethical and Social Relations—  
 Egyptian Theories—Sonrhay Records—  
 Fomion—Speech and Mental Qualities—  
 The *Mossi*; *Mosgu*—Ethical and Political  
 The Aborigines—Islam and Heathendom—  
 Mosgu Types and Contrasts—The  
 Kanem-Bornu Records—East  
 in Eastern Sudan—*The Mabas*—Ethical  
 The Nubian Problem—Nubian Origins  
 of the Nile-Congo watersheds—  
*Mancatus*; *Niam-Niams*—Two Physical  
 Qualities—Cannibalism—The African  
 Industries—High Appreciation of Pictorial

SUDANESE NEGROES.

south of the Sahara. Distribution in Past and Present Times.  
 Home less Abyssinia,  
 Tripolitana, Mauritania  
 of the southern United  
 parts of Brazil and Peru.

Physical  
Charac-  
ters.

**Hair**, always black, rather short, and never woolly, differing from other human hair in being flat in transverse section; colour, very dark brown, chocolate and blackish, never quite black; skull, generally dolichocephalous (long, index No. 72); jaws, prognathic (projecting, index No. 60); cheek-bone, rather moderately retreating, rarely prominent; nose, very small at base, flat, small (platyrrhine, No. 56); eyes, deep round, prominent, black with yellowish cornea; stature above the average, 5 ft. 10 in.; lips, tumid and curved; arms, disproportionately long; legs, slender with small calves; feet, broad, flat, with low instep and lanky heel.

Mental  
Charac-  
ters.

**Temperament**, sensuous, indolent, improvident, selfish, passionate and cruel, though often affectionate and faithful; little sense of dignity, and slight self-consciousness hence easy acceptance of yoke of slavery; musical.

**Speech**, almost everywhere in the agglutinating type, generally with suffixes.

**Religion**, anthropomorphic; spirits endowed with human attributes, mostly evil and more powerful than man; ancestry-worship, fetishism, and witchcraft prevalent; human sacrifices to the dead a common feature.

**Culture**, low; cannibalism formerly rife, perhaps still general in some regions; no science or fine arts and industries confined mainly to agriculture, pottery, wood-carving, weaving, and metallurgy; no progress anywhere except under the influence of other races.

Main  
Divisions.

**West Sudanese**: Wolof; Mandingan; Fula; Timni; Kru; Sierra Leone; Liberian; Tshi; Yoruba; Ibo; Efik; Borgu; Mossi.

**Central Sudanese**: Sonrhay; Hausa; Kanembu; Kanuri; Baghirmi; Yedina.

**East Sudanese**: Maba; Fúr; Nuba; Dinka; Bari; Abaka; Bongo; Janghey; Mangu; Zandeh; Momfu; Basé; Barea.

From this standpoint Africa falls into two main divisions (Caucasic) and Negroid. The divisions of mankind have been known throughout all known time. The Negro-Caucasic "Great Divide." Biological interpenetrations have

indeed are still going on. Yet so distinct are the two groups, and such is the force of the divide to its proper domain, that, despite geographical frontiers, the ethnological parting is not obliterated at one or two points, and remains, in view of the higher division, it may be said, dominant along the course of the Senegal and the great bend of the Niger at Timbuktu; and the Nile, Chari, beyond which it runs nearly due north to the mouth of the White and Blue-Niles.

Isolated Negro groups (Basé and Hamar) on the Abyssinian plateau, show that the line at first continued still east to the Indian Ocean. But for many ages the line has been obliterated from Khartum along the White Nile to the south-east, then continuously south-east to the Indian Ocean, up the Nile to Lake Albert Nyanza, up the Nile to Lake Tanganyika, and thence with a considerable interval to Masailand eastwards to the Indian Ocean.

The irregular line belongs to the Hamito-Negroid division, all south of the Ethiopian division of the Ethiopic domain.

The Hamito-Negroid division—which comprises the Hamar, the Atlantic to the White Nile, and all the Hamar, Galla, Somali and Masai lands—has been distinguished from the other main divisions by its physical and mental qualities,

The classical description of the Negro is:—  
*caput testante figurâ,*  
*oculos tenebrâs, et fusca colorem,*  
*nasus tumens, compressor alvo,*  
*et pedibus prostrata prodiga plantâ.*



largely predominates everywhere and in many places. The route by which he probably reached these interior regions, where he may be regarded as practically indigenous, is indicated in *Ethnology*, Chs. x. and xi.

That the occupation took place in pleistocene times, or even earlier, is made daily more evident by the researches of travellers in hitherto unvisited districts.

Negro  
Origins.

At the meeting of the Royal Society, April 30, 1895, Sir John Evans stated that the numerous palæoliths found by Mr Seton-Karr on his second visit to Somaliland, which originally formed part of the Negro domain, were in form absolutely identical with some from the Somme and other places; hence there need be no hesitation in claiming them as palæoliths, despite the absence of a fossil fauna. The finds, he pointed out, help to bridge over the interval between palæolithic man in Britain and in India, and add another link to the chain of evidence by which the original cradle of man may eventually be identified, tending to prove the unity of race between the inhabitants of Asia, Africa, and Europe in palæolithic times. Mr Seton-Karr tells us that he obtained several thousands of such objects—spears, heads, scrapers, knives, flakes, cores—in sites which presented the appearance of having been regular workshops. Nearly all the flints were either damaged or unfinished, while some were found amid a mass of flakes and chips, "as though the people had dropped their work, and, carrying with them all their portable weapons and belongings, had fled, never to return<sup>1</sup>."

Similar evidence has been collected from Upper Guinea, Angola, and the extreme south, showing not only the early arrival but also the general dispersal of the Negro over his present domain during the Stone Age. Yet since that remote epoch the specialised Negro type, as depicted on the Egyptian monuments some thousands of years ago, has everywhere been maintained with striking uniformity. "Within this wide domain of the black Negro there is a remarkably general similarity of type....If you took a Negro from the Gold Coast of West Africa and passed him off amongst a

<sup>1</sup> *Some Implements in Somaliland*, Paper read at Meeting of Brit. Assoc. Ipswich, 1895.

... were not remarkably distinct... it would not be easy...

... differences are perceptible to the... are sufficiently

... in treating the... two distinct sub-... both groups the

Two Main Sections: Sudanese and Bantus.

... are everywhere very much alike, ... amongst the mixed or ... the disturbing elements are ... and Semitic (Arabs); while in ... (Gallas) in all the central and ... on the eastern seaboard from the ... To the varying propor-

... perhaps be traced the often ... on the one hand between such ... Mandingans, Hausas, Nubians, ... the other between all these and ... Bechuanas, Ovahereros and

... on social, linguistic, and cultural, ... that, as at present constituted, the ... constitute two tolerably well-defined

... Thanks to Muham- ... have attained a much ... cultivate not only the

Contrasts and Analogies.

... plants, such as cotton and ... walled towns, substantial ... have founded powerful states, such ... of Ghanah and Bornu, with ... thousand years, although these ... except exception half-breeds, often with ... Ethiopic blood in their veins.

... anywhere to be found in Bantu- ... where the "Moors" founded great

*Central Africa*, 1897, p. 393.

cities and flourishing marts centuries before the appearance of the Portuguese in the eastern seas. To the Minnans and other kinsmen of the Moors, must also be credited the Zimbabue monuments and other ruins explored by Theodore Bent in the hilly districts south of the Zambesi. But in all the Negro lands, far from foreign influences no true culture has ever been developed, and here cannibalism, witchcraft, and sanguinary "customs" are either still rife, or have been but recently suppressed by the direct action of European administrations.

Numberless authorities have described the Negro as unprogressive, or, if left to himself, incapable of progress in his present physical environment. Sir H. H. Johnston, who knows him well, goes much further, and speaks of him as a fine animal who, "in his wild state, exhibits a stunted mind and a dull content with his surroundings, which induces mental stagnation, cessation of all upward progress, and even retrogression towards the brute. In some respects I think the tendency of the Negro for several centuries past has been an actual retrograde one. As we come to read the unwritten history of Africa by researching her languages, manners, customs, traditions, we seem to see a backward rather than a forward movement going on for some thousand years past—a return towards the savage and even the brute. I can believe it possible that, had Africa been more isolated from contact with the rest of the world, and cut off from the immigration of the Arab and the European, the purely Negroid races, left to themselves, so far from advancing towards a higher type of humanity, might have actually reverted by degrees to a type no longer human". I do not say that this is so, but I give it as the matured opinion of an administrator, who has had a wider experience of the natives of Africa than almost any man living.

There is one point in which the Bantus somewhat unaccountably compare favourably with the Sudanese. In all other regions the spread of culture has tended to bring about linguistic unity, as we see in the Hellenic world, where all the old idioms were gradually absorbed in the "common dialect" of the Byzantine empire, again in the Roman empire, where Latin became the universal

Sudanese  
and Bantu  
Linguistic  
Areas.

<sup>1</sup> *British Central Africa*, p. 472.

...the Mohammedan countries, ... nearly everywhere, except ... the Arab, Persian, and Turkish ...  
 ... is reversed, and here the less ... without any known exception, ...  
 ... while the greatest ... amongst the semicivilized as well as ...  
 ... as some suppose, have ... southwards to the Congo, ...  
 ... it cannot now be even remotely ... numerous distinct forms of speech ...  
 ... Hence to allow time for its ... the initial movement must be ...  
 ... a corresponding ... be postulated for the profound ...  
 ... everywhere witnessed in the region ...  
 ... Here agglutination, both ... is the prevailing morphological ...  
 ... Fali, Nubian, Dinkan, and Mang- ... of transition is also presented ...  
 ... and inflection of the Hamito-Semitic ...  
 ... Dasa or Southern and Teda

... in Upper Guinea, the originally ... developed on lines analogous to those ...  
 ... Chinese, and Otomi in other conti- ...  
 ... Thus the Tshi, Ewe, and ... of a now extinct stock language, ...  
 ... region between Cape Palmas and ...  
 ... so burdened with monosyllabic

... occurs, as in Vei, and in Yoruba, where ...  
 ... made up of the three elements *shan*, to ...  
 ... one who kills a person by plastering ...  
 ... with Latin *undeviginti* = one-from- ...  
 ... (as lo sa), Purg. v. 135.

homophones (like-sounding monosyllables), that by using different meanings several distinguishing tones have been developed exactly as in the Indo-Chinese group. In Ewe (Ghana) the root *do*, according as it is toned may mean to put, kick, to kick, be sad, join, change, grow big, sleep; prick, or great are the ravages of phonetic decay, that new expedients have been developed to express quite simple ideas, as in Fali (Gold Coast) *addanmu*, room (*addan* house, *mu* interior); *akwan*, a guide (*akwan* road, *cheri* to show, *so* person); *ensah*, a finger (*ensah* hand, *tsia* small, *abbah* child = hand's-little-child); but middle-finger = "hand's-little-chief" (*ensah* hand, *tsia* small, *abbah* child = hand's-little-child).

Common both to Sudanese and Bantus, especially about the western borderlands (Upper Guinea, Gambia &c.) is the "drum-language," which affords a striking illustration of the Negro's musical faculty. Two or three drums are usually used together, each producing a different note, and they are played either with the fingers or with two sticks. The lookers-on generally beat time by clapping the hands. To a European, whose ear and mind are untrained for this special faculty, the rhythm of a drum expresses nothing beyond a repetition of the same note at different intervals of time; but to a native it expresses much more. To him the drum can and does speak, the sounds produced from it forming words and the whole measure or rhythm a sentence. In this way, when company drums are being played at an *ehsdu* [palaver], they are made to express and convey to the bystanders a variety of meanings. In one measure they abuse the men of another company, stigmatising them as fools and cowards; then the rhythm changes, and the gallant deeds of their own company are extolled. All this, and much more, is conveyed by the beating of drums, and the native ear and mind, trained to select and interpret each beat, is never at fault. The language of drums is as well understood as that which they use in their daily life. A chief has his own call or motto, sounded by a particular set of his drums. Those of Amankwa Tia, the Ashanti general who fought against us in the war of 1873-4, used a motto *Prihuh*, hasten. Similar mottoes are also expressed by

in the locality can at once be seen. The following of the several more representative

**SUDANESE.**

In the middle and lower course the Senegal from the Zenaga Berbers, forms the ethnical barrier between the Senegambians and the Sudanese Negroes. The Senegambians are the Wolofs, who with the kindred Serers occupy a extensive territory between the Senegal and the Niger. Whether the term "Wolof" means "those who were gifted with the faculty of speech," or "the neighbouring "Red" Fulahs, both are identified; by these Senegambians, at once amongst the most garrulous tribes in the world, is called "ebony," and they are known as the "Blacks of the Black." They are also known as the Seners especially may claim to be the "Black of the Old World," men six feet six inches tall, the muscular being far from rare in the Senegambia and Dakar.

The Wolof language is widespread throughout Senegambia, and is the base form of speech, and is characterized by its agglutinative structure, and its vocabulary by the

Primitive  
Wolof Speech.

constant for ages on the opposite bank of the Niger. A feature is the so-called "article," always in a ten-fold series of modifications, first in the form of the noun, for which there are ten changes (*w, m, b, d, s, g*), and then

*Pratt, op. cit., 1887, pp. 327-8.* Only one instance is known amongst the Dualas of the Cameruns who speak the drum language; he claims to be able to drum and is also able to drum himself.

according as the object is present, near, not near, for which there are again four possible vowel changes, or twenty-four altogether, a tremendous redundancy of variants as compared with the single English form. This Protean particle begins with *b*, *d* or *w* to agree with *ba*, father, *digene*, woman, or *fos*, horse, and then becomes *bi*, *di*, *ba*; *di*, *du*, &c.; *wi*, *wu* &c. to express the presence and the varying distances of these objects: *baye-bi* = father-the-here; *baye-bu* = father-the-there; *baye-bo* = father-the-yonder; *baye-ba* = father-the-away in the distance.

All this is curious enough; but the important point is that it probably gives us the clue to the enigmatic alliterative system of the Bantu languages as explained in *Ethnology*, p. 273, the positions of course being reversed. Thus as in Zulu *m-kose* requires a *kulu*, so in Wolof *baye* requires *bi*, *digene di*, and so on. There are other indications that the now perfected Bantu grew out of analogous but less developed processes still prevalent in the Sudanese tongues.

Equally undeveloped is the Wolof process of making earthen ware, as observed by M. F. Regnault among the natives brought to Paris for the Exhibition of 1889. He noticed how one of the women utilized a somewhat deep bowl resting on the ground in such a way as to be easily spun round by the hand, thus illustrating the transition between hand-made and turned pottery. Kneading a lump of clay, and thrusting it into the bowl, after sprinkling the surface with some black dust to prevent sticking, she made a hollow in the mass, enlarging and pressing it against the bowl with the back of the fingers bent in, the hand being all the time kept in a vertical position. At the same time the bowl was spun round with the left palm, this movement combined with the pressure exerted by the right hand causing the sides of the vessel to thicken and take shape. When high enough it was finished off by thickening the clay to make a rim. This was held in the right hand and made fast to the mouth of the vessel by the friction caused by again turning the bowl with the left hand. This transitional process appears to have been observed nowhere else.

<sup>1</sup> *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.*, Paris, 1895, p. 734 sq.

...themselves Mahammadans, the  
 ...heathen at heart;  
 ...with traits from the  
 ...and the latter  
 ...the "Seven Dolours" or of the Trinity,  
 ...Many old rites still flourish, the  
 ...and for the lizard, most popular  
 ...customary milk-bowl is daily replenished.  
 ...of the totemic system which still  
 ...amongst the Bechuanas, the Man-  
 ...African peoples, but has elsewhere  
 ...The infantile ideas associated  
 ...tokens have been left far behind,  
 ...have arrived at such a lofty con-  
 ...or even the more materialistic  
 ...the latter may still be appealed  
 ...projects which he himself might  
 ...But the harmony between  
 ...has scarcely yet been reached even

Religious  
 Notions.

Mandingan  
 Groups,  
 Culture and  
 Industries.

...whole of Sudan there is scarcely a  
 ...people than the  
 ...their endless ramifications,  
 ...*Bambara, Va* and  
 ...of the region between  
 ... (Upper Niger) basin, as far south as  
 ...these limits it is often difficult to  
 ...members of this great family, whose  
 ...the transitional shades of physical  
 ...between the true pagan Negro and the

...exists only to a limited extent, as the  
 ...the Mandé stock-language have often  
 ...constitute independent tongues quite  
 ...tribes. The typical Mandin-  
 ...Malaka-Soninké group—may be dis-  
 ...surrounding populations by their more  
 ...forehead, larger nose, fuller beard, and



lighter colour. They are also distinguished by their habits and generally higher culture, being skilled tillers of the soil, weavers, and workers in iron and copper. They thus hold much the same social position in their country as the Hausas do in the central region beyond the Niger. The French authorities think that "they are destined to take a position of ever increasing importance in the peaceful future of the future."

Thus history brings about its revenges, for the Mandingoes proper of the Kong plateau may fairly claim, despite their servitude to the Fulah conquerors and their present ready acceptance of French rule, to be a historical people with a not ignominious record of over 1000 years, as founders of the two great empires of Melle and Guiné, and of the more recent states of Mossi, Bambara, Kaarta, Kong, and others about the water-parting between the headstreams of the Niger, and the rivers flowing south to the Gulf of Guinea. Here is the district of Manding, which is the original home of the *Mandingké*, i.e. "People of Manding" as they are generally called, although *Mandé* appears to be the form used by themselves<sup>1</sup>. Here also was the famous empire of Mali or Melle, from which the Upper Niger group take the name of *Mali'nké*, in contradistinction to the *Soni'nké* of the Senegal

<sup>1</sup> Dr E. T. Hamy, *Les Races Nègres in L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> "Chaque fois que j'ai demandé avec intention à un Mandé, 'Es-tu Peul, Mossi, Dafina?' il me répondait invariablement, 'Je suis Mandé. C'est pourquoi, dans le cours de ma relation, j'ai toujours désigné ce peuple par le nom de Mandé, qui est son vrai nom.'" (Capt. Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, 1892, Vol. II. p. 373.) At p. 375 this authority gives the following subdivisions of the Mandé family, named from their respective totems (idol, fetish, totem):—

1. *Bamba*, the crocodile: *Bammana*, not *Bambara*, which means *infidel*, and is applied only to the non-Moslem Mandé groups.
2. *Mali*, the hippopotamus: *Mali'nké*, including the *Kagoros* and the *Tagwas*.
3. *Sama*, the elephant: *Sama'nké*.
4. *Sa*, the snake: *Sa-mokho*.

Of each there are several sub-groups, while the surrounding peoples call them all collectively *Wakoré*, *Wangara*, *Sakheri*, and especially *Dinka*. Attention to this point will save the reader much confusion in consulting Barth, Caillié, and other early books of travel.

...and the *Bambara* of Bambara, ... historical and cultured groups. ... and the annals of Ahmad Bâhâ, ... (the first Man- ... (Ghâna), a name ... geographical term "Guinea," goes ... Wakayamanga, ... to have flourished ... which date twenty- ... Sixty years after that time the ... to have already reached West ... in Ghâna, first capital ... stronghold till the foundation of ... (A.D.).

History.

The Guinea  
and Mali  
Empires.

... (64) the centre of the Mandingan ... which under the great king Mansa ... the most powerful Sudanese state ... record. For a time it included ... and a great part of the western ... State with its capital Gogo, and ... in the language of the chronicler, ... "entered into friendly ... of Morocco, and made a famous ... of which still linger in the ... populations through whose lands the ... his way. He headed 60,000 men ... and wherever he passed he was pre- ... bearing a gold stick weighing 500 ... representing a money value of about ... of Cairo and Mecca were dazzled ... but during the journey a great ... by a painful malady called in ... word still lives in the Oasis of Tuat,

... of Timbuktu by the Tuaregs (1433), ... the chief state in West Nigritia, and

carried on a flourishing trade, especially in slaves and gold, and this gold was still supposed to come from the earliest known source, Guiné, which word consequently still remains associated with the precious metal in the popular belief. About the year 1500 Malina captured by the Sonrhay king, Omar Askia, after which the empire fell to pieces, and its memory now survives only in the ethnical term *Mali'nke*.

*Felups.* From the semi-civilised Muhammadan negroid Mandingans to the utterly savage full-blood negroes the transition is abrupt, but instructive. In other regions the heterogeneous ethnical groups crowded into upland valleys, as in the Caucasus have been called the "sweepings of the plains." But in West Sudan there are no great ranges towering above the low lands, and even the "Kong Mountains" of school geographers have now been wiped out by Capt. Binger<sup>1</sup>. Hence the wild aborigines of the inland plateau, retreating before the steady advance of Islám, found no place of refuge till they reached the indented fjord-like Atlantic seaboard, where many still hold their ground. This is the explanation of the striking contrasts now witnessed between the interior and so many parts of the West Coast; on the one hand powerful political organizations with numerous, more or less homogeneous, and semi-civilised negroid populations, on the other an infinite tangle of ethnical and linguistic groups, all alike weltering in the sheerest savagery, at in grades of barbarism even worse than the wild state.

Even the *Felups*, whose territory now stretches from the Gambia to the Cacheo, but formerly reached the Geba and the Bissagos Islands, do not form a single group. Originally the name of an obscure coast-tribe, the term Felup or Fulup has been extended by the Portuguese traders to all the surrounding peoples—*Ayansas*, *Jolas*, *Jigúshes*, *Vacas*, *Joats*, *Karons*, *Banyúns*, *Banjars*, *Fulúns*, *Bayots* and some others who amid much local diversity, presented a sufficiently general outward resemblance to be regarded as a

<sup>1</sup> "La chaîne des Montagnes de Kong n'a jamais existé que dans l'imagination de quelques voyageurs mal renseignés" (*op. cit.* I. p. 285).

...the ... settlers. The Felups proper ... characters of the typical Negro ... black colour, flat nose, wide ... lips; red on the inner surface, stout ... with coarse animal passions, cras ... or even tribal organization, so that ... independent and mostly in a state of ... neighbours. All go naked, armed with ... but which, though strongly built,

... rank and property being trans- ... There is some notion of a superhuman ... with the sky, the rain, wind or thunder ... extreme terror of the medicine-man, who ... detested, so that whenever it can ... the witch-doctor is seized

... *Liberians*. Somewhat similar ... the seaboard from Sierra Leone to ... disturbed or modified by the Liberian ... American plantations, and by the ... and forties by the British cruisers ... where their descendants now ... under European influences. These ... Sierra Leone and Liberia, who are so ... and are themselves perhaps ... "niggers" of the bush, have to be ... these true aborigines who have never ... natural environment.

... aboriginal groups on the coastlands ... river, flanked north and south by two ... and still farther south the *Gallinas*, *Veys* ... *Lokkos*, *Limbas*, *Konos*, and *Kussas*, ... and other Mandingans and Fulahs

... *Floups*, in *Bul. Soc. de Géogr.*

Of all these the most powerful during the British occupation have always been the Timni (Timma, Toman), who sold to the English the peninsula on which now stands Freetown, but afterwards crying off the bargain, repeatedly tried to drive the white and coloured intruders into the sea. They are a robust people of softened Negro type, and more industrious farmers than most of the other natives. Like the Wolofs they believe in the virtue both of Christian and Moslem amulets, but have hitherto lent a deaf ear to the preachers of both these religions. Nevertheless the Protestant missionaries have carefully studied the Timni language, which possesses an oral literature rich in legends, proverbs, and folklore<sup>1</sup>.

Timni  
Belah.

The Timni district is a chief centre of the so-called *Awra* fraternity<sup>2</sup>, a sort of secret society or freemasonry widely diffused throughout the coastlands, and possessing its own symbols, tattoo markings, passwords, and language. It presents curious points of contact with the brotherhoods of the Micronesian islanders, but appears to be even more potent for good and evil, a veritable religious and political state within the state. "When their mandates are issued all wars and civil strife must cease, a general truce is established, and bloodshed stopped, offending communities being punished by bands of armed men in masks. Strangers cannot enter the country unless escorted by a member of the guild, who is recognised by passwords, symbolic gestures, and the like. Their secret rites are celebrated at night in the depths of the forest, all intruders being put to death or sold as slaves<sup>3</sup>."

West African  
Freemasonry.

In studying the social conditions prevalent amongst the Sierra Leonean proper, it should be remembered that they are sprung, not only from representatives of almost

The Sierra  
Leonean.

<sup>1</sup> A full account of this literature will be found in the Rev. C. F. Schlenker's valuable work, *A Collection of Temne Traditions, Fables and Proverbs*, London, 1861. Here is given the curious explanation of the tribal name, from *e-tim*, an old man, and *ni*, himself, because, as they say, the Temné people will exist for ever.

<sup>2</sup> There is also a sisterhood—the *bondo*—and the two societies work so far in harmony that any person expelled from the one is also excluded from the other.

<sup>3</sup> *Reclus*, Keane's English ed., XII. p. 203.

... and even in the far interior, ... the freedmen and runaways of ... many maroons of Jamaica, ... the auspices of the Sierra Leone ... of the eighteenth and beginning of ... others also have in recent years been ... the Timni and other tribes of ... The Sierra Leone are consequently ... a people, but rather a people in ... the influence of a new environment ... the immediate consequence of such a ... elements was the loss of all the ... of English as the common ... English is the language of a people ... plane of culture, and could not ... by the *disjecta membra* of tribes ... social ladder. The resultant form of ... so ludicrous that the Sierra ... Testament had to be withdrawn from ... on the blasphemous!

... considered that all the old tribal relations ... attempt was made to ... a single community ... Social Relations.

... not therefore surprising that the ... complete success, and that the ... leave something to be desired. ... the rescued captives received free ... for the labours of the field induced ... and take to huckstering and ... Hence their descendants almost

... into the Negro-English Language by the ... Brit. and For. Bible Soc., London, 1829, ... from *The Artisan of Sierra Leone*, Aug. 4, ... houses love to hear the pit-pat of the rain ... leak are the subjects of restlessness and ... of catching cold, that is so frequent a source

monopolise the petty traffic and even the "profession" in the town and the other colonial settlements. Although accused of laziness and dishonesty, they have displayed a considerable degree of industrial as well as commercial enterprise, and the Sierra Leone craftsmen—smiths, mechanics, carpenters, builders—enjoy a good reputation in all the coast towns. All are Christians of various denominations, and even show a marked predilection for the "ministry." Yet below the surface the old paganism still slumbers, and voodoo practices, as in the West India and some of the Southern States, are still heard of.

Morality also is admittedly at a low ebb, and it is curious to note that this has in part been attributed to the freedom enjoyed under the British administration. "They have passed from the sphere of native law to that of British law, which is brought to this young community like an article of ready-made clothing. Is it a wonder that the clothes do not fit? Is it a wonder that kings and chiefs around Sierra Leone, instead of wishing their people to come and see how well we do things, dread for them to come to this colony on account of the danger to their morals? In passing into this colony, they pass into a liberty which to them is license<sup>1</sup>."

An experiment of a somewhat different order, but with much the same negative results, has been tried by the well-meaning founders of the Republic of Liberia. Here also the bulk of the "civilised aristocrats" are descended of emancipated plantation slaves, a first consignment of whom was brought over by a philanthropic American society in 1820-22. The idea was to start them well in under the fostering care of their white guardians, and then leave them to work out their own redemption in their own way. A control was accordingly withdrawn in 1848, and since then the settlement has constituted an absolutely independent Negro state in the enjoyment of complete self-government. Progress of certain material kind has undoubtedly been made. The original "free citizens" had increased from 8000 in 1850 to about 20,000

<sup>1</sup> Right Rev. E. G. Ingham (Bishop of Sierra Leone), *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years*, London, 1894, p. 294.

... administration, modelled on that of  
 ... shows itself strong enough to  
 ... order amongst the surrounding  
 ... one million within the limits of

... not benefited perceptibly by contact  
 ... who themselves stand at much  
 ... and morally as their repatriated fore-  
 ... has been paid on a debt of  
 ... the budget generally shows a  
 ... revenue, and no railways or other useful  
 ... projected. Instead of attending to  
 ... as they are called, have constituted  
 ... the "coloured" or half-breeds, and  
 ... like the "Blancos" and "Neros"  
 ... States, spend most of their time in a  
 ... All are of course intensely patriotic,  
 ... a wrong direction, being chiefly  
 ... towards the English and other  
 ... and in their supreme contempt  
 ... as they call the surrounding

... origins are both physically and morally  
 ... citizens themselves.

... whose numerous  
 ... the coast from below  
 ... are assuredly one of the most  
 ... whole of Africa. Originally from the  
 ... in their new homes a most un-  
 ... hence are regularly engaged as crews  
 ... along those insalubrious coast-

The  
 Krumen.

... to be due to a steady immigration from  
 ... the Liberians proper would die out, or  
 ... native populations.

... p. 735-6.  
 ... "crew," but more probably an extension of  
 ... to the whole group.



In this service, in which they are known as "Bottle-of-Beer," "Mashed-Potatoes," "Pipe-of-Tobacco," and the like, their word may always be depended upon. But it is to be feared that their loyalty with them is a strict matter of business, has earned for them a reputation for other virtues to which they have little claim. Despite the many years that they have been in the closest contact with the missionaries and traders, they are still at heart the same brutal savages as ever. After each voyage they return to their native village to spend all their gains and pilferings in drunken orgies, and relapse generally into sheer barbarism till the steamer rounds the neighbouring headland. "It is not a comfortable reflection," writes Bishop Ingham, whose testimony will not be suspected of bias, "as we look at this mob on our decks, that, if the ship chance to strike on a sunken rock and become unmanageable, they would rise to a man, and seize if they could lay hands on, cut the very rings off our fingers if they could get them in no other way, and generally loot the ship. Little has been done to Christianise these interesting, hard-working, cheerful, but ignorant and greedy people, who have long hung on the skirts of civilisation<sup>1</sup>."

The case is mentioned of a gang about to land at their own village, one member of which is ailing. So they tell the captain, "We no want that man; he go die." As however they want his effects and cannot have them without the man himself, they agree to take him ashore. But no sooner is the ship at a safe distance than they take their moribund kinsman by the head and feet and fling him overboard<sup>2</sup>. And so is dissipated the mirage that has hitherto hung round the reputation of the Kruboy for his virtues under heaven.

But the very worst "sweepings of the Sudanese plateau" are to have gathered along the Upper Guinea Coast occupied by the already mentioned *Tshi*, *Ewe*, or *Yoruba* groups. They constitute three branches of one linguistic, and probably also of one ethnical family, of which

The Upper  
Guinea  
Peoples.

<sup>1</sup> *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years*, p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 281.

of ethnical importance, the reader may find a somewhat complete tabulated list of the languages spoken in the West African continent.

<p>                 Languages of Ewe                  (Slave Coast West)                  Dahomi                  Eweawo                  Agotime                  Aghieh                  Kape                  Avenor                  Awuna                  Agbasomi                  Aflao                  Ataklu                  Krikor                  Geng                  Atakpami                  Aja                  Ewemi                  Appa             </p>	<p>                 TRIBES OF YORUBA                  SPEECH  <i>Slave Coast East                  and Niger Delta</i>                  Yoruba                  Ibadan                  Ketu                  Egba                  Jebu                  Remo                  Ode                  Ilorin                  Ijesa                  Ondo                  Mahin                  Benin (Bini)                  Kakanda                  Wari                  Ibo                  Efik             </p>
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The Tshi languages are here bracketed with the Tshi languages, our great authority on the Guinea coast, and the two languages to be distantly connected. The foundation of fact in the native traditions, which connect the Ashanti, Fanti, Dahomi, Yoruba, and the coast districts at no very remote period of the Ashanti and Fanti, now separated, is that they formed one people who were united during a long war with some

of African anthropology by this distinguished officer. The more that somewhat free and unacknowledged materials brought together in his classical work, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples* (1890), and *The Ewe-speaking Peoples* (1894).

inland power, perhaps the conquering Mohammedans of the Ghana or Mali empire. They were saved, however, some by eating of the *shan*, others of the *fan* plant, and of these words with the verb *di*, "to eat," were made the tribal names *Shan-di*, *Fan-di*, now *Ashanti*, *Fanti*. The *seppiriba* plant, said to have been eaten by the Fanti, is still called *fan* when cooked.

Ashanti  
Folklore.

Other traditions refer to a time when all were of one speech and lived in a far country beyond Salagha, open, flat, with little bush, and plenty of cattle and sheep, a tolerably accurate description of the inland Sudanese plateaux. But then came a red people, said to be the Fulahs, Muhammadans, who oppressed the blacks and drove them to take refuge in the forests. Here they thrived and multiplied, and after many vicissitudes they came down, down, until at last they reached the coast, with the waves rolling in, the white foam hissing and frothing on the beach, and thought it was all boiling water until some one touched it and found it was not hot, and so to this day they call the sea *Eh-huru den o nni shew*, "Boiling water not hot," but far inland the sea is still "Boiling water".

To Col. Ellis we are indebted especially for the true explanation of the much used and abused term *fetish*, as applied to the native beliefs. It was of course already known to be not an African but a Portuguese word<sup>1</sup>, meaning a charm, amulet, or even witchcraft. But Ellis shows how it came to be wrongly applied to all forms of animal and nature worship, and how the confusion was increased by De Brosses' theory of a primordial fetishism, and by his statement that it was impossible to conceive a lower form of religion than fetishism, which might therefore be assumed to be the beginning of all religion<sup>2</sup>.

Fetichism—  
its true  
inwardness.

African but a Portuguese word<sup>1</sup>, meaning a charm, amulet, or even witchcraft. But Ellis shows how it came to be wrongly applied to all forms of animal

<sup>1</sup> *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 332 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Feitiço*, whence also *feiticeira*, a witch, *feiticeria*, sorcery, &c., all from *feitiço*, artificial, handmade, from Lat. *facio* and *factitius*.

<sup>3</sup> *Du Culte des Dieux Fétiches*, 1760. It is generally supposed that the word was invented, or at least first introduced, by De Brosses; but Ellis shows that this also is a mistake, as it had already been used by Bosman in his *Description of Guinea*, London, 1705.

...rather an advanced stage, as shown by a series of five years of careful observation on the part of the anthropologist. The object which tells us is something tangible and inanimate, but it possesses power in itself, and is worshipped as such. How can such an object be picked up and carried about, as is commonly asserted, and he adds that this is done only after considerable progress has been made in the development of the older form of religion becomes clear. The substance of the confusion of the tangible with the immaterial with the immaterial; to the point where the Being gradually lost sight of-until the object itself, which belongs to the god, is finally attributed to the object itself."

...statement that may seem paradoxical to the student of the evolution of religious ideas. We are assured that fetishism is not specially or at all characteristic of the Gold Coast natives, who are in fact "polytheists" and believe in invisible intangible gods who may dwell in a tangible inanimate object, but the idea of the indwelling god is not the object ever worshipped for its own sake. The worship of such material objects and images is, in fact, far more "amongst the Negroes of the West Indies" than amongst those of West Africa. Hence the prevalence of fetishism in the West Indies, which formerly were inhabited by the natives which inhabited certain objects, and which were believed to possess the power to injure. The evidence amongst the Roman Catholic colonies of the West Indies that fetishism is a corruption of a former animistic faith. The lower classes there are still very much with the tangible, and believe that the objects which they see, hear and feel. Thus we find that the negroes beat and ill-treat their images and that the same has been complied with....These appear to be the same."

...ch. XII. p. 194 and *passim*.

Another phase of religious belief in Upper Guinea is ancestor worship, which has here been developed to a point unknown elsewhere. As the departed have been maintained in the same social position beyond the grave that they enjoyed in this world, they must be supplied with slaves, wives, and attendants, each according to his rank. Hence the institution of the so-called "customs," or anniversary feasts of the dead, accompanied by the sacrifice of human victims, regulated at first by the status and afterwards by the whim and caprice of chiefs and kings. In the capitals of the more powerful states, Ashanti, Dahomey, Benin, the scenes witnessed at these sanguinary rites rivalled in horror those held in honour of the Aztec gods. Details may here be dispensed with on a repulsive subject, ample accounts of which are accessible from many sources to the general reader. In any case, such atrocities teach no lesson, except that most religions have passed through blood to better things, unless arrested in mid-stream by the intervention of higher powers, as happily in Upper Guinea, where the human shambles of Kumassi, Abomeh, Benin and most other places have now been swept away.

On the capture of Benin by the English in 1897, a rare and unexpected prize fell into the hands of ethnologists. Here was found a large assortment of carved ivories, woodwork, and especially a series of about 300 bronze and brass plates or panels with figures of natives and Europeans, armed and in armour in full relief, all cast by the *perdue* process<sup>1</sup>, some barbaric, others, and especially a head in the round of a young negress, showing high artistic skill. These remarkable objects are now mostly in the British Museum, where they have been studied by Messrs C. H. Read and O. M. Dalton<sup>2</sup>, who are evidently right in assigning the better class to the sixteenth century, and to the aid, if not the hand, of some Portuguese artificers in the service of the King of Benin. They add that "casting of an inferior kind continues down to the present time"

<sup>1</sup> That is, from a wax mould destroyed in the casting. After the operation details were often filled in by chasing or executed in *repoussé* work.

<sup>2</sup> "Works of Art from Benin City," *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.*, February, 1898, p. 362 sq.

... has long been said in still  
 ... their horses, in the Muhammadan  
 ... chiefs (*Kashshim*) who serve as  
 ... [of Bornu] and act as his bodyguard  
 ... cuirasses of coats of mail.<sup>1</sup> It  
 ... a large way has long been practised  
 ... of Sudan.

... of the Niger the veil, first slightly raised  
 ... of the nineteenth century,  
 ... by Capt. Binger, Capt. The Mossi.

... Here the *Mossi*, *Borgu* and others  
 ... successfully resisted the Moslem  
 ... for the most part little removed  
 ... the "Faithful" wear the cloak of  
 ... and the level of their culture may be  
 ... of Diulasu, who pestered Capt.  
 ... against ailments, war, and mis-  
 ... chiefly to know the names of  
 ... "Fill me these," he would say, "and my  
 ... the other night; you must tell me;  
 ... or I'm lost."

... technical confusion is considerable, and  
 ... of the Mossi King, Baikary, he  
 ... in Mossi, Hausa, Sonrhay, and Fulah,  
 ... that Mandingan was the only native  
 ... Waghadugu, capital of the chief Mossi  
 ... quarters occupied respectively by  
 ... (Sonrhays), Zang-wer'os (Hausas), Chil-  
 ... and heathen Mossis, the whole popu-  
 ... However, perfect harmony pre-  
 ... being extremely tolerant despite the

<sup>1</sup> *History of Mankind*, The Nigritians, p. 281. See  
 ... p. 718: "Les cavaliers portent encore la  
 ... Les chevaux sont recouverts de la même  
 ... of Buganda also there is reference to the  
 ... " (ch. IV.).

<sup>2</sup> ... I. p. 377.

Trarsas and Braknas of the Senegal, the Daga, and many Abyssinians of the region between the Nile and the Red Sea. Barth, to whom we still owe the best account of the historical people, describes them as of a dull, morose temper, the most unfriendly and churlish of all the peoples visited by him in Negroland.

This writer's suggestion that they may have formerly had relations with the Egyptians<sup>1</sup> has been revived in an exaggerated form by M. Félix Dubois, whose views have received currency in England through uncritical notices of his *Timbouctou la Mystérieuse* (Paris, 1899).

**Sonrhay  
Origins.**

But there is no "mystery" in the matter. The Sonrhay are a Sudanese people, whose exodus from Egypt is a myth, and whose Kissur language, as it is called, has not the remotest connection with any form of speech known to have been at any time current in the Nile valley.<sup>2</sup> The dumping down of a whole people on the Niger bend, after traversing some thousands of miles of sandy wastes or densely wooded plains, has naturally excited the ridicule of serious students, such as Herr Brix Förster, whose caustic exposure of the myth may be seen in *Globus*, 71, p. 193 sq.<sup>3</sup>

The Sonrhay empire, like that of the rival Mandingans, claims a respectable antiquity, its reputed founder Za-  
**Sonrhay  
Records.** Yemeni having flourished about 680 A.D. Za-  
Kam fifteen in succession from the founder, was

<sup>1</sup> As so much has been made of Barth's authority in this connection, it will be well to quote his exact words: "It would seem as if they (the Sonrhay) had received, in more ancient times, several institutions from the Egyptians, with whom, I have no doubt, they maintained an intercourse by means of the energetic inhabitants of Aujila from a relatively ancient period" (IV. p. 241). Barth, therefore, does not bring the people themselves, or their language, from Egypt, but only some of their institutions, and that indirectly through the Aujila Oasis in Cyrenaica, and it may be added that this intercourse with Aujila appears to date only from about 1150 A.D. (IV. p. 585).

<sup>2</sup> Hacquard et Dupuis, *Manuel de la langue Sonhay, parlée de Tombouctou à Say, dans la boucle du Niger*, 1897, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Of M. Dubois' theory this writer remarks that it "trägt entweder die Stempel phantasiereicher Willkür oder entbehrt des Ruhmes unser Wissen durch neue Thatsachen bereichern zu können," p. 195.

... but about 1326 the country was ... and remained throughout the 14th ... century virtually subject to the Mali ... founder of the new Sonni dynasty, ... independence about 1335-6. But the ... Songhay people dates only from about ... of the Sonni dynasty, known in ... and famous miscreant," threw off the ... changed the whole face of this part of ... kingdom of Melle<sup>1</sup>. Under his suc- ... perhaps the greatest sovereign that ... the Songhay Empire acquired its ... from the heart of Hausaland to the ... the Mossi country to the Tuat Oasis, ... unfavourably spoken of by Leo ... by Ahmed Bábá as governing the ... and equity, causing well-being and ... within the borders of his exten- ... such of the institutions of ... as he considered might be useful to his

... Mecca pilgrimage with a great show of ... (1492-1529) the Songhay power ... last overthrown by Mulay Hamed, ... 1529-32. Ahmed Bábá, the native ... the ruin of his people<sup>2</sup>, and since then

... who tells us that in his time the "linguaggio ... the provinces of Walata and Jinni (vi. ch. 2). ... made by Leo at second hand, must be ... Songhay may have been spoken by ... classes, but scarcely by the people generally,

... p. 415.  
... although later restored to his beloved ... the past glories of the Songhay ... of letters, whose name holds a worthy place ... Khaldún, El Tansi, and other Hamitic



the Sonrhay nation has been broken into fragments, subject first to Hausas, then to Fulahs, elsewhere to Tsonigs, and, since the French occupation of Timbuktu (1894), to the hated Gians.

**Hausas.** In everything that constitutes the real greatness of a nation, the Hausas may rightly claim preeminence amongst all the peoples of Negroland. No doubt early in the nineteenth century the historical Hausa States, occupying the whole region between the Niger and Bornu, were overrun and reduced by the fanatical Fulah hands under Othmán Dan Fodye. But the Hausas in a truer sense than the Greeks, "have captured their rude conquerors," for they have even largely assimilated them physically to their own type, and while the Fulah political ascendancy is already tottering, the Hausa nationality is again under British auspices asserting its natural social, industrial and commercial predominance throughout Central and even parts of Western Sudan.

It could not well be otherwise, seeing that the Hausas form a compact body of some twenty million peaceful and industrious Sudanese, living partly in numerous farmsteads amid their well-tilled cotton, indigo, pulse, and corn fields, partly in large walled cities and great trading centres such as Kano<sup>1</sup>, Katsena, Yacoba, whose intelligent and law-abiding inhabitants are reckoned by many tens of thousands. Their melodious tongue, of which the Rev. C. H. Robinson has given us a far too meagre account<sup>2</sup>, has long been the great medium

Hausa  
Speech and  
Mental Quali-  
ties.

<sup>1</sup> *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes  
Intulit agresti Latio.* Hor. *Epist.* II. 1, 156-7.

The epithet *agrestis* is peculiarly applicable to the rude Fulah shepherds, who were almost barbarians compared with the settled, industrious, and even cultured Hausa populations, and whose oppressive rule has at last been relaxed by the intervention of England in the Niger-Benue lands.

<sup>2</sup> "One of their towns, Kano, has probably the largest market-place in the world, with a daily attendance of from 25,000 to 30,000 people. This same town possesses, what in central Africa is still more surprising, some thirty or forty schools, in which the children are taught to read and write." (Rev. C. H. Robinson, *Specimens of Hausa Literature*, University Press, Cambridge, 1896, p. x).

<sup>3</sup> This authority seems uncertain whether to class Hausa with the Semitic or the Hamitic family, or in an independent group by itself, and it must be

... from Lake Chad to and beyond  
 ... even greater preponderance  
 ... trading populations of these regions.  
 ... marked preference for peaceful pur-  
 ... an effeminate people. Largely  
 ... they have at all times shown fighting  
 ... their English officers, and a well-  
 ... to their military prowess amongst  
 ... and Lieut. Vandeleur'. With the  
 ... need assuredly fear no rivals to her  
 ... populations of the fertile plains  
 ... Sudan, which is on the whole perhaps  
 ... Africa north of the equator.

... traditions, which go back to no very  
 ... historical Hausa States  
 ... ("the seven Hausas") Hausa  
Origins.  
 ... anonymous heroes *Biram*,  
 ... *Katsena* and *Zagwe*, all said to be  
 ... a Barber tribe settled to the north of  
 ... the original seat, the race and its language  
 ... —*Zanfara*, *Kebbi*, *Nupe* (*Nyff*),  
 ... *Binirafa*, which in contempt are called

... extremely puzzling. The question cannot  
 ... further research will show that its affinities are  
 ... the Hamitic, at least directly, but that Hausa  
 ... language greatly modified by Tibu in-  
 ... outlying member of Nachtigal's Teda-Daza  
 ... has thrown on the subject by the studies  
 ... starts with the curious and embarrassing  
 ... of two Bantu dialects welded together by  
 ... It may be incidentally mentioned that  
 ... in establishing a Hausa Association "for  
 ... of the Hausa language and people" (1891).  
 ... *and Niger*, by Lt Seymour Vandeleur,  
 ... Goldie, 1898. "In camp," writes Lt Van-  
 ... while pillaging and ill-treatment of the  
 ... fighting qualities, it is enough to say that,  
 ... expedition of 1897), they withstood for two  
 ... that, former slaves of the Fulahs, they

the "Banza bokoy" ("The Seven Upstarts"), collectively the Hausa domain in the widest sense.

Authentic history is quite recent, and even *Kanemba*, reputed founder of Katsena, dates only from about the 14th century. Ibrahim Maji, who was the first Moslem ruler, is assigned to the latter part of the 15th century, and since then the chief events have been associated with the Fulah wars, ending in the absorption of all the Hausa States in the present unstable Fulah empire of Sokoto, now a British protectorate. The Hausas were themselves never a conquering power, and their present expansion and social supremacy seem almost entirely due to the natural intelligence, industrial habits, and commercial enterprise of this remarkable people.

*Kanembu*; *Kanuri*<sup>1</sup>; *Baghirmi*, *Mosgu*. Round about the shores of Lake Chad are grouped three other historical Muhammadan nations, the *Kanembu* ("People of Kanem") on the north, the *Kanuri* of Bornu on the west, and the *Baghirmi* on the south side. The last named is, or has lately been, subject to the Sultan of Waday farther east, and the whole region has been exposed to the ravages of fierce Arab predatory tribes (*Salamat* and others) from the north, and (since the Madhi's revolt) of Arabo-Nubian armed bands from the east. In other respects these states have hitherto maintained their political independence, although now gravitating towards the rival European powers (England, France, Germany), whose hinterlands have already converged round the Chad basin.

In this region the ethnical relations are considerably more complex than in the Hausa States. Here Islâm has had greater obstacles to contend with than on the more open western plateaux, and many of the pagan aborigines have been able to hold their ground either in the archipelagos of Lake Chad (*Yedinas*, *Kuri*), or in the swampy tracts and uplands of the Logon-Shari basin (*Mosgu*, *Mandara*, *Makari* &c.).

<sup>1</sup> By a popular etymology these are *Ka-Nuri*, "People of Light." But, as they are somewhat lukewarm Muhammadans, the zealous Fulahs say it should be *Ka-Nari*, "People of Fire," i.e. foredoomed to Gehenna!

of the Muhammadans, whose system is to respect their religious zeal too much, and, where converted, where could they find a supply of slaves, those who were not of the Prophet being *ipso facto* entitled to the pagan districts were, and still are, preserved as preserves, happy hunting-grounds to be visited, but not utterly wasted; to be visited often enough to keep up the supply in the region. This system, controlled by the local

The Aborigines.

has long prevailed about Islam and heathendom, as

Islam and Heathendom.

Nachtigal, and one or two had reluctantly to accompany the expeditions from Bornu and Baghirmi to the pagan Mosgu people with their numerous (Maha, Mahari, Logon, Gamergu, Keribina) (Bade, Ngisem, So, Kerrikerri, Babir) on the Congo-Chad water-parting. As usual

is a great waste of life, because of their homes or even

Slave-Hunting.

besides those carried a large number of slaves had been caught this evening a great many more were said to have taken one thousand, not less than five hundred. To our 170 full-grown men were mercilessly the greater part of them being allowed having been severed from the body'."

was a glut in the market.

These relations is that in the wooded have reverted to arboreal during the raids in the trees converted into tem-

Arboreal Strongholds.

the vertical stem of these forest look-out, while the higher horizontal

branches, less exposed to the fire of the enemy, supported by built huts and store-houses, where the families of the fighters take refuge with all their effects, including, as Nachtigal states us<sup>1</sup>, their domestic animals, such as goats, dogs, and poultry. During the siege of the aerial fortress, which is often successfully defended, long light ladders of withies are let down at night, when no attack need be feared, and the supply of water and provisions is thus renewed from *caches* or hiding-places round about. In 1872 Nachtigal accompanied a predatory excursion to the pagan districts south of Baghirmi, when an attack was made on one of these tree-fortresses. Such citadels can be stormed only at a heavy loss, and as the Gaberi (Baghirmi) warriors had no tools capable of felling the great bombax-tree, they were fain to rest satisfied with picking off a poor wretch now and then, and barbarously mutilating the bodies as they fell from the overhanging branches.

Some of these aborigines disfigure their faces by the disk-like lip-ornament, which is also fashionable in Nyasa-land, and even amongst the South American Botocudos. The type often differs greatly, and while some of the wide-spread Mosgu tribes are of a dirty black hue, with disagreeable expression, wide open nostrils, thick lips, high cheek-bones, coarse bushy hair, and disproportionate knock-kneed legs, other members of the same family astonished Barth "by the beauty and symmetry of their forms, and by the regularity of their features, which in some had nothing of what is called the Negro type. But I was still more astonished at their complexion, which was very different in different individuals, being in some of a glossy black, and in others of a light copper, or rather rhabarb colour, the intermediate shades being almost entirely wanting. I observed in one house a really beautiful female who, with her son, about eight or nine years of age, formed a most charming group, well worthy of the hand of an accomplished artist. The boy's form did not yield in any respect to the beautiful symmetry of the most celebrated Grecian statues. His hair, indeed, was very short and curled, but not woolly. He, as well as his mother and the

Mosgu  
Types and  
Contrasts.

<sup>1</sup> *Sahara and Sudan*, II. p. 628.

with pale or yellowish-red complexion, like  
... of albinism, and the explanation of  
... wait further exploration in the whole  
... Negroes and Bantus about the divide  
... the Congo basins. The country has  
... by two or three French pioneers,  
... than in anthropological matters.

... or less cultured peoples in the Chad  
... are the *Kanembu*<sup>2</sup>, who  
... of confusion in this region,  
... and speech to the Hamitic

The Cultured  
Peoples of  
Central Sudan.

... stock, or at least taking a transitional  
... the *Kawiri*, the ruling people in Bornu,  
... "Negroid appearance"; and the southern  
... Negroid, originally supposed to have  
... Khari and White Nile districts<sup>4</sup>. Their  
... has been developed exclusively under  
... it has never penetrated much below the  
... everywhere extremely rude, and for the  
... although the meagre and not altogether  
... records date from the time of Sef,

... the postfix *bu, be*, as in *Ti-bu, Ful-be*, answering  
... *Ba-Sutu, Wa-Swahili*, &c. Here may possibly  
... the Sudanese, Teda-Daza, and Bantu linguistic  
... agglutinated particles would present no  
... (Eth. p. 214).

... of the contrasts, physical and mental, between  
... : "Here we took leave of Hausa with its  
... cheerful and industrious population. It is  
... is between the character of the *ba-Haushe*  
... , spirited, and cheerful, the latter melancholic,  
... difference is visible in their physiognomies—  
... , pleasant and regular features, and more  
... with his broad face, his wide nostrils and  
... agreeable impression, especially the women,  
... among the ugliest in all Negroland" (II.



reputed founder of the monarchy about 800 A.D. <sup>Dunama</sup> in descent from Sef, is doubtfully referred to as <sup>Kanem-  
Bornu  
Records.</sup> 850 A.D. Hamé, founder of a new dynasty, flourished towards the end of the 11th century (1086—1097), and Dunama, one of his successors, is said to have extended his sway over a great part of the Saham, including the whole of Fezzan (1221—59). Under Omar (1394—1398) a divorce took place between Kanem and Bornu, and henceforth the latter country has remained the chief centre of political power in the Chad basin.

A long series of civil wars was closed by Ali (1472—1504), who founded the present capital, Birni, and whose grandson, Muhammad, brought the empire of Bornu to the highest pitch of its greatness (1526—45). Under Ahmed (1793—1810) began the wars with the Fulahs, who, after bringing the empire to the verge of ruin, were at last overthrown by the aid of the Kanem people, and since 1819 Bornu has been ruled by the present Kanemíyn dynasty, while Kanem itself has been wasted by the lawless Tuaregs and made "the wild hunting-ground of continual adventurous ghazias from every quarter." In Barth's time Barawa, at the eastern end of the Anglo-French border-line, running from the Niger to Lake Chad, had to pay blackmail to the Tuareg freebooters.

#### EASTERN SUDANESE.

As some confusion prevails regarding the expression "Eastern Sudan," I may here explain that it bears a very <sup>Range of the  
Negro in East-  
ern Sudan.</sup> different meaning, according as it is used in a political or an ethnical sense. Politically it is practically synonymous with Egyptian Sudan, that is the whole region from Darfur to the Red Sea which was ruled or misruled by the Khedivial Government before the revolt of the Mahdi (1883—4), and has been restored to Egypt by the British occupation of Khartum in 1898. Ethnically Eastern Sudan comprises all the lands east of the Chad Basin, where the Negro or Negroid populations are predominant, that is to say, Waday, Darfur, and Kordofan in the West, the Nile Valley from the frontier of Egypt

the Albert Nyanza, both slopes of the Nile-  
 (the Sobat Valley with  
 of the White Nile, and even south of  
 (Sudd, Sudd Valley).

of this region the fusion of the aborigines  
 or Tibu Moslem intruders,  
 has been far less

The Mabas.

of the Eastern and Western Sudan. Thus in Waday  
 people, whence the country is often called  
 "Wadai"; are rather Negro than

Ethical  
 Relations in  
 Waday.

of a slight strain of Caucasian blood.  
 the *Zoghawa*, *Gura'an*,

keep quite aloof from the blacks, as do  
 as the Arabs are collectively called in

and some other Bedouin tribes have  
 over 500 years, and it was through their

Mabas acquired the political supremacy they  
 the nineteenth century, when they reduced or

the former ruling race, said to be Nubians  
 It was Abd-el-Kerim, founder of the

who gave the country its present name  
 his father, *Wadai*. His successor Kharub I.

government to Wara, where Vogel was mur-  
 the present capital, dates only from the

has been visited by no other Europeans except  
 the frontier in 1873, and Massari and

rapidly through under escort in 1879.

of the ethnical conditions, most of our  
 derived from the reports of El Tunsi

as the *Tunijurs* (*Tunisers*) of Darfur, regarding  
 much doubt still prevails. Strange to say, they

and the claim is allowed by their neighbours,  
 the Sudanese. Lejean thinks they are Tibbus from the

who met some as far west as Kanem, concluded  
 approach that they were really Arabs settled for

(*op. cit.* II. p. 256).



("The Tunisian") who visited the country towards the close of the 18th century. But of these reports I have no personal knowledge.

*Nubas.* As in Waday, the intruding and native populations have been either imperfectly or not at all assimilated in Darfur and Kordofan, where the Muhammadan Semites still boast of their pure Arab descent<sup>1</sup>, and form powerful confederacies of pastoral tribes, who with their *Nubian* allies constitute the great disturbing element throughout Egyptian Sudan. The Nubians themselves present one of the hardest problems in the whole range of ethnological studies. Having elsewhere discussed the question somewhat fully<sup>2</sup>, I will here confine myself to a statement of the general conclusions which I have arrived at, and which have not been seriously questioned. We have first of all to get rid of the "Nuba-Fulah" family, which was introduced by Fr. Müller and accepted by some English writers, but has absolutely no existence. The two languages, although both of the agglutinative Sudanese type, are radically distinct in all their structural, lexical, and phonetic

<sup>1</sup> Yet some, such as the dominant Baggáras, are almost as dark as the blackest Negroes, but with quite regular well-shaped features. "These Baggáras looked like the fiends they really are—of most sinister expression, with murder and every crime speaking from their savage eyes. The Baggára were ever known as a cruel, bloodthirsty people. Courage is their one good quality" (*Times Correspondent*, July 28, 1896). Of the rival *Jaalin* (*Jalin*, *Jahalin*) the same observer remarks that they are "a proud and religious people, claiming descent from Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet. They have for a long time been the principal slave-hunters in the Sudan (the famous Zabeir was of this tribe), and were formerly among the most zealous Mahdists" (*ib.*). All these Nilotic, Atbara, and Kordofan Bedouins (Baggára, Jaalin, Kababish, Shukrieh, Robabát, Homrán, Hassanieh, Dobeina, Yemanieh) speak Arabic, but mostly as Chaucer's nun spoke French, and the pronunciation, especially of the Baggára and Kababish tribes, differs greatly from that of the true Arabs. Many of the characteristic Semitic sounds have been replaced by others possibly inherited from a now extinct language, which could scarcely be any other than the Hamitic still current amongst the Bejas beyond the Nile. Baggára, for instance, should be Baqqára, *i.e.* "cowherds," while many of the Jaalin sub-tribes have the Beja patronymic ending *ab*; Gebálab, Kaliab, Sadab, Timerab, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Ethnology of Egyptian Sudan*, 1884, p. 12 sq. See also *Eth.* p. 270.

...people are equally distinct. The Fulahs  
 ...Hamitic stock, although many have  
 ...assimilated to their black Sudanese  
 ...on the contrary belong originally to the  
 ...many have long been assimilated to the  
 ...singular interminglings in that part of the  
 ...them takes the relatively modern name of

...understand the question we have carefully to  
 ...half-caste Nubians and the full-blood  
 ...their name to the Nuba Mountains,  
 ...of the race, where most of the aborigines  
 ...*Femali*) still belong to this connection.  
 ...itself a Nuba word meaning "Land of  
 ...*dir*, land, country), they spread in  
 ...Darfur and Waday—where they are now  
 ...*Kanjaras*, and *Tynjurs*—and in historic  
 ...to the Egyptian frontier. Here they  
 ...three groups of *Matokki* (*Kenus*) between  
 ...Wadi-el-Arab, the *Mahai* (*Marisi*) between  
 ...at the second Cataract, and the *Dongo-*  
 ...Dongola between Wadi-Halfa and Jebel

...all now Muhammadans, but formerly  
 ...collectively the so-called  
 ...writers, but call themselves

Nubian  
 Origins and  
 Affinities.

...present extend so far up the Nile as that  
 ...Strabo's "Noubai, who dwell

...by some authorities been identified with the  
 ...recoed in the inscription on a gateway  
 ...induced about 1700 B.C. In a later inscription  
 ...B.C.) occurs the form *Berberata*, name of a  
 ...Hence Brugach (*Reisebericht aus Egypten*  
 ...the modern *Barabra* as a true ethnical  
 ...with the Greek and Roman *Barbarus*, but  
 ...the Moslem conquest. See also the editorial  
 ...new English ed. of Leo Africanus, Vol. 1.

on the left bank of the Nile in Libya [Africa], a great number of them, and are also to be identified with the *Nobate*, who in the Roman time were settled, some in the Kargey oasis, others in the Nile valley about Meroe, to guard the frontiers of the empire against the incursions of the restless Blemmues. But after some time they appear to have entered into peaceful relations with these Hamites, the present Bejas, even making common cause with them against the Romans; but the confederacy was crushed by Maximinus in 451, though perhaps not before crossings had taken place between the black Nubas and the Caucasian Bejas. Then these Bejas withdrew to their old homes, which they still occupy, between the Nile and the Red Sea above Egypt, while the *Nobate*, embracing Christianity, as is said, in 545, established the powerful kingdom of Dongola which lasted over 800 years, and was finally overthrown by the Arabs in the 14th century, since which time the Nile Nubians have been Muhammadans.

But they still retain their old Nuba speech, which, as shown by Lepsius<sup>2</sup>, differs but slightly from that now current amongst the Kordofan Nubas. This is one of those cases where language renders indispensable service to ethnology<sup>3</sup>. Taken in connection

<sup>1</sup> Ἐξ ἀριστέρων δὲ ῥύσεως τοῦ Νείλου Νούβαι κατοικοῦσι ἐν τῇ Αἰθίῳ, μέγα ἔθνος &c. (Book XVII. p. 1117, Oxford ed. 1807). Sayce, therefore, is quite wrong in stating that Strabo knew only of "Ethiopians," and not Nubians, "as dwelling northward along the banks of the Nile as far as Elephantine" (*Academy*, April 14, 1894).

<sup>2</sup> *Nubische Grammatik*, 1881, *passim*. In this classical work Lepsius, after referring to the "dark bronze colour" of the present Nilotic Nubians, "darker than that of the Abyssinians," adds:—"Der alte Negertypus bricht nicht selten wieder ziemlich deutlich durch; namentlich ist das Wollhaar ziemlich häufig" (p. 74). On these grounds Prichard had already grouped the Nubians not with the Arabs or Hamites, but with the Sudanese Blacks. All the more surprising is Sergi's contention that they are *di stirpe camitica*, "of Hamitic stock."

<sup>3</sup> Even Prof. Sergi, despite his almost exclusive faith in cranial characters as racial tests, admits this: "La traccia e la persistenza del linguaggio attraverso secoli e malgrado il dominio di altra gente e il mutamento di religione, spesso è simile alla persistenza dei caratteri fisici umani; ed allora la lingua è un argomento di molto valore antropologico" (*Africa, Antropologia della Stirpe Camitica*, Turin, 1897, p. 97). But in this case he declines to deal with the linguistic factor ("Non sono io che posso risolvere i problemi linguistici"), and is therefore able still to hold that the Nile Nubians are Hamites ("I Nubi della

...solves the Nubian problem; for it is ... that the cultured Nile-Nubians could have ... the speech of the savage Kordofan ... always been their own mother-tongue; in ... they were themselves originally Kordofan ... Christians, it should be remembered, for ... although the flourishing Christian Empire of ... bishoprics and its thirteen viceroyalties, ... was not founded, as is commonly sup- ... Silco, "King of the Noubads and of all ... strong enough frequently to invade Egypt ... Greek and Koptic fellow-Christians. ... army of Nubas and Bejas, said to ... men with 1500 elephants, penetrated as ... (the Arab *Bahnosa*) where such a sur- ... and other documents was discovered in ... with such glorious records, and traditions ... pre-Christian times (Silco and Queen Candace, ...), do not borrow their language from ... aborigines on the distant frontiers of their ... Sayce may be right in conjecturing that ... the Meroitic inscriptions was not the present ... tongue akin to Berber. These inscriptions ... of the Nubians from Kordofan by perhaps ... referred to the pre-Nuba Hamites of the ... I think rightly, identifies with the Berbers. ... deities known to us have a strikingly ... . One of them is *Dudun*, a name ... resemblance to that of *Didi*, one of the ... III." All this harmonises completely ... present Nubians are late intruders in the ... where they displaced the original ... probably not more than 2500 years ago.

"Dongola sono di stirpe camitica" (*ib.* p. 107). But ... algebraic equations; they cannot be solved if some ... unlocked.

Before the incursions of the Nubo-Arab traders and raiders, who began to form settlements (*seribas*, fenced stations) in the Upper Nile regions above Khartum about the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the Nile-Congo divide (White Nile tributaries and Welle-Makua basin) belonged in the strictest sense to the Negro domain. Sudanese tribes, and even great nations reckoned by millions, had been for ages in almost undisturbed possession, not only of the main stream from the equatorial lakes to and beyond the Sobat junction, but also of the Sobat valley itself, and of the numerous south-western head-waters of the White Nile converging about Lake No above the Sobat junction. Nearly all the Nilotic peoples—the *Shilluks* and *Dinkas* about the Sobat confluence, the *Bari* and *Nuers* of the Bahr-el-Jebel, the *Bongos* (*Dors*), *Rols*, *Golos*, *Mittus*, *Madis*, *Makarakas*, *Abakas*, *Mundus*, and many others about the western affluents, as well as the *Funj* of Senaar—had been brought under the Khedivial rule before the revolt of the Mahdi.

The same fate had already overtaken or was threatening the formerly powerful *Mombuttu* (*Mangbattu*) and *Zandeh* (*Niam-Niam*) nations of the Welle lands, as well as the *Krej* and others about the low watersheds of the Nile-Congo and Chad basins. Since then the Welle groups have been subjected to the jurisdiction of the Congo Free State, while the political destinies of the Nilotic tribes must henceforth be controlled by the British masters of the Nile lands from the Great Lakes to the Mediterranean.

Although grouped as Negroes proper, very few of the Nilotic peoples present the almost ideal type of the blacks, such as those of Upper Guinea and the Atlantic coast of West Sudan. The complexion is in general less black, the nose less broad at the base, the lips less everted (*Shilluks* and one or two others excepted), the hair rather less frizzly, the dolichocephaly and prognathism less marked.

Apart from the more delicate shades of transition, due to diverse interminglings with Hamites and Semites, two distinct types may be plainly distinguished—one black, often very tall and long-headed (*Shilluks*,

The Negro Peoples of the Nile-Congo Watersheds.

Political Relations.

Two Physical Types.

*Dinkas, Bari, Nuers, Mittus*), the other reddish or ruddy brown, more thick-set, and short-headed (*Bongos, Golos, Makarakas*, with the kindred *Zandehs* of the Welle region). The complexion of the latter, as has been suggested by Schweinfurth<sup>1</sup>, may possibly, though not probably, be due to the properties of the red, ferruginous soil prevalent in their districts. But no explanation has been offered of their brachycephaly, which is all the more difficult to account for, inasmuch as it is characteristic neither of the aboriginal Negro nor of the intruding Hamitic and Semitic elements. Have we here an indication of the transition suspected by many between the true long-headed Negro and the round-headed Negrito, who is also brownish, and formerly ranged as far north as the Nile head-streams, as would appear from the early Egyptian records (Chap. IV.)? Schweinfurth found that the Bongos were "hardly removed from the lowest grade of brachycephaly<sup>2</sup>," and the same is largely true of the Zandehs and their Makaraka cousins, as noticed by Junker: "The skull also in many of these peoples approaches the round form, whereas the typical Negro is assumed to be long-headed<sup>3</sup>." But so great is the diversity of appearance throughout the whole of this region, including even "a striking Semitic type," that this observer was driven to the conclusion that "woolly hair, common to all, forms in fact the only sure characteristic of the Negro<sup>4</sup>."

More uniformity appears to prevail amongst the languages of the Nile-Welle lands, and from the rather scanty materials collected by Junker, Dr Fr. Müller Linguistic  
Groups. was able to construct an "Equatorial Linguistic Family," including the Mangbattu, Zandeh, Barmbo, Madi, Bangba, Krej, Golo and others, on both sides of the water-parting. Prof. Leo Reinisch, however, was not convinced, and in a letter addressed to the author declared that "in the absence of sentences it is impossible to determine the grammatical structure of Mangbattu and the other languages. At the same time we may detect certain relations, not to the Nilotic, but the Bantu tongues.

<sup>1</sup> *Heart of Africa, passim.*

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* I. p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> *Travels in Africa*, Keane's English ed., Vol. III. p. 247.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 246.

It may therefore be inferred that Mangbattu and the other peoples a tolerably close relationship to the Bantu, and may even be remotely akin to it, judging from their tendency to profit summations<sup>1</sup>." Future research will show how far this conjecture is justified.

Although Islám has made considerable progress, especially amongst the Funj of Senaar, the Shilluks, Diaks, and other Nilotic tribes, the bulk of the people are still practically nature-worshippers. Witchcraft continues to flourish amongst the equatorial peoples, and important events are almost everywhere attended by sanguinary rites. When preparing for battle the "medicine-man" flays an infant and places the bleeding victim on the war-path, to be trampled by the warriors marching to victory.

Cannibalism also, in some of its most repulsive forms, prevails amongst the Zandehs, who barter in human fat as a universal staple of trade, and amongst the Mangbattu, who cure for future use the bodies of the slain in battle and "drive their prisoners before them, as butchers drive sheep to the shambles, and these are only reserved to fall victims on a later day to their horrible and sickly greediness<sup>2</sup>."

In fact here we enter the true "cannibal zone," which, as I have elsewhere shown, was in former ages diffused all over Central and South Africa, or, it would be more correct to say, over the whole continent<sup>3</sup>, but has in recent times been mainly confined to "the region stretching west and east from the Gulf of Guinea to the western head-streams of the White Nile, and from below the equator northwards in the direction of Adamáwa, Dar-Banda and Dar-

<sup>1</sup> *Travels in Africa, ibid.* p. 279. Thus the Bantu *Ba, Wa, Ama, &c.*, correspond to the *A* of the Welle lands, as in *A-Zandeh, A-Bambo, A-Múú, A-Bangba, i.e.* Zandeh people, Bambo people, &c. Cf. also Kanembu, Tlú, Fulbe, &c., where the personal particle (*bu, be*) is postfixed. It would almost seem as if we had here a transition between the northern Sudanese and the southern Bantu groups in the very region where such transitions might be looked for.

<sup>2</sup> Schweinfurth, *op. cit.* II. p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Flinders Petrie has come upon undoubted traces of cannibalism in the Negadah district, Egypt.

have penetrated into this least-known they have found the practice fully established religious rite or a privilege reserved for social institution<sup>1</sup>."

peoples, especially the Mangbattus agriculturists, and cultivate industries, such as iron and Arts and Industries. casting, weaving, pottery and

great success. The form and ornamental display real artistic taste, while the implements is often superior to that of the hardware. Here again the observation has

traces most addicted to cannibalism also and physical energy. Nor are they of human nature, and above all the Zandeh anthropophagists are distinguished and devotion for their women and

Christian these peoples show a higher degree of the Arabs and Hamites.

writes Junker, "revealed certain negro peoples, the Mangbattus and the High Appreciation of Pictorial Art.

Mayoro, display quite a surprising under- or pictures of plastic objects, exhibited by the Arabs and Arabised

8. In a carefully prepared monograph on 1896, Dr Rudolf S. Steinmetz brings together to show "dass eine hohe Wahrscheinlichkeit (indigenous anthropophagy) als ständige niedrigen Wilden anzunehmen" (pp. 59, 60).

the ill-starred Böttego-Grixoni expedition of rife even in Gallaland, and amongst the Like the Fans, these prefer the meat all the dead are eaten. Hence in their and one of his native guides explained that nel ventre, invece che nella terra," i.e. these in their stomach instead of in the ground (Vittorio Rome, 1895).



Hamites of North-east Africa. Thus the Unyoro placed photographs in their proper position, and were able to identify the negro portraits as belonging to the *Shari* and other tribes, of which he had a personal knowledge. This I have called a remarkable fact, because it bespoke in the lower races a natural faculty for observation, a power to recognise what for many Arabs or Egyptians of high rank was a hopeless puzzle. An Egyptian pasha in Khartum could never make out how a human face in profile showed only one eye and one ear, and he took the portrait of a fashionable Parisian lady in extremely low dress for that of the bearded sun-burnt American naval officer who had shown him the photograph<sup>1</sup>." From this one is almost tempted to infer that, amongst Moslem peoples, all sense of plastic, figurative, or pictorial art has been deadened by the Koranic precept forbidding the representation of the human form in any way.

The Welle peoples show themselves true Negroes in the possession of another and more precious quality, the sense of humour, although this is probably a quality which comes late in the life of a race. Anyhow it is a distinct Negro characteristic, which Junker was able to turn to good account during the building of his famous *Lacrima* station in Ndoruma's country. "In all this I could again notice how like children the Negroes are in many respects. Once at work they seemed animated by a sort of childlike sense of honour. They delighted in praise, though even a frown or a word of reproach could also excite their hilarity. Thus a loud burst of laughter would, for instance, follow the contrast between a piece of good and bad workmanship. Like children, they would point the finger of scorn at each other<sup>2</sup>."

One morning Ndoruma, hearing that they had again struck work, had the great war-drum beaten, whereupon they rushed to arms and mustered in great force from all quarters. But on finding that there was no enemy to march against, and that they had only been summoned to resume operations at the station, they enjoyed the joke hugely, and after a general explosion of

<sup>1</sup> I. p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> II. p. 140.

had been taken in, laid aside their weapons  
to work. Some English overseers have  
this characteristic may be utilised far  
the cruel kurbash. Ethnology has many

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE AFRICAN NEGRO: II. BANTUS—NEGRITOE— BUSHMEN—HOTTENTOTS.

The Sudanesse-Bantu Divide—Frontier Tribes—*The Bonjo Cannibals*—*The Baya Nation*—A "Red People"—The North-East Door to Bantuland—Semitic Elements of the Bantu Amalgam—Malay Elements in Madagascar only—Hamitic Element everywhere—*The Wakumas*—The Bantus mainly a Negro-Hamitic Cross—The *Lacustrians*—Their Traditions—The *Kana* Legend—*The Waganda*, Past and Present—Political and Social Institutions—Totemic System—Bantu Peoples between Lake Victoria and the Coast—*The Wagiryama*—Primitive Ancestry-Worship—*Mulanga*—*The Warwahili*—The Zang Empire—*The Zulu-Xosas*—Former and Present Domain—Patriarchal Institutions—Genealogies—Physical Type—Social Organization—"Common Law"—*Mashonas* and *Matabeles*—The mythical Monomotapa Empire—The Zimbabwe Ruins—*The Bechuanas*—*The Barotse* Empire—*The Makololo* Episode—Spread of Christianity amongst the Southern Bantus—King Khama—*The Osa-Herero*—Cattle and Hill Damaras—*The Kongo People*—Old Kongo Empire—The Kongo Language—The Kongo Aborigines—Perverted Christian Doctrines—*The Kabindas* and "Black Jews"—*The Fushilange* Bhang-smokers—*The Balolo* "Men of Iron"—The West Equatorial Bantus—*Bakalai*—*The Cannibal Fans*—Migrations, Type, Origin—*The Camerun Bantus*—Bantu-Sudanesse Borderland—Early Bantu Migrations—Eastern Ancestry and Western Nature-worshippers—Conclusion—*The Negrito Domain*, Past and Present—Negritoes at the Courts of the Pharaohs—Negritoes and Pygmy Folklore—*The Dums* and *Doko* reputed Dwarfs—*The Wandorobbo* Hunters—*The Wochua* Mimics—*The Bushmen and Hottentots*—Former and Present Range—*The Wasandou*—Hottentot Geographical Names in Bantuland—Hottentots disappearing—Bushman Folklore Literature—Bushman-Hottentot Language and Clicks—Bushman Mental Characters—Bushman Race-Names.

### CONSPECTUS.

Distribu-  
tion in  
Past and  
Present  
Times.

Primeval Home. Bantu: *between the Equatorial Lakes and Indian Ocean*; Negrito: *all the inter-tropical forest zones*; Bushman-Hottentot: *from Lake Tanganyika to the Cape.*

*S. Africa from the Sudanese*  
*West Equatorial and Congo*  
*Namagualands; Kalahari;*  
*Bantu.*

*Sudanese, but often rather* Physical  
Charac-  
ters.  
*frizzly or crisp, rusty brown;*

*Sudanese, but tufty, simu-*

*Colour. Bantu: all shades of*

*almost black; Negrito and Bush-*

*Skull. Bantu: generally dolicho-*

*almost uniformly brachy; Bush-*

*Bantu: moderately prognathous*

*Negrito and Bush-Hot.: highly*

*Bantu: moderately or not*

*Negrito and Bush-Hot.: very pro-*

*forming a triangular face with*

*Bantu: variable, ranging from*

*(index, 56 to 46); Negrito and*

*depressed at root, always*

*generally large, black, and*

*regular Hamitic type; Negrito and*

*dark brown and black. Stature.*

*5 in. to 6 ft.; Negrito: always*

*4 ft.; Bushman: short, with*

*5 ft. 8 in. to 5 ft. 2 in.; Hot.:*

*Bantu: mainly like the Negroid* Mental  
Charac-  
ters.

*more than the true Negro, equally*

*trustworthy; Negrito: bright,*

*indictive and treacherous,*

*other, but rather gentle and*

*these respects very like the*

*; Hot.: rather dull and*

*(Nana) much less so than the*

*entirely uniform as the physical*

*only, of the agglutinating*

*aliteration and postfixes;*

shows vague Sudanese, but no Hamitic influence; hence is originally a Negro language; Negrito: unknown; Bush.-Hot.: agglutinating with postfixes only, with grammatical gender and other remarkable features; is a stock language radically distinct from all others.

**Religion.** Bantu: ancestor-worship mainly in the east, spirit-worship mainly in the west, intermingling in the centre, with witchcraft and gross superstitions everywhere; Negrito: unknown; Bush.-Hot.: incipient animism and nature-worship, but the religious sentiment scarcely developed.

**Culture.** Bantu: much lower than the Negrooid Sudanese, but higher than the true Negro, capacity for progress more evident than actual achievement; Negrito and Bush.: lowest grade (hunting); Hot.: incipient (pastoral).

Main  
Divisions.

**Bantu:** *Bonjo; Baya; Waganda; Wanyero; Wapokomo; Wagiryama; Waswahili; Zulu-Xosa; Mashona; Bechuana; Ova-Herero; Eshi-Kongo; Bashilango; Balolo; Manyuema; Bakalai; Fan; Mpongwe; Dwala; Batanga.*

**Negrito:** *Akka; Wochua; Dume (?); Wandorobbo (?); Doko (?); Obongo; Batwa.*

**Bushmen:** *Family Groups; no known tribal names.*

**Hottentots:** *Wasandawi (?); Namaqua; Griqua; Gonaqua; Koraqua; Hill Damaras.*

In ethnology the only intelligible definition of a Bantu is a full-blood or a half-blood Negro of Bantu speech<sup>1</sup>; and, as special anthropology takes no account of language, it follows that from the physical standpoint no very hard and fast line can be drawn between the northern Sudanese and southern Bantu groups, considered as two ethnical units. But these units are made up of endless details, and it is in the study of these details that such physical differences as do exist are discovered and explained.

<sup>1</sup> *Eth.* ch. xi.

the political developments in the interior, the line may be traced with some accuracy across the continent. In the extreme west, as has been shown, it coincides with the course of the Rio del Rey, while farther east the line was first traced in 1891 under M. Dybowski found that it ran nearly parallel (5° N.) along the elevated plateau between the Congo and the Nile, the water-parting between the Congo and the Nile. From this point the line takes a south-easterly course along the borders of the Zandeh and Mangbattu peoples, through the Bahréi valley between Lakes Albert Edward and Nyanza, to cross the equator. Thence it pursues a somewhat irregular line north by the east side of Lake Albert Edward, then up the Somersét Nile, then up that river to the north side of Usoga and the Victoria Nyanza region, where it turns nearly east to the sources of the Nile, and thence to its mouth in the Indian Ocean. In some places the line traverses debatable territory, as in the region where there are Sudanese and Negrito overlappings. Beyond Lake Victoria, where the frontiers of the Hamitic Masai nomads and their Wandorobbo allies meet, generally, everything south of the line here is Hamitic, and everything north of it Sudanese Negro in the western region, and Hamitic in the eastern section of the continent and the Indian Ocean.

The  
Sudanese-  
Bantu Divide.

But this demarcation is not quite distinct, as in some places some of the Galla and Hamitic tribes to the north have encroached upon the territory of the Wapokomo Bantus on the central plateau. But on the central plateau the line abruptly from the territory of the Bonjos, a Hamitic tribe, to that of the Sudanese Bantu, the widespread Zandeh people. In this region, between the Congo-Chad water-parting, the contrasts between the Sudanese and against the Bantus, are very marked. The former are Negroids, the latter full-blooded Hamites. Dybowski found the Bonjos to be a Hamitic people. *Naturalist*, Jan. 1894.

Frontier  
Tribes—  
The Bonjo  
Cannibals.

distinctly Negro tribe with pronounced prognathism, and altogether a rude, savage people, trading chiefly in slaves, who are fattened for the meat market, and when in good condition will fetch about twelve shillings. On the other hand the Bantous, despite their Niam-Niam connection, are not cannibals, but a peaceful, agricultural people, friendly to travellers, and of a coppery-brown complexion, with regular features, hence perhaps akin to the light-coloured people met by Barth in the Mangu country.

Possibly the Bonjos may be a degraded branch of the *Bayas* or *Nderes*, a large nation, with many subdivisions widely diffused throughout the Sangha basin, where they occupy the whole space between the Kadei and the Mambere affluents of the main stream (3° to 7° 30' N.; 14° to 17° E.). They are described by M. F. J. Clozel<sup>1</sup> as of tall stature, muscular, well-proportioned, with flat nose, slightly tumid lips, and of black colour, but with a dash of copper-red in the upper classes. Although cannibals, like the Bonjos, they are in other respects an intelligent, friendly people, who, under the influence of the Muhammadan Fulahs, have developed a complete political administration, with a Royal Court, a Chancellor, Speaker, Interpreter, and other officials, bearing sonorous titles taken chiefly from the Hausa language. Their own Bantu tongue is widespread and spoken with slight dialectic differences as far as the Nana affluents.

M. Clozel, who regards them as mentally and morally superior to most of the Middle and Lower Congo tribes, tells us that the Bayas, that is, the "Red People," came at an unknown period from the east, "yielding to that great movement of migration by which the African populations are continually impelled westwards." The Yangere section were still on the move some twelve years ago, but the general migration has since been arrested by the Fulahs of Adamawa. Human flesh is now interdicted to the women; they have domesticated the sheep, goat, and dog, and believe in a

<sup>1</sup> *Tour du Monde*, 1896, I. p. 1 sq.; and *Les Bayas; Notes Ethnographiques et Linguistiques*, Paris, 1896.

These powers are manifested in the deities preside over the village whole community and each separate their religious and political systems which recalls those prevalent peoples of the equatorial lake region, cause—long contact or association and intelligence.

all these relations, as well as the general populations, we have to

bed Black Zone, seaboard eastwards, has

The North-East Door to Bantuland.

been almost everywhere arrested north

Nile. Probably since the close of whole of the region between the main and from the equator north to the an integral part of the Hamitic in prehistoric times by Semites and and in historic times chiefly by upper Nubia, Senaar, and Somaliland.

south of the equator there are no of any kind, whereas farther west the were everywhere barred access to the peopled plateaux of the Sudanese on this side necessarily resulted in

Negro populations of Central of the physical and mental charac- by the Kanuri, Hausas, Sonrhays of that region, and are at present the conquering Fulah Hamites groups over a great part of Sudan

element, by which the southern diversely modified.

ld have been drawn

Semitic peoples of the connection the Semites

Semitic Elements of the Bantu Amalgam.

as almost *une quantité négligeable*,



partly because of their relatively later arrival from Asia, and partly because, as they arrived, they became largely assimilated to the indigenous Hamitic inhabitants of Egypt, Abyssinia, and Somaliland. No doubt other Semites (Minzans, Sabzans, and Hiyarites generally) almost certainly reached the east coast below the equator in early historic times. But they appear to have arrived chiefly as traders and miners, and never to have penetrated far inland except in the auriferous regions south of the Zambesi, where their still extant monuments in the Zimbabwe and other districts show that they held the country by military tenure and mixed but slightly with the Negro aborigines.

Still later in Muhammadan times, other Semites also from Arabia did arrive and form permanent settlements along the eastern seaboard as far south as Sofala, and these intermingled more freely with the converted coast peoples (*Waswahili*, from *sahel* = "coast"), but not with the *Kafirs*, or "Unbelievers," farther south and in the interior. In our own days these Swahili half-breeds, with a limited number of full-blood Arabs<sup>1</sup>, have penetrated beyond the Great Lakes to the Upper and Middle Congo basin, but rather as slave-hunters and destroyers than as peaceful settlers, and contracting few alliances, except perhaps amongst the Wayao and Magwangara tribes of Mozambique, and the cannibal Manyemas farther inland.

To this extent Semitism may be recognised as a factor in the constituent elements of the Bantu populations. Malays have also been mentioned, and some ethnologists have even brought the Fulahs of Western Sudan all the way from Malaysia. Certainly if they reached and formed settlements in Madagascar, there is no intrinsic reason why they should not have done the same on the mainland. But I have failed to find any evidence of the fact, and if they ever at any time established themselves on the east coast they have long disappeared, without leaving any clear trace of their presence either in the physical appearance, speech, usages or industries of the aborigines, such as are everywhere conspicuous in Madagascar.

<sup>1</sup> Even Tipu Tib, their chief leader and "Prince of Slavers," was a half-caste with distinctly Negroid features.

Malay  
Elements in  
Madagascar  
only.

the north-eastern Hamites, and especially the Hamitic Element everywhere. To the stream of Hamitic Element everywhere. M. Closel as setting east another and an older stream, which ages direction along the eastern seaboard to the Zulu-Xosa Hamites than Negroes.

two such divergent movements could have the north-east, where we still find the same operation. During his exploration of the east Cape Speke had already observed that the Galla nations about the Great Lakes (Karagwe, (Galla) all belonged to the same

name of *Wahuma*, that is, The Wahumas. general people of fine appearance, of Galla stock, and had come originally from Schuver found that the Negroes of the governed by a Galla aristocracy<sup>1</sup>, and we now Wahuma communities bearing different names amongst the mixed Bantu nations of the lacustrine south as Lake Tanganyika and Unyamwezi, Wahha, and Waruanda are or were all type, and M. Lionel Dècle "was very much difference that is to be found between neighbours?" Then this observer adds: common, and are only to be found amongst may use such an expression for Africans. The have lost their original type through intermixing tribes."

M. Dècle put his finger on the key From these indications and many others

1. "Der Baga-König als ein Negerland bezeichnet, welches die hahmach wird" (*Petermann's Mitt.* 1883, v. p. 187).

2. *Ibid.* p. 424. For details of the Wahuma type see

that might easily be adduced, it may be concluded with some confidence that the great mass of the Bantu populations are essentially Negroes, leavened in diverse proportions for the most part by Wahuma, that is, Galla or Hamitic elements percolating for thousands of generations<sup>1</sup> from the north-eastern section of the Hamitic domain into the heart of Bantuland.

The Bantus  
mainly a Negro-Hamitic  
Cross.

No doubt all now speak various forms of the same organic Bantu mother-tongue. But this linguistic uniformity is strictly analogous to that now prevailing amongst the multifarious peoples of Aryan speech in Eurasia, and is due to analogous causes—the diffusion in extremely remote times of a mixed Hamito-Ethiopic people of Bantu speech in Africa south of the equator. It might perhaps be objected that the present Wahuma pastors are of Hamitic speech, because we know from Stanley that the late king M'tesa of Buganda was proud of his Galla ancestors, whose language he still spoke as his mother-tongue. But he also spoke Luganda, and every echo of Galla speech has already died out amongst most of the Wahuma communities in the equatorial regions. So it was with what I may call the “Proto-Wahumas,” the first conquering Galla tribes, Schuver’s and Dècle’s “aristocracy,” who were gradually blended with the aborigines in a new and superior nationality of Bantu speech, because “there are many mixed races, ... but there are no mixed languages<sup>2</sup>.”

These views are confirmed by the traditions and folklore still current amongst the “Lacustrians,” as the great nations may be called, who are now grouped round about the shores of Lake

<sup>1</sup> I have elsewhere shown that the recent date assigned by Sir H. H. Johnston (*British Central Africa*, p. 480) to the Bantu migrations, as imagined by him, is not warranted by his facts, while it is quite untenable on other grounds. (*Academy*, Aug. 21, 1897, p. 145.) Cf. also Karl Ritter (French ed: I. p. 127): “De même que les Goths et les Vandales se répandirent sur une grande partie de l’Europe, les Galla s’étendirent successivement sur ces contrées de l’Afrique à mesure qu’ils trouvaient des lieux propres à s’établir comme les Goths et les Vandales, ils se sont naturalisés en peu de temps sur le sol qu’ils avaient envahi, et ont pris la langue, les coutumes, et les mœurs des peuples vaincus.”

<sup>2</sup> *Ethnology*, p. 199.

Victoria and Albert Nyanza. At present, or rather before the recent extension of the British administration to East Central Africa, these peoples were constituted in a number of separate kingdoms, the most powerful of which were Buganda (Uganda), Bunyoro (Unyoro), and Karagwe. But they remember a time when all these now scattered fragments formed parts of a mighty monarchy, the vast Kitwara Empire, which comprised the whole of the lake-studded plateau between the Ruwenzori range and Kavirondoland.

The Lacustrians.

The story is differently told in the different States, each nation being eager to twist it to its own glorification; but all are agreed that the founder of the empire was Kintu, "The Blameless," at once priest, patriarch and ruler of the land, who came from the north hundreds of years ago, with one wife, one cow, one goat, one sheep, one chicken, one banana-root, and one sweet potato. At first all was waste, an uninhabited wilderness, but it was soon miraculously peopled, stocked, and planted with what he had brought with him, the potato being apportioned to Bunyoro, the banana to Buganda, and these form the staple food of those lands to this day.

Their Traditions—  
The Kintu Legend.

Then the people waxed wicked, and Kintu, weary of their evil ways and daily bloodshed, took the original wife, cow, and other things, and went away in the night and was seen no more. But nobody believed him dead, and a long line of his mythical successors appear to have spent the time they could spare from strife and wars and evil deeds in looking for the lost Kintu. Kimera, one of these, was a mighty giant of such strength and weight that he left his footprints on the rocks where he trod, as may still be seen on a cliff not far from Ulagalla, the old capital of Buganda. There was also a magician, Kibaga, who could fly aloft and kill the Banyoro people (this is the Buaganda version) by hurling stones down upon them, and for his services received in marriage a beautiful Banyoro captive, who, another Delilah, found out his secret, and betrayed him to her people.

At last came king Ma'anda, who pretended to be a great hunter, but it was only to roam the woodlands in search of Kintu, and thus have tidings of him. One day a peasant, obeying

the directions of a thrice-dreamt dream, came to a place in the forest, where was an aged man on a throne between two rows of armed warriors, seated on mats, his long beard white with age, and all his men fair as white people and clothed in white robes. Then Kintu, for it was he, bid the peasant hasten to summon Ma'anda thither, but only with his mother and the messenger. At the Court Ma'anda recognised the stranger whom he had that very night seen in a dream, and so believed his words and at once set out with his mother and the peasant. But the Katikiro, or Prime-Minister, through whom the message had been delivered to the king, fearing treachery, also started on their track, keeping them just in view till the trysting-place was reached. But Kintu, who knew everything, saw him all the time, and when he came forward on finding himself discovered the enraged Ma'anda pierced his faithful minister to the heart and he fell dead with a shriek. Thereupon Kintu and his seated warriors instantly vanished, and the king with the others wept and cried upon Kintu till the deep woods echoed Kintu, Kintu-u, Kintu-u-u. But the blood-hating Kintu was gone, and to this day has never again been seen or heard of by any man in Buganda. The references to the north and to Kintu and his ghostly warriors "fair as white people" need no comment<sup>1</sup>. It is noteworthy that in some of the Nyassaland dialects *Kintu* (*Chintu*) alternates with *Mulungu* as the name of the Supreme Being, the great ancestor of the tribe<sup>2</sup>.

Then follows more traditional or legendary matter, including an account of the wars with the fierce Wakedi, who wore iron armour, until authentic history is reached with the atrocious Suna II. (1836—60), father of the scarcely less atrocious M'tesa. After his death in 1884 Buganda and the neighbouring states passed rapidly through a series of astonishing political, religious, and social vicissitudes,

The Wa-  
ganda, past  
and present.

<sup>1</sup> The legend is given with much detail by H. M. Stanley in *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. 1. p. 344 sq. Another and less mythical account of the migrations of "the people with a white skin from the far north-east" is quoted from Emin Pasha by the Rev. R. P. Ashe in *Two Kings of Uganda*, p. 336. Here the immigrant Wahuma are expressly stated to have "adopted the language of the aborigines" (p. 337).

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. H. Johnston, *op. cit.* p. 514.

... *per Britannica*, and the conversion of  
 ... to Islám, others to one form or another  
 ... sometimes it might have been difficult to see  
 ... the fecocity of the contending factions; but  
 ... of harmony by the secular arm, real  
 ... and the Waganda especially have dis-  
 ... capacity as well as eagerness to acquire  
 ... and of religious principles, both in the  
 ... the Roman Catholic communities. Printing-  
 ... by native hands, are needed to meet the  
 ... demand for a vernacular literature, in a region  
 ... continually from the disappearance of  
 ... British occupation.

... of the Hamitic and Negro elements  
 ... may perhaps be attributed  
 ... of primitive and higher institu-  
 ... communities. At the head of the  
 ... king or emperor, although the title was also  
 ... mother and the queen-sister. This autocrat  
 ... "Privy Council," of which *ex officio* members  
 ... mentioned Katikiro, Prime Minister or Chan-  
 ... and Bambaja, royal princes and princesses,  
 ... and Chief Baker, and others of high rank, such  
 ... and Commander-in-Chief, who attended  
 ... fine, gold-embroidered cloth robes. The  
 ... thoroughly organised with "Earls," great feudal  
 ... the five provinces, and three distinct social  
 ... or landed gentry, the *Batopi*, peasants or  
 ... slaves or helots without any rights.

Political  
 and Social  
 Institutions.

... this parade of higher political and social  
 ... are still to some extent in  
 ... divided into *ebyika*, or clans,  
 ... or totem, which may not  
 ... with their exogamous (extra-tribal) marriage  
 ... just as amongst the Australian savages.  
 ... or "Grasshoppers," the *Endiga*, "Sheep,"  
 ... while the king's clan is the royal tribe  
 ... that is, the Wahuma, as the term is

Totemic  
 System.

shades of their immediate ancestors or elder relations, and the *Nomas* [souls?] of the whole nation are worshipped on public occasions."

Although the European ghost or "revenant" is unknown, the spirits of near ancestors may appear in dreams, and express their wishes to the living. They ask for sacrifices at their graves to appease their hunger, and such sacrifices are often made with a little flour and water poured into a coconut shell let into the ground, the fowls and other victims being so killed that the blood shall trickle into the grave. At the offering the dead are called on by name to come and partake, and bring their friends with them, who are also mentioned by name. But whereas Christians pray to be remembered of heaven and the saints, the *Wagiyama* pray rather that the new-born babe be forgotten of *Mulungu*, and so live. "Well!" they will say on the news of a birth, "may *Mulungu* forget him that he may become strong and well." This is an instructive trait, a reminiscence of the time when *Mulungu*, now almost harmless or indifferent to mundane things, was the embodiment of all evil, hence to be feared and appeased in accordance with the old dictum *Timor fecit deos*.

At present no distinction is drawn between good and bad spirits, but all are looked upon as, of course, often, though not always, more powerful than the living, but still human beings subject to the same feelings, passions, and fancies as they are. Some are even poor weaklings on whom offerings are wasted. "The Shade of So-and-so's father is of no use at all; it has finished up his property, and yet he is no better," was a native's comment on the result of a series of sacrifices a man had vainly made to his father's shade to regain his health. They may also be duped and tricked, and when *pombe* (beer) is a-brewing, some is poured out on the graves of the dead, with the prayer that they may drink, and when drunk fall asleep, and so not disturb the living with their brawls and bickerings, just like the wrangling fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Far removed from such crass anthropomorphism, but not morally much improved, are the kindred *Waswahili*, who by long contact and interminglings have become largely Arabised in dress, religion,

The  
Waswahili.

They are graphically described by Mr Taylor as a "slave-loving race of slave-holders and slave-traders" who "run a line along a thousand miles of creeks and rivers, and along a coast that has witnessed incessant wars and a succession of monarchical dynasties in which have been blowing into their midst for ages past a conflux of strange blood, consisting not only of servile Africans, but of immigrants from Persia, Arabia, and other lands that have come to live, and often to die, as well as to leave in many cases a hybrid progeny. Of one of these immigrants—the Arabs—the religion has become the religion of the land, overspreading, if not entirely superseding, all Bantu ancestor-worship, and profoundly influencing the daily life."

They are in a sense a historical people, for they were the constituent elements of the re-  
 cent "Zang" empire', which in Edrisi's  
 days stretched along the seaboard  
 up to and beyond the Zambesi. When the  
 empire suddenly into the Indian Ocean it was a great  
 state, or rather a vast confederacy of states, with  
 centres—Magdoshu, Brava, Mombasa, Melindi,  
 and widespread commercial relations  
 from the eastern waters to India and China, and up  
 to the north. How these great centres of trade and  
 commerce after the other ruthlessly destroyed by  
 the Portuguese *com o ferro e fogo* ("with sword and fire,"  
 Duarte Barbosa, who was himself a Portu-  
 guese, of the havoc and the horrors that  
 were wrought in the trail of his barbarous fellow-

The Zang  
 Empire.

... *Zangno-bar* ("Zang-land") and the adjacent  
 ... (corruption). *Zang* is "black," and *bar* is  
 ... dry land, that we have in *Mala-bar* on the  
 ... Cf. also *barran wa bahran*, "by land and

... *de Africa*, 1512, translated by the Hon.  
 ... Society, 1868.



Beyond Sofala we enter the domain of the *Ama-Zulu*, the *Ama-Xosa*, and others whom I have collectively called *Zulu-Xosas*<sup>1</sup>, and who are in some respects the most remarkable ethnical group in all Bantu-land. Indeed they are by common consent regarded as Bantus in a preeminent sense, and this conventional term *Bantu* itself is taken from their typical Bantu language<sup>2</sup>. There is clear evidence that they are comparatively recent arrivals, necessarily from the north, in their present territory, which was still occupied by Bushman and Hottentot tribes probably within the last thousand years or so. Before the Kafir wars with the English (1811—77) this territory extended much farther round the coast than at present, and for many years the Great Kei River has formed the frontier between the white settlements and the Xosas.

The Zulu-Xosas.

Former and Present Domain.

But what they have lost in this direction the Zulu-Xosas, or at least the Zulus, have recovered a hundredfold by their expansion northwards during the 19th century. After the establishment of the Zulu military power under Dingiswayo and his successor Chaka (1793—1828), half the continent was overrun by organised Zulu hordes, who ranged nearly as far north as Lake Victoria, and in many places founded more or less unstable kingdoms or chieftaincies on the model of the terrible despotism set up in Zululand. Such were, beyond the Limpopo, the states of Garamaland and Matabililand, the latter established about 1838 by

<sup>1</sup> In preference to the more popular form *Zulu-Kafir*, where *Kafir* is merely the Arabic "Infidel" applied indiscriminately to any people rejecting Islám; hence the *Siah Posh Kafirs* ("Black-clad Infidels") of Afghanistan; the *Kufra* oasis in the Sahara, where *Kufra*, plural of *Kafir*, refers to the pagan Tibus of that district and the Kafirs generally of the East African seaboard. But according to English usage *Zulu* is applied to the northern part of the territory, mainly Zululand proper and Natal, while *Kafirland* or *Kaffraria* is restricted to the southern section between Natal and the Great Kei River. The bulk of these southern "Kafirs" belong to the Xosa connection; hence this term takes the place of *Kafir*, in the compound expression *Zulu-Xosa*. *Ama* is explained in *Eth.* p. 272, and the *X* of *Xosa* represents an unpronounceable combination of a guttural and a lateral click, this with two other clicks (a dental and a palatal) having infected the speech of these Bantus during their long prehistoric wars with the Hottentots.

<sup>2</sup> *Eth.* p. 271.

of Lobengulu, who perished in a hopeless struggle with the English in 1894. Gungunhana, last of the Zulus in Natal, was similarly dispossessed by the English.

South of the Zambesi the Zulu bands—Mazitu, Maviti, Maviti, and others—nowhere developed large political organizations. For the most time under the ubiquitous Mirambo in the west, but some, especially the Angoni<sup>1</sup>, were long established in the Nyasa district, and others about the Lower Limpopo. They are known to the Portuguese as "Landins." The Zulu movement was finally broken by the English early in the nineteenth century. The movement has now entirely subsided, and the disturbing elements having been extinguished, the head by the absorption of Zululand itself into the colony of Natal (1895).

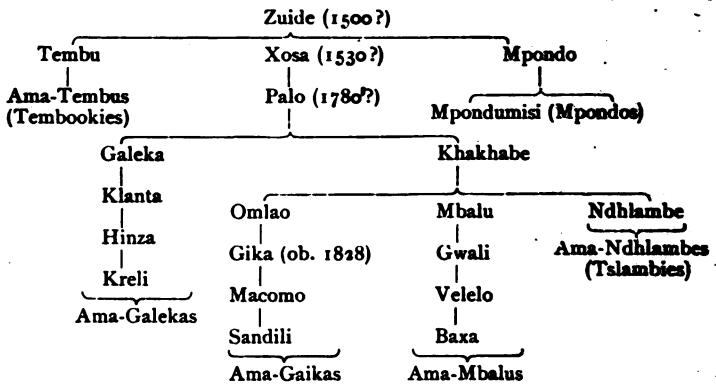
The patriarchal institutions been more highly developed among the Zulu-Xosas, all of whom trace their descent from the Ama-Fingus and some from the Ama-Ntombela, claim direct descent from the Ama-Ntombela or mythical founder of the tribe. Thus the Ama-Ntombela Chaka was seventh in descent from a common ancestor from whom they take the name of *Abantu*—"People of Zulu's Land," although the true founder may have been the now extinct Ama-Ntombela. When the power and prestige of Chaka's tribe was established, the power and prestige of the Ama-Ntombela were successively reduced, claimed also to

Zulu-Xosa  
Genealogies.

As we have seen, these Angoni (Abangoni) spring from the Ama-Ntombela about 1825, and established themselves in the Zambesi, but later migrated to the uplands west of the Zambesi, where they formed three petty states. Others went east of the Zambesi, where they are still known as Magwangwara. But all these tribes, in contact with the surrounding populations. Intermarrying with the surrounding populations, they preserve their speech, dress, and usages in a slightly modified form, although the language of the Ama-Ntombela. Then this class becomes the aristocracy, which henceforth comprises a great part of the population of Zulu origin, "perpetuated almost unchanged in the Angoniland, *Geograph. Jour.* May 1898,

be true Zulus, and as the same process went on in the far north, the term Zulu has now in many cases come to imply political rather than blood relationship. Here we have an object lesson, by which the ethnical value of such names as "Aryan," "Eck," "Briton," "Slav," &c. may be gauged in other regions.

So also most of the southern section claim as their founder and ancestor a certain *Xosa*, sprung from *Zuide*, who may have flourished about 1500, and whom the *Ama-Tembus* and *Ama-Mpondos* also regard as their progenitor. Thus the whole section is connected, but not in the direct line, with the *Xosas*, who trace their lineage from *Galeka* and *Khakhabe*, sons of *Palo*, who is said to have died about 1780, and was himself tenth in direct descent from *Xosa*. We thus get a genealogical table as under, which gives his proper place in the Family Tree to nearly every historical "Kafir" chief in Cape Colony, where ignorance of these relations caused much bloodshed during the early Kafir wars:—



But all, both northern Zulus and southern Xosas, are essentially one people in speech, physique, usages and social institutions. The hair is uniformly of a somewhat frizzly texture, the colour of a light or clear brown amongst the *Ama-Tembus*, but elsewhere very dark, the Swazis being almost "blue-black"; the head decidedly long (72·54") and high (195·8"); nose variable, both Negroid and perfectly regular; height above the mean (5 ft. 9 to 11 in.); figure shapely and muscular, though Fritsch's measurements show

Physical Type.

...from the almost ideal standard of beauty  
...observers have credited them.

...the Bantu-Xenos stand much higher than the true  
...especially in their political organi-  
...the development of Dingis-  
...system under European influences,

Social  
Organisation.

...patriarchal monarchy controlled by a powerful  
...the nation was grouped in tribes connected by the  
...by the hereditary *inkose*, or feudal chief,  
...with power of life and death, within his own  
...his mandates, however, the nobles could  
...and it was in fact their decisions that estab-

"Common  
Law."

...and the traditional code of common  
...Roman law is well adapted to a people  
...of society. It holds everyone accused  
...he can prove himself innocent; it makes  
...the family responsible for the conduct of all its  
...collectively for all resident in it, and the  
...of its villages. For the administration of the law  
...of various grades, from any of which an appeal  
...to the Supreme Council, presided over by the  
...who is not only the ruler but also the father

...between the southern coast ranges and the  
...and Bushman aborigines  
...ages almost everywhere dis-  
...to servitude by other Bantu

Mashonas  
and Maku-  
lakas.

...the Makalakas and Mashonas, the Bechuanas  
...Of these the first arrivals (from the  
...have been the Mashonas and Makalakas,  
...“eaten up” by the Matabili when the  
...the timely intervention of the English in

...industrious tillers of the soil, skilled in metal-  
...being probably the  
...natives, whose great chief  
...the Mines,” as I interpret

The Mono-  
motapa Myth.

...*Light in Africa*, p. 194.

the word<sup>1</sup>, ruled over the Manica and surrounding auriferous districts when the Portuguese first reached Sofala early in the 16th century. Apparently for political reasons<sup>2</sup> this Monomotapa was later transformed by them from a monarch to a monarchy, the vast empire of Monomotapaland, which was supposed to comprise pretty well everything south of the Zambesi, but, having no existence, has for the last two hundred years eluded the diligent search of historical geographers.

But ages before Portuguese or Monomotapas were heard of, the Makalakas with the kindred Banyai, Basenga and others, may well have been at work in the mines of this auriferous region, in the service of the builders of the Zimbabwe ruins explored and described by the late Theodore Bent<sup>3</sup>, and by him rightly, I think, attributed to some ancient cultured people of South Arabia. He mentions the Sabæans, but there is no reason to exclude the still more ancient Minæans, both being closely allied members of the Semitic Himyarite family. It is to be noticed that similar ruins occur also in the Benningwa Hills and various other parts of Matabililand, all apparently connected with long-abandoned gold-mines.

Even Barros<sup>4</sup> was aware that all these remains were prior

<sup>1</sup> From *Mwana*, lord, master, and *tapa*, to dig, both common Bantu words.

<sup>2</sup> The point was that Portugal had made treaties with this mythical State, in virtue of which she claimed in the "scramble for Africa" all the hinterlands behind her possessions on the east and west coasts (Mozambique and Angola), in fact all South Africa between the Orange and Zambesi rivers. Further details on the "Monomotapa Question" will be found in my monograph on "The Portuguese in South Africa" in Murray's *South Africa, from Arab Domination to British Rule*, 1891, pp. 11 sq. Five years later Mr G. McCall Theal also discovered, no doubt independently, the mythical character of Monomotapaland in his book on *The Portuguese in South Africa*, 1896.

<sup>3</sup> *Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.* May 1892, and *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*. Sir H. H. Johnston, however, who in my opinion assigns the Bantu migrations to a far too recent date, thinks that "those earlier settlers from Southern Arabia, who mined for gold some 2000 years ago and less in South Africa, were only acquainted with native inhabitants of a Bushman-Hottentot type, to judge by the drawings, engravings, and models they have left, intended to depict natives engaged in the chase" (*British Central Africa*, p. 54).

<sup>4</sup> *Asia*, First Decade, I. i. Lisbon, 1777.

and Moslem Arabs, and those who object to the word "Negro" at least be prepared with a reasonable alternative. Of course, the Axumites of Abyssinia, the Phoenicians of Sidon at the head of the Arabian Gulf; but the latter were Semites, so that it would only be a Semitic name. In any case the Christian emblems on the Bechuanas, because the emblems on the Bechuanas are distinctly pagan, and point to Semitic rites, were revealed to the western world by the Phoenicians, and the Bechuanas possibly sprung from a Minæan ancestry.

Probably Himyaritic.

The Bechuanas, whose territory extends from the Orange River to the Orange and includes Basutoland with a great part of the Orange Free State, we again meet a people at the totemic stage of their development. The eponymous heroes of the Bechuanas are supposed by baboons, fishes, elephants, and other animals from which the various Bechuanas are descended.

The Bechuanas.

The origin of the collective national name "Bechuanas" is discussed ever since the Bechuanas were first mentioned in the literature early in the nineteenth century<sup>1</sup>. But it is generally held that it is a slightly modified form of *Ba-chuan*, the name of the "Chuan," i.e. of the Cape baboon, this being the totem of the Barotse, who are recognised by all the Bechuanas as the branch or mother-tribe of the family.

The Barotse is connected one of the most remarkable chapters in the recent history of the South African continent during the nineteenth century.

The Barotse Empire.

The migration of the tribe migrated to the Victoria Falls, where they founded the "Barotse (Marotse) Empire," which despite a long period of peace as a British protectorate (1898). The Bechuanas.

Another migration northwards to the Mafeking region, a branch of the kindred Mafeking, under the renowned chief Mafeking.

The Mafeking Episode.

Mafeking about 1835 and overthrew the Mafeking, and reduced the natives to a state of servitude.

Mafeking, 1811. This writer already speaks of the Mafeking in the same sense, and he was the first to divine the vast Mafeking family, as it was afterwards called.

But after the death of Sebituane's successor, Livingstone's Sekeletu, the Barotse, taking advantage of their oppressors' dynastic rivalries, suddenly revolted, and after exterminating the Makololos almost to the last man, reconstituted the empire on a stronger footing than ever. It now comprises an area of some 250,000 square miles between the Chobe and the Kafukwe affluents, with a population vaguely estimated at over 1,000,000, including the savage Bashukulumbwe tribes of the Kafukwe basin reduced in 1891.

Yet, short as was the Makololo rule (1835—70), it was long enough to impose their language on the vanquished Barotse. Hence the curious phenomenon now witnessed about the Middle Zambesi, where the Makololo have disappeared, while their Sesuto speech remains the common medium of intercourse throughout the Barotse empire. How often have analogous shiftings and dislocations taken place in the course of ages in other parts of the world! And in the light of such lessons how cautious ethnographers should be in arguing from speech to race, and drawing conclusions from these or similar surface relations!

Referring to these stirring events, Mr Mackenzie writes: "Thus perished the Makololo from among the number of South African tribes. No one can put his finger on the map of Africa and say, 'Here dwell the Makololo'." This will puzzle many who since the middle of the nineteenth century have repeatedly heard of, and even been in unpleasantly close contact with, Makololo so called, not indeed in Barotseland, but lower down the Zambesi about its Shire affluent.

The explanation of the seeming contradiction is given by another incident, which is also not without ethnical significance. From Livingstone's *Journals* we learn that in 1859 he was accompanied to the east coast by a small party of Makololos and others, sent by his friend Sekeletu in quest of a cure for leprosy, from which the emperor was suffering. These Makololos, hearing of the Barotse revolt, wisely stopped on their return journey at the Shire confluence, and through the prestige of their name have here succeeded in founding several so-called "Makololo States," which

<sup>1</sup> *Ten Years North of the Orange River.*

...from time to time given considerable trouble  
 ...of British Central Africa. But how true  
 ...words, if the political be separated from the  
 ...may be judged from the fact that of the original  
 ...Shire states only two were full-blood  
 ...the others were, I believe, Barotse, Batoka, or  
 ...to the savage Bashukulumbwe.  
 ...live on, in their speech above the Victoria  
 ...below the Victoria Falls, and  
 ...we know that since about  
 ...has been completely wiped  
 ...the Zambesi valley. But even amongst cultured  
 ...back a very little way, 10,000 years at most  
 ...changes and shiftings may, therefore, have else-  
 ...during prehistoric ages, all knowledge of  
 ...recovery!

Death with-  
 out Extin-  
 ction.

...have lent a readier ear to the teachings of  
 ...than the Xosa, Basuto, and Bechuana  
 ...in the heart of Kafirland—Blythswood,  
 ...and others—have for some time been self-  
 ...alone would deny that  
 ...good amongst the surrounding  
 ...Fingo tribes. Soga, a member  
 ...community, has produced a  
 ...*Blonde's Progress*, described by  
 ...as "a marvel of accuracy and lucidity of  
 ...village schools are eagerly attended, and  
 ...brought under intelligent cultivation.  
 ...Protestant teachers have also achieved  
 ...land, which may now be regarded as an  
 ...freedom." Here the old tribal system has  
 ...organisation; and the Batau, Baputi and  
 ...have been merged in industrious pas-  
 ...communities professing a somewhat strict  
 ...Christianity, and entirely forgetful of the former  
 ...with witchcraft and ancestry-worship.

Spread of  
 Christianity  
 among the  
 Southern  
 Bantus.



In Bechuanaland one great personality dominates the social horizon. Khama, king of the ~~Batsungwani~~ nation, next to the Barotse the most powerful section of the Bechuanas, has for several decades been a true father of his people, a Christian legislator in the better sense of the term, and an enlightened reformer even from the secular point of view.

When these triumphs, analogous to those witnessed amongst the Lacustrians and in other parts of Bantuland, are contrasted with the dull weight of resistance everywhere opposed by the fall-blood Negro populations to any progress beyond their present low level of culture, we are the better able to recognise the marked intellectual superiority of the negroid Bantu over the pure black element.

West of Bechuanaland the continuity of the Bantu domain is arrested in the south by the Hottentots, who still hold their ground in Namaqualand, and farther north by the few wandering Bushman groups of the Kalahari desert. Even in Damaraland, which is mainly Bantu territory, there are interminglings of long standing that have given rise to much ethnical confusion. The *Ova-Herero*, who are here dominant, and the kindred *Ova-Mpo* of Ovampoland bordering on the Portuguese possessions, are undoubted Bantus of somewhat fine physique, though intellectually not specially distinguished. Owing to the character of the country, a somewhat arid, level steppe between the hills and the coast, they are often collectively called "Cattle Damaras," or "Damaras of the Plains," in contradistinction to the "Hill Damaras" of the coast ranges. To this popular nomenclature is due the prevalent confusion regarding these aborigines. The term "Damara" is of Hottentot origin, and is not recognised by the local tribes, who all call themselves *Ova-Herero*, that is, "Merry People." But there is a marked difference between the lowlanders and the highlanders, the latter, that is, the "Hill Damaras," having a strong strain of Hottentot blood, and being now of Hottentot speech.

The whole region is a land of transition between the two races, where the struggle for supremacy has scarcely yet been

intervention of the German administrators<sup>1</sup>. It may be gained by replacing the term "Damaraland," which was used by the German "Hereroland," for the whole country between Walvisch Bay, and by substituting for Hillmen the expression *Ova-Zorotu*, or "Hillmen," as they are called by their neighbours of the plains, who should of course be excluded from the absolute exclusion of the expression "Cattle Herders." These Hereros show a singular dislike for salt; the reason, however, can scarcely be racial, as it is shared in also by the Bushmen, and may be due to the heavy vapours, perhaps laden with saline particles, which hang so frequently over the coast.

A clear ethnical line can be drawn between Portuguese territory and the contiguous portion of the Congo Free State along the main stream. In the coastlands between the mouth of the Congo estuary a few groups, such as the *Kabindas* and the *Kabindas*, have developed some characteristics under European influences, just as have the *Kabindas* of the Upper Congo through association with the *Kabindas* raiders. But with the exception of the *Tu-*

gives their name to this river present some It is commonly supposed

"Empire" was a creation of

The Old  
Kongo  
Empire.

Mbansa, afterwards re-

"Emperor," was already the capital

when it was first visited by the expedition of

date its relations with Portugal. At first

had great success, thousands were at

moment it seemed as if all the Congo

into the fold. There were great rejoicings

the *Mbumu* ("Emperor") himself, on whom

1890, the famous Hottentot chief Witbooi gained

Epias, and carrying off

were lavished honours and Portuguese titles still borne by his present degenerate descendant, the Portuguese State pensioner, "Dom Pedro V., Catholic King of Kongo and its Dependencies." But Christianity never struck very deep roots, and, except in the vicinity of the Imperial and vassal Courts, heathenish practices of the worst description were continued down to the middle of the nineteenth century. About 1870 fresh efforts were made both by Protestant and Catholic missionaries to re-convert the people, who had little to remind them of their former faith except the ruins of the cathedral of San Salvador, crucifixes, banners, and other religious emblems handed down as heirlooms and regarded as potent fetishes by their owners. A like fate, it may be incidentally mentioned, has overtaken the efforts of the Portuguese missionaries to evangelise the natives of the east coast, where little now survives of their teachings but snatches of unintelligible songs to the Blessed Virgin, such as that still chanted by the Lower Zambesi boatmen and recorded by Mrs Pringle:—

Sina mama, sina mamai,

Sina mama Maria, sina mamai...

Mary, I'm alone, mother I have none,

Mother I have none, she and father both are gone, &c.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that at some remote period the ruling race reached the west coast from the north-east, and imposed their Bantu speech on the rude aborigines, by whom it is still spoken over a wide tract of country on both sides of the Lower Congo. It is an extremely pure and somewhat archaic member of the Bantu family, and the Rev. W. Holman Bentley, our best authority on the subject, is enthusiastic in praise of its "richness, flexibility, exactness, subtlety of idea, and nicety of expression," a language superior to the people themselves, "illiterate folk with an elaborate and regular grammatical system of speech of such subtlety and exactness of idea that its daily use is in itself an education<sup>2</sup>." Kishi-Kongo has the distinction of being the first Bantu tongue ever reduced to written form, the oldest known work in the language being a treatise on Christian Doctrine published in Lisbon in

The Kongo  
Language.

<sup>1</sup> *Towards the Mountains of the Moon*, 1884, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, 1887, p. xxiii.

...the speech of the "Mociconghi," as  
 ...has undergone but slight phonetic or other  
 ...the more surprising when we  
 ...the redness of the present Mushi-  
 ...by whom it is still spoken with  
 ...Some of these believe themselves  
 ...as if they had still reminiscences of the  
 ...of a phœneid ancestry.

The Kongo  
 Aborigines.

...neighbouring *Bambas*, whose sobas were formerly  
 ...in-chief of the Empire, still dwells a  
 ...who is invisible to everybody, and although mortal  
 ...after each dissolution springs again into life  
 ...gathered up by the priests. All  
 ...of the tribe undergo a similar trans-  
 ...thrown into a death-like trance by  
 ...of the medicine-man, and then re-

Perverted  
 Christian  
 Doctrines.

...three days. The power of causing the cataleptic  
 ...really to exist, and these strange rites, unknown  
 ...to be connected with the resurrection of  
 ...days and of everybody on the last day as  
 ...Portuguese evangelists. A volume might  
 ...strange distortions of Christian doctrines  
 ...unable to grasp their true inwardness.

...Portuguese distinguish between the *Preto*s, that  
 ...and the *Negros*, or unreclaimed  
 ...terms mean the same thing, as  
 ..."Black People," which is applied  
 ...both to the Eshi-Kongos and

The  
 Kabindas and  
 "Black  
 Jews."

...the *Kabindas* of the Portuguese enclave north  
 ...These *Kabindas*, so named from the  
 ...on the Loango coast, are an extremely  
 ...and enterprising people, daring seafarers,

...nel suo proprio idioma gli abitanti del  
 ... (Rome, 1591, p. 68). This form is remark-  
 ...(*Mushi*) instead of plural (*Eshi*); yet it is still  
 ..."Mushi-Kongos" on the south side of the

...with an intrusive *r*.

and active traders. But they complain of the *harm* lividry of another dark people, the *Judeos Pretos*, or "Black Jews," who call themselves *Ma-Vambu*, and whose hooked nose combined with other peculiarities has earned for them their Portuguese name. The Kabindas say that these "Semitic Negroes" were specially created for the punishment of other unscrupulous dealers by their ruinous competition in trade.

A great part of the vast region within the bend of the Congo is occupied by the *Baluba* people, whose numerous branches—*Basange* and *Basonge* about the sources of the Sankuru, *Bashilange* (*Tushilange*) about the Lulua-Kassai confluence, and many others—extend all the way from the Kwango basin to Manyemaland. Most of these are Bantus of the average type, fairly intelligent, industrious and specially noted for their skill in iron and copper work. Iron ores are widely diffused and the copper comes from the famous mines of the Katanga district, of which King Mzidi and his Wanyamwezi followers were dispossessed by the Congo Free State in 1892.

Special attention is claimed by the *Tushilange* nation, for our knowledge of whom we are indebted chiefly to Capt. C. S. Latrobe Bateman<sup>1</sup>. These are the people whom Wissmann had already referred to as "a nation of thinkers with the interrogative 'why' constantly on their lips." Bateman also describes them as "thoroughly honest, brave to foolhardiness, and faithful to each other. They are prejudiced in favour of foreign customs and spontaneously copy the usages of civilisation. They are the only African tribe among whom I have observed anything like a becoming conjugal affection and regard. To say nothing of such recommendations as their emancipation from fetishism, their ancient abandonment of cannibalism, and their national unity under the sway of a really princely prince (Kalemba), I believe them to be the most open to the best influences of civilisation of any African tribe whatsoever<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> *The First Ascent of the Kassai*, 1889, p. 20 sq. See also my communication to the *Academy*, April 6, 1889, and *Africa* (Stanford's Compendium), 1895, Vol. II. p. 117 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 20.

The  
Tushilange  
Bhang-  
Smokers.

the Lulua affluent of the Kasai is the land of "Friendship," the theatre of a revolution, carried out independently of all whites, in fact before the arrival of any whites on the scene, initiated by the secret brotherhood of the "Sons of Hemp," established about 1870, when the country was divided into two parties over the question of opening the country open to foreign trade. The "Sons of Hemp," having sided with the "Pro-Conservatives" were worsted with

Bantu  
"Pro-  
gressives."

whereupon the barriers of seclusion were swept away, relations being at once established with the outer world. The custom of *ziembe* (bhong) smoking was unfortunately introduced through the Swahili traders from Zanzibar. The result was a general deterioration of morals throughout Tushi-

land. The Balobos follows the great *Balolo* nation, whose territory covers nearly the whole of the region between the right bank and the left bank of the Congo, and whose speech is still more widely dif-

The Balolo  
"Men of  
Iron."

fusioned by perhaps 10,000,000 within the horseshoe of the "Men of Iron" in the sense of Cromwell's "Iron Men in Iron," as the name has been diversely interpreted (the iron), may not be all that they have been. The sleeping pen of Mrs H. Grattan Guinness<sup>1</sup>; but their claim to be regarded as physically, if not mentally, the finest Bantu races. But for the strain of iron, they are distinguished by the tumid under lip, frizzly hair, and wide nostrils, as compared for average Hamites with high forehead, straight nose, bright eye, and intelligent expression. They have emigrated about a hundred years ago from their ancestral homes, where they have cleared the land of the aborigines, brought extensive tracts under cultivation, and built up towns in the American chessboard pattern, the squares so wide apart that it takes hours to

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Central Africa*, 1890, p. 466 sq.

traverse them. They are skilled in many crafts, and embody the division-of-labour principle, "farmers, gardeners, house-builders, weavers, cabinet-makers, armourers, warriors, and so on, being already differentiated amongst them".

From the east or north-east a great stream of migration has also for many years been setting right across the cannibal zone to the west coast between the Ogowai and Camerún's estuary. Some of these

The West  
Equatorial  
Bantus.

cannibal bands, collectively known as *Fans*, *Pahins*, *Mpongwe*<sup>1</sup>, *Oshyebas* and by other names, have already swarmed into the Gabún and Lower Ogowai districts, where they have caused a considerable dislocation of the coast tribes. They are at present the dominant, or at least the most powerful and dreaded, people in West Equatorial Africa, where nothing but the intervention of the French administration has prevented them from sweeping the *Mpongwes*, *Mbengas*, *Okandas*, *Ashangos*, *Ishogos*, *Bateks*, and the other maritime populations into the Atlantic. Even the great

*Bakalai* nation, who are also immigrants, but from the south-east, and who arrived some time before the Fans, have been hard pressed and driven forward by those fierce anthropophagists. They are still numerous, certainly over 100,000, but confined mainly to the left bank of the Ogowai, where their copper and iron workers have given up the hopeless struggle to compete with the imported European wares, and have consequently turned to trade. The Bakalai are now the chief brokers and middlemen throughout the equatorial coastlands, and their pure Bantu language is encroaching on the *Mpongwe* in the Ogowai basin.

When first heard of by Bowdich in 1819, the *Paímways*, as he calls the Fans, were an inland people presenting such marked Hamitic or Caucasian features that he allied them with the West Sudanese Fulahs. Since then there have been inevitable interminglings, by which the type has no doubt been modified, though still presenting distinct non-

The Canni-  
bal Fans.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 471.

<sup>2</sup> These *Mpongwe* savages are constantly confused with the *Mpongwes* of the Gabún, a settled Bantu people who have been long in close contact, and on friendly terms, with the white traders and missionaries in this district.

... Burton, Winwood Reade, Oscar Reischgüetter, separates them altogether from the ... describing them as "well-built, ... brown complexion, often ... developed beard, and very ... standing out in a semicircular protuberance ... Morally also, they differ ... being remarkably intelligent, truthful, and ... seldom laughing or indulging in the ..."

Migrations, Type, Origin.

... says Lenz, is "entirely different from those ... Yet many ethnologists have suggested ... Zaidous and Mangbattus of the Welle ... ground of their common fondness for ... the Fans certainly yield to none, and ... tribes the practice is now restricted ... untouched by European influences ... and dearest," and even these may ... for others not coming within the pro- ...

... universal in the cannibal zone to serve ... we are not helped by it to a solution of ... Were one to venture on a conjecture, ... these mysterious hordes are not Fulahs, ... but "belated Hamites," lost like the ... of negrodom. If the language is ... by Lenz, it will perhaps prove to be ... Hamitic Tibu or Masai group.

... region, which still lies within Bantu territory, ... the numerous local ... aborigines, such as the ... *Afar* and *Wuri*; and the ... *Bakwiri*, *Dwala*, "Great Batanga" and ...

The Cam-  
rùn Bantus.

... Lenz, who perhaps knew them best, says: ... *gewachsen, Hautfarbe viel lichter manchmal ... und Bartwuchs auffallend stark, sehr grosse ...* (1878, p. 73).<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 74.  
... (1886, II. p. 18).<sup>4</sup> *Official Report*, 1886.



*Iboes*—chiefly from the east and south-east. In the Camerún estuary, physically typical of the *Iboes* are almost European features, and well-developed caucasoid characters which would alone suffice to separate them from the negroes. Nor are these traits due to contact with the white nations of the coast, because the *Dwalas* keep quite aloof, and are so proud of their "blue blood," that till lately all half-breeds were "wooded off" being regarded as monsters who reflected discredit on the tribe.

Socially the Camerún natives stand at nearly the same low level of culture as the neighbouring full-blooded Negroes of the Calabar and Niger delta. Indeed the transition in customs and institutions, as well as in physical appearance, is scarcely perceptible between the peoples dwelling north and south of the Rio del Rey, here the dividing line between the Negro and Bantu lands. The *Bakwas* of the Meme river, almost last of the Bantus, differ little except in speech from the Negro *Efiks* of Old Calabar, while witchcraft and other gross superstitions were till lately as rife amongst the *Bakwiri* and *Bakundu* tribes of the western Camerún as anywhere in negroland. It is not long since one of the *Bakwiri*, found guilty of having eaten a chicken at a missionary's table, was himself eaten by his fellow clansmen. The law of blood for blood was pitilessly enforced, and charges of witchcraft were so frequent that whole villages were depopulated, or abandoned by their terror-stricken inhabitants. The island of *Ambas* in the inlet of like name remained thus for a time absolutely deserted, "most of the inhabitants having poisoned each other off with their everlasting ordeals, and the few survivors ending by dreading the very air they breathed".

Having thus completed our survey of the Bantu populations from the central dividing line about the Congo-Chad water-parting round by the east, south, and west coastlands, and so back to the Sudanese zone, we may pause to ask, what routes were followed by the Bantus themselves during the long ages required to spread themselves over an area estimated at nearly six million square miles? I have established, apparently on solid grounds,

Early Bantu  
Migrations—  
a Clue to  
their Direc-  
tion.

<sup>1</sup> Reclus, English ed. XII. p. 376.

...in the extreme north-east, and ... migratory movements, some ... from east to west, and, on the east side ... north to south, with here an important but ... from Zululand back nearly to Lake Victoria. ... postulated as setting on the Atlantic side ... south to north, from Hereroland to the ... the other way, we shall have nearly all the ... the general dispersion of the Bantu ... domain.

... to this view by the curious distribution of ... of the "Supreme Being," to which ... already been made. As first pointed out

... *umhlonhlonhlo* with its ... along the eastern sea- ... the western, and both in ... ; while here and there ... indicate prehistoric inter- ... primeval migratory movements. From ... clear idea may be had of the general

Eastern Ancestry and Western Nature Worshipers.

*[Faint, mostly illegible text, likely a list of names or terms.]*

NZAMBI

- Eshi-Kongo : Nzambi
- Kabinda : Nzambi Pongo
- Lunda : Zambi
- Bateke : Nzafi
- Barotse : Nyampe
- Bihé : Nzambi
- Loango : Zambi, Nyambi
- Bunda : Onzambi
- Bangala : Nzambi
- Bakele : Nshambi
- Rungu : Anyambi
- Ashira : Aniembrie
- Mpongwe : Njambi
- Benga : Anyambi
- Dwala : Nyambi
- Yanzi : Nyambi
- Herero : Ndyambi

Western Seaboard and Parts of Interior

Of *Munkulunkulu* the primitive idea is clear enough; from its best preserved form, the Zulu *Unkulunkulu*, which is a repetitive of the root *inkulu*, great, old, hence a deification of the great departed, a direct outcome of the ancestry-worship so universal amongst Negro and Bantu peoples<sup>1</sup>. Thus *Unkulunkulu* becomes the direct progenitor of the Zulu-Xosas: *Unkulunkulu inkulu woku-Nzambi*. But the fundamental meaning of *Nzambi* is unknown. The root does not occur in Kishi-Kongo, and Mr Bentley rightly rejects Kolbe's far-fetched explanation from the Herero, adding that "the knowledge of God is most vague, scarcely more than nominal. There is no worship paid to God<sup>2</sup>."

More probable seems Mr W. H. Tooke's suggestion that *Nzambi* is "a Nature spirit like Zeus or Indra," and that, while the eastern Bantus are ancestor-worshippers, "the western adherents of *Nzambi* are more or less Nature-worshippers. In this respect they appear to approach the Negroes of the Gold, Slave, and Oil Coasts<sup>3</sup>." No doubt the cult of the dead prevails also in this region, but here it is combined with naturalistic forms of belief, as on the Gold Coast, where *Bobowissi*, chief god of all the southern tribes, is the "Blower of Clouds," the "Rain-maker," and on the Slave Coast, where the Dahoman *Mawu* and the Yoruba *Olorun* are the Sky or Rain, and the "Owner of the Sky" (the deified Firmament), respectively<sup>4</sup>.

It would therefore seem probable that the *Munkulunkulu* peoples from the north-east gradually spread by the indicated routes over the whole of Bantuland, everywhere imposing their speech, general culture, and ancestor-worship on the pre-Bantu

<sup>1</sup> So also in Minahassa, Celebes, *Empung*, "Grandfather," is the generic name of the gods. "The fundamental ideas of primitive man are the same all the world over. Just as the little black baby of the Negro, the brown baby of the Malay, the yellow baby of the Chinaman are in face and form, in gestures and habits, as well as in the first articulate sounds they utter, very much alike, so the mind of man, whether he be Aryan or Malay, Mongolian or Negrito, has in the course of its evolution passed through stages which are practically identical." (Sydney J. Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, 1889, p. 240.)

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> *The God of the Ethiopians*, in *Nature*, May 26, 1892.

<sup>4</sup> E. B. Ellis, *Tshi*, p. 23; *Ewe*, p. 31; *Yoruba*, p. 36.

of the Atlantic coastlands and in parts of the primitive Nature-worship, embodied in the above Table—amongst the Bayanzi, the Bechuanas (*Makungulu* generally, but

the supremacy of one on the east, Conclusion. on the west, side of the continent, to the general streams of migration, while the nomenclature is but another illustration of the persistence of Bantu speech amongst these populations for an incalculable period of

THE NEGROITORS.

of this period, a substratum of non-Bantu and Hottentot elements has also the same ethnical domain. these primitive peoples, both to

The Negrito Domain past and present.

to the true Negro, have already been the domain of the African Negroites is the land, although they appear to be at present narrow limits, between about six degrees and south of the equator, unless the Bushmen be they probably ranged much farther north, times accompanying their "big brothers" (Switzerland), and in historic times finding the valley to Egypt, where they were certainly 5000 years ago. This is evident from the them in the "Book of the Dead" as far. Like the dwarfs in mediæval times,

Negritoës at the Courts of the Pharaohs.

at the courts of the expeditions to fetch these the "Island of the Double," region of Shade Land beyond Punt, where of whom there is authentic record was apparently the White Nile, to King

Asa (3300 B.C.) by his officer, Baurtet. Some years later Heru-Khuf, another officer, was sent by Pepi II. "to bring back a pygmy alive and in good health," from the land of great oases away to the south<sup>1</sup>. That the Danga came from the south we know from a later inscription at Kartrak, and that the word meant dwarf is clear from the accompanying determinative of a short person of stunted growth.

It is curious to note in this connection that the limestone statue of the dwarf Nem-hotep, found in his tomb at Sakkarah and figured by Ernest Grosse, has a thick elongated head suggesting artificial deformation, unshapely mouth, dull expression, strong full chest, and small deformed feet, on which he seems badly balanced. It will be remembered that Schweinfurth's Akkas from Mangbattuland were also represented as top-heavy, although the best observers, Junker and others, describe those of the Welle and Congo forests as shapely and by no means ill-proportioned.

Prof. Kollmann also, who has examined the remains of the Neolithic pygmies from the Schweizersbild Station, Switzerland, "is quite certain that the dwarf-like proportions of the latter have nothing in common with diseased conditions. This, from many points of view, is a highly interesting discovery. It is possible, as Dr. Nüesch suggests, that the widely-spread legend as to the former existence of little men, dwarfs and gnomes, who were supposed to haunt caves and retired places in the mountains, may be a reminiscence of these Neolithic pygmies<sup>2</sup>."

This is what may be called the picturesque aspect of the Negrito question, which it seems almost a pity to spoil by too severe a criticism. But "ethnologic truth" obliges us to say that the identification of the African Negrito with Kollmann's European dwarfs still lacks scientific proof. Even craniology fails us here, and although the Negritoes are in great majority round-headed, Dr R. Verneau has shown that there may be exceptions<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Schiaparelli, *Una Tomba Egiziana*, Rome, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. James Geikie, *Scottish Geogr. Mag.* Sept. 1897.

<sup>3</sup> Thus he finds (*L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 153) a presumably Negrito skull from the Babinga district, Middle Sangha river, to be distinctly long-headed (73:2) with, for this race, the enormous cranial capacity of about

the general uniformity of the physical type has been noted at other points. Thus the *Dume*, discovered by Dr Donaldson in 1872, where the *Doko* Negritos were found, and even seen by Antoine

The *Dume* and *Doko*, reputed Dwarfs.

They were found to average five feet, or more than half the height of the true Negrito. D'Abbadie in fact says that the "Dumes" were not pygmies at all<sup>2</sup>, while D'Arny now tells us that "doko" is only a term of contempt which the local tribes to their "poor relations." Their characteristics were a black skin, round features, almond-shaped eyes, rather thick lips, high cheek bones, a broad, and very well formed bodies" (p. 273).

The eye was canine, "sometimes timid and sometimes very amiable and merry, and then suddenly to a look of intense anger." Pygmies, he says, inhabited the whole of the country north of Lakes Tanganyika and Rudolf long before any of the tribes now to be found in that neighbourhood; but they have been gradually killed off, and have lost their characteristics by inter-marriage with the taller races, so that only this one little remnant remains to prove the existence of a pygmy race. They are now principally by hunting, and they still kill a large number with their poisoned arrows" (p. 274—5).

These remarks apply also to the *Wandorobbo*, another race of Dwarfs nearly as far north as the *Dume*, and chiefly farther south all over the country. I have little doubt, to the

The *Wandorobbo* Hunters.

fact, that they are the henchmen of the Masai nomads, who give them big game in return for divers services, and who maintain much the same amicable relations as the Masai hold with their tall neighbours in central Africa.

Mr. W. Astor Chanler were also "armed with

was measured by Sir W. Flower (1372 c.c.), and his height hitherto known being 1200 (Virchow).

*Journal of African Countries, &c., 1897.*

p. 440.

bows and arrows, and each carried an elephant-spear which they called *bonati*. This spear is six feet in length, straight, and narrowed where grasped by the hand. In the middle of the shaft there is a hole, into which is fitted an arrow two feet long, as wide as one's thumb, and with a head two inches broad. The method of killing elephants is to creep cautiously up to the animal and drive a spear into its loin. A quick twist of the wrist separates the arrow from the shaft, and they make off as fast as they can. In all cases the arrows are poisoned; and if the poison is introduced into the animal's body, the elephant does not survive.

From some of the peculiarities of the

The Wochua  
Mimics.

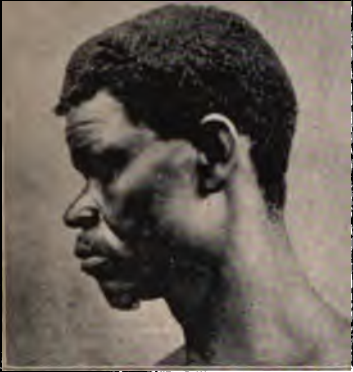
Negritoes met by Junker south of the equator. They can understand why these little people are the favourites with the old Egyptian kings. They were "distinguished by sharp powers of observation, a natural talent for mimicry, and a good memory. A striking proof of this was afforded by an Achua whom I had seen and measured four years previously in Rumbek, and now again met at Gambari's. His comic ways and quick nimble movements made this little fellow the clown of our society. He imitated with marvellous fidelity the peculiarities of persons whom he had once seen; for instance, the gestures and facial expressions of Jusuf Pasha and Shelahis and of Haj Halil at their devotions, as well as the gait and movements of Emin Pasha, 'with the four eyes' (p. 100). His imitation of Hawash Effendi in a towering rage, abusing everybody, was a great success; and now he has come to the life, rehearsing after four years, down to the minutest details, and with surprising accuracy, my anthropometric measurements when measuring his body at Rumbek."

A somewhat similar account is given by Dr Ludwig W. in the Batwa pygmies visited by him and Herr Wissmann in the Kassai region. Here are whole villages in the forest-lands inhabited by little people with an average height of about 4 feet 3 inches. They are nomads, occupied exclusively with hunting and the preparation of palm-wine, and are regarded by their Bakubu neighbours as benevolent little people, whose special mission is

<sup>1</sup> *Through Jungle and Desert*, 1896, p. 358—9.

<sup>2</sup> *Travels*, III. p. 86.

PLATE I.



1. CONGO NATIVE.  
(Negro Type.)



2. ZULU GIRL.  
(Bantu Negroid Type.)

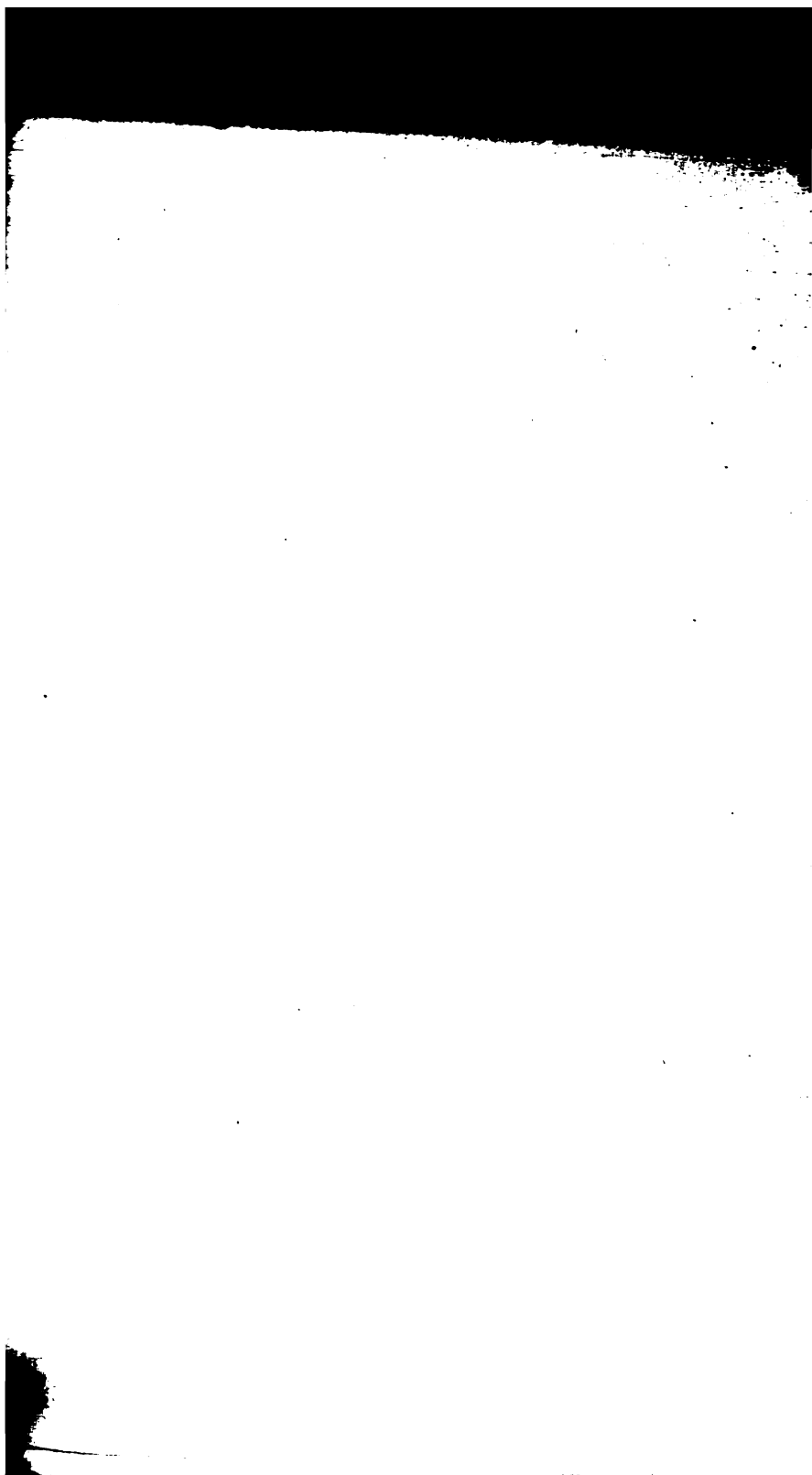


3. MELANESIAN  
(Type.)



4. NEW CALEDONIAN.  
(Melanesian Type.)





...standing tribes with game and palm-wine in  
...maize, and bananas<sup>1</sup>.

...mentioned deviations, occurring chiefly  
...hands, considerable uniformity both of physical  
...is found to prevail amongst the typical  
...in small hunting communities all over  
...Congo, and Ogowai woodlands. These groups  
...regarded as the fragments of a homogeneous  
...have an authentic historical record going back  
...dynasties, and still persist in a great part

THE BUSHMEN AND HOTTENTOTS.

...the south the Negrito domain was formerly con-  
...of the Bushmen, of whom traces  
...by Sir H. H. Johnston<sup>2</sup> as far north  
...and Tanganyika, and who, it is  
...belong to the same primitive  
...mental and physical now  
...two sections of the family may easily be explained  
...environments—hot, moist and densely wooded in  
...steppes in the south.

Bushmen  
and Hotten-  
tots. Former  
and Present  
Range.

...has now been produced of the presence of a  
...or Hottentot-Bushman group  
...the Kwa-Kokue district, between  
...Lake Victoria. The *Wasandawi*

The  
Wasandawi.

...by Herr Oskar Neumann are not Bantus, and  
...distinct from that of the neighbouring

<sup>1</sup>... p. 259 sq. As stated in *Eth.* p. 248, Dr Wolf  
...peoples with the Bushmen south of the Zambesi,  
...may now be accepted.

<sup>2</sup>... the earliest known race of man inhabiting what is  
...was akin to the Bushman-Hottentot type of Negro.  
...hole through the centre, similar to those which are  
...the south for weighting their digging-sticks, have  
...of Lake Tanganyika. I have heard that other  
...stones have been found nearer to Lake Nyasa,

Bantus, but full of clicks like that of the Bushmen. Two Sandawi skulls examined by Virchow<sup>1</sup> showed distinct Hottentot characters, with a cranial capacity of 1250 and 1265 c.c., projecting upper jaw and orthodolicho head<sup>2</sup>. The geographical prefix *Kwa*, common in the district (Kwa-Kokue, Kwa-Mtoro, Kwa-Hindi), is pure Hottentot, meaning "people," like the postfix *qua* (*Kwa*) of *Kora-qua*, *Nama-qua* &c. in the present Hottentot domain. The transposition of prefixes and postfixes is a common linguistic phenomenon, as seen in the Sumero-Akkadian of Babylonia, in the Neo-Sanskritic tongues of India, and the Latin, Oscan, and other members of the Old Italic group.

Farther south a widely-diffused Hottentot-Bushman geographical terminology attests the former range of this primitive race all over South Africa, as far north as the Zambesi. Lichtenstein had already discovered such traces in the Zulu country<sup>3</sup>, and Vater points out that "for some districts the fact has been fully established; mountains and rivers now occupied by the Koossa [Ama-Xosa] preserve in their Hottentot names the certain proof that they at one time formed a permanent possession of this people<sup>4</sup>."

Thanks to the custom of raising heaps of stones or cairns over the graves of renowned chiefs, the migrations of the Hottentots may be followed in various directions to the very heart of South Zambesia. Here the memory of their former presence is perpetuated in the names of such water-courses as *Nos-ob*, *Up*, *Mol-opo*, *Hyg-ap*, *Gar-ib*, in which the syllables *ob*, *up*, *ap*, *ib* and others are variants of the Hottentot word *ib*, *ip*, water, river, as in *Gar-ib*, the "Great River," now better known as the Orange

<sup>1</sup> *Verhandl. Berliner Gesellsch. f. Anthropol.* 1895, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Of another skull undoubtedly Hottentot, from a cave on the Transvaal and Orange Free State frontier, Dr Mies remarks that "seine Form ist orthodolichocephal wie bei den Wassandau," although differing in some other characters (*Centralbl. f. Anthropol.* 1896, p. 50).

<sup>3</sup> From which he adds that the Hottentots "schon lange vor der Portugiesischen Umschiffung Afrika's von Kaffer-Stämmen wieder zurückgedrängt wurden" (*Reisen*, I. p. 400).

<sup>4</sup> Adelson und Vater, Berlin, 1812, III. p. 290.

Hottentot  
geographical  
Names in  
Bantuland.

...affinities may be traced right across the  
 ...where nearly all the coast streams—even  
 ...the language has long been extinct—have

...the Bushmen are still heard of as far north  
 ...the interior beyond Lake Ngami nearly to the  
 ...But the Hottentots are now confined  
 ...Little Namaqualand. Elsewhere there

...still blood natives of this race, the  
 ...Griquas &c. being all Hotten-  
 ...Bantu half-castes of Dutch

Hottentots  
 disappearing.

...the tribal organisation ceased to exist  
 ...the last Hottentot chief was replaced by a  
 ...Still the Koraquas keep themselves some-  
 ...the Upper Orange and Vaal Rivers, and  
 ...the Gonaquas, that is,  
 ...gradually merged in the Bantu populations  
 ...There are at present scarcely 180,000  
 ...River, and of these the great majority are

...extremely low state of culture, or, one might  
 ...total lack of culture, the Bushmen are dis-  
 ...remarkable qualities, a certain sense of pictorial  
 ...and a rich imagination displayed

...folklore, much of which, col-  
 ...preserved in manuscript form  
 ...at Cape Town. The

Bushman  
 Folklore  
 Literature.

...for future use, perhaps long after the  
 ...for ever, comprise no less than 84 thick  
 ...double-column pages, besides an unfinished  
 ...with 11,000 entries. There are two great  
 ...tales, legends and poetry, with tales about  
 ...the stars, the *Mantis* and other animals,  
 ...the dwelt in the land before the Bushmen,  
 ...even prayers; (2) Histories, adventures of

...from below Walvisch Bay, Chuntop, Kuisip,  
 ...Hoanib, Kaurasib, and Khomeb.

men and animals, customs, superstitions, generalities, and so on.

In the tales and myths the sun, moon, and animals speak either with their own proper clicks, or else use the ordinary clicks in some way peculiar to themselves. Thus Bleek tells us that the tortoise changes clicks in labials, the ichneumon in palatals, the jackal substitutes linguo-palatals for labials, while the moon, hare, and ant-eater use "a most unpronounceable click" of their own. How many there may be altogether, not one of which can be properly uttered by Europeans, nobody seems to know. But grammarians have enumerated nine, indicated each by a graphic sign as under:—

Bushman-  
Hottentot  
Language  
and Clicks.

Cerebral.....	Palatal.....
Dental .....	Lateral (Faucal)
Guttural..... ]	Labial ..... □
Spiro-dental 7	Linguo-palatal □

Undefined x

From Bushman—a language in a state of flux, fragmentary as the small tribal or rather family groups that speak it—these strange inarticulate sounds passed to the number of four into the remotely related Hottentot, and thence to the number of three into the wholly unconnected Zulu-Xosa. But they are heard nowhere else to my knowledge except amongst the newly-discovered Wasandaw people of South Masailand. At the same time we know next to nothing of the Negrito tongues, and it would be strange if clicks did not form an element in their phonetic system also, at least on the assumption of a common origin of all these dwarfish races.

M. G. Bertin, to whom we are indebted for an excellent monograph on the Bushman<sup>1</sup>, rightly remarks that he is not, at least mentally, so debased as he has been described by the early travellers and by the neighbouring Bantus and Boers, by whom he has always been despised and harried. "His greatest love is for freedom, he acknowledges no master, and possesses no slaves.

Bushman  
mental  
Characters.

<sup>1</sup> *The Bushmen and their Language*, in *Jour. R. Asiatic Soc.* XVIII. Part 1.

of independence which made him prefer the hunter to that of a peaceful agriculturist or Hottentot. He rarely builds a hut, but prefers the natural caves he finds in the rocks. In other cases a kind of nest in the bush—hence his name of *Earthman*—with his nails subterranean caves, from which he takes the name of 'Earthman.' His garments consist of animal skin. His weapons are still the spear, arrow and bow in a rudimentary form. The spear is a mere branch of wood which is tied a piece of bone or flint; the arrow is made in the same way. The arrow and spear-heads are made of bone, to render mortal the slight wounds they inflict. He has no flocks, which would impede his movements, and he does not use the help of dogs as wild as himself. The only implement, however, one implement, a rounded stone perforated with a hole in which is inserted a piece of wood; with this he makes a spear which carries us back to the first age of man, and which is still retained in the help of dogs as wild as himself. To this day he still retains the primitive system of rubbing two stones together prehistoric survival."

In this name, it is obvious that these scattered groups, which have no collective designation.

Bushman  
Race-names.

The word *Bushman* has an uncertain meaning, but probably derived from the Hottentot *Khoi*, "Men," is the name of the group, though often applied to the whole race. The Hottentot name, is the plural of *Sa*, a term which is also used; *Ba-roa*, current amongst the Bechuanas, is a term which, while the Zulu *Abatwa* would seem to be derived by name with Wolf's and Stanley's *Batwa* of the same region. Other so-called tribal names (there are many in the sense of the word) are either nicknames given to their neighbours, or else terms taken from the names of the Fuegians<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *EtA.* p. 9.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE OCEANIC NEGROES: PAPUASIANS (PAPUANS AND MELANESIANS); AUSTRALIANS; TASMANIANS; NEGRITOES.

General Ethnical Relations in Oceania—The terms PAPUAN, MELANESIAN and PAPUASIAN defined—The Papuanian Domain Past and Present—Primitive Culture—Totemic Myths—Temperament—Cannibalism—Aquatic, Arboreal, and Communal dwellings—Religious ideas—The Melanesian Spirit World—Social Institutions—Cannibalism and Head-hunting—Freemasonry—*The New Caledonians*—Physical Characters—The Stone Age—Early Migrations—The Food Question—Transmigration and Pessimism—*Western Papuaia*—Ethnical Elements—Table of the Islands ethnically disposed—A region of Transition by Displacements and Crossings—Papuan and Malay Contrasts—Ethnical and Biological Divides—*Australians and Tasmanians*—A Region of long Isolation and Ethnical Uniformity—Early peopling of Australia—Unity of Australian Speech—Numeral System—A Typical Hunting Race—Gesture-Speech—Mental Capacity—Religious Ideas—Mythical Heroes—Treatment of the Women—Class Marriages—Communal Marriage System—Australian Humour and Mimicry—The Tasmanians—Undeveloped Speech—The Fire Myth—Rude Implements—Diet—Dwellings—Temperament—*The Oceanic Negritoes*—The Andamanese—Stone Age—Religious Beliefs—Cosmogony—Speech—The Negritoes of the Malay Peninsula: *Semangs, Sakais*—Myths—Physical Appearance—Usages—Speech—Stone Age in the Malay Peninsula—The Negritoes of the Philippines—*The Aetas*—Head-hunters—Untameable Aborigines—The Family everywhere the Social Unit in Negritoland.

### CONSPECTUS.

Distribu-  
tion in  
Past and  
Present  
Times.

Primeval Home. Papuanian: *Malaysia, New Guinea, Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia*; Australian and Tasmanian: *the whole of Australia and Tasmania respectively*; Negrito: *India (?), Andamans, Malay Peninsula, Java, the Philippines, parts of New Guinea, Timor (?)*.

Papuanian: *East Malaysia, New Guinea*; Australian: *the unsettled parts of New Guinea*; Tasmanian: *extinct*; Negrito: *Malay Peninsula, Philippines*.

**Hair.** Papuanian: *black, frizzly, mop-like ("Mop-head")*; Australian: *pitch-black, straight, though often nearly straight, not frizzly*; Negrito: *black, closely curled, but shorter and less frizzly than Papuanian*; Negrito: *short and tufty, like the hair of the negroes of the West Indies*.

Physical Characters.

**Color.** All: *very deep shades of chocolate brown, black, or black, a very constant character, lighter shades are rare*.

**Stature.** Papuanian: *extremely dolicho (68°—72°) and mesocephalic*, but very variable in areas of transition; Australian and Tasmanian: *dolichocephalic (Neanderthal type)*; Negrito: *brachycephalic*.

**Prognathism.** Papuanian: *moderately or not at all prognathic*; Tasmanian, and Negrito: *generally prognathic (in the highest degree)*. Cheekbones: *prominent or even retreating, but rather high*.

**Nose.** Papuanian: *large, straight, in true Papuans*; Australian, and Negrito: *triangular, very short, flat, deep-rooted, wide nostrils (platyrrhine)*.

**Eyes.** All: *moderately large, very deep brown, with dirty yellowish, deep-set with strong overhanging eyelids*; *very close-set and often bloodshot*.

**Build.** Papuanian, Australian, and Tasmanian: *variable, with rather wide range of height (4 ft. 10 in. or 6 ft.; Negrito: under 4 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft.)*.

**Mental Characters.** Papuanian: *very excitable, voluble*; Australian and Negrito: *highly intelligent and imaginative, but*



even more cruel than the African Negroes, and the Tasmanian: distinctly less excitable and far less cruel, captives never tortured, and the natives quick-witted or cunning within narrow limits, and very kind and gentle.

**Speech.** Papuanian, Australian, and Polynesian agglutinating with postfixes, many stock languages in West Papuania, apparently one only in East Papuania (Sulawesi), and in Australia; Negrito: scarcely lexical except in Andamans, where agglutination both by stem prefixes and by postfixes has acquired a phenomenal development.

**Religion.** Everywhere except in East Papuania (spirit worship, animism) almost absent, or at an extremely low stage of evolution; sacrificial rites and priestcraft, but not witchcraft, entirely absent.

**Culture.** Papuanian: slightly developed; agriculture somewhat advanced (N. Guinea, N. Caledonia); considerable artistic taste and fancy shown in the wood-carving of houses, canoes, outriggers, &c. All others at the lowest hunting stage, without arts or industries of any kind; the Australian boomerang a possible exception.

Main Divisions.

**Papuanian:** 1. Western Papuanians (*true Papuanians*), nearly all the New Guinea natives; Aru and other islands groups thence westwards to Flores; Torres Straits, and Louisiade Islands. 2. Eastern Papuanians: nearly all the natives of Melanesia from Bismarck Archipelago to New Caledonia, with most of Fiji.

**Australians:** hundreds of tribal groups, without any characters sufficiently marked to constitute distinct ethnical divisions anywhere.

**Negrito:** 1. Andamanese Islanders. 2. Semangs, Sakais and other scattered groups in the Malay Peninsula. 3. Aetas, surviving in most of the Philippine Islands.

PAPUASIANS.

...in *Ethnology*, Chap. XI a reconstruction of the obscure ethnical relations following broad lines.

General Ethnical Relations in Oceania.

...sections of the Ethiopic ... separated by the inter- ... Ocean, are fundamentally one. ... and Bantu sub-sections in Africa corre- ... the Papuan and Australian sub-sections ... being distinguished by great linguistic ... considerable linguistic uniformity, and ... range of physical variety within certain

... physical varieties are due mainly to Semitic ... the Negro stock; in Oceania mainly to ... Caucasian (Indonesian) grafts on the same

... element in Africa has its counterpart in ... element in Oceania (Andamanese, Sakais,

... the linguistic confusion is mainly confined ... (Sudan and New Guinea), and in both ... a large number of languages differing ... structure and vocabularies, but all ... order of speech, and also more ... system.

... the linguistic uniformity is similarly con- ... geographical areas (Bantuland in Africa; ... in Oceania); but while the uniformity ... Bantuland and Melanesia, it is limited in ... agglutinative and phonetic systems with ... and lexical diversity<sup>1</sup>.

... and Australia the two respective linguistic ... who had given much attention to the subject, ... sprang from one stock, which was itself ... *a Test of Mental Capacity*, in *Transactions*

systems show but faint if any resemblances to any other known tongues, whereas the Melanesian group is but one branch, though the most archaic, of the vast Malayo-Polynesian Family, diffused over the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

8. Owing to their linguistic, geographical, and to some extent their physical and social differences, it is desirable to treat the Papuans and Melanesians as two distinct though closely related sub-groups, and to restrict the use of the terms PAPUAN and MELANESIAN accordingly, while both may be conveniently comprised under the general or collective term PAPUASIAN.

The terms  
Papuan,  
Melanesian  
and Papuanian  
defined.

9. Here, therefore, by *Papuans* will be understood the true aborigines of New Guinea with its eastern Louisiade dependency<sup>1</sup>, and in the west many of the Malaysian islands as far as Flores inclusive, where the black element and non-Malay speech predominate; by *Melanesians*, the natives of Melanesia as commonly understood, that is, the "Bismarck" Archipelago (New Britain, New Ireland and Duke of York); the Solomon Islands; Santa Cruz; the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Loyalty, and Fiji, where the black element and Malayo-Polynesian speech prevail almost exclusively. PAPUASIA will thus comprise the insular world from Flores to New Caledonia, forming geologically a northern and north-eastern extension of the Australian Continent.

Such appear to be the present limits of the Papuanian domain, which formerly included Micronesia also (the Marianne, Pelew, and Caroline groups), and possibly extended over the whole of Polynesia as far as Easter Island. The results of the Funafuti boring (1897) "indicate almost without doubt that Polynesia is an area of comparatively recent subsidence<sup>2</sup>," so that the insular remnants of that drowned continent may still have been

The Papua-  
sian Domain,  
Past and  
Present.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the indigenous Papuans, who appear to form the great bulk of the New Guinea populations, in contradistinction to the immigrant Melanesians (Motu and others), who are numerous especially along the south-east coast of the mainland and in the neighbouring Louisiade and D'Entrecasteaux Archipelagoes. (*Eth.* p. 287 sq.) But even here the Papuans form the substratum, and despite present overlappings are no doubt the true aborigines.

<sup>2</sup> R. Lydekker, *Knowledge*, Jan. 1, 1898.

to have been reached by the early Papuanian Malays.

of the comparatively recent occupation of the dark races must now be abandoned. A remark by Dr E. T. Hamy, conveys the impression that the Melanesia [Papuasians] are a very old ethnic group, identified on the spot by crossings with populations from the Malay (Malays, Bugis, &c.). Everywhere the priority of the Malays is manifest; their origins are lost in the depths of the remote past, and this vast antiquity is attested also by the highly differentiated usages of the insular groups. There are indications that before their dispersion from the westward and eastwards, the Papuasians had

Primitive Culture.

of culture high enough to at least build houses, these terms (*waka, ruma*) increase range in endless dialectic form from the west through the Eastern Archipelago to the Loyalty Islands extremity of Melanesia. They do not occur in the dialects of non-Malay speech in New Guinea, and the true Papuans, stand in some respects almost at the bottom of the social ladder. Miklukho-Maclay found the natives on the north-west coast near Astrolabe Bay at the stage of primitive culture, with no knowledge of the metals, all their tools made of stone, wood, or bones. They could not even extinguish a fire when extinguished in a hut had to be brought back from the hearth, and if in all the huts then from the hearth of the chief. Their grandfathers remembered a time when they lived on the earth, and ate their food quite raw. The dead were buried, and the corpse could be kept up for two or three weeks in a sitting posture, which was placed near it in a sitting posture, and guarded by the wife.

prévalent dans les profondeurs d'un insondable passé" (*Journal de l'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 257 sq.) See also W. Volz, *Die Melanesier*, in *Archiv f. Anthrop.* Nov. 1894, where it is stated that the Papuasians formerly occupied all the Pacific Ocean, and were displaced by the Malays in pre-Malay times.

Almost everywhere the tribal organization is ~~primitive and barbarous~~<sup>primitive and barbarous</sup><sup>1</sup>, their social institutions primitive and barbarous to the last degree, and their religious systems, if the expression can be used at all, crude almost beyond belief. Even the totemic systems are undeveloped, as we see from the attitude of the Masingaramu people of the south-east coast towards their "god," the *sible* (crocodile), who may be killed but not eaten.

Totemic  
Myths.

They have a myth about one Usai, who once heard singing and talking in his own language, and found it was a crocodile playing with his two little ones. He therefore concluded it must be a god, who ought to be secured for the tribe. Next day all the people went and asked him to be their god, but although they promised to keep him in food, he declined the honour. So Nugu, as he was called, was seized with Ulbe, one of his sons, and brought to the village, where, in the absence of their parents, some of the children disappeared every now and then. When their loss was traced to Nugu, it was agreed to supply him with pigs on his giving his word to leave the children alone. The effigies of Nugu and Ulbe are still preserved, and at the hunting feasts are set up in the circle of dancers, refreshed with libations and greased with pig's fat. "The memory of Nugu is also perpetuated in the figure of a man which is kept in the Chief's house, and is the great totem of the tribe<sup>2</sup>."

Like all true Negroes the New Guinea people pass readily from comedy to tragedy, displaying in their temperament a strange blend of boisterous animal spirits and fiendish cruelty. When a neighbouring coast village has to be raided for blood vengeance, the warriors in the canoes get up a tremendous din, shouting and singing to Eaboahine, "the man in the moon," banging the sides of the canoes, beating the drums, and blowing the conch-shell. If the attack is successful the killing and plundering is "accompanied by the most infernal yelling and shouting," which is renewed on reaching the canoes

Tempera-  
ment.

<sup>1</sup> No priestcraft or statecraft, no totemistic clans except in Torres Straits (?), no hereditary chiefs except in the Trobriand Group (Ray and Hadden).

<sup>2</sup> B. A. Healy, *Official Report*, British New Guinea, 1895, Appendix T, p. 58 sq.

... jubilation, dancing, drum-beating, conch-  
 ... captives' palms are pierced, a string  
 ... the hands tied together at the  
 ... voyage they are jeered at and taunted  
 ... of torture, and when the flotilla arrives they  
 ... the water and fished out by those on the  
 ... spears into the less vulnerable fleshy  
 ... being barred by custom. In the village  
 ... a rope secured to a tree is passed round  
 ... them sit with head erect, and their hands  
 ... the nearest female relative of the man to be  
 ... forward armed with a sharp-pointed stick. "Is  
 ... she asks, "that you have seen my son  
 ... captured? Is it with this right eye you  
 ... cooked and eaten? Well, this is the  
 ... the stick into his right eye. All the  
 ... then follow, each in her turn inflicting some  
 ... grab, after which he is wrapped in dry coco-  
 ... some six feet from the ground, and slowly  
 ... sticks. "When the rope by which the body is  
 ... the body falls to the ground the wildest and  
 ... place. The natives rush with knives in  
 ... a piece off the body, which may be still  
 ... of diabolical noise and yells of rejoicing<sup>1</sup>."  
 ... that such scenes are still rife in many parts  
 ... beyond the reach of the  
 ... Dutch administrations. Even Cannibalism.  
 ... districts cannibalism in its most repulsive  
 ... practised before the British occupation, and  
 ... tells us that at a periodical feast, which  
 ... attend, he found the guests strutting about  
 ... flesh dangling from their neck and arms."  
 ... this banquet "was spared for a future time,  
 ... small<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> ... shortcomings are redeemed by scarcely  
<sup>2</sup> ... *Official Report*, 1895, Appendix S, p. 44 sq.  
 ... *New Guinea*, 1885.

any good qualities, at least amongst the S.E. coast peoples, and Mr H. H. Romilly was inclined, after diligent inquiry, to conclude that "they possess no virtues whatever<sup>1</sup>." It should, however, be stated that intelligent, peaceful, and friendly tribes were met both by the British and German expeditions to the interior in 1896—8. Dr Lauterbach speaks of an upland district in the Bismarck Range thickly inhabited by a settled people "very friendly and communicative," who lived in very long pile buildings in the midst of coconut palm groves<sup>2</sup>; and Sir W. Macgregor met on the Mount Scratchley slopes an isolated community of true Papuans with frizzled hair and of dark bronze colour, who "showed themselves amiable and peaceful, and the state of their arms indicated that they had not been engaged in any warlike undertaking for years<sup>3</sup>." Certainly the worst accounts hitherto received have been of coast tribes, such as the piratical Tarungares and Wandamens of Geelvink Bay, and especially the ferocious Tugara cannibals of the south coast. Even Mr Romilly speaks favourably of some of their physical qualities, keen sight which detects footsteps over rocky ground or through dense scrub, when to the European eye no trace whatever has been left, and an almost equally acute sense of hearing.

In some parts of New Guinea the local conditions and tribal usage have given rise to a considerable variety of house architecture, comprising aquatic stations like those of prehistoric Switzerland, huge communal structures of too primitive a type to be compared with the *casas grandes* of the Pueblo Indians, and arboreal dwellings perched in the forks of trees a hundred feet high, provisioned to stand a siege, like those of the Central Sudanese aborigines. Mr J. P. Thompson describes some of the south-east coast villages as "raised upon long piles in the sea from 100 to 300 yards from the beach, encompassed by water of varying depths. Some of these houses are surrounded by fences, and accessible by primitive steps, while others are unprotected

Aquatic,  
Arboreal, and  
Communal  
Dwellings.

<sup>1</sup> *From my Verandah in New Guinea*, 1889, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Geogr. Jour.* Jan. 1897, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* April, 1897, p. 449.

various architectural forms with their grotesque  
 raised upon long piles<sup>1</sup>."

near the Fly River and the Gulf of Papua this observer  
 village usually possesses one house over 500 feet  
 divided by great passages running right through  
 several subdivisions, "so that the interior section  
 of a stable with its numerous stalls. These sub-  
 divisions have fire-places, which are used for cooking the  
 food. The fire is usually kept burning day and night to  
 drive away mosquitoes and other obnoxious insects<sup>2</sup>." Although  
 they have several side doors, these buildings, which  
 are raised above the surface of the ground, are always dark  
 inside. While the arboreal structures are at least bright and  
 airy, the native dwellings are constructed in the highest  
 part of the forest above the ground, and approached by almost  
 vertical ladders constructed of long spliced saplings lashed  
 to the cross-bars at every 15 inches. These houses,  
 raised on detached platforms, are stocked with food and  
 are constantly occupied by their owners,  
 but are abandoned by the raids of their slayers that they  
 can be no longer than they can possibly help for the  
 carrying of their necessary food<sup>3</sup>."

Mr. Lang's book is prefixed an introduction on "New  
 Ideas" by Mr Andrew Lang, who  
 makes the statement that "the super-  
 natural ideas of the Papuans can hardly be said to  
 be a religion," adding that "we know from other  
 sources that the Melanesians in Melanesia have the general elements of  
 a religion." This is a good illustration of the  
 danger of using the term *Papuan* to the  
 people of New Guinea and neighbouring islands, and main-  
 taining a distinction between them and the true Melanesians of

Religious  
 Ideas.

<sup>1</sup> Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 56. For the *raison d'être* of these aquatic  
 dwellings see also Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 56.  
<sup>2</sup> Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 56. For the *raison d'être* of these aquatic  
 dwellings see also Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 56.  
<sup>3</sup> Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 56. For the *raison d'être* of these aquatic  
 dwellings see also Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 56. For the *raison d'être* of these aquatic  
 dwellings see also Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 56.



Malayo-Polynesian speech. Had Mr Lang not overlooked this point, he would have seen that the New Guinea natives, the true Papuans, may well be without any intelligible form of religion, while the Melanesian Papuans, as he calls them, have the elements of religion "like other people." Their Malayo-Polynesian speech alone shows that they must for ages have been in close contact with the Indonesians, from whom they have acquired something more than "the elements of religion."

Convincing proof of this is supplied by such works as Mr C. M. Woodford's *A Naturalist among the Head-Hunters* (1890), Dr H. B. Guppy's *The Solomon Islands and their Natives* (1887), and especially the Rev. Mr Codrington's *The Melanesians* (1891).

The last named shows that, although for lack of an adequate native term the Melanesian Mission has had everywhere to use the English word *God*, all the Melanesians have a religious system developed enough to distinguish between *spirits*, i.e. "supernatural beings that never were in a human body," and *ghosts*, i.e. "men's spirits that have left the body<sup>1</sup>." There is moreover the universal belief in *mana*, a supernatural power or influence, which, though impersonal, is always connected with some persons, spirits or ghosts, who direct or control it. As far as I can understand Mr Codrington's explanation, this *mana* is a kind of spiritual force or virtue, somewhat analogous to the Augustinian *grace*, transmitted from the higher powers to man either directly, or through some material object—a stone of peculiar shape, a tuft of leaves or the like—the possession of which secures luck and success in this life, just as the material water of baptism opens the way to happiness in the next. In any case such a metaphysical conception reveals an immense advance on the gross anthropomorphism of the New Guinea Papuans.

A similar subtle line of thought is manifested in the ideas associated with sacrifice, prayer, invocation, dreams, prophecy, omens, death and burial rites. Lolomboetogitogi, abode of the dead, shows curious analogies with the Hades of the ancients. In Lepers' Island it is reached, like Avernus, by descent through a volcanic vent near a lake, where ghosts assemble, and where the

<sup>1</sup> P. 121.

is presided by Nggalevu, the ghostly ruler of the  
 side of the lake, whither no man is known to  
 of steam rise through another cleft, a proof  
 heard the cries of the shades who have climbed  
 and called aloud to him for a sign that he is  
 are trees and houses where dwell the dead,  
 will visit the glimpses of the moon, and are seen  
 like dead tree-fern trunks right in the path of  
 to go farther into the gloomy woodlands.  
 are evil-minded, and prey on the living  
 to Lolomboetogitogi, where all live a happy if  
 at least from sorrow and earthly woes.

These Melanesians, capable of assimilating if not  
 and even sublime fancies,  
 has cruel perhaps than some of  
 but in many respects not  
 to the average New Guinea native. The  
 are unable to free them from the charge of  
 head-hunting, and other atrocious practices,  
 may still be made for these islanders,  
 the sudden raids of white kidnappers in quest of  
 the Peruvian and (formerly) the Queens-

Social  
Institutions.

Cannibalism  
and Head-  
hunting.

which cannibalism prevailed till lately in Fiji  
 the fact that, for some offence  
 a whole tribe in Viti  
 to be cooked alive in ovens  
 at each recurrent taro feast. A great part  
 by the oral common law to bide their  
 consumed, when the survivors were rescued  
 of the Archipelago in 1874. Now the  
 Christianity, Protestant or Roman Catholic,  
 Thakombau, who had in his time devoured  
 of his heathen subjects, became a devout  
 congregation.

is particularly supposed to be peculiar to the  
 on the contrary a very wide range, from the  
 through Malaysia to the utmost limits of

Papuasias. It is rife in the Solomon group, where Dr. Guppy tells us that "the chiefs of New Georgia or Rubiana extend their raids to Ysabel, Florida, and Guadalcanar, and thus perform voyages over a hundred miles in length. Within the radius of these raids no native can be said to enjoy the security of his own existence for a single day. In the villages of Rubiana may be seen heaps of skulls testifying to the success of previous expeditions. Capt. Cheyne, when visiting Simbo or Eddystone Island in 1844, found that the natives had just returned from a successful expedition, bringing with them ninety-three heads of men, women, and children<sup>1</sup>."

As in Borneo, the practice is not necessarily associated with cannibalism, and heads are often sought either for the honour of the prize, or in proof of prowess, or for some ceremonial purpose. Thus a new canoe has in some places to be baptized in blood before it can be endowed with the efficacious grace of *mana*. Human sacrifices have also to be provided for, and not only heads but living captives are often carried off and kept in reserve for some great occasion, such as the death of a chief, the foundation of a house, or the launching of a war canoe.

That indifference to physical pain when inflicted on others, so characteristic of all Papuasians, is seen in a method of scarifying which is not, however, peculiar to the Solomon group. "The faces of both men and women," writes Mr Woodford, "are frequently ornamented all over with cicatrices either circular or chevron-shaped. The operation is a painful and costly one, as the professional tattooer has to be highly paid for his trouble, and not every child's friends can afford the fee demanded. The instrument used is the claw of the flying-fox. The unfortunate patient is not allowed to sleep for two or three nights before the operation is performed, and then, when he is ready to drop from weariness, the tattooer begins his work, and completes it at one sitting....A child was brought for my inspection whose face had just been finished off. It was in a painful state of nervous irritation, and the face swelled to an enormous size. A hole was scraped for it at the edge of the sea, where it could lie on its

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 16.

...time to time dip its fevered face into the  
...two it had quite recovered<sup>1</sup>."

...Mr Woodford discovered a wide-spread system  
...of a better term he calls "castes,"  
...to be a kind of freemasonry with Free-  
masonry.  
...that and some of the adjacent

...*Alou*, *Rovu*, or *Kua*, as they are variously called  
...a general way, have each its proper name, such  
...the largest and most powerful, in Guadalcanar ;  
...*Enlbi*, *Kakau* and elsewhere. Tribes of different  
...the members of the same lodge, and it is owing to  
...afforded by them that the associates are able to  
...village to village even when war is raging between  
...H. Ray refers somewhere to the *Supwe*, a similar  
...diffused throughout the New Hebrides and the  
...kind of social club, which gives a certain prestige  
...its members, and has a *gamal* ("lodge") in every  
...only to the associates. It is interesting to note  
...people of British New Guinea, originally from  
...the large communal house in the village *dubu*,  
...word as *supwe*, *d* and *s* being interchangeable,  
...Fiji and Rotuma *sala*, and Sesake *mata ki sala*.  
...whether the club exists as an institution in Motu-  
...might have been transferred to the separate

...is much needed in a region where the main  
...existence "is to take each other's heads. They  
...always prowling about for prey, but rarely  
...they feel that they have their victim in their power  
...Themselves. Theirs is the same motive that animated  
...whom I once saw in Fiji take a live rat, de-  
...in four feet with his knife, and then allow it to  
...The same motive that animates school-  
...that inspires the Englishman's inquiry, 'What  
...the destructive instinct that, after centuries  
...works in our nature?'"

<sup>1</sup> p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Eth.* p. 287.

The "Kanakas," as the natives of New Caledonia and the Loyalty group are wrongly<sup>1</sup> called by their present rulers, have been carefully studied by some French anthropologists. Perhaps the best account of them is that of M. Augustin Bernard<sup>2</sup>, based on the observations of de Rochas, Bourgard, Vieillard, Bertillon, Meinich, and Keane. Apart from several sporadic Polynesian groups in the Loyalties<sup>3</sup>, all are typical Melanesians, long-headed with very broad face, at least in the middle, narrow boat-shaped skull (Ceph. Index 70)<sup>4</sup>, large, massive lower jaw, often with two supplementary molars<sup>5</sup>, colour a dark chocolate, often with a highly characteristic purple tinge; but de Rochas' statement that for a few days after birth infants are of a light reddish yellow hue lacks confirmation; hair less woolly but much longer than the Negro; beard also longish and frizzly, the peppercorn tufts with simulated bald spaces being an effect due to the assiduous use of the comb<sup>6</sup>; very prominent superciliary arches and thick eyebrows, whence their somewhat furtive look; mean

<sup>1</sup> *Kanaka* is a Polynesian word meaning "man," and should therefore be restricted to the brown Indonesian group, but it is indiscriminately applied by French writers to all South Sea Islanders, whether black or brown. This misuse of the term has found its way into some English books of travel even in the corrupt French form "canaque."

<sup>2</sup> *L'Archipel de la Nouvelle Calédonie*, Paris, 1895.

<sup>3</sup> Lifu, Mare, Uvea, and Isle of Pines. These Polynesians appear to have all come originally from Tonga, first to Uvea Island (Wallis), and thence in the 18th century to Uvea in the Loyalties, cradle of all the New Caledonian Polynesian settlements.

<sup>4</sup> This low index is characteristic of most Papuasians, and reaches the extreme of dolichocephaly in the extinct Kai-Colos of Fiji (65°), and amongst some coast Papuans of New Guinea measured by Miklukho-Maclay. But this observer found the character so variable in New Guinea that he was unable to use it as a racial test. In the New Hebrides, Louisiades, and Bismarck group also he found many of the natives to be round-headed, with indices as high as 80 and 85; and even in the Solomon Islands Dr Guppy records cephalic indices ranging from 73 to 82 with a mean of 81 in Treasury Island (*Nature*, April 26, 1883). Thus this feature is no more constant amongst the Oceanic than it is amongst the African Negroes. (See also M. Maclay's paper in *Proc. Linn. Soc. New South Wales*, 1882, p. 171 sq.)

<sup>5</sup> *Eth.* p. 184.

<sup>6</sup> *Eth.* pp. 170, 425.

the Melanesian with three marked varieties, the eastern districts being considered the most rudimentary of the whole Melanesian group<sup>1</sup>.

It is one of the few places in the Pacific where there has been found of an early Stone

Age, to that of Palaeolithic times in the same hemisphere. Serpentine hatchets have

The Stone Age.

recently been brought to light in pleistocene beds<sup>2</sup>, in the coralline limestone associated with shells and other fossil or sub-fossil shells, and at the same time discovered some hearths under 5 feet of soil, and at a depth of 20 feet four clay cooking-vessels like those of the Alluvial matter, however, accumulates rapidly

the natives, if not the direct descendants of the Stone Age, must still have arrived

in the period, probably following the period of migration from Malaysia.

Early Migrations.

The monsoon winds offers no obstacle, nor are the trades winds regular enough to prevent migratory movements to east. The land connections were also, as they are now, than at present, while the taro and yam—both of Asiatic origin, but now widely diffused over the Pacific—would seem to indicate the route followed by the immigrants.

Some of their industries, in some respects the rudest, and the most advanced in Melanesia, it may be said that their arrival the New Caledonians, like the Andamanese, and some other insular groups, were almost completely secluded from the rest of the world, owing to the poverty of the soil

and must always have been severe. The guarded privileges of the

The Food Question.

connected with questions of diet, while the paradise of Melanesia where they had abundance of food and shelter. Their stomach, like that of the Bushmen,

<sup>1</sup> P. 270.

<sup>2</sup> P. 189, p. 214.

seems to have acquired an exceptional power of contraction, enabling them at one time to consume large quantities of food, at another to go fasting for days without feeling any ill effects from such violent swings between want and surfeit. They were also earth-bound, cannibalism and the institution of taboo, if originally associated with religion, had certainly lost that character in New Guinea where they are mainly connected with the eternal food quest.

In the absence of game and cattle the natives could be neither hunters nor pastors, and were driven to fishing and agriculture to supplement the scanty resources of the land and fauna. Hence it is as fishers and husbandmen that they became one of the most advanced peoples in the Oceanic world. The skill displayed in the irrigation of their taro fields was rivalled only by the natives of Fiji.

Like the Levites amongst the Jews, the office of *tabaka* (priest or wizard) was hereditary, and the chief feature of their religion was the cult of the dead. In fact the gods, all evil, were, as in Bantuland, the souls of the departed, and especially of the chiefs, who acquired increased power of working harm by migrating into sharks, the winds, or thunder-storms. Thus the spirits of their forefathers that oppressed them in life bestride the whirlwind in death, and continue to harry the living by disturbing the order of nature. All this developed a gloomy, sullen temperament, a pessimistic mood and the ferocity of despair, as displayed especially at the tribal gatherings (*pilu-pilu*), and in the orgies after the taro feast, which often ended in massacres and hideous scenes of cannibalism.

Returning to the Papuan lands proper, in the insular groups west of New Guinea we enter one of the most entangled ethnical regions in the world. Here are, no doubt, a few islands such as the Ara group, mainly inhabited by full-blood Papuans, men who furnished Wallace with the models on which he built up his true Papuan type, which has since been vainly assailed by so many later observers. But in others—Ceram, Buru, Timor, and so on to Flores—diverse ethnical and linguistic elements are intermingled in almost

Trans-  
migration and  
Pessimism.

Western  
Papuanism.

hopeless confusion. Discarding the term "Alfuro" as of no ethnical value<sup>1</sup>, we find the whole area west to about 120° E. longitude<sup>2</sup> occupied in varying proportions by pure and mixed representatives of three distinct stocks: Negro (Papuans), Mongol (Malayans), and Caucasian (Indonesians). From the data supplied by Crawfurd, Wallace, Forbes, Ten Kate and other trustworthy observers, I have constructed the subjoined table, in which the east Malaysian islands are disposed according to the constituent elements of their inhabitants<sup>3</sup>:—

Ethnical  
Elements.

*Aru Group*—True Papuans dominant; Indonesians (Korongoei) in the interior.

*Kei Group*—Malayans; Indonesians; Papuan strain everywhere.

*Timor; Wetta; Timor Laut*—Mixed Papuans, Malayans and Indonesians; no pure type anywhere.

*Serwatti Group*—Malayans with slight trace of black blood (Papuan or Negrito).

*Roti and Sumba*—Malayans.

*Savu*—Indonesians.

*Flores; Solor; Adonera; Lomblen; Pantar; Allor*—Papuans pure or mixed dominant; Malayans in the coast towns.

*Buru*—Malayans on coast; reputed Papuans, but more probably Indonesians in interior.

*Ceram*—Malayans on coast; mixed Malayo-Papuans inland.

*Amboina; Banda*—Malayans; Dutch-Malay half-breeds ("Perkeniers").

*Goram*—Malayans with slight Papuan strain.

*Matabello; Tior; Nuso Telo; Tionfoloka*—Papuans with Malayan admixture.

*Misol*—Malayo-Papuans on coast; Papuans inland.

*Tidor; Ternate; Sulla; Makian*—Malayans.

*Batjan*—Malayans; Indonesians.

<sup>1</sup> *Eth.* p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> But excluding Celebes, where no trace of Papuan elements has been discovered.

<sup>3</sup> For details see Dr F. H. H. Guillemard, *Australasia*, Vol. 11. and Reclus, Vol. XIV.



*Gilolo*—Mixed Papuans; Indonesians in the middle; *Waigiu*; *Sakwatti*; *Batanta*—Malayans on the coast; Papuans inland.

From this apparently chaotic picture, which in some places, such as Timor, presents every gradation from the full-blood Papuan to the typical Malay, Crawford concluded that the eastern section of Malaysia constituted a region of transition between the yellowish-brown lank-haired and the dark-brown or black mop-headed stocks. In a sense this is true, but not in the sense intended by Crawford, who by "transition" meant the actual passage by some process of development from type to type independently of interminglings. But such extreme transitions have nowhere taken place spontaneously, so to say, and in any case could never have been brought about in a small zoological area presenting everywhere the same climatic conditions. Biological types may be, and have been, modified in different environments, arctic, temperate, or tropical zones, but not in the same zone, and if two such marked types as the Mongol and the Negro are now found juxtaposed in the Malaysian tropical zone, the fact must be explained by migrations and displacements, while the intermediate forms are to be attributed to secular intermingling of the extremes. Why should a man, passing from one side to another of an island 10 or 20 miles long, be transformed from a sleek-haired brown to a frizzly-haired black, or from a mercurial laughter-loving Papuan to a Malayan "slow in movement and thoroughly phlegmatic in disposition, rarely seen to laugh or become animated in conversation, with expression generally of vague wonder or weary sadness"?

Wallace's classical description of these western Papuans, who are here in the very cradleland of the race, can never lose its charm, and its accuracy has been fully confirmed by all later observers. "The typical Papuan race," he writes, "is in many respects the very opposite of the Malay. The colour of the body is a deep sooty-brown or black, sometimes approaching, but never quite equalling, the jet-black of some negro races. The hair is very

A Region of Transition by Displacements and Crossings.

Papuan and Malay Contrasts.

<sup>1</sup> Dr S. J. Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, 1889, p. 203.

...day, and frizzly, growing in little tufts or  
 ...are very short and compact, but afterwards  
 ...length, forming the compact, frizzled  
 ...pride and glory... The moral charac-  
 ...appear to me to separate him as distinctly  
 ...his form and features. He is impulsive  
 ...in speech and action. His emotions and  
 ...in shouts and laughter, in yells and  
 ...The Papuan has a greater feeling for art than  
 ...decorates his canoe, his house, and almost every  
 ...elaborate carving, a habit which is rarely  
 ...of the Malay race. In the affections and  
 ...the other hand, the Papuans seem very  
 ...treatment of their children they are often  
 ...the Malays are almost invariably kind

...parting-line between the Malayan and  
 ...first laid down by Wallace,  
 ...his division between the  
 ...Ethical and  
 ...Biological  
 ...Divides.  
 ...Anstro-Malayan floras and faunas,  
 ...being the positions of Sumbawa and Celebes.  
 ...are excluded from the Papusian realm,  
 ...Anstro-Malayan zoological and botanical

THE AUSTRALIANS AND TASMANIANS.

...and Tasmanians are, or were, absolutely  
 ...respective insular domains, where they  
 ...remained practically secluded  
 ...throughout the whole course  
 ...since the first peopling  
 ...Ages. Similar conditions  
 ...any way elsewhere only in  
 ...that the inhabitants of these isolated  
 ...represent a certain degree of uniformity in  
 ...characters. The modifications are

A Region of  
 long Isolation  
 and ethnical  
 Uniformity.

here everywhere such as may be accounted for on the hypothesis that the present aborigines represent a blend of two or at most three<sup>1</sup> different elements in extremely remote times, with their interminglings and fresh groupings of these same elements through inevitable local shiftings and disturbances, but without any serious addition of further foreign elements after the first settlements.

To the observer arriving on the north coast of Australia from New Guinea this homogeneous character of the aborigines is very striking. From a region of considerable ethnical confusion, presenting all shades of transition from the full-blood Papuan to the variable Melanesian, he enters a continent in which a strong family likeness is at once detected between all the scattered groups of its primitive inhabitants. This family likeness is moreover so marked that, amid all the local differences, the natives are everywhere instantly recognised as members of a single ethnical division, and we at once realise the vast period of time needed for the development of their highly specialised type. Their arrival is referred by Mr A. W. Howitt to a time anterior to the present distribution of land and water, as they must have reached their present homes by some now submerged land-connection, or at all events across narrow channels navigable by frail canoes or catamarans. An immense period of time, he contends, is "one of the elements of any solution of the problem," and during that period the natives have been completely isolated within a continental area of development. They arrived, he thinks, by a land-bridge either connecting with the Indo-Asiatic continent, or by a land extension of the Austral continent towards the north-west, or over some shallow channels between Australia and those lands<sup>2</sup>.

Early  
Peopling of  
Australia.

<sup>1</sup> Dr O. Finsch, who studied specimens from regions as wide apart as South Queensland, the Gulf of Carpentaria and West Australia, is satisfied with one: "Auf Grund dieser Untersuchungen überzeuge ich mich, dass die Australier eine eigene Rasse bilden, welche den Melanesiern oder Papuas entfernter stehen als letztere reinen Afrikanischen Negern" (*Reise in der Südsee*, 1884, p. 66).

<sup>2</sup> Paper read at the Meeting of the Australian Ass. for the Adv. of Science, Sydney, Jan. 1898. I need scarcely point out how completely these views harmonise with those advanced in *Eth.* Chap. XI.

Unity of  
Australian  
Speech.

is given to this assumption by the absolutely uniform character of Australian  
 divergences from a common aggluti-  
 nated form, which is radically distinct from any other, are  
 the divergences of the American tongues from a  
 agglutinated form, while the phonetic system may be  
 everywhere identical. A few traces of sibilants have  
 been found, but practically these sounds are unknown to all  
 the American dialects. Here we have complete accord between  
 the anatomical characters, both alike arguing for a  
 common origin. All attempts to affiliate this group to  
 the languages of Southern India, or to any other, have signally  
 failed from the "proofs" of affinity with "words used  
 in the dialect" put forward by Mr S. Bennett, Mr Taplin and  
 Mr. Macalister, a doctor, is equated with the Greek  
*μαχ*, the comparison, to prove anything, should be  
 made with *μαχ*, a hand, and *εργον*, work, terms not found in  
 any of the dialects. So *mah*, to strike = Hindí *mah*, which  
 in Hindí means *month*, and *mah* nothing at all; and  
 it is credited that *sobbera*, head, is collated with English  
*serpenter*, which should be Portuguese, only in that  
 it does not mean *head*, but *snake*. And the whole  
 is unscientific, all the native dialects being ransacked for  
 words which are then compared, not with a particular Aryan  
 language, but with all of them, ancient and modern, and even with  
 the "Moorish" (*gibber* = *Gibr-altar*), which are  
 not Aryan. Hence, if the comparisons could be  
 made, the logical inference would be that the Australians  
 speak languages to be an amalgam of Aryans and  
 non-Aryans, and, from all parts of Europe, Asia, and  
 Africa. In reason the comparisons made by Mr Curr  
 and Macalister, "languages" must also be pronounced worth-

The sound *ma* is attributed by Prof. Macalister to the  
 corresponding modified tongue, which make their  
 accomplishment (*Paper*, Brit. Ass. Edinburgh, 1891).  
*Aborigines of Victoria*, 1878, Vol. II. p. 5 sq.

It is more profitable to note, as an indication of the level of the Australian intellect, that in some of these dialects are there any words for the numbers higher than *one* and *two*, or here and there *three*, beyond which *four* = 2 + 2, *five* = many, lots, heaps, and so on. Even *bula*, a common word for *two*, is used in some places for *three*, and in others for *many*, as if the numerical relations were altogether beyond the grasp of the native mind<sup>1</sup>. In any case "no Australian Black in his wild state can, I believe, practically count as high as seven. If you lay seven pins on a table for a Black to reckon, and then abstract two, he would not miss them. If one were removed, he would miss it, because his manner of counting by ones and twos amounts to the same as if he reckoned by odds and evens<sup>2</sup>." In fact the Australian stands practically at the binary stage, and has nowhere yet reached the first of the three natural systems—*quinary* with a 5 base, *decimal* with 10, and *vigesimal* with 20.

Nor can it be said that they had no need of a more highly developed arithmetic system, for it would be convenient to reckon at least the number of their children and wives, and (as hunters) of the number of successful "bags." Professor Richard Simon<sup>3</sup> rightly regards them as the typical hunters, in this respect unapproached by the Canadian trapper, the South African Bushman, or any other people savage or civilized. Hence in the wild state the Australian is the most independent of mortals, but at the same time is prevented from making any progress in culture beyond a certain very low level. The difficulty of capturing game with his primitive methods compels him to give his whole time to the quest of food, and spend his days in roaming restlessly over wide

<sup>1</sup> Thus *karbo* = 3 in the Herbert Vale dialect; but radicals beyond 3 are very rare.

<sup>2</sup> Here we are reminded by Dr L. L. Conant that a few languages are absolutely destitute of pure numerical terms. Thus the Bolivian Chiquito has no true word for *one*, and *etama*, so used, really means "alone" (*The Numerical Concept: Its Origin and Development*, 1896).

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, Melbourne, 1886, Vol. I. p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Reiseerlebnisse*, &c. in *Australien*, &c., Leipzig, 1896, *passim*.

hunting-grounds, and devising all sorts of artificial methods and precautions for preventing these preserves from becoming over-peopled. As in New Caledonia, the food question was at the base of most social institutions.

The existence of gesture-language is current amongst the  
 has been known, and Mr A. H. Howitt  
 Mr Smyth a few of the signs of which  
 a knowledge amongst the tribes of

Gesture-  
Speech.

On this subject Mr Smyth himself writes: "It  
 they have several signs, known only to themselves  
 the whites who have had intercourse with  
 periods, which convey information readily  
 This statement is now fully confirmed by  
 Roth, who, during his long residence amongst the  
 has discovered and become proficient in a  
 gesture-system ranging over a wide area. It  
 as the West African drum-language,  
 been mastered by Herr R. Betz in the  
 Er Roth has determined the value of no less  
 signs, which are in use amongst a large number  
 west-central Queensland district, and serve  
 a *lingua franca*, and, thanks to the keen vision  
 the further advantage of being intelligible at  
 These signs, which he describes and  
 taught in our deaf and dumb schools,  
 a wide range of thought, different plants,  
 persons, events, conditions, feelings, and  
 speech thus differs from articulate speech  
 the one appeals to the sense of vision, the  
 and should be a complete reply to  
 that thought and spoken language

*Aborigines of Victoria*, 1878, II. p. 308.

among the North-West-Central Queensland Ab-  
 IV, with appended illustrations.

Great efforts have been made by believers in the natural equality of all mankind to present the native institutions, religious ideas, and general capacity in as favourable a light as possible. Brough Smyth shows plainly enough that children in the schools of Victoria are capable of assimilating a certain amount of teaching, and appeal is especially made to their artistic sense and power of delineation, even in the wild state, as shown by the pictorial representations in their caves and rock shelters. Favourite "motives" of this primitive "School of Art," which compares badly with those of the Bushmen and Palæolithic cave-men, are the human hand and the snake, and this is the account given of the "technique" by Mr Ernest Giles: "The drawing [of the hand] is done by filling the mouth with charcoal powder if the device is to be black, if red with red ochre powder, damping the wall where the mark is to be left, and placing the palm of the hand against it, with the fingers stretched out; the charcoal or ochre powder is then blown against the back of the hand; when it is withdrawn, it leaves the space occupied by the hand and fingers clean, while the surrounding portions of the wall are all black or red, as the case may be. One device represents a snake going into a hole; the hole is actually in the rock, while the snake is painted on the wall, and the spectator is to suppose that its head is just inside the hole. The body of the reptile is curled round and round the hole, though its breadth is out of all proportion to its length, being 7 or 8 inches thick and only 2 to 3 feet long. It is painted with charcoal ashes which had been mixed up with some animal's or reptile's fat<sup>1</sup>." The process resembles that of our sand-engraving on glass-ware.

Their sense of right and wrong Mr Giles describes as hazy, and he is uncertain whether they have any knowledge of a Supreme Being, allowing, however, that "nothing of the nature of worship, prayer, or sacrifice has been observed<sup>2</sup>." Elsewhere he argues that they

<sup>1</sup> *Australia Twice Traversed*, 1889, Vol. I. p. 78. For other processes see Mr R. H. Mathews' Paper on *The Rock Paintings and Carvings of the Australian Aborigines*, in *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* 1896, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* I. p. 44.

... on the subject of God or an after-life, and that ... them with such notions "have been imposed ... until they had learnt something of Christianity ... and others, the Blacks had no beliefs or practices ...

... the only possible view seems evident from the ... and legends associated with Pundgyl, who is known ... to many tribes, and has been selected by the ... the native "theogonies" as the nearest approach ... religious texts<sup>2</sup>. The Pundgyl (Bunjil) of the ... Yarra River, has a wife, Boiboi, whose face he ... a son Bin-beal and a brother Pal-ly-yan, by whose ... things. He is provided with a large knife, ... the earth he went all over it, cutting and slashing ... creeks, mountains and valleys. Then, after ... the whites, there is a curious adaptation of Bunjil to ... as when people grow wicked he waxes angry, ... and fierce winds which shake the big trees on the ... he again goes about with his big knife, ... and that way, and men, women, and children are ... pieces. But the pieces are alive, and wriggle ... when great storms come, and they are blown ... They are wafted into the clouds, and by ... higher and thither all over the earth, and thus is ... But the good men and women are carried ... stars, which still shine in the heavens.

... point at an incipient state of ancestor-worship, ... the wonderful god or eponymous ... tribe on the Lower Murray ... originally coming down the ... sending back two messengers to report his ...

Mythical  
Heroes.

... Humboldt, one of our safest guides in all that ... and usages of the natives: "At all events it is certain ... sacrifices are to be found in Australia. Nor have the ... ever been seen to pray" (*Among Cannibals*, 1889,

... *Bunjin Pundgyl Marman monguit woorworer bar* ... (Smyth, II. p. 130).



arrival to the up-country people. They cross over to Lake Albert, where they meet hostile tribes, and marvellous contests ensue. Nurunderi throws flat stones into Lake Alexandria, which become bream, and he goes up to the Coorong, where he slays a chief who has kidnapped his children. When he reaches Encounter Bay his wives forsake him, but he calls upon the sea to overflow, and they are all swallowed up in the waves. In the end he goes up to *Wyirrewarri*, i.e. Cloudland, where he now dwells.

Although the practice of cannibalism has been questioned, Lumholtz shows that the aborigines are omnivorous in the strictest sense of the word, devouring everything at all digestible, from vermin and insects to man. He mentions live beetles and their larvæ, fleas, *pediculi*, grasshoppers, children (by their mothers), captives, and people generally. "The Australians are cannibals. A fallen foe, be it man, woman, or child, is eaten as the choicest delicacy; they know no greater luxury than the flesh of a blackman<sup>1</sup>." Religious rites and ceremonial customs do not apply here, the natives knowing nothing of such observances.

A common test of a people's culture is the treatment of their women, and in this respect the Australians must, as Prof. R. Semon shows<sup>2</sup>, be ranked below the Bushman and on a level with the Fuegians. When we read the accounts of the barbarous treatment to which the Australian *lubra* is habitually subjected, all our preconceived notions of the "noble savage" are quickly dispelled, and we begin to wonder how mankind ever succeeded in struggling upward to a higher state. Brough Smyth gives us a truly pathetic account of the marriage customs in vogue among the Victorian tribes: "A man having a daughter of 13 or 14 years of age arranges with some elderly person for the disposal of her; and, when all are agreed, she is brought out and told that her husband wants her. Perhaps she has never seen him but to loathe him. The father carries a spear and a waddy, or a tomahawk, and, anticipating resistance, is thus prepared for it. The poor girl, sobbing and sighing, and muttering

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Natur*, 1896, No. 20.

...chans pity from those who will show none. ... mandates of her father, he strikes her with his ... and screams, the blows are repeated; and if ... away, a stroke on the head from the waddy ... her. The mother screams and scolds and ... her *kan-kan* (fighting-stick); the dogs bark ... nothing interrupts the father, who, in the per- ... is strict and mindful of the necessity of not ... his authority, but of showing to all that he has the ... it. Seizing the bride by her long hair he drags ... prepared for her by her new owner. Further ... subjects her to brutal treatment. If she attempts ... the bridegroom does not hesitate to strike her savagely ... his waddy, and the bridal screams and yells ...

... are at least exonerated by Mr Curr from ... present or former promiscuity, in- ... theories on the complicated ... with the marriage-systems of ... other lower races. Here it is necessary to ... between *class*-marriages and the so-called ... "group" marriages; the former having for their ... is commonly supposed, the prevention of ... unions but the proper disposal of the stock ... the latter implying on the contrary absolute

Class  
Marriages.

... was fairly well established, and for the first time, by ... (Chap. III.) who, thanks to his thorough knowledge ... been able to penetrate the secret, and to show that ... are not necessarily barred by the class system, while ... between persons unconnected by any ties of blood. ... the whole intricate process is based on the food supply, ... natural selection, with a view to make the most ... of the disposal of the tribe. As in New Caledonia ... for the chiefs, so in Australia husband and wife fare ... and both from their children, and the classes that ... up by strict marriage laws, which have in principle ... of consanguinity. The weak point of the current ... interest in the permanent good of the community,

promiscuity within certain wide limits in the past, and sanctioning the same within narrower limits in the present. About the class-marriages there is no difficulty. Their general existence is established beyond all question both amongst exogamous and endogamous tribes in Australia, North America, and other regions. Indeed their special importance is due to the fact that strikingly analogous systems still prevail in so many other remote lands, "a circumstance which should go far to uphold the doctrine of the unity of the human race<sup>1</sup>."

But in the present connection their interest lies in the fact that they *exclude* the idea of community of women, so that, were class-marriages universal in Australia, Mr Curr would be right in asserting that "the husband is the absolute owner of his wife (or wives)<sup>2</sup>," and there would be no room for any form of legalised promiscuity. This is seen from the very conditions of the class-system, the chief points of which are:—1. All male and female members of a class belong each to a special class determined by parentage; 2. Marriage within the several classes is barred to their several members, so that no one of, say, Class A, can marry anyone of that class; 3. Marriage is restricted to certain prescribed classes, so that no one of Class A can marry into *any* other class, but only into Class B or other prescribed class. 4. Except in one doubtful case (the Kurnai) the children belong to a class, which is not that of either parent, but results nevertheless from parentage. This leads to complications, developing into a system "which seems too intricate to have been the invention of tribes so low down in the scale of mental capacity<sup>3</sup>" and leads eventually to disintegration.

But although general, the system is not universal, so that theoretically room might be made for the group or communal system, first described by the Rev. Lorimer Fison<sup>4</sup>, then accepted by the late Lewis H. Morgan<sup>4</sup>, and despite Mr Curr's crushing exposure, still taken

Communal  
Marriage  
System  
Pretended.

of which, as pointed out in *Ethnology*, p. 9, primitive man can have no thought, though fully alive to the necessity of providing for his daily bread.

<sup>1</sup> Curr, *op. cit.* 1. p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> In *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 1880. Mr A. W. Howitt, joint author of this work, does not commit himself to the theory; but Prof. Morgan, who

assumed probably by most ethnologists. Mr Fison assumes that there was no individual marriage, but that the class was divided into more "groups," in which the males of one had wives among the females of the other or of some other, but that later this promiscuous arrangement gave way—in some measure in practice though not in theory—to individual marriage, the man retaining a more or less exclusive right to certain women, who were attached to him in the relation of wives. In fact "marriage is essentially communal," the relation being not of one individual to another, but of one group to another, while the ancient assumed the present assumed law usage. Without entering into details it will suffice here to state generally that, after a cursory survey into the whole subject on the spot, Mr Curr has thrown these assumptions away, disproves the "facts" on which they were based, and shows convincingly that the promiscuity here supposed neither did nor does exist in any part of Australia. It is to be hoped that visionary group or communal systems, such as the survivals of an equally visionary state of promiscuity, be henceforth banished from works dealing with the social institutions of mankind?

The distinguishing quality of the natives is their high sense of humour and mimetic powers comparable to those of the African Negritos. "What is comical to them is comical to us at once, and makes them laugh heartily. They are very humorous, have a decided sense of humour, and are skilful mimics. I once saw a native receive an order from his master, whereupon

Australian  
Humour and  
Mimicry.

Mr Morgan Note, fully accepts it with all its logical consequences: that among primitive savages, as this memoir fully shows, groups of males and groups of females, not by any ceremony of a formal marriage, but by an organic law, respected by the community over large areas, and followed in actual practice by the individuals of the parties. A woman is found one day living with one man, and on the next day with another man of the same relation, and perhaps several women with several men" (p. 10). Of course Prof. Morgan's great authority, and his somewhat discredited *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, made the fortune of this absolutely baseless

he immediately went to his companions and imitated his master's manner of speaking and acting, to the great amusement of the whole camp. In their dances they imitate in a striking manner the hopping of the kangaroo and the solemn movements of the emu, and never fail to make the spectators laugh.<sup>1</sup> But they will never "laugh the sense of misery far away," for it is always with them, and surely killing them as it has already killed their Tasmanian kinsmen.

These "colithic Tasmanians"<sup>2</sup> stood even at a lower level of culture than the Australians. At the occupation of the scattered bands, with no hereditary chiefs or social organization, numbered altogether 2000 souls at most, speaking several distinct dialects, whether of one or more stock languages is uncertain. In the absence of sibilants and some other features they resembled the Australian, but were of ruder or less developed structure, and so imperfect that according to Joseph Milligan, our best authority on the subject, "they observed no settled order or arrangement of words in the construction of their sentences, but conveyed in a supplementary fashion by tone, manner, and gesture those modifications of meaning which we express by mood, tense, number, &c."<sup>3</sup> Abstract terms were rare, and for every variety of gum-tree or wattle-tree there was a name, but no word for "tree" in general, or for qualities, such as hard, soft, warm, cold, long, short, round, &c. Anything hard was "like a stone," round, "like the moon," and so on, "usually suiting the action to the word, and confirming by some sign the meaning to be understood."

Though they carried fire-sticks about, it is doubtful whether they possessed the art of making fire by friction or otherwise. But they remembered a time when there was no fire at all, until two blackfellows standing on a hill-top threw it about like stars; at which the people were frightened and ran away, but came back and made

The Tas-  
manians.

Undeveloped  
Speech.

The Fire  
Myth.

<sup>1</sup> J. umholtz, *op. cit.* p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> *Ethnology*, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> Paper in Brough Smyth's work, II. p. 413.

... which "no more was fire lost in our land. ... These are they who brought fire to our

... the disgraceful colonial wars of extermination, a few ... better type appear to have been ... the mainland. But before that ... neither the boomerang nor the ... nor the shield of the Australians, nothing in fact ... not unlike the Irish shillelagh, and two kinds ... one a mere sapling some 15 feet long, pointed ... by fire, the other about 10 feet long and lighter. ... any stone or bone attachments, these rude weapons ... to those of the Old Stone Age, to which were ... of those flint or other spear-heads now found in such ... the caves and pleistocene beds of the northern

Rude Implements.

... diet were included "snakes, lizards, grubs and ... the opossum, wombat, kangaroo, ... roots, seeds and fruits, but not

Diet.

... at least normally. Like the Bushmen, they were ... enormous quantities of food when they ... the case is mentioned of a woman who was seen ... eggs of the sooty petrel (larger than a duck's), ... allowance of bread, at the station on Flinders ... had frail bark canoes made fast with thongs or ... like those of Torres Straits, ... abodes or huts, beyond branches

Dwellings.

... together, supported by stakes, and disposed ... the convex side to windward. On the ... the sea-shore they took refuge in caves, ... natural hollows. Usually the men went naked, ... loose covering of skins, and personal orna- ... to cosmetics of red ochre, plumbago, and ... with occasionally a necklace of shells strung

Op. cit. II. p. 461.

During the hopeless struggle with the early settlers, the natives developed a degree of ferocity equal to that of their exterminators. But when first encountered by Cook, Péron and other navigators, they appeared to be a mild, inoffensive people, disposed to be friendly or at least not hostile, diffident rather than distrustful. Little or no reference is made to atrocious tribal practices, mutilations and other horrors, which make detailed accounts of the Australian peoples such unpleasant reading. The reason is obvious enough. The Tasmanians had not yet passed from the rude primitive state of the family life to the social condition of the clan and tribe, when complications arise, and the "commonweal" has to be safeguarded by all manner of drastic measures. In the general evolution of human progress the intermediate stages will often be found more unpleasant than either extreme.

Tempera-  
ment.

#### THE OCEANIC NEGRITOES.

In Africa the Negrito substratum, partly sheltered by trackless tropical woodlands, may still be traced in scattered fragments from Mangbattuland to the Cape. In Oceania the Negrito substratum, formerly diffused throughout the Malayan lands, survives only in four widely separated *enclaves*—the Andaman Islands, the Malay Peninsula, the Philippines, and parts of New Guinea.

The "Mincopies," as the Andamanese used to be called, nobody seems to know why, were visited in 1893 by Dr Louis Lapique, who examined a large kitchen-midden near Port Blair, but some distance from the present coast, hence of great age<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless he failed to find any worked stone implements, although flint occurs in the island. Indeed, chipped or flaked flints, now replaced by broken glass, were formerly used for shaving and tattooing. But, as the present natives use only fishbones, shells, and wood, Dr Lapique somewhat hastily concluded that these islanders, like some other primitive groups, have never passed through a Stone Age at all. The shell-mounds have certainly yielded arrow-heads and polished adzes "indistinguishable from any of the

The Anda-  
manese.

Stone Age.

<sup>1</sup> *A la Recherche des Negritos*, &c. in *Tour du Monde*, New Series, Livr. 35—38. The midden was 150 ft. round, and over 12 ft. high.

...the Indian celts of the so-called Neolithic period<sup>1</sup>.  
 ...no reason to think that the archipelago was ever  
 ...by a people different from its present inhabitants.  
 ...they suppose that their ancestors arrived in the Stone  
 ...ceased to make stone implements, as less  
 ...their purposes and more difficult to make than the  
 ...bone-tipped darts, arrows, and nets with which they  
 ...and fish "more readily than the most skilful  
 ...with hook and line<sup>2</sup>." Similarly they would seem to  
 ...the art of making fire, having once obtained it from  
 ...volcano in the neighbouring Barren Island<sup>3</sup>.

...wild statements regarding this primitive Negrito race,  
 ...to the careless observations of passing navigators, but  
 ...popular ethnographic works, have been dispelled by  
 ...shows that they do not make holes in the sand to  
 ...rabbits, that there are no so-called "oven-trees" where  
 ...cannibalism, nor any bow-traps, boomerangs,  
 ...Australian throwing-sticks), or blow-pipes, useless with-  
 ...of which they make no use whatsoever. But they do  
 ...of boats, one a very rude outrigger of primitive  
 ...they have two or three kinds of dwellings, one also  
 ...primitive—mere leafy shelters like those of the  
 ...but usually erected only on temporary camping-

...they resemble the Papuans and other dark  
 ...they are merry, talkative, petulant, inquisitive, and restless ;  
 ...with a constant repetition of the same idea ;  
 ...not take too practical a form, is heartily appre-  
 ...insults or injuries are promptly resented<sup>4</sup>." A  
 ...is the attitude of the men towards their  
 ...necessarily doomed to much drudgery, are  
 ...on a footing of perfect equality. Despite

<sup>1</sup> *Anthrop. Inst.* 1881, p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> ...the extinct crater of *Narcondam*, i.e. *Narak-andam*  
 ...which the *Andaman* group may have taken its name



the misrepresentations of some explorers, marriage being polygamous, divorce being unknown, and "conjugal fidelity the general rule and not the exception".

Religious  
Beliefs.

No forms of worship have been noticed, though there is a vague belief in *Púluga*, an immortal, invisible being who lives in a large stone house in the sky, knows everything, even the thoughts of men, in the daylight, but not in the dark, and has made all things except those of the evil spirits, for whose misdeeds he is not accountable. He punishes the victims, sometimes affords them relief, and shows in the thunderstorm his anger at certain crimes and offences. But nothing can lessen their dread of the evil one, to whose machinations nearly all deaths, sickness, and other calamities are attributed. There is a curious notion about wax-burning, which being distasteful to *Púluga*, is often secretly done when the enemy is a-hunting or a-fishing, in order to stir his wrath and thus spoil the sport. Hence in the criminal code, after falsehood, theft, assault, murder, and adultery, follows wax-burning, the greatest crime of all, equivalent to our sacrilege!

Cosmogony.

Original also is the native cosmogony, which teaches that the earth<sup>2</sup>, flat as a plate, rests on the top of a very tall tree, and is doomed one day to be upset by a great earthquake. Then the living and the dead will change places, and the latter, to hasten the consummation, every now and then combine to shake the tree and so displace the wicker ladder by which it is connected with heaven, but this must be done only in the rainy season, as at other times the parched earth might crumble and crush them all.

Mr Man has carefully studied and reduced to writing the Andamanese language, of which there are at least nine distinct varieties, corresponding to as many

<sup>1</sup> Man, *ib.* p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the Andaman Islands, which they supposed to comprise the whole world. Hence the few strangers that occasionally arrived were their deceased forefathers, who dwelt on a neighbouring islet and were allowed now and then to revisit the *érema*, or world. Hence also the natives of India who now come regularly are still called *chéugala*, i.e. "deceased spirits."

THE ANDAMANESSE PRONOUNS.

...of the phonetic system is...  
...nobody ever attempts...  
...which is reached by a...  
...tapped with the finger-tips of either...  
...finger, and saying...  
...with the next, after...  
...and...  
...of the second hand is reached, making...  
...to indicate 3+5, and the...  
... "all." But this feat is...  
...you get only words answering...  
...countless, which flight of imagination

...arithmetic these paradoxical islanders...  
...as astonishingly intricate form of speech...  
...bewildering superfluity of pro-...  
...Thus the possessive pronouns have...  
...variants according to the class of...  
...of the body, degrees of kinship, &c.)...  
...For instance, *my* is *da, db, dda, dai, ddr, ad, ad-en,*  
*ad-er, ad-er, mouth, father, son, step-*  
*brother, with thy, his, our, your,*

Grammatical  
Structure.

...of nouns in classes is analogous to the...  
...to note that the number of classes...  
...the other hand there is a wealth of post-...  
...agglutinating forms of speech, so that...  
...follow the principles of the ordinary...  
...adding their prefixes they follow the...  
...of the South African tongues. Hitherto,  
...principles in full play have never been...  
...language...In Andamanese both are

...one group; they have no affinities by...  
...with any other known group" (Lieut. ...  
...*Anthrop. Jour.* 1882, p. 123).

fully developed, so much so as to interfere with the mathematical functions<sup>1</sup>." The result often is that the words comparable in length to those of the European languages. A savage people, who can hardly be said to be possessed of about the most intricate language known, presents a psychological puzzle which I cannot profess to solve.

In the Malay Peninsula the indigenous aborigines, the Negrito, who, known by many names, such as the Sakai, Dina, Liar, Sencoi, Mestung, etc., form a single ethnical group presenting some striking resemblances to the Andamanese. But, surrounded from time out of time by Malay peoples, some semi-civilised, some nearly so, and themselves, but all alike slowly crowding them out of the land, these aborigines have developed defensive qualities, and the more favoured insular Negritoes, while their natural development has been arrested at perhaps a somewhat lower plane of culture. In fact, doomed to extinction before their time, they never have had a chance in the race, as Mr Hugh Clifford sings in *The Song of the Last Semangs* :—

"The paths are rough, the trails are blind  
The Jungle People tread ;  
The yams are scarce and hard to find  
With which our folk are fed.  
We suffer yet a little space  
Until we pass away,  
The relics of an ancient race  
That ne'er has had its day."

These particular Semangs, who have hitherto succeeded in maintaining their independence, have a weird legend of a mysterious nation of great Amazonian warriors one day to come and smite the faithless Sakai people, who have gone over to the enemy's camp, and now join with them in tracking and hunting down their own kinsfolk. These terrible warriors—who dwell in the depths of the dark woodlands beyond the Gunong Korbu heights, and are stronger, taller, bolder, and of paler colour than any men—have even been seen, and their bows and blow-pipes also, larger and truer and better carved than any

<sup>1</sup> Lieut. R. C. Temple, quoted by Mr Man, *Anthrop. Jour.* 1882, p. 103.

...in the deep recesses of the forest  
 ...many moons ago? He and his  
 ...of a wounded stag, found it  
 ...a larger arrow than their, and that  
 ...loud threatening cry in a strange  
 ...skinned woman breaking through  
 ...brother fell pierced by an arrow.  
 ...lived to tell the tale, for the two  
 ...the story, and has perhaps been more  
 ...the "Orang-utan" (Wild men) as the  
 ...any other white man.  
 ...lives valley as "like."  
 ...the reverse end of a  
 ...black in colour; their hair is short  
 ...the scalp in little crisp curls; their noses  
 ...; and their features are those of the  
 ...They are sturdily built and well set upon  
 ...little better than dwarfs. They live by  
 ...permanent dwellings, camping in little  
 ...for the moment, game is most plentiful."  
 ...they cannot be called—are exactly  
 ...manese, mere lean-to's  
 ...propped on rough  
 ...next to none, and their food is  
 ...roots, fish from the stream, and  
 ...and other game, this term having an  
 ...rarely obtainable, is a great luxury,  
 ...tribes. Some Chinese rock-salt, once  
 ...by Mr Clifford, was eagerly clutched  
 ..."This coarse stuff would take the  
 ...most human beings who attempted  
 ...suppose that nature gives the Semang  
 ...ormally large quantities at one time,  
 ...of eating it in small daily instalments

Physical Appearance.

Usages.

...Theopeng, 1897, p. 179 sq.

are few and far between<sup>1</sup>." Such a place is the large part played by salt in the life of so many civilised peoples. "The Romans placed upon it the images of the Lares and the salt-holder was kept with great care, and was esteemed ominous. The prominence and social symbol is doubtless due to the necessity to most nations at an early stage that it was a luxury very hard for primitive parts of the world<sup>2</sup>."

All the faculties are sharpened mainly by the and of means to elude the enemy now closing retreats in the upland forests. When hard protest impossible, they will climb trees and stretch branch to branch where these are too wide apart a bound, and along such frail aerial bridges women with their cooking-pots and other effects, with the at the breast, and the little ones clinging to their For like the Andamanese they love their women and in this way rescue them from the Malay raid. But unless the British raj soon intervenes They may slip from the Malays, but not from their kinsmen, who often lead the hunt, and squat all tree-tops, calling one to another and signalling out when the leaves rustle and the rattans so that nothing can be done, and another family away into bondage.

From their physical resemblance, undoubtedly speech. scent, and geographical proximity, expect to find some affinity in the Andaman and Malay Negritoes. But Mr Clifford, a European who has made a special study of the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Marie Goldsmith West, *The Symbolism of Salt*, in *Popular Science Monthly*, December, 1897, p. 241. The writer refers to *Hor. Od. II. 16. 14*. A more significative though less known passage occurs in *Arnob. II. : Sacrus factis mensas salinorum appositus, et simulacris Deorum.*

PLATE II.



1. **GRAVE NATIVE.**  
(Australian Type.)



2. **AETA WOMAN.**  
(Negrito Type, Philippines.)



3. **WOMAN.**  
(India.)



4. **ROTUMA GIRL.**  
(Sub-Melanesian Type.)



...points of contact between them and  
 ...group'. This, however, need cause no  
 ...disaccordance with recognised principles'.  
 ...implements have been Stone Age.  
 ...and specimens are now  
 ...collection at Oxford'. But the present  
 ...or use such tools, and there is good  
 ...that they were the work of their ancestors  
 ...Mindanao, during the Stone Ages. Hence  
 ...has been separated for many thousands of years,  
 ...diverged too widely to be now traced  
 ...source.

...of the Philippines we enter a region of  
 ...complications', amid The Actas.  
 ...the dark dwarfish Acta peoples  
 ...everywhere as the indigenous element, and  
 ...even the recognised owners of the soil  
 ...of the Malayan intruders. This curious  
 ...noticed, has been brought out by Mr.  
 ...the best observers of the social relations in  
 ...for a graphic description of these aborigines,  
 ...Negroes," with "curly matted hair like  
 ...still widely diffused in small bands "over  
 ...islands," he writes: "For a long time they  
 ...of Luzon Island, where they exercised  
 ...the Tagalogs and other immigrants, until  
 ...primary in *Jour. Straits Branch R. Asiat. Soc.* 1892,

...Paper On The Cave Dwellers of Perak, in *Jour.*  
 ...sq. This observer thinks "the earliest cave  
 ...the Negritos" (p. 47), and the great age of the  
 ...that "in some of the caves at least 12 feet of a  
 ...earth has been accumulated and subsequently  
 ...of the caves. In places two or three layers of solid  
 ...and removed, some of these layers having been  
 ...Blumentritt's Paper on the Manguians of Min-

...London and Hongkong, 1890.



these arrived in such numbers, that the highlanders and the highlands.

The taxes imposed upon the primitive highlanders, the Negritos were levied in kind, and, when they were refused, they swooped down in a posse, and punished the defaulter. Since the arrival of the Spanish, the power of the white man has made them take definitely to the lowlands, where they appear to be very gradually decreasing in number.

At first sight it may seem unaccountable that a race of such extremely low intellect should be able to assert their superiority in this way over the intruding Malaysians, assumed to be of much their superiors in physical and mental qualities. But it has to be considered that the invasions took place in very remote times, ages before the appearance on the scene of the semi-civilized Muhammadan Malays of history. Whether of Indonesian or of what is called "Malay" stock, the intruders were Indo-Oceanic peoples, who in the prehistoric period, prior to the spread of civilising Hindu or Moslem influences in Malaysia, had already advanced in general culture much beyond the indigenous Papuan and Negrito populations of that region. Even at present the

Head-hunters. Gaddanes, Itaves, Igorotes and others of this class are mere savages, at the head-hunting stage, quite as wild as, and perhaps even more ferocious than any of the Aetas. Indeed we are told that in some districts the Negrito and Igorote tribes keep a regular Debtor and Creditor account of heads. Wherever the vendetta still prevails, all alike live in a chronic state of tribal warfare; periodical head-hunting expeditions are organised by the young men, to present the bride's father with as many grim trophies as possible in proof of their prowess, the victims being usually taken by surprise and stricken down with barbarous weapons, such as a long spear with trident tips, or darts and arrows carrying at the point two rows of teeth made of flint or sea-shells. To avoid these attacks some, like the Central Sudanese Negroes, live in cabins on high posts or trees 60 to 70 feet from the ground, and defend themselves by showering stones on the marauders.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 210.

of the full-blood Negritos, noticed by the high, clumsy foot, turned slightly inward, which of the African Negroes; but in the appearance is suggested by the abnormal divergence of the feet from the African. The observer, in his account of their character, says this observer, is a man who lives of freedom and personal liberty, and is happy only in the midst of his people, though they neither keep slaves nor are they the yoke of servitude, or even of domestic labor as untameable as wild beasts. In Luzon, the children at the stations have failed, and they may have been captured. The case is of a Negrito brought to Madrid, educated, and on his return to the Philippines immediately

Untameable  
Aboriginal

varies greatly according as they are more or less the attacks of the surrounding populations. They may even to some extent give up their settlements in the forest glades, build up small rice crops of rice or maize, varying this with occasional hunting excursions, when they use snares and the bow and arrow, their food. They have also developed a barter trade with their neighbors, using edible roots and medicinal plants, said to be of great efficacy, for tobacco, textiles, and scraps of iron to tip their darts.

There is even amongst the pure nomads is much property has been supposed, and is a form of family and personal property. To the observer, it is for life, but not hereditary, and he also punishes the transgressors with traditional usage. The Aetas are said to do not appear to be quite destitute of property, as commonly asserted, judging at least from the evidence, as amongst the Pueblo Indians, and

The Family  
everywhere  
the Social  
Unit.

from the ceremonies associated with marriage. But on this subject we await further investigation. The chief point so far established beyond doubt is that the family in the strictest sense of the term is not to be found to be everywhere the social unit. Amongst the Tasmanians, Andamanese, Semangs and Aetas, all of whom stand at about the lowest grade of human culture, the matter is investigated, the more current theories about "group or communal marriage based upon the assumption of a "promiscuous human herd" and primordial promiscuity recede to their background<sup>1</sup>.

In the sumptuous volume on *The Philippines, Part II*, of the Dresden Ethnographic Museum series, edited by the editor, Dr A. B. Meyer, describes the Negrito hair as long and woolly, disposed in close spirals varying from a deep chestnut to black, and diffused evenly over the scalp, not in separate tufts with intervening bald spaces.

In this publication Prof. Kern brings together various specimens of Negrito speech, all of pure Malayo-Polynesian type and nearly allied to the Tagalog and Visayan of the North and Central Philippines. But the specimens are all from districts under Malayan influences, so that they leave untouched the question of an original Aeta language corresponding to that of the Andamanese. The present Negrito population is here estimated at no more than 20,000, distributed in small groups over the islands of Luzon, Alabat, Mindoro, Panay, Negros, Mindanao, Taba, Cebu and Palawan, mostly full-blood, but forming half-breed communities in Negros and other places.

<sup>1</sup> *Ethnology*, pp. 13, 14.

## R VI.

### MONGOLS.

Age in Tibet—  
Balti and Ladakhi—Balti Type and  
The Bhotiyas—Prehistoric Ex-  
-yan Groups: the Gurkhas—  
The Horvaks—The Tanguts—  
Buddhist and Christian Ritualism—  
and Letters—Diverse Linguistic Types—  
Lashai speech—Kuki Creation Legend  
Indo-China—Aboriginal and Cultured  
Manipuri—Head-hunting—The Game of  
The China—Mental and Physical Qualities—  
Life—The Kakhyens—Caucasic elements—  
—Christian Missions—The Burmese  
—Position of Woman—Tattooing—The  
Khamti and Chinese Shans—Shan  
Contacts—Tai-Shan Toned Speech—  
Systems—Mosaic Origins—Aborigines of  
the Origins and Affinities—Caucasic  
The Siamese Shans—Origins and Early  
Buddhism—The Annamese—Origins—Physical  
Language and Letters—Social Institutions—  
Chinese—Origins—The Babylonian Theory—  
and Social System—Letters and Early  
and Metal Ages—Chinese Cradle and  
of the Aborigines—Survivals: Hok-lo,  
Taoism, Buddhism—Fung-shui and An-  
Christianity—The Mandarin Class.

### SPECTUS.

*The Tibetan Plateau.* Distribution in  
Tibet; S. Himalayan slopes; Past and  
of Kra; China; Formosa; Present  
Times.

*lank, round in transverse Physical*  
*moustache common. Colour, Charac-*  
*brown, shading off to olive ters.*  
*smooth, and to lemon or whitish*  
*brachy (80°—84°), but*

in China sub-dolicho (77°) and mesorrhine, but in Siam and Burma prognathous. Cheek-bones, very large, but not prominent laterally. Nose, very small, and mesorrhine, but nostrils (mesorrhine 52°), but often high, especially amongst the upper classes. Eyes, small, but not very oblique (outer angle slightly elevated), usually looking over inner canthus. Stature, below the average of Europeans, but in N. China often tall (5 ft. 10 in. to height of 6 ft.), rather thin, sometimes slightly protruding, hands, arms and feet, of normal proportions, calves rather muscular, feet of Chinese women artificially deformed.

**Mental  
Charac-  
ters.**

**Temperament.** Somewhat sluggish, but with initiative, but great endurance; cunning, sometimes intelligent; generally thrifty and industrious, but usually indolent in Siam and Burma; moral standards low, with slight sense of right and wrong.

**Speech.** Mainly isolating and monosyllabic, due to phonetic decay; loss of formative elements compensated by tone; some (south Chinese, Annamese) highly tonal, but others (in Himalayas and North Burma) highly uninflecting and consequently toneless.

**Religion.** Ancestry and spirit-worship, including various kinds of Buddhism; religious sentiment weak in Annam, strong in Tibet; thinly diffused in China.

**Culture.** Ranges from sheer savagery (Indo-Chinese aborigines) to a low phase of civilization; some mechanical arts (ceramics, metallurgy, weaving), and agriculture well developed; painting, sculpture, and architecture mostly in the barbaric stage; letters wide-spread, but true literature and science slightly developed; stagnation very general.

**Main  
Divisions.**

**Bod-pa.** Tibetan; Tangut; Horsa; Sifen; Dalli; Ladakhi; Gurkha; Bhotiya; Miri; Mishmi; other.

**Burmese.** Naga; Kuki-Lushai; Chin; Kachyan; Manipuri; Karen; Talaing; Arakanese; Burmese proper.

**Tai-Shan.** Ahom; Khamti; Ngion; Lao; Shweta.

**Giao-Shi.** Annamese; Cochin-Chinese.

**Chinese.** Chinese proper; Hakka; Holo; Fan-ti.

the common stem  
 branches: the *Mongolo-Tatar* to  
 with a secondary branch,  
 These two, that is, the main and  
 which jointly occupy the greater  
 part of Malaysia, Madagascar, the  
 form the subject of  
 for encroachments South Mon-  
 in Manchuria and gol Domain.

"divide" towards the Mongolo-Tatar  
 by the Great Wall and the Kuch-lun  
 Kush, and towards the south-west  
 the Hindu-Kush eastwards to Assam:  
 comprises the whole of China proper  
 with a great part of Tibet with Little  
 and the Himalayan uplands includ-  
 This section is again separated from  
 Isthmus of Kra—the Malay Peninsula  
 insular Malay world. "I believe,"  
 "that the Malay never really ex-  
 the Kra isthmus."

advanced in *Ethnology*, Chap. XII.,  
 assumption that the lacustrine Tibetan  
 escarpments, all standing in pleisto-  
 lower level than at Tibet, the  
 of the Mongol division Mongol  
 found all the natural Cradleland.

the development of a new variety of the  
 tropics northwards—ample space such  
 specialisation seem to require; a different  
 that of the equatorial region, though,  
 elevation, warmer than that of the bleak  
 Tibetan plateau; extensive plains,  
 densely wooded, intersected by ridges of

1898, p. 491. This statement must of course be  
 to the historical Malays and their comparatively

moderate height, and diversified by a littoral zone more extensive than that revealed by the explanation.

Under these circumstances, which are the result of mere speculation, but to be directly inferred from the evidence of intelligent explorers and of trained Anglo-Indian eyes, it would seem not only probable but inevitable that the Indo-Malayan should become modified and improved by the more and more favourable Central Asiatic environment.

Later, with the gradual upheaval of the Himalayas to an altitude of some 14,000 feet above sea-level, the climate was altered, and the present somewhat rude and rugged population of Tibet are to be regarded as the outcome of slow changes in their slowly changing surroundings since the occupation of the country by the Indo-Malayan pleistocene precursor.

Later, with the gradual upheaval of the Himalayas to an altitude of some 14,000 feet above sea-level, the climate was altered, and the present somewhat rude and rugged population of Tibet are to be regarded as the outcome of slow changes in their slowly changing surroundings since the occupation of the country by the Indo-Malayan pleistocene precursor. It is certain that Tibet has passed through the Stone Age and the Metal Ages. In Bogle's time "thunder-stones" were used for tonsuring the lamas, and even now stone cooking-pots are found amongst the shepherds of the uplands, although the Tibetans are acquainted both with copper and iron. In India also and in China palæoliths of rude type occur at various points—along the Nerbada gravels, Mirzapur<sup>1</sup>, the Irawadi Valley and the Ganges territory—as if to indicate the routes followed by early man's migrations from Indo-Malaysia northwards.

Thus, where man is silent the stones speak, and establish these links of past and present that amongst the Shans, the ancient Greece, their origin being entirely forgotten, they were often mounted as jewellery and worn as charms against evil spirits.

Usually the Mongols proper, that is, the steppe nomads, may have more than once overrun half the eastern hemisphere, but taken as the typical and original stem of *Homo Mongoliana*.

Usually the Mongols proper, that is, the steppe nomads, may have more than once overrun half the eastern hemisphere, but taken as the typical and original stem of *Homo Mongoliana*. But if Ch. de Ujfalvy's views can be accepted, the honour will now have to be transferred to the Tibetans, who in any case still occupy the country.

<sup>1</sup> See Mr J. Cockburn's paper "On Palæolithic Implements, &c." in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1887, pp. 57 sq.; and *Eth.* p. 424.

the Central Asiatic peoples  
 northern round-headed, and  
 that the latter, which included  
 and Tibetans proper," was "the  
 Thus is transferred to Central-Asia  
 long-heads and the round-heads,  
 Language, has for the moment plunged  
 of chaos. But the discussion of  
 later treatment.

recognition of Tibet, the race has hitherto  
 provinces beyond the frontiers;  
 Sikkim<sup>2</sup>, that is, in

other races may be The Balti  
 and Ladakhi.

who has made a

and Ladakh, assures us that, while the  
 of *Homo Asiaticus* with ceph.

not Tibetans or Mongols at all, but  
 Sacs, although now of Tibetan

They are of the mean height or

rather low brow, very

deep depression at Balti Type  
 and Origin.

eyebrows, long, straight

oval chin, small cheek-bones, small

black and abundant ringletty (*boucils*)

and silky, robust hairy body, small

head (index 72). In such characters

the Mongol, and the contrast is most

Ladakhi, true Mongols, as shown

superciliary arches, spare and scarcely

eyes, large prominent cheek-bones, lank

and nearly hairless body.

est pour nous dolichocephale" (*Les Aryens*  
 1896, p. 50).

are all of subjects from Sikkim and

Calcutta, 1891, *passim*). In the East,

French missionaries have had better opportunities

the Si-fan ("Western Strangers") as the

Chinese.



Doubtless there has been a considerable admixture of the Baltis and Ladakhis, and in recent days the Baltis have been absorbed by the Dards (Hindu-Kush "Aryans"), who have been identified with the Baltis as Dards at a remote period, and who were probably of Tibetan origin (Tibetans), losing their speech with their Dardic conquerors. Of all these peoples the Baltis were in the most advanced stage of civilisation, as shown by the remarkable rock-carvings of the country, and attributed by the present inhabitants to a vanished race. Some of these carvings represent warriors on horse and on foot, the resemblance being often very striking between them and the persons figured on the coins of the Sassanians, especially in their physical appearance, attitudes, arms, and equipments. The Baltis are still famous horsemen, and with their Dardic conquerors have originated the game of polo, which has since spread to the surrounding peoples as far as Chitral and Hunza in the north.

From all these considerations it is inferred that the Baltis are the direct descendants of the Sacæ, who invaded India about 90 B.C., not from the west (the Kabul Valley) as generally supposed, but from the north over the Karakorum Passes leading directly to Baltistan<sup>1</sup>. Thus lives again a name renowned in antiquity, and another of those links is established between the past and the present, which it is the province of the historical ethnologist to rescue from oblivion.

In Tibet proper the ethnical relations have been somewhat confused by the loose way tribal and even national names are referred to by Prjevalsky and some other modern explorers. It should therefore be explained that three somewhat distinct branches of the race have to be carefully distinguished: 1. The *Bod-pa*<sup>2</sup>, "Bod-men," the settled and

The Tibetans Proper.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 327. Here we are reminded that, though the Sacæ are called "Scythians" by Herodotus and other ancient writers, under this vague expression were comprised a multitude of heterogeneous peoples, amongst whom were types corresponding to both varieties of *Homo Asiaticus*, as well as to those of *H. Europæus* and even of *H. Mediterraneus*. "Aujourd'hui l'ancien type sacæ, adouci parmi les mélanges, reparaît et constitue le type si caractéristique, si complexe et si différent de ses voisins que nous appelons le type tibétain" (p. 327).

<sup>2</sup> Mr W. W. Rockhill, our best living authority, accepts none of the different explanations of the widely diffused term *bod* (*bhot*, *bhot*), which appears as the second element in the word *Tibet* (*Stod-Bod*, pronounced *Tsu-Bu*, "Upper

...who occupy most of the southern  
 ...of which Lhasa is the  
 ...live in towns, and have  
 ...the civic state. The  
 ...nomadic pastoral tribes, who live  
 ...over 15,000 feet above sea-level  
 ...pastoral tribes, who have about the  
 ...Koko-nor and Kansu.  
 ...Tibetans, speak the Tibetan language, and  
 ...of the two national religions, *Bonpo* and  
 ...forms of Buddhism). But the original  
 ...amongst the cultured Bod-pa, who  
 ...considerable admixture both of Chinese  
 ...but amongst the Dru-pa, who on their  
 ...have for ages had little contact with  
 ...Turki populations. They are described  
 ...personal observation as about 5 feet  
 ...broad-headed, with wavy hair, clear-brown  
 ...cheek-bone less high than the Mongol,  
 ...at the root, but also prominent and even  
 ...but with broad nostrils, large-lobed ears  
 ...deeper than the Mongol, broad mouth, long  
 ...generally hairless body, broad shoulders,  
 ...feet, coarse hand, skin coarse and greasy  
 ...though "frequently nearly white, but

...parts in contradistinction to *Män-Bod*,  
 ...provinces (*Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet*,  
 ...This writer finds the first mention of Tibet in  
 ...many variants) in the Arab Istakhri's works, about  
 ...de Lacouperie would connect it with the Tatar  
 ...A. D.]. This name might easily have been ex-  
 ...the Tatars of Kansu to the neighbouring Tanguts,

...*Dru-pa*.  
 ...name *Tangut* to Tibet and call all Tibetans  
 ...as useless and misleading, as the people  
 ...country are pure Tibetans" (Rockhill, p. 670).  
 ...Mongol Tanguts is balanced by the Tibetan  
 ...

when exposed to the weather a dark brown skin like our American Indians. Rosy cheeks are especially characteristic of the younger women<sup>1</sup>.

Some of these characters—wavy hair, aquiline nose, rosy cheeks—are not Mongolic, and despite the evidence of racial purity, one is led to suspect a derivation perhaps through the neighbouring Salars. These are sometimes called Kara-Tangutans, "Black Tangutans," from the colour of their tents, but we learn from Potanin, who visited them, that they are Muhammadans of Turki stock and "people whom we already know" that from a remote period the Turki people were in close contact with Caucasians. The Salars pitch their tents on the banks of the Khitai and other Yang-tse-Kiang river valleys.

That the national name Bod-pa must be of considerable antiquity is evident from the Sanskrit expression *Bhotiya*. The Bhotiyas. *tiya*, derived from it, and long applied by the Hindus collectively to all southern Tibetans, but especially those of the Himalayan slopes, such as the Ronggs (Rongpas) of Sikkim and the *Lho-pa* dominant in Bhutan, properly that is, "Land's End"—the extremity of Tibet. Eastwards the Tibetan race stretches far beyond the political frontiers into the Koko-nor region (Tanguts), and the Chinese province of Szechuan, where they are grouped with all the other Si-fan aborigines. Towards the south-east are the kindred *Tawangs*, *Mickins*, *Mickis*, *Padams* (*Abor*)<sup>4</sup>, *Daflas*, and others about the Assam borderlands, all of whom may be regarded as true Bhotiyas in the wild state.

Through these the primitive Tibetan race extends into Burma, where however it has become greatly modified and again civilised under different climatic and cultural influences. Thus we see how, in the course of ages, the Bhót-pa have widened their domain.

Prehistoric  
Expansion of  
the Tibetan  
Race.

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet*, 1895, p. 675.

<sup>2</sup> *Investia*, XXI. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ethnology*, p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> *Abor*, i.e. "independent," is the name applied by the Assamese to the East Himalayan hill tribes who call themselves *Padam* and *Abor*, and to the *Slo* of the Tibetans. These are all affiliated by Desgodins to the *Lho-pa* of Bhutan (*Bul. Soc. Geogr.*, October, 1877, p. 431), and are to be distinguished from the *Bori* (i.e. "dependent") tribes of the plains, all more or less identified with the Bhotiyas (Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 22 sq.).

...from the central cradleland about the  
 (Himalayas), really westwards into Kashmir,  
 and southwards down the Himalayas slopes to  
 the eastwards to Indo-China. In some  
 cases contact with other races and dispa-  
 ration or by absorption (India, Hindu-  
 type while accepting the speech,  
 their invaders. Such are the *Gorkhali*,  
 (Nepal) especially the dominant *Gurkhas*  
 twelve branches, all Aryanised and  
 speaking the *Parbattia Bhasa*, a Prakrit  
 current amongst an extremely mixed

...the migrations took place is remote pre-  
 proto-Tibetan groups becoming more  
 they receded farther and farther from the  
 Siberia, China, Farther India, and  
 how I understand the peopling of a  
 hemisphere by an original nucleus of  
 from a pleistocene precursor on

...estimates have been formed of the  
 characters of the Bod-pa, some, such as  
 too favourable, while  
 opposite direction. Thus <sup>Tempera-</sup>  
 ment.  
 knew them well, de-

...of the south as "a slave towards the  
 weak, knavish or treacherous according  
 on the look-out to defraud, and lying  
 "and much more to the same effect".

...the *Khas*, as the wild tribes of the Lao country  
 Capt. Eden Vansittart thinks in Nepal the term  
 or else means "fallen." This authority tells  
 true-Gurkhas, it is not the Khas who enlist in  
 the Magars and Gurungs, who are of purer  
 Hinduised ("The Tribes, Clans, and Castes  
 LXIII. 1, No. 4).

...*Les Tribes Lamas*, pp: 350 sq.  
 ...des pays cultivés du sud, qui se regarde

Mr. Rockhill, who is less severe than most travellers, says that the character is not as black as Horace de la Croix and others have painted it. Intercourse with these people for the last six years leads me to believe that the Tibetans are, on the whole, affectionate, and law-abiding<sup>1</sup>. He concludes, however, from a not very flattering native estimate deduced from the Tibetan national legend that "the earliest inhabitants of Tibet descended from a king of monkeys and a female hobgoblin, and the ancestors of the race perhaps from those of its first parents. From the monkeys [he was an incarnate god] they have inherited their kindheartedness, intelligence and application, devotion to religion and to religious debate; from the hobgoblin they get their fondness for trade and money-making, great bodily strength, boldness, fondness for gossip, and carnivorous instincts"<sup>2</sup>.

While they are cheerful under a depressing priestly regime, they allow that they are vindictive, superstitious, and cringing in the presence of the lamas, who are at heart more despised than revered. In fact the whole religious system is one vast organised system of hypocrisy, and above the old pagan beliefs common to all the mountain peoples there is merely a veneer of Buddhism, above which follows another and most pernicious veneer of lamaism (priestcraft), under the yoke of which the natural development of the people has been almost completely arrested for several centuries. The burden is borne with surprising endurance, and would be intolerable but for the relief found in secret and occasionally even open revolt against the more oppressive ordinances of the ecclesiastical rule. Thus, despite the prescriptions regarding a strict vegetarian diet expressed in the formula "eat animal flesh eat thy brother," not only laymen but most of the lamas themselves supplement their frugal diet of milk, butter, barley-meal, and fruits with game, yak, and mutton—this last pronounced by Turner the

comme bien plus civilisé que les pasteurs ou bergers du nord" (*Le Tibet*, p. 253).

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on the Ethnology, &c.* p. 677. It may here be remarked that the unfriendliness of which travellers often complain appears mainly inspired by the Buddhist theocracy, who rule the land and are jealous of all "interlopers."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 678.

... assistance, however, is needed by ... at such repasts, and by the ... the hereditary caste of teachers, ... times are still confined to a ... the large towns.

... particularly to the settled southern ... where a little agriculture is possible. ... worn very loosely, and the nomad ... although all nomi- ... The Hor-pa.

... the Dalai Lama enshrined in Lhasa. ... ethical term, being a curious com- ... applied by the Tibetans to the Hor-pa ... the steps between them. The Hor-pa, ... of Turki stock, and are the ... who profess Buddhism, all ... with some Shamanists (Yakuts) in ... who roam the eastern plains and ... called Mongols, are true Tibetans or ... of whom there are here two ... the Yegvai, all, like the Hor-pa, of ... as described by Prjevalsky, closely ... Tibetan tribes, with their

The Tanguts.

... on their shoulders, their ... angular head, dark complexion and

... and predatory warfare, all these groups ... with darts, bows, and matchlock guns; ... and the only animal spared is the stag, ... of these rude nomads for liquid ... the surveyor, Nain Singh, often saw them ... to lick up the blood flowing from a ... as weaned, the very children and even ... of cheese, butter, and blood, kneaded


... the Chinese province of Kan-su, so named from ... Su-shan (Yule's Marco Polo, I. p. 222). ... H. Heworth (Geogr. Journ., 1887, p. 230). ... Journ., 1887, p. 226.

together in a horrible mess, which is gradually broken up as taste is acquired. On the other hand also, the butter is not consumed, the national beverage being made of barley (imported in the form of bricks and prepared with yeast and water, meal) and butter, and thus becoming a food instead of a drink. The lamas have a monopoly of this tea-trade, and they do not stand the competition of the Indian grocers. The chief objection to removing the barriers of such a trade is that

Tibet is one of the few regions where polyandry is so intimately associated with the custom of inheritance, that it still persist almost in their primitive form. The husbands are usually but not necessarily all brothers, and the bride is always obtained by purchase. Unless otherwise arranged, the oldest husband is the putative *paterfamilias*, all the others being considered as "uncles." An inevitable result of this institution is to give woman a dominant position in society, which the "queens" of certain tribes, referred to with so much admiration by the early Chinese chroniclers. Survivals of this "patriarchal government" have been noticed by travellers amongst the Khasis, Mossos, and other indigenous communities about the Indo-Chinese frontiers. But it does not follow that polyandry and a matriarchal state always and necessarily preceded polygamy and a patriarchal state. On the contrary, it would appear that polyandry never could have been universal, being the outcome of special conditions arising in particular regions, where the struggle for existence is severe, and the necessity of imposing limits on the increase of population more urgent than elsewhere. To me it seems as great a mistake to assume a matriarchal state is to assume promiscuity as the universal antecedent of all other family relations. In Tibet itself polygamy exists side by side with polyandry amongst the wealthy classes, while monogamy is the rule amongst the poor pastoral nomads of the northern steppes.

<sup>1</sup> "Whatever may have been the origin of polyandry, there can be no doubt that poverty, a desire to keep down population, and to keep property undivided in families, supply sufficient reason to justify its continuance. The same motives explain its existence among the lower castes of Malabar, among the Jat (Sikhs) of the Panjab, among the Todas, and probably in most other countries in which this custom prevails" (Rockhill, p. 726).

...has been attached by some dis-  
 ...of the dead.  
 ...Metal Age cremations  
 ...practised by the  
 ...are now simultaneously disposed  
 ...not so much of race as of  
 ...the lama's pleasure, who, when the  
 ...facilitate the transmigration of the soul,  
 ...buried, cast into the river, or even  
 ...of prey. Strange to say, the last  
 ...certain formalities, is one of the most  
 ...lamas are generally buried in a seated  
 ...burnt, and (in Ladakh) the ashes, mixed  
 ...into much venerated effigies—doubtless

...made to the primitive Shamanistic ideas  
 ...the Buddhist and the later lamaistic  
 ...and eastern provinces of  
 ...Buddhist religion has again  
 ...whether persisted under the  
 ...side by side with the national creed, from  
 ...many of its present rites. From the  
 ...worn by its priests, it is known as the  
 ...contradistinction to the orthodox "Yel-  
 ...lunists, and as now constituted, its  
 ...Gcen-rab (Gcen-rabs), who flourished about  
 ...the new era, and is venerated as the equal  
 ...followers, who were powerful enough to  
 ...in the 10th century, worship 18 chief  
 ...being the red and black demons, the snake  
 ...secondary tiger-god, father of all the secondary  
 ..."diabolical pantheon." It is curious to  
 ...symbol of the Bonbo sect is the ubiquitous  
 ...books of the cross reversed,  instead  
 ...which appears to have escaped the dili-  
 ...Wilson', was caused by the practice

...made to the Bonbo practice in his almost ex-  
 ...Washington, 1896. The reversed form,





of turning the prayer-wheel from right to left as the red lamas do, instead of from left to right as is the orthodox way. The common Buddhist formula of six syllables—*om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum*—is also replaced by one of seven syllables—*ma-tri-mon-tre-sa-la-dzun*<sup>1</sup>.

Buddhism itself, introduced by Hindu missionaries, is more recent than is commonly supposed. Few conversions were made before the 5th century of our era, and the first temple dates only from the year 698.

Reference is often made to the points of contact or "coincidences" which have been observed between this system and that of the Oriental and Latin Christian Churches. There is no question of a common dogma, and the numerous resemblances are concerned only with ritualistic details, such as the cross, the mitre, dalmatica, and other distinctive vestments, choir singing, exorcisms, the thurible, benedictions with outstretched hand, celibacy, the rosary, fasts, processions, litanies, spiritual retreats, holy water, scapulars or other charms, prayer addressed to the saints, relics, pilgrimages, music and bells at the service, monasticism; this last being developed to a far greater extent in Tibet than at any time in any Christian land, Egypt not excepted. The lamas, representing the regular clergy of the Roman Church, hold a monopoly of all "science," letters, and arts. The block printing-presses are all kept in the huge monasteries which cover the land, and from them are consequently issued only orthodox works and treatises on magic. Religion itself is little better than a system of magic, and the sole aim of all worship, reduced to a mere mechanical system of routine, is to baffle the machinations of the demons who at every turn beset the path of the wayfarer through this "vale of tears."

For this purpose the prayer-wheels—an ingenious contrivance by which innumerable supplications, not less efficacious because vicarious, may be offered up night and day to the powers of darkness—are

**Buddhist and Lamalism.**

**Buddhist and Christian Ritualism.**

**The Prayer-wheel.**

however, mentioned by Max Müller and Burnouf, is figured at p. 767 and elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Sarat-Chandra-Dás, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1881-2.

...over the land, some being so closely packed that they may be repeated as many as a hundred times of the cylinders. These cylinders, which have been introduced into Korea and Japan, have been used for centuries without any appreciable change in all the houses, by the river banks and in the temples, and at each turn repeat the same liturgical essays stowed away in their cylinders. But despite all these everlasting cylinders supreme throughout the most priest-

...has been imported also its letters from India by the Chinese in the 7th century.

...has undergone great changes in its Language and Letters.

...members of the Indo-European family, in the direction from agglutination towards inflection, and the orthography, apart from a few feeble changes, has remained stationary, so that words are still pronounced 1200 years ago. The result is a complete identity between the spoken and written language, English not excepted. Thus the word *deu* has been identified by Sir A. Cunningham as the Sanskrit *deva* through its written form *Dbus*, though pronounced *U'*. This bears out de Lacouperie's view that *deu* is originally uttered as originally spelt, although it may contain as many as three consonants. Thus *spra* is pronounced *deu* in the Lhasa dialect, but still *spra* in the province of Kham. The phonetic difference is so great, so that, barring reform, the time must come when there is no correspondence at all between sound and letter.

...in the history of linguistic evolution, has I think been first pointed out by de Lacouperie in a series of papers in the *Oriental*

On the other hand it is a mistake to regard the absence of tones in the Indo-Chinese linguistic area as a general characteristic of this enormous extent of phonetic agglutination. The indefatigable B. H. Hodgson has been particularly successful with several, especially in Nepal<sup>1</sup>, which are of a highly agglutinative character. Farther east the Lepcha (Lepcha) (Rong) of Sikkim presents the remarkable phenomenon of distinct agglutination of the Mongolo-Turki, or perhaps to say of the Kuki-Lushai type, combined with numerous monosyllabic phones and a total absence of tone. Thus *pano-sang*, of kings, *pano-sang-sa*, of kings, shows *pano-sang* agglutination, while *mat* yields no less than twenty-three distinct meanings which should necessitate a series of discriminating tones, as in Chinese or Siamese. Their absence, however, is readily explained by the persistence of the agglutinative principle, which renders them unnecessary.

A somewhat similar feature is presented by the Angami (Angami-Naga Speech) the chief language of the Naga Hills, of which Mr R. B. McCabe writes that it is "still in a very primitive stage of the agglutinating class," and "peculiarly rich in intonation," although "for one Naga who clearly marks these tonal distinctions twenty fail to do so." It follows that it is mainly spoken without tones, and although said to be "distinctly monosyllabic" it really abounds in polysyllables such as *merenama*, orphan, *kehutsaporimo*, nowhere, *shahstodali*

<sup>1</sup> *Ethnology*, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> Col. G. B. Mainwaring, *A Grammar of the Rong (Lepcha) Language*, Calcutta, 1876, pp. 128, 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Outline Grammar of the Angami-Naga Language*, Calcutta, 1887, pp. 4, 5. It may be mentioned that *Khassi* also, which may be regarded as a stoc language with no clear affinities, structural or lexical, to any of the surrounding Assamese tongues, is an isolating form of speech with prefixed formative elements and aspirates, but no tones. "The percentage of words common to the Khassi and the rest of these mountain dialects is extremely small," while "equally great is the dissimilarity in many other points of grammatical detail," says Mr H. Roberts, author of a good *Grammar of the Khassi Language*, Kangu Paul Series, 1893. On the astonishing number of distinct languages in the whole of this region see Gertrude M. Godden's paper "On the Naga and other Frontier Tribes of North-East India," in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* 1897, pp. 162, 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 4.

...the numerous verbal substantive elements  
 ...itself, so that Angami must clearly be  
 ...order. To this order also belongs  
 ...Lushai of the neighbouring North  
 ...Nagaland itself, the  
 ...of the *Ranghals, Jantons,* Kuli-Lushai  
Langon.  
 ...hill people, collectively  
 ...landers, and *Dus* by themselves. The  
 ...of this language is evident from  
 ...given by Mr Soppitt, for some of  
 ...but which may be called *Acceleratives,*  
 ...and so on. Thus with the root  
 ...slow, is formed the retardative *ndag*  
 ..."will you come slowly?" (*rang,* future, *mo,*

...have a curious theory of the Creation,  
 ...the face of the earth was  
 ...vast sea, inhabited by Creation  
Legend.  
 ...day the Creator, passing  
 ...a small piece of clay, saying, "Of this  
 ...land and people it." The worm replied,  
 ...make a habitable land of a small piece  
 ...aboard. Look here, I can swallow it!"  
 ...passing out of his body grew and grew  
 ...we now see. Then man sprang out of  
 ...of the gods, of whom there are three at the  
 ...Lambra, the creator, without whose  
 ...be done by the others; Golarai, god of

...continues to prevail in the tribal nomenclature  
 ...peoples. The official sanction given to the terms  
 ...names may be regretted, but seems now past  
 ...the people themselves, while *Lushai* is only the  
 ...of their head-hunting proclivities, hence they call  
 ...called *Lu-Shai*, "Head-Cutters," from *lu* head,  
 ...Other explanations suggested by Mr C. A. Soppitt  
 ...*Outline Grammar of the Ranghol-Lushai*  
 ...cannot be accepted.

death, and Dudukal, generally benevolent, is the god of his wife Fapitá.

"The other Kuki tribes," writes Mr. Soper, "have the same religious belief, though their gods are differently named. In fact in the case of many of these savage tribes a great similarity is observed in their beliefs—a head god, his assistants, other gods, some working for the good and evil of mankind, and others evil gods; means of propitiation, sacrifice. This similarity is said to carry much weight in an argument in favour of a common origin of many of these tribes, for the reason that the beliefs and superstitions are those that would naturally be acquired by people living in the same way, more or less in the same part of country, and subject to the same diseases, epidemical visitations and calamities.... A tribe settling in a new country would not change its belief, especially when that belief was a crude and more or less unformed one. Thus removing to a particular province where storms were unusually severe, a people would naturally adopt a 'god of storms'". These views, contrary to those advanced in *Ethnology*, p. 216 sq., may be recommended to those ethnologists who still contend for the common origin of widely separated branches of mankind, the American for instance and the Mongol or Japanese, on the ground of resemblance of their religious beliefs. All this will never prove anything for the common psychic unity of all members of the human family.

Through these Naga and Kuki aborigines we pass without a break of continuity from the Bhótiya population of the Himalayan slopes to those of Indo-China. Here also, as indeed in nearly all semi-civilized lands, peoples at various grades of culture are found dwelling for ages side by side—rude and savage tribes on the uplands or in the more dense wooded tracts, and communities with a large measure of political unity (in the nations and peoples in the strict sense of those terms) in the lowlands, and especially along the rich alluvial riverine plains of this well watered region. The common theory is that the

Common  
Religious Be-  
liefs no Proof  
of Affinity.

The general  
Ethnical Rela-  
tions in Indo-  
China.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 13.

...to the hills and wood-lands of India and other lands, who are scattered communities. ... and locations have elsewhere taken ... to inquire; indeed their probability, ... certainty may be frankly admitted. ... theory expresses the true relations in ... Here the civilized peoples, and as ... the Manipuri, Burmese, ... extinct or absorbed ... the Siamese, Shans ... the centre; the Annamese ... (Chinese), Cambojans, and the almost ... Nearly all of these I hold to be ... the hillmen, the only difference being that, ... environment, they emerged at an ... state and thus became more receptive ... mostly Hindu, but also Chinese ... exception are either of Mongolic or ... all speak toned Indo-Chinese languages, ... and Champas, whose linguistic relations are ... who are not here in question. The ... doubt full of Sanskrit or Prakrit ... Centre, and of Chinese in the East, and ... uses a Chinese ideographic system, ... derived through the square Pali ... It is also true that the vast ... Siam, and Camboja all betray Hindu ... temples being covered with Brahmanical ... and inscriptions. But precisely analogous ... in Java, Sumatra, and other Malaysian ... and partly in China itself. Are we then ... have been Hindu invasions and settlements ... most populous on the globe? ... period a few Hinduized Dravidians, ... of the Coromandel ... time emigrated to Indo- ... name survives amongst

Aborigines  
and Cultured  
Peoples of one  
Stock.

The  
Talaings.

the "Telings," that is, the Mons, by whom they are just as the Mons themselves are now being called by the Burmese. Others of the same connection have been found here and there in Malaysia, especially the Malacca, where they are called "Klings," *i.e.* Telings, Telengs, etc.

But beyond these partial movements, without any influence on the general ethnical relations, I know of no (some have even used the term "Aryan," and have traced Aryans to Camboja) invasions except those of the invasions of the zealous Hindu missionaries, both Jain and Buddhist, which, however, amply suffice to account for the above indicated points of contact between the Indo-Chinese, and the Malayan populations.

That the civilised lowlanders and rude highlanders are really of the same aboriginal stocks is well illustrated in the Manipur district with its fertile alluvial valley and encircling Naga and Lushai Hills on the north and south. The Hinduized Manipuri of the plains, called the politically dominant *Meithis*, as they call themselves, are considered by Dr George Watt to be "a mixed race between Kukies and the Nagas<sup>1</sup>." This observer aptly remarks in this region the superiority of the rich bottom-lands "ever laboriously formed by terracing the hill slopes, as in Angkor" "must have been the reward ever kept in view by tribes passing into importance and power. The conquest of one tribe by another most probably led to the valleys passing time after time into new hands. Many of the hill tribes have traditions that they once held the great valley of Manipur. Modern history supports this also, for in perhaps no other part of India greater or more cruel struggles taken place than among the tribes of Manipur."

Memories even still survive of the head-hunting practices associated with those lawless times, as in the legend of the

<sup>1</sup> It is a curious phonetic phenomenon that the combinations *Mei* and *Mei* are indistinguishable in utterance, so that it is immaterial whether this is written *Kling* or *Tling*, though the latter form would be preferable, as it shows its origin from *Telings*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur*, in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* 1887,

...the fact that they alone  
 ...greater and a lesser  
 ...the younger of whom  
 ...his father to give  
 ...being afraid of the younger and unable  
 ...the aged chief bethought him  
 ...Having first instructed the elder  
 ...the head of some foe, he summoned  
 ...expedition, on the understanding  
 ...the first head should be heir. The elder  
 ...with the head he had already secured  
 ...bush. But the younger still  
 ...a compromise had to be made by which  
 ...as the big, the other as the little chief

Head-hunt-  
 ing Legends.

...the Manipuri are also devoted to the  
 ...R. C. Temple tells us they play much  
 ...the Baltis and Ladakhis at the opposite  
 ...Another remarkable link with the  
 ...Khel, which has travelled  
 ...Punjab through Afghani-  
 ...retains the same meaning  
 ...village, and produces the same disinte-  
 ...the Afghans. In Angamiland each  
 ...or more Khels, and "it is no unusual  
 ...Khel A of one village at war with Khel B  
 ...with Khel B of its own village. The  
 ...separated by great walls, the people  
 ...a few yards of each other, yet having  
 ...Each Khel has its own headman, but  
 ...the chief; each Khel may be described  
 ...There appears to be no trace even of a  
 ...by which some measure of cohesion is  
 ...Khel system.

The Khel  
 System.

...the transition is unbroken to the large  
 ...valley, named from  
 ...wards to the rude *Kakhyens*

The Chins.

...Watts, *loc. cit.*, p. 362.



(*Kachins*) about the Irawadi headwaters, and the numerous *Karen* tribes, who occupy the country between Burma and Siam all the way down to the coast.

For the first detailed account of the *Chin* people, see Messrs S. Carey and H. N. Tuck<sup>2</sup>, who accept the theory that these tribes, as well as the *Kachins*, lived in what we now know as Tibet, and are of the same stock; their form of government, method of agriculture, manners and customs, beliefs and traditions, all point to a common origin." The term *Chin*, said to be a Burmese name for Chinese *jin*, "men," is unknown to these aborigines, who call themselves *Yo* in the north and *Lai* in the south, while in Burma they are *Shu*.

In truth there is no recognised collective name, and the word (*Sindhu*) often so applied is proper only to the once formidable Chittagong and Arakan hill-tribes, *Klangklangs* and *Hakas*, who with the *Tashons*, *Siyirs*, and others are now reduced and absorbed from Falam. Each little group has its own tribal name, often one or two others, descriptive, abusive and so on, given them by their neighbours. Thus the *Nwengals* (*Nw*, river, *gal*, across) are only that section of the *Soktés* now settled on the farther or right bank of the Manipur, while the *Soktés* themselves (*Sok*, to go down, *té*, men) are so called because they came down from Chin Nwe (9 miles from Tiddim), cradle of the *Chin*, down to Molbem, their earliest settlement, which is the birthplace of the Burmese. So with *Siyin*, the Burmese form of *Siyin* (*she*, alkali, *yan*, side, *té*, men), the group who settled by the alkali springs east of Chin Nwe, who are the *Tauts* ("sturdy" or "sturdy" people) of the Lushai and southern China. But these few specimens suffice as a slight object-lesson in the intricate tribal nomenclature which prevails, not only amongst the *Chin*, but everywhere in the Tibeto-Indo-Chinese domain, from the north-western Himalayas to Cape St James at the south-eastern

<sup>1</sup> "The Karens of Burma are related to the Angami Nagas, north of Manipur, and to the allied tribes of Khyens [Chins] and Kakhyens of Burma" (Capt. Temple, *loc. cit.*, p. 368).

<sup>2</sup> *The Chin Hills*, &c., Vol. 1., Rangoon, 1896.

I have myself collected nearly a hundred clans, sects, and fragmentary groups. I am well aware that the list neither is complete, nor are the groups themselves often being in a permanent state of fluctuation.

Many groups have popular legends to explain their present reduced state.

Some of the Fashons, claim Creation  
Legends.

Some of the people of the Rawvan were once very powerful, but were ruined by their attempt to capture the sun. Building a sort of Jacob's ladder higher and higher; but growing tired, the ladder fell, and one day, while half of them were above the pole, the other half below cut it down and tried to seize the sun. So the Whenoha, who are said to be Lashais left behind in a district of the island, tell a different tale. They say that the sun looks at Sepi, which they think was their original home, however, this legend of their underground habitations and several other Chin tribes.

The quality of speech and physique the Chins present. Mental qualities, such as "slow Mental and  
physical Quali-  
ties. respect for birth and knowledge, the duty of revenge, the taste

for warfare, the curse of drink, the virtue of frugal feeling, the vice of avarice, the filthy habit of distrust, impatience under control, the habit of indolence and of continued effort, arrogance in management and panic in defeat."

They are a fine race, taller and stouter than the Chinese, men 5 feet 10 or 11 inches being common among independent southerners. There are some of the giants with a magnificent development of strength are met in some districts, and in others a wretched lot, much afflicted with goitre, and some cretins who crawl about on all fours

Op. cit. p. 165.

with the pigs in the gutter. At Dima, however, the *nat* has a firm hold on the inhabitants."

Although often described as devil-worship, the Chins worship neither god nor devil. They believe there is no Supreme Being, and the southerners admit a "Kozin" to whom they sacrifice, they do not worship him, and do not pray to him for any grace or mercy, except that of withholding calamities and misfortunes which he is capable of working upon the world who offend him. Besides Kozin, there are spirits of the house, family, clan, fields; and others who dwell in particular places in the air, the streams, the jungle, and the rocks. None can bestow blessings, but all can and will do mischief if propitiated<sup>1</sup>.

The departed go to *Mithikwa*, "Dead Man's Village," which is divided into *Pweithikwa*, the pleasant abode, and *Sathikwa*, the wretched abode of the *unavenged*. Good or bad deeds in this world affect the future of man, who must go to *Pweithikwa* if he dies of natural or accidental death, and to *Sathikwa* if killed; he must abide till avenged by blood. Thus the vendetta receives a religious sanction, strengthened by the belief that the slayer becomes the slave of the slayer in the next world. "Should the slayer himself be slain, then the first slain is the slave of the second slain, who in turn is the slave of the man who killed him."

"Whether a man has been honest or dishonest in this world is of no consequence in the next existence; but, if he has killed many people in this world, he has many slaves to serve him in his future existence; if he has killed many wild animals, he will start well-supplied with food, for all that he kills on earth are his in the future existence. In the next existence drinking and drinking will certainly be practised, but whether fighting and raiding will be indulged in is unknown<sup>2</sup>."

Cholera and small-pox are spirits, and when cholera broke out among the Chins who visited Rangoon in 1895 they carried their *daks* (knives) drawn to scare off the *nat*, and spent the day hidden under bushes, so that the spirit should not find them. Some of

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

... were talked over...  
 ... believe in the evil-eye and the  
 ... and others are all wizards, whose single  
 ... could cause lizards to enter the body  
 ... A child once complained to Surgeon-  
 ... had entered his stomach at the glance  
 ... hospital quite prepared to die. But  
 ... and he went off happy in the belief

... with the Kaki-Naga groups are the  
 ... head-streams, and the  
 ... village communities. The Kakh-  
 ... The Kakh-

... by the Burmese, are the *Coolies* of the  
 ... name is *Singpho* (*Chingpho*), i.e.  
 ... semi-agglutinating speech, spoken in  
 ... sentence ending in a long-drawn *!* in a  
 ... affinities rather with the Mishmi  
 ... tongues than with the cultured Bur-  
 ... wide-spread family, stretching from the  
 ... Yunnan, and presenting two some-

... types: (1) the true Ching-  
 ... broad, low forehead, prominent  
 ... broad nose, thick protruding  
 ... and eyes, dirty buff colour, mean height  
 ... with disproportionately short legs; (2) a  
 ... regular, Caucasian features, long oval face,  
 ... One Kakhyen belle met with at  
 ... eyes and fair skin, might almost have

Caucasic  
Elements.

... this Caucasian element, which we first  
 ... from the Himalayas, but which is

... "que les Singphos et les Katchins  
 ... le premier mot est *thai* et le second birman"  
 ... This is how the ethnical confusion in  
 ... *Singpho* is not *Thai*, i.e. Shan or Siamese,

... *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1876, p. 131.

found either separate or intermingled, and the same populations all over the south-east Asiatic Archipelago, to Cochin-China, and passing thence into Ceylon.

The kinship of the Kakhyens with the Karens is now generally accepted, and it has been found necessary to bring the latter off to the north of Turkestan. They form a large section, perhaps one-third of the whole population of Burma, and overflow into the Siamese borderlands. Their subdivisions are endless, but may be reduced to three main branches, *Sarawaks*, *Bwais*, these last including the somewhat distinct group *renni*, or "Red Karens." Although Mr. D. M. Smeaton's language "monosyllabic," it is evidently agglutinative, and of a normal sub-Himalayan type.

The Karens are a short, sturdy race, with straight, black, also brownish hair, black, and even black eyes. Type. light or yellowish brown complexion, and also a Caucasian strain may be suspected.

Despite the favourable pictures of the missionaries, whose propaganda has been singularly successful amongst these peoples, the Karens are not an amiable or particularly friendly people, but rather shy, reticent, and suspicious, but trustworthy and loyal to those guides who have once gained their confidence. In warfare they are treacherous rather than brave, and strangely cruel to their little children. Their belief in a divine Creator who has created them resembles that of the Kuki people, and to the gods of the latter correspond the *la* of the Karens, who are even more credulous, every mountain, stream, rapid, crest, peak or other natural object having its proper indwelling *la*. There are also specially baneful spirits, who have to be appeased by family offerings. "On the whole their belief in a personal god, their tradition as to the origin of the possession of a 'law,' and their expectation of a prophet, made them susceptible to Christianity to a degree that is quite unique. Of this splendid opportunity the American missionaries

Flourishing Christian Missions.

<sup>1</sup> *The Loyal Karens of Burma*, 1887.

...mixing, mixing, mixing together, and  
 ...the Karon tribes, while  
 ...people are comprised several groups,  
 ...culture from the sheer  
 ...and others of the  
 ...the agricultural Mugs of  
 ...the dominant historical Burmese nation of  
 ...also the terminology is perplexing,  
 ...explain that *Yoma*, applied by Logan  
 ...Hill tribes, has no  
 ...meaning a mountain  
 ...one of Dr Mason's  
 ...family, was merely a petty state founded  
 ...of the Royal House, and "has no more  
 ...tribe than any other Burman town."  
 ...people of the Tavoy district, Tenasserim,  
 ...and now speaking a Burmese dialect  
 ...elements; *Tungthas*, like *Yoma*,  
 ...and is even of wider application; the  
 ...Mrs, Khemis, and Khyengs are all  
 ...and speak rude Burmese dialects.  
 ...*Tungthas* is *Khyungthas*, "River People,"  
 ...landers comprising the more civilized  
 ...and lower course of the rivers, who are  
 ...(*Mags*) by the Bengali, and whose real  
 ...people of Rakhaing (Arakan). They are  
 ...stock as the cultured Burmese, whose  
 ...as the cradle of the race, and in  
 ...*Khaingtha* are called *M'ranmakhrih*, "Great  
 ...Burmese." Both branches call themselves  
 ...correct form of *Barma*, *Burma*, but now  
 ...), probably from a root *mro*, *myo*,  
 ...by Burnouf with Brahma, the Brahmani-  
 ...Buddhist religion in this region. In any

The

Perplexing  
tribal nomen-  
clature.

...Academy, Jan. 29, 1887, p. 72.  
 ...of Further India, p. 61.

case the M'rama may claim a respectable antiquity, as mentioned in the national records so early as the beginning of the new era, when the land "was said to be covered with monsters and other terrors, which are called in the legends of superstitious natives, the five enemies. These were an enormous bear, a flying dragon, a prodigious snake, a crocodile, and a huge creeping pumpkin, which threatened to devour the whole country".

The Burmese type has been not incorrectly described as intermediate between the Chinese and the Malay. The type is refined, or at least softer than either, with a brown or olive complexion, often showing very dark shades, black and lank hair, no beard, small but straight nose, slender extremities, pliant figure, and a mean height.

Most Europeans speak well of the Burmese people, and attribute to them a bright genial temperament and extreme kindness towards strangers more than outweighs a certain indolence which hurts nobody but themselves, and a slight arrogance or vanity inspired by the still remembered glories of a nation that once ruled over a great part of Indo-China. From the most remarkable feature of Burmese society is the democratic independence and equality of all classes developed under an exceptionally severe Asiatic autocracy. "They are perfectly republican in the freedom with which all ranks mix together and talk with one another, without any marked distinction in regard to difference of rank or wealth."

Mr. Scott attributes this trait, I think rightly, to the great influence of Buddhism, the true spirit of which has perhaps been better preserved in Burma than in any other land.

The priesthood has not become the privileged and oppressive class that has usurped all spiritual and temporal functions in Tibet, for in Burma everybody is or has been a priest for some period of his life. All enter the monasteries—which are the national schools—not only for general instruction, but actually as members of the sacerdotal order. They submit to the tonsure, take "minor orders," so to say, and wear the yellow robe, if not

<sup>1</sup> G. W. Bird, *Wanderings in Burma*, 1897, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Scott, *Burma, etc.*, 1886, p. 115.

...for the time being they  
 ...the gods and the devil," and wait  
 ...the sound of the village at least once  
 ...stand their neck in company with  
 ...the community. They thus become  
 ...no longer possible for the confederacy  
 ...ruler or on the ruled. "Teaching is all  
 ...leader do for the people. They have no  
 ...They simply become members of a  
 ...they observe the precepts of the Master  
 ...All they do for the alms lavished on them by  
 ...the children in reading, writing, and

...the ceremonial rites, and how empty  
 ...and offerings even at the most venerated  
 ...the fact that the so-called fabulous treasures  
 ...of Mingun were found on inquiry to be  
 ...their "gold and silver" images of base

...freedom here spoken of confined to  
 ...part of the world do the  
 ...larger measure of independent  
 ...with the result that they are acknowledged  
 ...sturdy, and intelligent than those of all  
 ...Their capacity for business and petty  
 ...by their Gallic sisters; and Mr H. S.  
 ...in every town and village "you will see  
 ...the floor of the verandah with diminutive, or  
 ...in front of them, covered with vegetables,  
 ...and other articles. However numerous  
 ...of everything is known to them; and such  
 ...that pilfering is quite unknown amongst  
 ...trusted by their parents from their  
 ...when they blossom into young women,  
 ...a necessity; yet immorality is far less  
 ...them. I am led to believe, than in any

Position of  
 Woman.

<sup>2</sup> *Amongst the Shans, etc.*, 1885, p. 233.



This observer quotes Bishop Sigmond's observations amongst the natives, to the effect that "the doctrines of Buddhism have produced a marked advance of true civilization a most interesting result of which is the equality of the condition of the women with those of the men. In these countries women are seen circulating freely, they preside at the *comptoir*, and hold an equal share in the possession of the bazaars. Their social position is, in every respect, than in the regions where Buddhism is not the predominating creed. They may be said to be masters and not their slaves."

Burma is one of those regions where tattooing has attained the rank of a fine art. Indeed the artistic skill and general pictorial effect produced by the Burmese artists on the living body are rivalled only by those of the New Zealand, and some other Polynesian groups. The observer who states that "the Burmese, the Shans, and certain Burmese tribes are the only peoples in the south of Asia who are known to tattoo their body," tells us that the elaborate operations are performed only on the male sex, the whole person from neck to knees, and amongst some Shan tribes from neck to feet, being covered with heraldic figures of animals, with intricate traceries, so that at a little distance the effect is that of a pair of dark-blue breeches<sup>1</sup>. The pigments are lamp-black or red ochre, and the pattern is usually first traced with a fine hair pencil, and then worked in by a series of punctures made by a long pointed brass style<sup>2</sup>.

East of Burma we enter the country of the Shans, the most numerous and widespread peoples of Asia, who call themselves *Tai* (*T'hai*) "Noble" or "Free," although slavery in various forms has from time immemorial been a social institution amongst all the Shan groups. Here again tribal and national terminology is somewhat

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Shans of Yunnan, who are nearly all "tatoués, depuis le cou jusqu'au genou, de dessins bleus si serrés qu'ils paraissent former une culotte" (Pr. Henri, *op. cit.* p. 83).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 212.

...the name of the latter that Shan, and so on  
 ...collective Burmese name, and Shan  
 ...collective Siamese name. These are  
 ...practical their ethnical Shan denoting  
 ...subject to Burma and now mostly  
 ...the Tai peoples formerly subject to Siam,  
 ...mostly French subjects. The Siamese  
 ...the *Lao-pang-dun*, "Black-paunch"  
 ...clothe themselves as it were in a dark  
 ...tattooing process; and the *Lao-pang-Kai*,  
 ...who do not tattoo. The Burmese groups  
 ...*Nyau*, while the most general Chinese  
 ...Prince Henri d'Orléans, who is careful to  
 ...another name for Lao, constantly met  
 ...the route from Tonking to Assam, and the  
 ...population in Assam itself belongs origin-  
 ...though now mostly assimilated to the  
 ...and general culture. Assam in fact

...*Shan*, "highlanders" (*Shan*, mountain), *Shan*  
 ...a *Shan*, a form which comes to us through the  
 ...This observer notes that many of the Ngjou have  
 ...to the Burmese, and in one place goes so far  
 ...are decidedly of the same race as the Burmese.  
 ...of seeing hundreds of both countries, and of closely  
 ...The Ngjou wear the hair in a topknot in  
 ...but they are easily distinguished by their  
 ...(*Temples and Elephants*, 1884,  
 ...from one primeval stock, but they now constitute  
 ...and, except about the borderlands, where blends may  
 ...physical and mental characters differ considerably.  
 ...the same name as *Ngjou*, which Mr H. S. Hallett  
 ...north of Zimme, and elsewhere to the  
 ...(*A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, 1890, pp. 158

...*des Laotiens*" (Prince Henri, p. 42).  
 ...*Boelings*, still persist, and occupy a few villages  
 ...(*Nature*, June 19, 1884, p. 169). Dalton also  
 ...Khamti (Tai) tribe in the Sadiya district, Assam

takes its name from the *Ahom*, the name adopted by the Man Shans, who invaded the country from Assam in 1228 A.D. founded the Ahom kingdom, which was overthrown in 1810 by the Burmese, who were expelled by the English<sup>1</sup>.

These Ahoms came from the Khamti (Khamti) the sources of the Irawadi, where Prince Henri found a civilized and lettered Buddhist people of the 17th century still enjoying political autonomy in the dangerous region of the *leopard britannique*. They call themselves *Padam*, it is curious to note that both *Padam* and *Assam* are the same names amongst the neighbouring Abor Hillmen. A traveller was told that the *Padao*, who claimed to be like the Laotians<sup>2</sup>, were indigenous, and he describes them also Laotian—straight eyes rather wide apart, nose broad, forehead arched, superciliary arches prominent, thick lips, black chin, olive colour, slightly bronzed and darker than in the country; the men ill-favoured, the young women with delicate features, and some with very beautiful eyes.

Passing into China we are still in the midst of Shans whose range appears formerly to have extended to the right bank of the Yang-tse-kiang, and whose cradle has been traced by de Lacouperie to the Kiu-lung mountains north of Sechuen and south of China proper<sup>3</sup>. This authority holds that they constitute an element in the Chinese race itself, which, as it spread beyond the Yang-tse-kiang, amalgamated with the Shans and thus became profoundly modified both in type and speech, the present Chinese language comprising over thirty per cent of

<sup>1</sup> Much unexpected light has been thrown upon the early history of the Ahoms by Mr E. Gait, who has discovered and described in the *Journal of the Soc. Bengal*, 1894, a large number of *puthis*, or MSS. (28 in the Assam district alone), in the now almost extinct Ahom language, some of which give a continuous history of the Ahom rajas from 568 to 1795 A.D. Most of the others appear to be treatises on religious mysticism or divination, such as a book on the calculation of future events by examining the leg of a *four-footed*.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. Colquhoun, *Among the Shans*, Introduction, p. iv.

...the Chinese, also, during his expedition... most of the aborigines... Chinese, by various sicknesses, great... proximity to the Chinese was slowly... and dress, and gradually in... the that people!

...has been in progress for ages, not only... Chinese and the Shans, but... and the Caucasian aborigines, ... through the Kakhys, but who... in small groups over all the uplands... the Gochin-Chinese coast range. The result... generally of finer physique than either the... Malays in the south, or the more remotely... in the north. The colour, says Mr Bock, ... that of the Siamese," and "in facial... are better-looking than the Malays, ... and the men particularly having... nostrils with nostrils not so wide as those of... Still more emphatic is the testimony of... expedition, who tells us that the... a nobler head than the Chinese; the dark... the nose is straight, the whole expression... of the Caucasian race."

Shan and  
Caucasian  
Contacts.

Tai-Shan  
toned speech.

...their wide diffusion, interminglings with other... of culture, and lack of political... these groups acquire a certain... national unity from their gene-... social usages, Buddhist religion, and common... Amidst a chaos of radically distinct idioms... surrounding indigenous populations, they... a remarkable degree of linguistic... various more or less divergent dialects... Excluding a large percentage of... into the literary language by their

<sup>2</sup> *Temples and Elephants*, p. 320.

... überhaupt nähert sich der Kaukasischen Race"

Hindu educators, this radical modification of the 1,300 distinct words or rather sounds, which were reduced by phonetic decay to so many monosyllables, has been reduced to five tones, the natural tone, two higher tones, and two lower tones. Each term thus acquires five distinct meanings, and each syllable represents five different words, which were phonetically monosyllables, or even polysyllables in the primitive language.

The same process of disintegration has been traced throughout the whole of the Indo-Chinese linguistic area, the leading tongues—Chinese, Annamese, Tai-Shan, Burmese—all long to the same isolating form of speech, which, according to *Ethnology*, Chap. IX., is not a primitive condition, but a late development, the outcome of profound phonetic contraction.

The remarkable uniformity of the Tai-Shan linguistic order of speech may be in part due to the conservative effects of the literary standard, which, over 2000 years ago most of the Shan groups were brought under Hindu influences by the Brahmins

and later by the Buddhist missionaries, who reduced their speech to written form, while introducing a large number of Sanskrit terms inseparable from the new religious ideas. The writing systems, all based on the square Pali form of the vanagari syllabic characters, were adapted to the phonetic requirements of the various dialects, with the result that the Tai-Shan linguistic family is encumbered with four different scripts. "The Western Shans use one very like the Burmese; the Siamese have a character of their own, which is very like Pali; the Shans called Lü have another character of their own; and to the north of Siam the Lao Shans have another character of their own."

These Shan alphabets of Hindu origin are supposed by de Lacouperie to be connected with the writing systems which have been credited to the Mossos, Lolos, and some other peoples about the Chinese and Indo-Chinese borderlands. Lan-Chu in the Lolo country Prince Henri found that there were very numerous, and he was shown some very fine specimens

<sup>1</sup> Low's *Siamese Grammar*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Col. R. G. Woodthorpe, *The Shans and Hill Tribes of the Siam*, in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* 1897, p. 16.

... is still in use, being  
 up legal documents  
 was informed that the book  
 read from top to bottom and  
 authorities say from right to  
 specimens, but reproduces two or  
 transiteration and translation.  
 explanation, were already known  
 their decipherment had exercised  
 scholars. Their failure to interpret  
 Prince Henri, who declares that,  
 have no writing-system. The  
 copy-books full of hieroglyphics;  
 sections (*cahiers*) following hori-  
 which are inscribed one or more  
 heads of animals, men, houses, con-  
 the sky or lightning, and so on."  
 expounded two of the books, which  
 beginning with the creation of the world,  
 catalogue of all the evils threatening  
 by being pious, that is, by making  
 same ideas are always expressed by  
 magicians declared that there was no  
 partly supplied by T. de Lacouperie, who gives  
 MS. on satin, red on one side, blue on the  
 words written in black, "apparently with the  
 obtained by Mr E. Colborne Baber from  
 and except in 1881, and described by de Lacouperie  
 1. "The writing runs in lines from top to  
 as in Chinese" (p. 1), and this authority regards  
 to connect the various members of a widely  
 India (Harapa seal, Indo-Pali, Vatteluttu) to  
 Kampong, Bugis, Makassar, Tagal), to Indo-China  
 and Japan, and also including the Siao-chuen  
 B.C." (p. 5). It would be premature  
 established; but the Indian origin and  
 of the Malayan branch are now placed beyond

alphabet, the hieroglyphs being handed down from one expert to another. Nevertheless Prince Shêng-tsiang regards this as one of the first steps in the history of writing; and many of the Chinese characters were simply pictorial, and, instead of being hemmed in, had acquired a form which their sacred books might also perhaps have given to the Chinese characters<sup>1</sup>.

Although now "hemmed in," the Mossos are a somewhat cultured people, belonging to the same group as the *Jungs* (*Njungs*), who came from the regions north-east of Tibet, and appeared on the

Chinese frontiers about 600 B.C. They are referred to in the Chinese records of 796 A.D. when they were reduced by the King of Nanchao. After various vicissitudes they recognised Chinese suzerainty in the 14th century, and were finally absorbed in the 18th. De Lacouperie<sup>2</sup> thinks they are probably of the same origin as the Lolos, the two languages having many words common, and the names of both being Chinese, while the *Jungs* and the Mossos call themselves respectively *Mossu* (*Nashu*) and *Nashi* (*Nashri*).

Everywhere amongst these border tribes are met <sup>aborigines, who present more or less regular features</sup> aborigines, which are described by various travellers as "Caucasic" or "European." Thus the *Kiou-tsé*, who are the *Khanungs* of the English maps, and are akin to the *Lu-tsé* family (*Melam*, *Anu*, *Diasu* &c.), reminded Prince Shêng-tsiang of some Europeans of his acquaintance<sup>3</sup>, and he speaks of their light colour, straight nose and eyes, and generally fine type of face. Yayo (*Yao*), as the Chinese call them, but whose real name is *Lin-tin-yu*.

The same Caucasian element reappears in a pronounced form amongst the indigenous populations of Tonking. Dr A. Billet has devoted an instructive monograph<sup>4</sup> to the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia, passim.*

<sup>3</sup> "Quelques-uns de ces Kiou-tsés me rappellent des Européens que je connais" (*Op. cit.* p. 252).

<sup>4</sup> *Deux Ans dans le Haut-Tonkin, etc.*, Paris, 1896.

and their aborigines are quite distinct both in appearance and in character, groups them in three main divisions: *Mao*—all collectively called *Mao*—the *Yao* and the *Thao*. The *Thao*, who are the agriculturists, holding all the upland valleys and the wooded heights. They are tall compared with the Annamese, height of 5 or 7 in., lighter than the Annamese, with dark hair, deep-set straight eyes, low cheekbones, and a slightly aquiline nose not depressed at the tip. They are a patient, industrious, and industrious people, subject to Chinese and Annamese influence in language and religion. Very peculiar nevertheless their surviving customs, such as the feast of the dead, and especially chess played with stones. Their movements are directed by two players. Their dialect is to be a Shan dialect, and to this family belong both the *Thao* and the *Nong*. The latter are a more advanced people; now largely assimilated to the Chinese, though the primitive type still persists, especially among women "with light and sometimes even white hair."

It is interesting to learn that the *Mao* came from a western land where their ancestors have lived in contact with the Chinese for thousands of years ago."

Man-tse  
Origins and  
Affinities.

In Chinese it should be explained that in Chinese it is "wild or barbarous," that is, *wild or barbarous*, and we are warned by the Chinese not to take these words as nouns propres de (XII, p. 410). In 1877 Capt. W. Gill visited a large tribal divisions, reaching from West Yunnan to the north, a sort of federacy recognising a king, with Chinese influence, speaking a language resembling Sanskrit (?). These were "the *Man-tse*," apparently the same as those visited in 1896 and described as semi-independent, ruled by their own chiefs, "quite Caucasian, both men and women being very friendly and hospitable, and living in large stone houses" (XIII, 18, 1896).

Il est à noter que les cheveux étaient blonds, quelquefois même



This tradition, which would identify these mentioned Man-tse, is supported by their physical features—head, oval face, small cheek-bones, eyes with a certain amount of depth, skin not yellowish but rather "browned by sun," and other features—in nothing recalling the traits of the Mongoloid.

Let us now turn to M. R. Verneau's conclusions:

Caucasic  
Aborigines in  
South-East  
Asia.

materials brought together by De Quoy, and others, "being not only a medical man, but also a philosopher in the natural sciences, absolute conclusions were placed."

"The Mán-tien, the Mán-coc, the Mán-Mao (the Mán-tse, or Mieu) present a pretty complete identity with the Pan-yao of South Kwang-si; they are the aboriginal ancient race, which with T. de Lacouperie may be identified with the Chinese. This early race, which bore the name of Pan-hu, occupied Central China before the arrival of the Chinese, according to M. d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, the mountains and valleys of Kwei-cháu where these Miao-tse still survive were the original home of the Pan-hu. In any case it seems certain that the T'ien-tse Man race came from Central Asia, and that, from the anthropological standpoint, they differ altogether from the Mongoloid race represented by the Chinese and the Annamese. The Mán-tse actually presents striking affinities with the Aryan type."

Thus is again confirmed by the latest investigations, and the conclusions of some of the leading members of the modern school of anthropology, the view first advanced by the late De Quoy that peoples of the Caucasic (here called "Aryan") dispersion were already spread to the utmost confines of south-east Asia in remote prehistoric times, and had in this region even before the first waves of Mongolic migration radiating from their point of land on the Tibetan plateau<sup>2</sup>.

Reference was above made to the singular lack of political cohesion at all times betrayed by the Chinese peoples. The only noteworthy exception to this

The Siamese  
Shans.

<sup>1</sup> *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 602 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *On the Relations of the Indo-Chinese and Inter-Oceanic Commercial Languages*, Paper read at the Meeting of the Brit. Association, Sheffield, 1880, and printed in the *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* February, 1880. See also *ibid.*, p. 201.

of the population in the mountainous region of vast hills and insubstantial fertility, traversed by rivers and waterfalls, and giving direct access to the Malay Peninsula, the Southern Shans were the primitive tribal groups in a powerful empire, which at one time covered the Malay Peninsula and the Malay Peninsula states, even still maintains a presence with now again reduced by European influence than the natural limits of the fluvial system by the Southern Shans as the Khmers appear to have been here previously (Cambojans), whose advent is dated to the year 543 B.C. and who, according to records, were expelled about 443 A.D. and came not directly from India, that is, their Hindu culture, and the Siamese records refer to the miraculous birth of a prince who threw off the foreign yoke, and forth T'hai, "Freemen," invented the Khom (Cambojan) script, and ordered the Khom (Cambojan) to stop the sacred writings.

Buddhism is assigned to the year 638 A.D., and dates in the native records. The ancient city was founded (575), and other settlements always in the direction of the south, steadily advanced towards the sea, or mingling with Khmers, Lawas, some now extinct, some still survive and plateaux encircling the Menam centre of national life in later times, 1350, when the empire had received its the whole of Camboja, Pegu, the Malay Peninsula, and extending its conquests as far as Java<sup>1</sup>. Then followed the invaders are called "Cambojans," but at this time had been reduced, and the Siamese conquerors

the disastrous wars with Burma, which twice captured and finally destroyed Ayuthia (1767), now a picturesque elephant-park visited by tourists from the present capital, Bangkok, founded in 1772 a little lower down the Menam.

But the elements of decay existed from the first in the institution of slavery or serfdom, which was not restricted to a particular class, as in other lands, but, before the modern reforms, extended in principle to all the kings' subjects in mockery declared "Freemen" by the founders of the monarchy. This, however, may be regarded as perhaps little more than a legal fiction, for at all times class distinctions were really recognised, comprising the members of the royal family—a somewhat numerous group—the nobles named by the king, the *leks* or vassals, and the people, these latter being again subdivided into three sections, those liable to taxation, those subject to forced labour, and the slaves proper. But so little developed was the sentiment of personal dignity and freedom, that anybody from the highest noble to the humblest citizen might at any moment lapse into the lowest category. Like most Mongoloid peoples, the Siamese are incurable gamblers, and formerly it was an everyday occurrence for a freeman to stake all his goods and chattels, wives, children, and self, on the hazard of the die.

Yet the women, like their Burmese sisters, have always held a somewhat honourable social position, being free to walk abroad, go shopping, visit their friends, see the sights, and take part in the frequent public feastings without restriction. Those, however, who brought no dower and had to be purchased, might again be sold at any time, and many thus constantly fell from the dignity of matrons to the position of the merest drudges without rights or privileges of any kind. These strange relations were endurable, thanks to the genial nature of the national temperament, by which the hard lot of the thralls was softened, and a little light allowed to

had brought back from its renowned capital, Angkor Wat, over 90,000 captives. These were largely employed in the wars of the period, which were thus attributed to Camboja instead of to Siam by foreign peoples ignorant of the changed relations in Indo-China.

penetrate into the darkest corners<sup>1</sup> of the social system. The open slave-markets, which in the vassal Lao states fostered systematic raiding-expeditions amongst the un-reduced aborigines, were abolished in 1873, and since 1890 all born in slavery are free on reaching their 21st year.

Siamese Buddhism is a slightly modified form of that prevailing in Ceylon, although strictly practised but by few.

There are two classes or "sects," the reformers who attach more importance to the observance of the canon law than to meditation, and the old believers, some devoted to a contemplative life, others to the study of the sunless wilderness of Buddhist writings. But, beneath it all, spirit or devil-worship is still rife, and in many districts pure animism is practically the only religion. Even temples and shrines have been raised to the countless gods of land and water, woods, mountains, villages and households. To these gods are credited all sorts of calamities, and to prevent them from getting into the bodies of the dead the latter are brought out, not through door or window, but through a breach in the wall, which is afterwards carefully built up. Similar ideas prevail amongst many other peoples, both at higher and lower levels of culture, for nothing is more ineradicable than such popular beliefs associated with the relations presumed to exist between the present and the after life.

Buddhism.

Incredible sums are yearly lavished in offerings to the spirits, which give rise to an endless round of feasts and revels, and also in support of the numerous Buddhist temples, convents, and their inmates. The treasures accumulated in the "royal cloisters" and other shrines represent a great part of the national savings—

<sup>1</sup> How very dark some of these corners can be may be seen from the sad picture of maladministration, vice, and corruption still prevalent so late as 1890, given by Mr Hallett in *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, ch. xxxv.; and even still later by Mr H. Warington Smyth in *Five Years in Siam, from 1891 to 1896* (1898). This observer credits the Siamese with an undeveloped sense of right and wrong, so that they are good only by accident. "To do a thing because it is right is beyond them; to abstain from a thing because it is against their good name, or involves serious consequences, is possibly within the power of a few; the question of right and wrong does not enter the calculation." But he thinks they may possess a high degree of intelligence, and mentions the case of a peasant, who from an atlas had taught himself geography and politics.

investments for the other world, among which are found numerous gold statues glittering with rubies, sapphires, and other priceless gems. But in these matters the taste of the *talapat*, the priests were formerly called, is somewhat catholic, including pictures of reviews and battle-scenes from the European illustrated papers, and sometimes even statues of Napoleon set up by the side of Buddha.

So numerous, absurd, and exacting are the rules of the monastic communities that, but for the aid of the temple servants and novices, existence would be impossible. A list of such puerilities occupies several pages in Mr Colquhoun's work *Amongst the Shans* (219-231), and from these we learn that the monks must not dig the ground; that they can neither plant nor sow; must not boil rice, as it would kill the germ; eat corn for the same reason; climb trees lest a branch get broken; kindle a flame, as it destroys the fuel; put out a flame, as that also would extinguish life; forge iron, as sparks would fly out and perish; swing their arms in walking; wink in speaking; buy or sell; stretch the legs when sitting; breed poultry, pigs, or other animals; mount an elephant or palanquin; wear red, black, green, or white garments; mourn for the dead, &c., &c. In a word all might be summed up by a general injunction neither to do anything, nor not to do anything and then despair of attaining *Nirvana*; for it would be impossible to conceive of any more pessimistic system in theory<sup>1</sup>. Practically it is otherwise, and in point of fact the utmost religious indifference prevails amongst all classes.

Within the Mongolic division it would be difficult to imagine any more striking contrast than that presented by the gentle, kindly, and on the whole not ill-favoured Siamese, and their hard-featured, hard-hearted, and grasping Annamese neighbours.

<sup>1</sup> Probably a corruption of *talapat*, the name of the palm-tree which yields the fan-leaf constantly used by the monks.

<sup>2</sup> "In conversation with the monks Dr M<sup>c</sup>Gilvary was told that it would most likely be countless ages before they would attain the much wished-for state of Nirvana, and that one transgression at any time might relegate them to the lowest hell to begin again their melancholy pilgrimage" (Hallett, *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, p. 337).

...the may fancy there is little or nothing in blood,  
 ...the bright, genial—if somewhat  
 ...social life of Bangkok to the <sup>The</sup> Annamese.  
 ...moral atmosphere of Ha-noi or  
 ...will be apt to modify his views on that point.  
 ...have a good word to say for the Tonkingese, the  
 ...or any other branch of the Annamese family,  
 ...of the least prejudiced are so outspoken that we  
 ...infer there is good ground for their severe strictures  
 ...uncouth materialists. Buddhists of course they  
 ...but of the moral sense they have little, unless it  
 ...the lettered classes) a pale reflection of the pale  
 ...ethical code. The whole region in fact is a sort of  
 ...China, to which it owes its arts and industries, its  
 ...systems, general culture, and even a large part of  
 ...*Giao-shi* (*Kiao-shi*), the name of <sup>Origins.</sup>  
 ...said to mean "Bifurcated," or  
 ...in reference to the wide space between the great  
 ...occurs in the legendary Chinese records so  
 ...B.C., since which period the two countries  
 ...have maintained almost uninterrupted relations,  
 ...or hostile, down to the present day. At first the  
 ...confined to the northern parts of Lu-kiang, the  
 ...all the rest of the coast lands being held by the  
 ...(*Tsiampa*) people, whose affinities are with the  
 ...But in 218 B.C., Lu-kiang having been re-  
 ...incorporated with China proper, a large number of  
 ...settled in the country, and gradually merged  
 ...in a single nationality, whose twofold descent  
 ...is the Annamese physical and mental characters.  
 ...*Samon*, however, did not come into use till the  
 ...it was officially applied to the frontier river

...très développé et écarté des autres doigts du pied.  
 ...que l'on retrouve encore aujourd'hui chez les indigènes  
 ...reconnaître facilement que les Giao-chi sont les ancêtres  
 ...*Annuaire de l'Indochine française en 1878*, p. 231). See also a note on  
 ...in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* 1879, p. 460.  
 ...a modified form of *ngan-nan*, "Southern Peace."

between China and Tonking, and afterwards extended to the whole of Tonking and Cochin-China. Tonking itself, meaning the "Eastern Court",<sup>1</sup> was originally the name only of the city of Ha-noi when it was a royal residence, but was later extended to the whole of the northern kingdom, whose true name is *Phu-nan*. To this corresponded the southern Kwe-Chen-Ching, "Kingdom of Chen-Ching," which was so named in the 9th century from its capital Chen-Ching, and of which our Cochin-China appears to be a corrupt form.

But, amid all this troublesome political nomenclature, the dominant Annamese nation has faithfully preserved its homogeneous character, spreading, like the Siamese Shans, steadily southwards, and gradually absorbing the whole of the Champa domain to the southern extremity of the peninsula, as well as a large part of the ancient kingdom of Camboja about the Mekhong delta. They thus form at present the almost exclusive ethnical element throughout all the lowland and cultivated parts of Tonking, upper and lower Cochin-China and south Camboja, with a total population in 1898 of about twenty millions.

The Annamese are described in a semi-official report<sup>2</sup> as characterised by a high broad forehead, high cheek bones, small crushed nose, rather thick lips, black hair, scant beard, mean height, coppery complexion, deceitful (*rusté*) expression, and rude or insolent bearing. The head is round (index 83 to 84) and the features are in general flat and coarse, while to an ungainly exterior corresponds a harsh unsympathetic temperament. The Abbé Gagelin, who lived years in their midst, frankly declares that they are at once arrogant and dishonest, and dead to all the finer feelings of human nature, so that after years of absence the nearest akin will meet without any outward sign of pleasure or affection. Others go further, and Mr J. G. Scott summed it all up by declaring that "the fewer Annamese there are, the less taint there is on the human race." No doubt Lord Curzon gives a more favourable picture, but this traveller spent only a short time in the country, and even he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Nan-king, Pe-king*, "Southern" and "Northern" Courts (Capitals).

<sup>2</sup> *La Gazette Géographique*, March 12, 1885.

They are "tricky and deceitful, disposed to thieve whenever the chance, mendacious, and incurable gamblers". They have one redeeming quality, an intense love of freedom, strangely contrasting with the almost abject servitude of the Siamese. The feeling extends to all classes, and is held in abhorrence, and, as in Burma, a democratic equality permeates the social system<sup>2</sup>. Hence, though the State has always been an absolute monarchy, each town or province constitutes a veritable little oligarchic commonwealth. This has come as a great surprise to the present French conquerors of the country, who frankly declare that they cannot improve the social or political position of the people by imposing European for native laws and usages. The Annamese in fact little to learn from western social institutions.

The language, spoken everywhere with remarkable uniformity, is of the normal Indo-Chinese isolating type, consisting of six tones, three high and three low, and of ideographic characters based on the

Language  
and Letters.

Chinese, but with numerous modifications and additions. But, as the Chinese characters are ill-suited for the purpose, the attempt made by the French missionaries to substitute the so-called *quoc-giao* phonetic system, has been defeated by the conservatism of the people. Primary instruction has long been confined to the Chinese characters, and almost everybody can read and write as well as understand the Chinese hieroglyphs as are needed for the ordinary daily intercourse. Every village has its free school, and a high degree of studies is encouraged by the public examinations, such as in China, all candidates for government employment are subjected. Under such a scheme surprising results have been achieved, were the course of studies not based on the empty formulas of Chinese classical literature. The subjects taught are for the most part puerile, and true education is hindered by the dry moral precepts of Confucius. One of the characteristics of the educated classes is a scoffing, sceptical spirit,

<sup>2</sup> *Annuaire*, 1892, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> "Le point d'égalité la plus parfaite. Point d'esclavage, point de servitude. Aussi tout homme peut-il aspirer aux emplois, se faire un nom, et être plus que son adversaire" (*op. cit.* p. 6).



free from all religious prejudice, and unhampered by theological creeds or dogmas, combined with a lofty moral tone, not always however in harmony with daily conduct.

Even more than in China, the family is the true base of the social system, the head of the household being not only the high-priest of the ancestral cult, but also a kind of patriarch enjoying almost absolute control over his children. In this respect the relations are somewhat one-sided, the father having no recognised obligations towards his offspring, while these are expected to show him perfect obedience in life and veneration after death. Besides this worship of ancestry and the Confucian ethical philosophy, a national form of Buddhism is prevalent. Some even profess all three of these so-called "religions," beneath which there still survive many of the primitive superstitions associated with a not yet extinct belief in spirits and the supernatural power of magicians. While the Buddhist temples are neglected and the few bonzes<sup>1</sup> despised, offerings are still made to the genii of agriculture, of the waters, the tiger, the dolphin, peace, war, diseases, and so forth, whose rude statues in the form of dragons or other fabulous monsters are even set up in the pagodas. Since the early part of the 17th century Roman Catholic missionaries have laboured with considerable success in this unpromising field, where the congregations were estimated in 1898 at about 900,000.

From Annam the ethnical transition is easy to China<sup>2</sup> and its teeming multitudes, regarding whose origins, social and cultural, two opposite views at present hold

The Chinese.

<sup>1</sup> From *bonzo*, a Portuguese corruption of the Japanese *bunso*, a devout person, applied first to the Buddhist priests of Japan, and then extended to those of China and neighbouring lands.

<sup>2</sup> This name, probably the Chinese *jin*, men, people, already occurs in Sanskrit writings in its present form: चीन, *China*, whence the Hindi चीन, *Chin*, and the Arabo-Persian چین, *Sin*, which gives the classical *Sinae*. The most common national name is *Chung-kûe*, "middle kingdom" (presumably the centre of the universe), whence *Chung-kûe-Jin*, the Chinese people. Some have referred *China* to the *Chin* (*Tsin*) dynasty (909 B.C.), while Marco Polo's *Kataia* (Russian *Kitai*) is the *Khata* (North China) of the Mongol period, from the Manchu *K'it-tan*, founders of the Liào dynasty, which was overthrown

be called the old, but by no means the the Chinese populations as the direct the aborigines who during the Stone Ages entered probably from the Tibetan plateau, there peculiar culture independently of foreign in- spread gradually southwards to the whole of extirpating, absorbing, or driving to the encircling uplands the ruder aborigines of the Yang- Kiang basins.

to this view the new school, championed de Lacouperie<sup>1</sup>, holds that of China are late intruders The Baby- lonian theory. of Asia, and that they arrived, not but as a cultured people with a considerable science, and the arts, all of which they or indirectly from the civilised Akkado- of Babylonia.

and resemblances, but what are called and pointed out between the two cultures, and languages, sufficient to establish a common Mesopotamia being the fountain-head, whence the channels not clearly defined to the Hoang-ho Chin. *yu*, originally *gu*, is equated with Akkad *gu*, light, and so on. Then the astronomic systems are compared, Berosus and the cunei- the prehistoric Akkad epoch into 10 periods 120 Sari, or 432,000 years, while the corre- astronomic myth also comprises 10 kings (or the same period of 432,000 years. The credited to the emperor Yao (2000 B.C.) with the Akkadian, both having the same

Tatars. Ptolemy's *Thinae* is rightly regarded by as *Sinae*, the substitution of *t* for *s* being normal in may have reached the west through the southern

*Chinese Civilization, from 2300 B.C. to 200 A.D., Derived from the Old Civilizations of West Asia Culture, London, 1894.*

five planets with names of like meaning, and a year of 12 months and 30 days, with the same cycle of intercalated days, while several of the now obsolete names of the Chinese months answer to those of the Babylonians. Even the name of the first Chinese emperor who built an observatory, Nai-Kwang-ti, somewhat resembles that of the Elamite king, Kuder-na-langti, who conquered Chaldæa about 2280 B.C.

All this can hardly be explained away as a mere series of coincidences; nevertheless neither Sinologists nor Akkadians are quite convinced, and it is obvious that many of the resemblances may be due to trade or intercourse both by the old overland caravan routes, and by the seaborne traffic from Eridu at the head of the Persian Gulf, which was a flourishing emporium 4000 or 5000 years ago.

But, despite some verbal analogies, an almost insurmountable difficulty is presented by the Akkadian and Chinese languages, which no philological ingenuity can bring into such relation as is required by the hypothesis. Mr T. G. Pinches has shown that at a very early period, say some 5000 years ago, Akkadian already consisted, "for the greater part, of words of one syllable," and was "greatly affected by phonetic decay, the result being that an enormous number of homophones were developed out of roots originally quite distinct<sup>1</sup>." This Akkadian scholar sends me a number of instances, such as *tu* for *tura*, to enter; *ti* for *tita*, to live; *du* for *dumu*, son; *du* for *dugu*, good, as in *Eridu*, for *Gurudugu*, "the good city," adding that "the list could be extended indefinitely<sup>2</sup>." But de Lacouperie's Bak tribes, that is, the first immigrants from south-west Asia, are not supposed to have reached North China till about 2500 or 3000 B.C., at which time the Chinese language was still in the untuned agglutinating state, with but few monosyllabic homophones, and consequently quite distinct from the Akkadian, as known to us from the Assyrian syllabaries, bilingual lists, and earlier tablets from Nippur or Lagash.

Hence the linguistic argument seems to fail completely, while

<sup>1</sup> "Observations upon the Languages of the Early Inhabitants of Mesopotamia," in *Journ. R. As. Soc.* XVI. Part 2.

<sup>2</sup> MS. note, May 7, 1896.

the origin of the Chinese writing-system, strenuously maintained by C. J. Ball, has not been accepted by those who are most competent to judge. Many of the "line forms" collated by Mr Ball are so grotesque that, as might be said, they seem to prove that they may be compared with such infantile utterances occurring in half the languages of the world, without showing a connection or affinity between any of them. The establishment of a common origin of the two scripts established, however, nothing as to the common origin of the two scripts, but only show cultural influences, which need not be traced to a common origin.

Chinese origins cannot be clearly traced back to the Chinese culture may still, in a sense, be the oldest in the world, inasmuch as it has remained with little change from its rise 5000 years ago down to present times. All other early cultures—Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, Hellenic—have perished, or live only in their monuments, traditions, and records. But the Chinese, despite repeated political revolutions, is still as deeply rooted in the past as ever, with a sense of continuity from the dim echoes of remote antiquity down to the last Taiping rebellion, or the last Sino-Japanese war. These things touch the surface only of the life of Chinese humanity, which is held together, not by any sense of national sentiment (all sentiment is alien to the Chinese temperament), nor by any community of speech, for the provincial dialects differ profoundly from each other. It is the prodigious power of inertia, which has hitherto resisted all attempts at change either by pressure from without, or by impulses from within.

For thousands of years ago, the Chinese still are, as they were, a hard-working people, occupied mainly with agriculture, and cultivating few arts beyond weaving, porcelaine, and the like, but with a widely diffused sense of art, and a writing-system which has passed through a cumbersome ideographic stage, and is now represented by distinct concepts

to be expressed. Yet the system has one advantage, enabling those who speak mutually unintelligible idioms to converse together, using the pencil instead of the tongue. For this very reason the attempts made centuries ago by the government to substitute a phonetic script had to be abandoned. It was found that imperial edicts and other documents so written could not be understood by the populations speaking dialects different from the literary standard, whereas the hieroglyphs, like our ciphers, could be read by all educated persons of whatever allied form of speech.

Originally the Chinese system, whether developed on the spot or derived from Akkadian or any other foreign source, was of course pictographic or ideographic, and it is commonly supposed to have remained at that stage ever since, the only material changes being of a graphic nature. The pictographs were conventionalized and reduced to their present form, but still remained ideograms supplemented by a limited number of phonetic determinants. But de Lacouperie has shown that this view is a mistake, and that the evolution from the pictograph to the phonetic symbol had been practically completed in China many centuries before the new era. The *Ku-wen* style current before the 9th century B.C. "was really the phonetic expression of speech". But for the reason stated it had to be discontinued, and a return made to the earlier ideographic style. The change was effected about 820 B.C. by She Ch'ou, minister of the Emperor S'uen Wang, who introduced the *Ta-chuen* style, in which "he tried to speak to the eye and no longer to the ear," that is, he reverted to the earlier ideographic process, which has since prevailed. It was simplified about 227 B.C. (*Siao Chuen* style), and after some other modifications the present caligraphic form (*Kiai Shu*) was introduced by Wang Hi in 350 A.D. Thus one consequence of the "Expansion of China" was a reversion to barbarism, in respect at least of the national graphic system, by which Chinese thought and literature have been hampered for nearly 3000 years.

Written records, though at first mainly of a mythical character, date from about 3000 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Reference is made in the early

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Archaic Chinese Writing and Texts*, 1861, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The first actual date given is that of Tai Hao (Fu Hi), 2593 B.C., but this

documents to the rude and savage times, which in China as elsewhere certainly preceded the historic period. Three different periods are even discriminated, and tradition relates how the first introduced wooden, Thin-ming stone, and Shi-yu metal implements. Later, when their origin and use were forgotten, the first ones, like those from Yunnan, were looked on as bolts hurled to the earth by the god of thunder, while the arrow-heads, supposed to be also of divine origin, were endowed in the popular fancy with special virtues and even regarded as emblems of sovereignty. Thus may perhaps be explained the curious fact that in early times, before the 12th century B.C., tribute in flint weapons was paid to the imperial government by some of the nomad wild tribes of the western uplands.

These men of the Stone and Metal Ages are no doubt still to be represented, not only amongst the rude hill tribes of the southern and western borderlands, but also amongst the settled and cultured lowlanders of the great fluvial valleys. The "Hundred Families," as the immigrants called themselves, came traditionally from the northern regions beyond the Hoang-ho. According to the

Early Migrations.

tradition to the fabulous period, and is stated to have reigned 115 years. The date would appear to be that of Yau, first of the Chinese sages of the calendar (2357 B.C.). The date 2254 B.C. for Confucius's birth seems also established. But of course all this is modern conjecture with the now determined Babylonian and Egyptian records.

At the metals reference is made to iron so early as the time of the Shang (1200 B.C.), when it is mentioned as an article of tribute in the *Shu-ching*. Hirth, who states this fact, adds that during the same period, or even earlier, iron was already a flourishing industry in the Liang-shan region. In the *History of Chinese Culture*, Munich Anthropological Museum (1903). At the discussion which followed the reading of this work, Montelius argued that iron was unknown in Western Asia and Europe before 1000 B.C., although the point was contested by Prof. Hommel, who pointed out for iron in the earliest Egyptian texts. Montelius, however, maintained that the words originally meaning "ore" or "metal" were afterwards used for iron. Such was certainly the case with the Gk *χαλκός*, at first meaning copper in general, and used still later for *σίδηρος*, "iron"; and the Slav *чръно*, blacksmith, and even goldsmith. So also with the Sanskrit *सूर्य*, akin to *aurora*, with simple idea of brightness), and the Latin *cuprum* (copper (*aes cyprium, cuprum*), and then for *brass*

Yu-kung their original home lay in the south-western part of Eastern Turkestan, whence they first migrated east to the basin north of the Nan-Shan range, and then, in the fourth millennium before the new era, to the fertile valleys of the Hsiao-ho, and its Hoi-ho tributary. Thence they spread slowly along the other great river valleys, partly expelling, partly intermingling with the aborigines, but so late as the 7th century A.D. were still mainly confined to the region between the Pei-ho and the lower Yang-tse-kiang. Even here several indigenous groups, such as the Hoi, whose name survives in that of the Hoi river, and the Lai of the Shantung Peninsula, long held their ground, but all were ultimately absorbed or assimilated throughout the northern lands as far south as the left bank of the Yang-tse-kiang.

Beyond this river many were also merged in the dominant people continually advancing southwards; but others, collectively or vaguely known as Sifans, Mans, Miao-tse, Pa-i, Tho, Y-jen<sup>1</sup>, Lolo, etc., were driven to the south-western highlands which they still occupy. Even some of the populations in the settled districts, such as the *Hok-los*<sup>2</sup> and *Hakkas*<sup>3</sup> of Kwang-tung, and the *Pan-ti*<sup>4</sup> of the Canton district, are scarcely yet thoroughly assimilated. They differ greatly in temperament, usages, appearance, and speech from the typical Chinese of the Central and Northern provinces, whom in fact they look upon as "foreigners," and with whom they

<sup>1</sup> This term *Y-jen* (*Yi-jen*) meaning much the same as *Man*, *Man-tu*, savage, rude, untameable, has acquired a sort of diplomatic distinction. In the treaty of Tien-tsin (1858) it was stipulated that it should no longer, as heretofore, be applied in official documents to the English or to any subjects of the Queen.

<sup>2</sup> See Rev. J. Edkins, *China's Place in Philology*, p. 117. The *Hok-los* were originally from Fo-kien, whence their alternative name, *Fo-lo*. The *lo* appears to be the same word as in the reduplicated *Lo-lo*, meaning something like the Greek and Latin *Bar-bar*, stammerers, rude, uncultured.

<sup>3</sup> The *Hakkas*, i.e. "strangers," speak a well-marked dialect current on the uplands between Kwang-tung, Kiang-si, and Fo-kien (Dyer Ball, *Easy Lessons in the Hakka Dialect*, 1884).

<sup>4</sup> Numerous in the western parts of Kwang-tung and in the Canton district (Dyer Ball, *Cantonese Made Easy*, Hongkong, 1884).

held together through "Pidgin English", the *lingua franca* of the Chinese seaboard.

The Chinese a general homogeneous character is imparted to the whole people by their common political, social, and religious institutions; and by that principle of convergence in virtue of which different ethnical groups, thrown together in the same area and brought under a single administration, tend to merge in a uniform conventional type. This general uniformity is conspicuous especially in the religious ideas which, except in the sceptical Western circles, everywhere underlie the three recognised national religions, or "State Churches," as they might almost be called: *Jeh-shu*, Confucianism; *tao-kiao*, Taoism, and *fo-kiao*, Buddhism (Fo-Buddha). The first, confined mainly to the educated upper classes, is not so much a religion as a philosophic system, a frigid ethical code based on the moral and matter-of-fact teachings of Confucius\*. Confucius was essentially

Confucianism.

and political reformer, who taught by example and precept; the main inducement to virtue being, not the threat of penalties in the after-life, but well or ill-being in the present. His system is summed up in the expression "worldly wisdom," and embodied in such popular sayings as: A friend is hard made in a year, but unmade in a moment; When safe don't forget danger, in peace forget not war; Filial father, filial son; In washing up, plates and dishes may be broken; Don't do what you would not have known; Thatch your roof before the rain, dig the well before you thirst; The more you succeed is his ruin; Money goes to the gambling den and is never returned to execution (never returns); Money hides many hands; Stop the hand, stop the mouth (stop work and starve); It is easy to keep it open hard; Win your lawsuit and lose your money.

The expression "Pidgin" appears to be a corruption of the word *pidgin* in a very wide sense, as in such terms as *talkes pidgin* = a conversation, *singsong pidgin* = a concert, &c. It is no unusual occurrence for widely separated Chinese provinces meeting in England to use this common jargon in conversation. The Chinese name for the philosopher Kung, or more fully *Kung-fu-tse*, "the eminent teacher," gives the Latinised form *Confucius*.



Although he instituted no religious system, Confucius nevertheless enjoined the observance of the already existing ancestor worship, and after death became himself the object of a wide-spread cult, which still persists. "In every city there is a temple, built at the public expense, containing either a statue of the philosopher, or a tablet inscribed with his titles. Every spring and autumn worship is paid him in these temples by the chief official personages of the city. In the schools also, on the first and fifteenth of each month, his title being written on red paper and affixed to a tablet, worship is performed in a special room by burning incense and candles, and by prostrations<sup>1</sup>."

Taoism, a sort of pantheistic mysticism, called by its founder, Lao-tse (600 B.C.), the *Tao*, or "way of salvation," was embodied in the formula "matter and the visible world are merely manifestations of a sublime, eternal, incomprehensible principle." It taught, in anticipation of Sakya-Muni, that by controlling his passions man may escape or cut short an endless series of transmigrations, and thus arrive by the *Tao* at everlasting bliss—sleep? unconscious rest or absorption in the eternal essence? Nirvana? It is impossible to tell from the lofty but absolutely unintelligible language in which the master's teachings are wrapped.

But it matters little, because his disciples have long forgotten the principles they never understood, and Taoism has almost everywhere been transformed to a system of magic associated with the never-dying primeval superstitions. Originally there was no hierarchy of priests, the only specially religious class being the Ascetics, who passed their lives absorbed in the contemplation of the eternal verities. But out of this class, drawn together by their common interests, was developed a kind of monasticism, with an organised brotherhood of astrologers, magicians, Shamanists, somnambulists, "mediums," "thought-readers," charlatans and

<sup>1</sup> *Kwong Ki Chiu*, 1881, p. 875. Confucius was born in 550 and died in 477 B.C., and to him are at present dedicated as many as 1560 temples, in which are observed real sacrificial rites. For these sacrifices the State yearly supplies 26,606 sheep, pigs, rabbits and other animals, besides 27,000 pieces of silk, most of which things, however, become the "perquisites" of the attendants in the sanctuaries.

religions of all sorts, sheltered under a threadbare garb of religion.

Buddhism also, although of foreign origin, has completely conformed to the national spirit, and is now a colourless blend of Hindu metaphysics with the primitive Chinese belief in spirits and a deified ancestry. In every district are practised diverse forms of worship between which no clear dividing line can be drawn, and, as in Annam, the same persons may be at once followers of Confucius, Lao-tse, and Buddha. In fact such is the position of the Emperor, who belongs *ex officio* to all three of these State religions, and scrupulously takes part in their various observances. There is even some truth in the Chinese view that "all three make but one religion," the first appealing to man's moral nature, the second to the instinct of self-preservation, the third to the higher sphere of thought and contemplation.

Behind, one might say above it all, the old animism still prevails, manifested in a multitude of superstitious practices, whose purport is to appease the evil and secure the favour of the good spirits, the *Feng-shui*

Fung-shui  
and ancestry  
worship.

deities, "air and water" genii, who have to be reckoned with in all the weightiest as well as the most trivial occurrences of life. These with the ghosts of their ancestors, by whom the departed is haunted, are the bane of the Chinaman's existence: everything depends on maintaining a perfect balance between the "White Tiger," that is, the two principles represented by the "White Tiger" and the "Azure Dragon," who guard the approaches to every dwelling, and whose opposing influences have to be carefully adjusted by the well-paid professors of the magic art. At the death of the late emperor Tung Chih (1875) a great disturbance was raised by the State astrologers, who found that the emperor would be endangered if he were buried, according to rule, in the imperial cemetery 100 miles west of Peking, as his father had done, the other imperial cemetery situated the same distance east of Peking. For some subtle reason the balance would be upset between Tiger and Dragon, and it took nine months to find the point, during which, as reported by the Chinese historians, the whole empire was stirred, councils of

State agitated, and £50,000 expended in the purchase of the remains of a worthless and vicious young man slain in the

Owing to the necessary disturbance of the ~~business~~ places, much trouble has been anticipated in the construction of the railways, for which concessions have now been granted to ~~the~~ syndicates. But an Englishman long resident in ~~the~~ declared that there will be no resistance on the part of the people. "The dead can be removed with due regard to ~~the~~ Shui; a few dollars will make that all right." This is in accordance with the thrifty character of the Chinese, which overrides all other considerations, as expressed in the popular saying: "With money you may move the gods; without it you cannot move men." But the gods may even be moved without money, or at least with spurious paper money, for it is a fixed belief of their votaries that, like mortals, they may be outwitted by such devices. When rallied for burning flash notes at a popular shrine, since no spirit-bank would cash them, a Chinaman retorted: "Why me burn good note? Joss no can savvy." In a similar spirit the god of war is hoodwinked by wooden boards hung on the ramparts of Peking and painted to look like heavy ordnance.

In fact appearance, outward show, observance of the "eleventh commandment," in a word "face," as it is called, is everything in China. "To understand, however imperfectly, what is meant by 'face,' we must take account of the fact that as a race the Chinese have a strong dramatic instinct. Upon very slight provocation any Chinese regards himself in the light of an actor in a drama. A Chinese thinks in theatrical terms. If his troubles are adjusted he speaks of himself as having 'got off the stage' with credit, and if they are not adjusted he finds no way to 'retire from the stage.' The question is never of facts, but always of form. Once rightly apprehended, 'face' will be found to be in itself a key to the combination-lock of many of the most important characteristics of the Chinese<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Arthur H. Smith, *Chinese Characteristics*, New York, 1895. The good, or at least the useful, qualities of the Chinese are stated by this shrewd observer to be a love of industry, peace, and social order, a matchless patience and forbearance under wrongs and evils beyond cure, a happy temperament, no nerves, and "a digestion like that of an ostrich."

Among the religions Islam, next to Buddhism, has made most progress. Introduced by the early Arab and Persian traders, and continuously preached throughout the empire, since its introduction in the 12th century, it has secured converts especially in Kan-su, Shen-si, and Yunnan, and is of great importance in Eastern (Chinese) Turkestan. Despite the wholesale butcheries that followed the repeated insurrections in 1850 and 1877, the *Hoei-Hoei*, *Panthays*, or *Dungans*, as the Mohammedans are variously called, were still estimated, in 1890, at about 22,000,000 in the whole empire.

Islam and  
Christianity.

Christianity, which, as attested by the Nestorian inscription of Si-ngan-fu, penetrated into the western provinces under the form of Nestorianism about the 7th century. The Roman Roman Catholic missions with headquarters at Peking date from the close of the 16th century, and despite internal dissensions have had a fair measure of success, the congregations numbering (1896) altogether over one million. This contrasts favourably with the 30,000 to 50,000 Protestants of all denominations established collectively by the *London Missionary Society*, the *Church of England Mission*, and the *American Methodist Episcopal Society*. The Protestant propaganda is almost an admitted failure.

The dissensions mentioned arose out of the practices of the Chinese, such as ancestor-worship, offerings of flowers, fruits and incense, which the Jesuits regarded merely as proofs of filial piety, but were denounced by the Dominicans as acts of idolatry. After many years of idle controversy, the question was settled against the Jesuits by Clement XI. in the famous bull *Ex illius* (1715), and since then, neophytes having to renounce the national cult of their forefathers, conversions have been confined to the lower classes, too humble to boast of their piety, or too poor to commemorate the dead by ever-expensive sepulchral rites.

There are no hereditary nobles, indeed no nobles in the European sense, but the rather numerous descendants of Confucius and other great teachers and enjoy certain social privileges, in this respect resembling the *Shorfa* (descendants of the Prophet) in Arabia. If any titles have to be awarded for great services, they are conferred on the hero, but on his forefathers, and thus

at a stroke of the vermilion pencil are ennobled countless past generations, while the last of the line remains unhonoured until he goes over to the majority. Between the Emperor, "patriarch of his people," and the people themselves, however, there stands an aristocracy of talent, or at least of Chinese scholarship, the governing Mandarin<sup>1</sup> class, which is open to the highest and the lowest alike. All nominations to office are conferred exclusively on the successful competitors at the public examinations, so that, like the French conscript with the hypothetical Marshal's bâton in his knapsack, every Chinese citizen carries the buttoned cap of official rank in his capacious sleeve. Of these there are nine grades, indicated respectively in descending order by the ruby, red coral, sapphire opaque blue, crystal, white shell, gold (two), and silver button, or rather little globe, on the cap of office, with which correspond the nine birds—manchu crane, golden pheasant, peacock, wild goose, silver pheasant, egret, mandarin duck, quail, and jay—embroidered on the breast and back of the State robe.

Theoretically the system is admirable, and at all events is better than appointments by Court favour. But in practice it is vitiated, first by the narrow, antiquated course of studies in the dry Chinese classics, calculated to produce pedants rather than statesmen, and secondly by the monopoly of preference which it confers on a lettered caste to the exclusion of men of action, vigour, and enterprise. Moreover, appointments being made for life, barring crime or blunder, the Mandarins, as long as they approve themselves zealous supporters of the reigning dynasty, enjoy a free hand in amassing wealth by plunder, and the wealth thus acquired is used to purchase further promotion and advancement, rather than to improve the welfare of the people.

They have the reputation of being a courteous people, and punctilious as the Malays themselves; and they are so among each other. But their attitude towards strangers is the embodiment

<sup>1</sup> A happy Portuguese coinage from the Malay *mantri*, a state minister which is the Sanskrit *mantrin*, a counsellor, from *mantra*, a sacred text, a counsel, from Aryan root *man*, to think, know, whence also the English *mind*.

of aggressive self-righteousness, a complacent feeling of superiority which nothing can disturb. Even the upper classes, with all their efforts to be at least polite, often betray the feeling in a subdued arrogance which is not always to be distinguished from vulgar insolence. "After the courteous, kindly Japanese, the Chinese seem indifferent, rough, and disagreeable, except the well-to-do merchants in the shops, who are bland, complacent, and courteous. Their rude stare, and the way they hustle you in the streets and shout their 'pidjun' English at you is not attractive<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Miss Bird (Mrs Bishop), *The Golden Chersonese*, 1883, p. 37.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE OCEANIC MONGOLS.

Range of the Oceanic Mongols—The term "Malay"—The Historical Malays—Malay Cradle—Migrations and present Range—The Malays—The Javanese—Balinese and Sassaks—Hindu Legends in Bali—The Malayan Seafarers and Rovers—Malaysia and Pelagia: a Historical Parallel—Malayan Folklore—Malayans in Borneo—The Dyak Aborigines—Head-hunting—Cannibalism—Human Sacrifices—Indonesian Elements in Borneo—Early Man and his Works in Sumatra—The Mentawi Islanders—Javanese and Hindu Influences—The Malaysian Alphabets—The Battas: Cultured Cannibals—Hindu and Primitive Survivals—The Achinese—Early Records—Islam and Hindu Reminiscences—Ethnical Relations in Madagascar—Oceanic Immigrants—Malagasy Speech—The Negro Element—Hova Type—Mental Qualities of the Malagasy—Spread of Christianity—Malagasy Folklore—The Philippine Natives—Effects of a Christian Theocratic Government on the National Character—Social Groups: the Indios, the Infeles, and the Moros—Malayans and Indonesians in Formosa—The Chinese Settlers—Racial and Linguistic Affinities—Formosa a Connecting Link between the Continental and Oceanic Populations—The Nicobarese.

#### CONSPECTUS.

Distribution in Past and Present Times.	<b>Primeval Home.</b> <i>Indo-China and Malay Peninsula.</i>
	<b>Present Range.</b> <i>Malaysia, Philippines, Formosa, Nicobar Is., Madagascar.</i>
Physical Characters.	<b>Hair,</b> <i>same as Southern Mongols, scant or no beard.</i> <b>Colour,</b> <i>yellowish or olive brown, yellow tint sometimes very faint or absent, light leathery hue common in Madagascar.</i>
	<b>Skull,</b> <i>brachy or sub-brachy (78° to 85°). Jaws slightly projecting. Cheek-bones, prominent, but less so</i>

*True Mongol.* Nose, rather small, often straight with wide nostrils (mesorrhine). Eyes, black, medium size, horizontal or slightly oblique, with the Mongol fold. Stature, undersized, from 5 ft. to 5 ft. 4 or 5 in. Lips, thickish, slightly protruding, and kept a little apart in repose. Arms and legs, rather small, slender and delicate; feet small.

**Temperament.** Normally quiet, reserved and taciturn, but under excitement subject to fits of blind fury; fairly intelligent, polite and ceremonious, but uncertain, untrustworthy, and even treacherous; daring, adventurous and reckless; musical; not distinctly cruel, though indifferent to physical suffering in others.

Mental  
Charac-  
ters.

**Language.** Various branches of a single stock language—Malayo-Polynesian, at different stages of civilization.

**Religion.** of the primitive Malaysians somewhat undeveloped—great dread of ghosts and other spirits, but rites and ceremonies mainly absent, although human sacrifices to the spirits common in Borneo; the cultured Malaysians Hindu (Brahman and Buddhist), now mostly Christian in the Philippines and Madagascar; various superstitions, belief in witchcraft, charms, and spells.

**Industry.** of the primitive Malaysians very low—head-hunting, cannibalism, mutilation common in Borneo; hunting and fishing; no agriculture, arts, or industries; the cultured and Christian Malaysians semi-civilized; the Malaysians—weaving, dyeing, pottery, metal-work, also ship-building, house and boat-building—well developed; commerce formerly flourishing in Java under Hindu influence; literature wide-spread even amongst some of the primitive Malaysians, but literature and science rudimentary; science in Madagascar and perhaps elsewhere.

**Subdivisions (Proto-Malays):** Lampongs, Rejangs, and Palembangs in Sumatra; Sun-  
gais, and Madurese in Java; Dyaks  
and Saksaks; Sassaks (Lombok); Bugis and

Main  
Divisions.



*Mangkassaras in Celebes; Tagalad, Bisayas, Iloanos, Ilocanos and Pangasinanes in Philippines; Aborigines of Formosa; Nicobar Islanders; Hovas, Batakians, and Sakalavas in Madagascar.*

**Malays Proper (Historical Malays):** *Melayu proper (Sumatra); Malay Peninsula; Pinang, Singapore, Lingga, Bangha; Borneo Coastlands; Tidor, Ternate; Amboina; Parts of the Sula Archipelago.*

IN the Oceanic domain, which for ethnical purposes begins at the neck of the Malay Peninsula, the Mongol peoples range from Madagascar eastwards to Formosa and Mikronesia, but are found in compact masses chiefly on the mainland, in the Sunda Islands (Sumatra, Java, Bali, Lombok, Borneo, Celebes) and in the Philippines. Even here they have mingled in many places with other populations, forming fresh ethnical groups, in which the Mongol element is not always conspicuous. Such fusions have taken place with the Negrito aborigines in the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines; with Papuans in Mikronesia, Flores, and other islands east of Lombok; with Caucasian Indonesians in Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Halmahera (Jilolo), parts of the Philippines<sup>1</sup>, and perhaps also Timor and Ceram; and with African negroes (Bantus) in Madagascar. To unravel some of these racial entanglements is one of the most difficult tasks in anthropology, and in the absence of detailed information cannot yet be everywhere attempted with any prospect of success.

The problem has been greatly, though perhaps inevitably complicated by the indiscriminate extension of the term "Malay" to all these and even to other mixed Oceanic populations farther east, as, for instance, in the expression "Malayo-Polynesian," applied by many writers not only in a linguistic, but also in an ethnical

<sup>1</sup> Here Dr E. T. Hamy finds connecting links between the true Malays and the Indonesians in the Bicolis of Albay and the Bisayas of Panay (*Les Races Maldives et Americaines*, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 136). Used in this extended sense, Hamy's *Malaique* corresponds generally to our *Malays*, as defined presently.

subset of most of the insular peoples from Madagascar to Easter Island, and from Hawaii to New Zealand. It is now of course unnecessary to hope to remedy this misuse of terms by proposing a new nomenclature. But much of the consequent confusion might be avoided by restricting *Malayo-Polynesian*<sup>1</sup> altogether to linguistic matters, and carefully distinguishing between *Indonesian*, the pre-Malay Caucasian element in Oceania, *Malayan* or *Proto-Malayan*, collective name of all the Oceanic Mongols, and *Malay*, a particular branch of the Malayan family, as fully explained in *Anthropology*, pp. 326-30.

The essential point to remember is that the true Malays—who are designated *Orang-Malayu*, speak the standard modern Malay language, and are all The historical Malays.

They are a historical people who appear for the first time in relatively recent times, ages after the insular Malay Archipelago had been occupied by the Mongol peoples to whom their language has been extended, but who never call themselves Malays.

The *Orang-Malayu*, who have acquired such an astonishing pre-eminence in the Eastern Archipelago, were originally an obscure people who rose to power in the Menangkabau district, Sumatra, about the 11th century, and whose migrations date only from the 12th century, 1160 A.D.

They first founded the first foreign settlement, Singapore, a name which means the "Lion City," from which it is generally supposed that these first settlers were not Muhammadans,

but were returned, but Brahmans or Buddhists, both these religions having been propagated throughout Sumatra and the Sunda Islands centuries before this time. It is

generally supposed that the early settlers on the main-

land islands were to have been pagans, or to have

Migrations  
and present  
Range.

been worshippers of the corrupt form of Hindu idolatry,

which was converted to Islam by the renowned Sultan Mahmud

<sup>1</sup> *Malayo-Polynesian* is an impossible expression, because it includes the Malays, who belong to the Mongol, and the Polynesians, who belong to the Caucasian division. But as both undoubtedly speak languages of the same linguistic stock the expression is justified in philology. *Journal of the Pacific or Inter-Oceanic* might be preferable terms.

*Malay Annals*, 1821, p. 44.

Shah about the middle of the 13th century, it is probable enough that the earlier movements were under Hindu influences, and may have begun at the historical date 1160. Menangkabau, however, was a Mussulman State that acquired political supremacy, and this district thus became the chief centre of diffusion of the cultured Malays, their language and religion, throughout the Peninsula and the Archipelago; they are now found in compact masses chiefly in Sumatra (Menangkabau, Palembang, the Lampongs); in the groups between Sumatra and Borneo; in the Malay Peninsula as far north as the Kra Isthmus, here intermingled with Siamese as "Sam-Sams," partly Buddhists, partly Muslims; round the coast of Borneo and about the estuaries of the rivers in Tidor, Ternate, and the adjacent coast of Jilolo; in the Sula, and Sulu groups; in Batavia, Singapore, and other large seaports of the Archipelago. In all these lands beyond Sumatra the Orang-Malayu are thus seen to be comparatively recent arrivals<sup>1</sup>, and in fact intruders on the other Malayan populations, with whom they collectively constitute the Malay branch of the Mongol division. Their diffusion was doubtless brought about much in the same way as in the case of the Malay race somewhat allied to the Macassar people, who in the country at a very early epoch, drove out the natives who were no doubt the same as those of the eastern coast of Gilolo, and established a monarchy. They probably took many of their wives from the natives, which will account for the extraordinary language they speak—in some respects allied to that of the natives of Gilolo, while it contains many points to a Malayan [Malay] origin. To most of these the Malay language is quite unintelligible<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In some places quite recent, as in Rembau, Malay Peninsula, whose inhabitants are mainly immigrants from Sumatra in the 17th century; and in the neighbouring group of petty Negri Sembilan States, where the very tribal names, such as *Anak Acheh*, and *Sri Lemak Memangkabau*, betray their late arrival from the Sumatran districts of Achin and Menangkabau.

<sup>2</sup> *The Malay Archipelago*, p. 310.

PLATE III.



1. JAVANESE GIRL.  
(Malayan Type.)



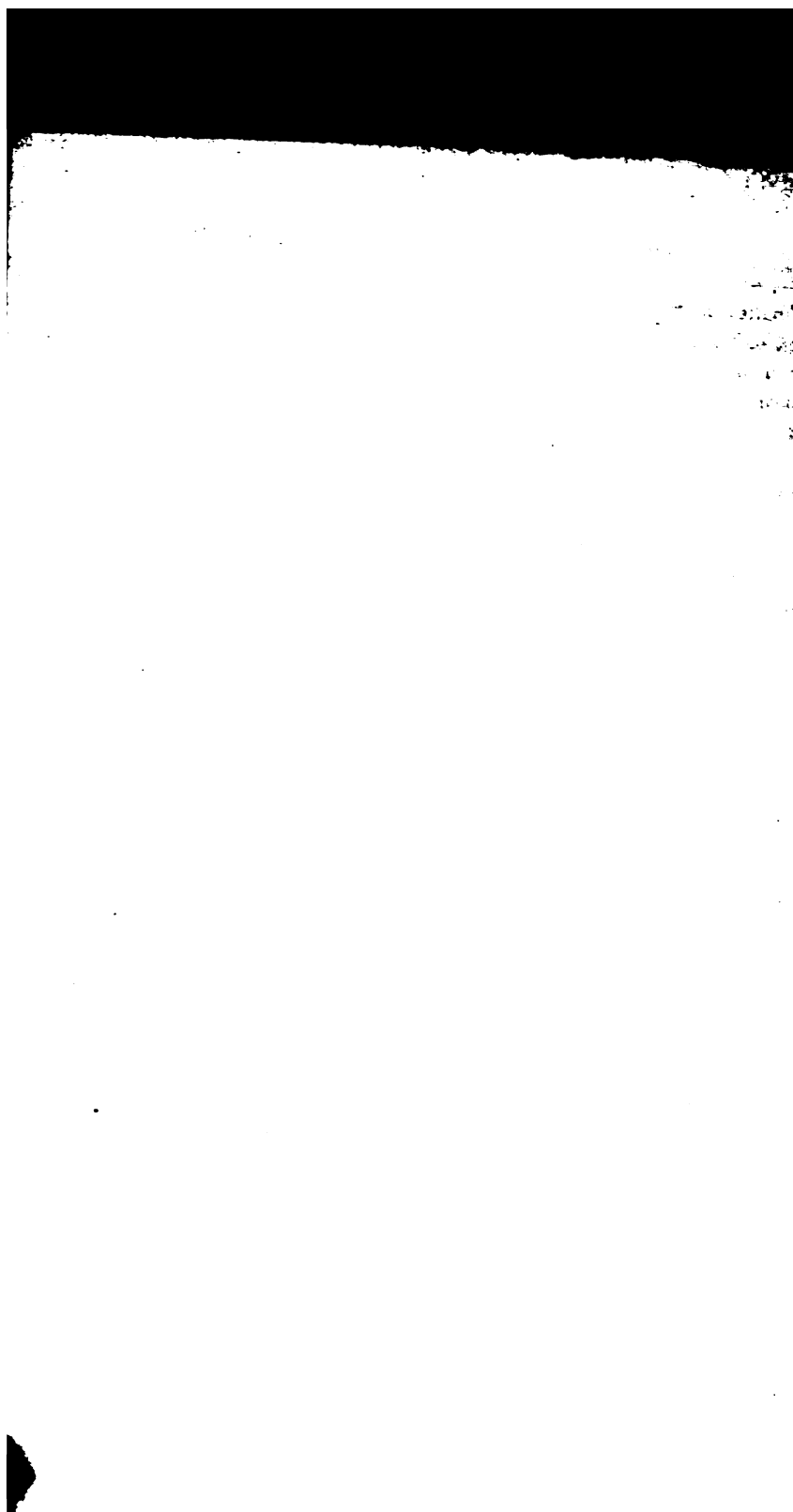
2. BUGIS, CELEBES I.  
(Malayan Type.)



3. NICOBARESE.  
(Malayan Type.)



4. NICOBARESE.  
(Sub-Malayan Type.)



Malayan populations, as distinguished from the Malays proper, are actually two very distinct classes—the *Orang Asli*, "Men of the Soil," rude aborigines, especially in the interior of the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Celebes, Jilolo, Timor, Ceram, the Philippines, Formosa, and Madagascar; and the cultured peoples, formerly Hindus but now mostly Muhammadans, who have long been constituted in large communities and nationalities with historical records, and flourishing arts and industries. They speak cultivated languages of the Malayo-Polynesian family, generally much better preserved and of richer grammatical structure than the simplified modern speech of the Orang-Malayu. Such are the Achinese, Rejangs, and Passumahs of Sumatra; the Dugis, Mangkassaras and some Minahasans of Celebes; the Tagals and Bisayans of the Philippines; the Sassaks and Balinese of Lombok and Bali (most of these still Hindus); the Madurese and Javanese proper of Java; and the Hovas of Madagascar. To call any of these "Malays," is like calling the Italians "French," or the Germans "English," because of their respective Romance and Teutonic connections.

The Malays—two Classes; Rude and Cultured.

Prevalent in many respects amongst all the Malayan peoples are the *Javanese*—*Sundanese* in the west, *Javanese* proper in the centre, *Madurese* in the east—who were a highly civilised nation while the Sumatran Malays were still savages, perhaps head-hunters and cannibals like the neighbouring Battas. Although now almost exclusively Muhammadans, they had already adopted some form of Hinduism about 2000 years ago, and under the guidance of their

The Javanese.

one of a troop of Javanese minstrels visited London, and one of them, in a few broken Malay sentences, resented in his sleepy drowsiness that he was an Orang Malayu, explaining that he was an *Orang Asli*, and (when further questioned) *Orang Solo*, a native of East Java. It was interesting to notice the very marked similarity of these natives, vividly recalling the remark of Mr A. R. Wallace of the difficulty of distinguishing between a Javanese and a Chinaman and alike. The resemblance may to a small extent be due to "Chinese blood" (Dr B. Hagen, *Four. Anthropol. Soc.*) which occurs over such a wide area that it must mainly be of common origin of the Chinese and Javanese peoples.

Indian teachers had rapidly developed a very advanced state of culture. "Under a completely organised although despotic government, the arts of peace and war were brought to considerable perfection, and the natives of Java became famous throughout the East as accomplished musicians and workers in gold, iron and copper, none of which metals were found in the island itself. They possessed a regular calendar with astronomical eras, and a metrical literature, in which, however, history was inextricably blended with romance. Bronze and stone inscriptions in the Kavi, or old Javanese language, still survive from the 11th or 12th century, and to the same dates may be referred the vast ruins of Brambanam and the stupendous temple of Boro-budor in the centre of the island. There are few statues of Hindu divinities in this temple, but many are found in its immediate vicinity, and from the various archæological objects collected in the district it is evident that both the Buddhist and Brahmanical forms of Hinduism were introduced at an early date.

But all came to an end by the overthrow of the chief Hindu power in 1478, after which event Islam rapidly spread over the whole of Java and Madura. Brahmanism, however, still holds its ground in Bali and Lombok, the last strongholds of Hinduism in the Eastern Archipelago<sup>1</sup>."

On the obscure religious and social relations in these Lesser Sundanese Islands much light has been thrown by Capt. W. Cool, an English translation of whose work *With the Dutch in the East* was issued by Mr E. J. Taylor in 1897. Here it is shown how Hinduism, formerly dominant throughout a great part of Malaysia, gradually yielded in some places to a revival of the never extinct primitive nature-worship, in others to the spread of Islam, which in Bali alone failed to gain a footing. In this island a curious mingling of Buddhist and Brahmanical forms with the primordial heathendom not only persisted, but was strong enough to acquire the political ascendancy over the Mussulman *Sasaks* of the neighbouring island of Lombok. Thus while Islam reigns exclusively in Java—formerly the chief domain of Hinduism in the Archipelago—Bali,

Balinese and  
Sasaks.

Primitive  
and later  
Religions and  
Cultures.

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Keane, *Eastern Geography*, 2nd ed. 1892, p. 121.

and even Sumbawa, present the strange spectacle of large communities professing every form of belief, from the grossest heathendom to pure monotheism.

As we have elsewhere pointed out<sup>1</sup>, it is the same with the customs and general social conditions, which show an almost complete transition from the savagery of Sumbawa to the relative degree of refinement reached by the natives of Lombok and especially of Bali. Here, however, owing to the unfavourable political relations, a retrograde movement is perceptible in the crumbling temples, grass-grown highways, and neglected home-steads. But it is everywhere evident enough that "just as Islamism has only touched the outer surface of their religion, it has failed to penetrate into their social institutions, which, like their gods, originate from the time when Polynesian heathendom was all-powerful."

A striking illustration of the vitality of the early beliefs is furnished by the local traditions, which relate how the Hindu gods installed themselves in the Lesser Hindu  
Legends in  
Bali. Sunda Islands after their expulsion from Java

by the Muhammadans in the 15th century. Being greatly distressed at the introduction of the Koran, and also anxious to avoid contact with the "foreign devils," the Hindu deities moved westward with the intention of setting up their throne in Bali. Bali had already possessed its own gods, the wicked Rakshasas, who violently resented the intrusion, but in the struggle that ensued they were annihilated, all but the still reigning Mraya Dewana. Then the Hindu deities had to be erected on heights, as in Java; but at Bali there were no mountains, which was a very flat island. To overcome the difficulty was overcome by bodily transferring the gods from the eastern extremity of Java to the neighbouring island of Agong, highest of the four, was set down in the east and became the Olympus of Bali, while the other three were placed in the west, south, and north, and assigned to the positions according to their respective ranks. Thus were the Hindu gods introduced into the local theogony and the present physical conditions of the island.

<sup>1</sup> *Academy*, May 1, 1897, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> Cool, p. 139.



Despite their generally quiet, taciturn demeanour, all these Sundanese peoples are just as liable as the Orang-Maláyu himself, to those sudden outbursts of demoniacal frenzy and homicidal mania called by them *měng-ámok*, and by us "running amok." Indeed Mr Wallace tells us that such wild outbreaks occur more frequently (about one or two every month) amongst the civilised Mangkassaras and Bugis of south Celebes than elsewhere in the archipelago. "It is the national and therefore the honourable mode of committing suicide among the natives of Celebes, and is the fashionable way of escaping from their difficulties. A Roman fell upon his sword, a Japanese rips up his stomach, and an Englishman blows out his brains with a pistol. The Bugis mode has many advantages to one suicidically inclined. A man thinks himself wronged by society—he is in debt and cannot pay—he is taken for a slave or has gambled away his wife or child into slavery—he sees no way of recovering what he has lost, and becomes desperate. He will not put up with such cruel wrongs, but will be revenged on mankind and die like a hero. He grasps his kris-handle, and the next moment draws out the weapon and stabs a man to the heart. He runs on, with bloody kris in his hand, stabbing at everyone he meets. 'Amok! Amok!' then resounds through the streets. Spears, krisses, knives and guns are brought out against him. He rushes madly forward, kills all he can—men, women, and children—and dies overwhelmed by numbers amid all the excitement of a battle!."

Running  
Amok.

Possibly connected with this blind impulse may be the strange nervous affection called *látah*, which is also prevalent amongst the Malayans, although only now first clearly described by the distinguished Malay scholar, Mr Frank Athelstane Swettenham<sup>2</sup>. No attempt has yet been made thoroughly to diagnose this uncanny disorder, which would seem so much more characteristic of the high-strung or shattered nervous system of ultra-refined European society, than of that artless unsophisticated child of nature, the Orang-Maláyu. Its effects on the mental state are such as to disturb all normal

The Látah  
Malady.

<sup>1</sup> *The Malay Archipelago*, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> In *Malay Sketches*, 1895.

condition, and Mr Swettenham mentions two látah-struck Malays, who would make admirable "subjects" at a séance of theosophic psychics. Any simple device served to attract their attention, while by merely looking them hard in the face they fell helplessly in the hands of the operator, instantly lost all self-control, and were passively through any performance either verbally imposed or even merely suggested by a sign.

Should they perhaps be recognised a manifestation of that peculiar feminine strain, which has so often been imputed to the Malay temperament. Yet, as if to confound the speculations of the rising school of German psychological anthropologists, the same Oceanic people displays in many respects a curiously limited spirit with the nerveless Englishman, as, for instance, in the love of gambling, boxing, cock-fighting, field sports, and adventure. No more fearless explorers of the high seas, former rovers and corsairs, at all times enterprising traders, are anywhere to be found than the Menangkabau Malays and their near kinsmen, the renowned Bugis

The Malayan  
Seafarers and  
Rovers.

"Adventurers" of south Celebes. Their sturdy seaworthy praus are met in every seaport from Sumatra to the East Islands, and they have established permanent trading posts and even settlements in Borneo, the Philippines, Timor, and as far as New Guinea. On one occasion Wallace sailed in company with fifteen large Makassar praus, each worth about £1000, and as many of the Bugis as the rude aborigines of the eastern isles, they thus carried the Sumatran Malays in extending the area of their influences throughout Papuasia.

Even after the suppression of the North Bornean corsairs by the Dutch, the inland waters continued to be infested by the Bajau rovers of Celebes, and by the Balagnini of the Sulu Archipelago, most dreaded of all the *orang-laut*, "Sea Gypsies," of the English. These are the "Orang-Selat" (*Orang-Selat*, "Men of the Straits") of

For more details and pastimes see Mr Hugh Clifford, *In Court and Kampong*,

early Portuguese writers, who described them as "immemorial engaged in fishing and plundering the seas".

In those days, and even in comparatively late times, the relations in the Eastern Archipelago resembled those prevailing in the Aegean Sea at the dawn of Greek history, while the modern wandering populations were still in a state of first, passing from island to island in quest of booty or barter before permanently settling down in favourable sites. With the Greek historian's philosophic disquisition on these Pelasgian and Hellenic relations may be compared Mr Wallace's account of the Batjan coastlands when visited by him in the late 18th century. "Opposite us, and all along this coast of Batchian, stretches a row of fine islands completely uninhabited. Whenever I asked the reason why no one goes to live in them, the answer always was, 'For fear of the Magindano pirates'. Every year these scourges of the Archipelago wander in one direction or another, making their rendezvous on some uninhabited island, and carrying devastation to all the small settlements around; robbing, destroying, killing, or taking captive all they meet with. Their long, well-manned praus escape from the pursuit of any sailing vessel by pulling away right in the wind's eye, and the warning smoke of a steamer generally enables them to hide in some shallow bay, or narrow river, or forest-covered inlet, till the danger is passed." Thus, like geographical surroundings, with corresponding social conditions, produce like results in all times amongst all peoples.

<sup>1</sup> *Cujo officio he rubar e pescar*, "whose business it is to rob and fish" (Barros). Many of the Bajaus lived entirely afloat, passing their lives by boats from the cradle to the grave, and praying Allah that they might die at sea.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides, *Pel. War*, 1. 1-16.

<sup>3</sup> These are the noted *Illanuns*, who occupy the south side of the large Philippine island of Mindanao, but many of whom, like the Bajaus of Celebes and the Sulu Islanders, have formed settlements on the northwest coast of Borneo. "Long ago their warfare against the Spaniards degenerated into general piracy. Their usual practice was not to take captives, but to murder all on board any boat they took. Those with us [British North Borneo] have all settled down to a more orderly way of life" (W. B. Fryer, *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* 1886, p. 231).

<sup>4</sup> *The Malay Archipelago*, p. 341.

This fundamental truth receives further illustration from the close parallel amongst the Malaysians regarding witchcraft, the magic arts, charms and spells, and especially the belief in the power of certain malevolent human beings to transform themselves into wild beasts

Malayan  
Folklore—The  
Were-tiger.

and prey upon their fellow-creatures. Such superstitions girdle the globe, taking their local colouring from the fauna of the different regions, so that the were-wolf of medieval Europe finds its counterpart in the human jaguar of South America, the human lion or leopard of Africa<sup>1</sup>, and the human tiger of the Malay Peninsula.

Mr. H. Clifford, who relates an occurrence known to

happen in connection with a "were-tiger" story of the Perak

State, aptly remarks that "the white man and the brown, the

white and the black, independently, and without receiving the

idea from one another, have all found the same explanation for

the like phenomena, all apparently recognising the truth of the

fact, however, that we are like unto the *idman* fish that preys

upon its own kind." The story in question turns upon a young

girl whose husband comes home late three nights following,

on the third time, being watched, is discovered by her in the

house, a full-grown tiger stretched on the ladder, which, as in all

such cases, leads from the ground to the threshold of the door.

She gazed at the tiger from the distance of only a foot or

two, she was too paralysed with fear to move or cry out, and

as she gazed a gradual transformation took place in the creature

before her. Slowly, as one sees a ripple of wind pass over the

still water, the tiger's features palpitated and were

softened until the horrified girl saw the face of her husband come

forth from that of the beast, much as the face of a diver comes

to the surface of a pool. In another moment Patimah saw

the face of her husband Ali who was ascending the ladder of his house,

and the chain that had hitherto bound her was snapped."

In Africa "the belief in 'were' animals, that is to say in human

beings who changed themselves into lions or leopards or some such

animals, is nearly universal. Moreover there are individuals who

possess this power of assuming the form of an animal and killing

in that shape" (Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*,

London, 1890, p. 63. See also *Eth.* p. 216.

These same Malays of Perak, H. H. Bell has still specially noted for many strange customs "utterly opposed to Muhammadan teaching, and strongly of devil-worship. This enormous belief in natural is possibly a relic of the pre-Islam State."

In Borneo, which has been defined as "300,000 sq. miles of savagery," worse practices prevail even among the Malays in Borneo. "devil-worship." The periphery of the island many centuries been occupied by true Malays (Sumatra, especially along the north-western seaboard Sarawak, Pontianak); by Javanese on the south coast (Masin), who here introduced Hinduism at an early date now mostly assimilated to the Orang-Malayu; by others on the east side (Kutai); by the already mentioned Bajas and Illanuns in the north-east; and by Chinese in large numbers almost everywhere<sup>2</sup>. Later came the Dutch in the south, the north the English, who despite their quite recent arrival (Sarawak, 1842; British North Borneo and Brunei, 1882) have already effected a great improvement in the rude condition of the natives under their jurisdiction.

But within this variegated fringe of culture and civilization the great mass of the aborigines is still in the wild state. Whether grouped as Dyaks (Dayaks)<sup>3</sup>, the most general name, in British North Borneo, *Kayans* farther south, or other con-

<sup>1</sup> *Four. Anthropol. Inst.* 1886, p. 227. The Rajah gives the lead of the character of his countrymen as "pride of race and birth, an observance of punctilio, and a bigoted adherence to ancient custom."

<sup>2</sup> Too much influence, however, must not be credited to this element, and M. L. Rousselet points out that the North Bornean Malays, for instance, "ne sont nullement mélangés aux Chinois, comme on l'a vu ces derniers temps" (*Nouv. Dict. Supplément*, 1897, Art. *Dayak*).

<sup>3</sup> *Dayak*, unheard of before about 1780, is a term of unknown meaning, though by some referred to a Sarawak word *dayak*, a Malay word meaning "Man." The final *k* is often dropped in Malay words, and pronounced *Perak*; *Sulu* and *Solo* for *Suluk*, *Solak*, &c. But "die Herkunft dieses Wortes bis jetzt unklar als diejenige von 'Alfuren'" (A. B. Meyer, *Ueber die Namen Papua, Dajak und* Vienna, 1882, p. 18).

...tribes mostly unknown to the tribes themselves, ...of self-mutilation, distending the ...down to the shoulders', plucking Savage Customs. ...eyebrows, filing or perforating the teeth,

...the dead on trees or platforms, or smoking them ...burying and then disinterring the bones to be pre- ...the haunts of the living. Head-hunting has always ...institution, introduced with the first Malayan ...from the mainland, and most houses of the forest and ...Dyaks are adorned with the ghastly trophies furnished by ...of this immemorial custom. Cannibalism, also, and ...to the ancestral shades are far more common ...supposed. Mr Bock describes and figures a ...who informed him that the palms, the knees, and ...are considered the best eating." He also visited a ...chief of the comparatively settled Tring district, "an ...of all that is most repulsive and horrible in the ..." who "had fresh upon his head the blood of no less ...victims, men, women, and children, whom he and his ...had just slaughtered, and whose hands and brains he had

...as the custom of human sacrifice is called, ...ranged over most of the island,

...to be practised even amongst the Human Sacrifices. ...since the British occupation of the ...The ostensible reason seems to have been to ...dead relatives, and to this end a slave was ...and bound round with cloths, and then "after ...dancing and singing, one after another they ...a little way—an inch or so—into his body, ...a message to his deceased friend as he did so."

...of the ears were pierced sometimes in no less than three ...the large central slit, the principal holes being enor- ...the weighty tin rings hanging in them" (Carl Bock, ...p. 133).

Four. *Anthrop. Inst.* 1886, p. 234. Elsewhere the victim

Most of the aborigines dispense with all clothing, save the universal *sarong*, which amongst some of the east coast tribes bears a curious resemblance to the Scotch kilt, both in its pattern and the way it is worn. All, even the inland river and forest tribes, live in pile dwellings often of picturesque design, the space underneath serving as pigstyes. The *balai*, or Council-house, occupied by the young men at night, is generally of immense size, several hundred feet long or round, for both forms are affected. Even the *benatong*, or ordinary dwelling of long shape, will often accommodate twenty or more families, "each family having its separate apartments, the doors opening on to a sort of covered corridor."

Mr Pryer finds that it is difficult to say where Dusun ends and Dyak proper begins, adding that as we penetrate from the east coast inland the first tribe met is the Buludupi, many of whom have "strangely Caucasian features, or at all events departing largely from the ordinary Mongolian type".<sup>1</sup> This points at the presence of an Indonesian element, which is supported by other evidence, such as the account given us by Mr Creagh of the so-called "Dusuns" of Banguey Island, visited by him in 1892, and described as differing widely in speech, religion, and customs from all other Dusun tribes. Like others met by Mr Bock in the interior, these islanders have a priestess, who is able to keep the numerous spirits in Banguey in order, "for she is acquainted with their ways and knows the future as well as the past." She nominates and trains her successors, but all must be widows, and wear black robes, and wooden knives, these last being used for making the incisions in the calves of bride and bridegroom, when a drop of blood has to be transferred from one to the other at the wedding ceremony.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the tribes of the neighbouring mainland the notion of the after-life is that the dead have to clamber up the rugged slopes of Kina Balu, highest peak in Borneo (nearly 14,000 feet), so high

is despatched more expeditiously, all subscribers to the purchase grasping a long spear simultaneously, and thrusting it through him at once (18).

<sup>1</sup> Pryer, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> *British North Borneo Herald*, Dec. 1892.

is said to be within a trifle of reaching heaven." The good people have little difficulty in getting to the top, from which they are ushered into heaven, while the wicked are doomed, somewhat like Sisyphus, to be for ever hopelessly struggling and scrambling up the rocky sides of the mountain<sup>1</sup>.

The good of course are those who have collected most human souls in this world for provision in the next; but in other parts of the island, where the mountains are not so high, even the elect have to undergo many adventures during their long peregrinations uphill and down dale, across rivers, through fire and water, in one place meeting a woman with ears large enough to shelter them from the rain, until "at last they are safely landed in the bosom of their tribe<sup>2</sup>." Some of these fancies are so full of images, and at the same time so widely diffused, that they may well be regarded as reminiscences of the early Javanese traditions, whose presence in Borneo is attested by the Hindu remains to be seen in some of the southern districts.

In Sumatra also occur some remains of Hindu temples<sup>3</sup>, as well as other mysterious monuments in the Passumah lands inland from the coast, relics of a former culture, which goes back to prehistoric times. They take the form of huge stone figures, which are roughly shaped to the likeness of human figures, with strange features very different from the Malay or Hindu types. The present Sarawi natives of

Early Man  
and his Works  
in Sumatra.

Sumatra, who would be quite incapable of executing such things, know nothing of their origin, and attribute them to certain spirits who formerly wandered over the land, turning themselves into stone. Further research may possibly establish the connection between these relics of a forgotten past

<sup>1</sup> In the southern districts for centuries subject to Javanese rule, as in Battaland, where they were first discovered by H. von Schlegel, and figured and described in *Der Malayische Archipel*, vol. i. p. 27 sq. "Nach ihrer Form und ihren Bildwerken zu urtheilen, die Gebäude Tempel, worin der Buddha-Kultus gefeiert wurde." These are all the more interesting since Hindu ruins are scarce in Sumatra, where there is nothing comparable to the stupendous remains of Hindoo and East Java.



and the numerous prehistoric monuments of ~~the islands~~ other places in the Pacific Ocean. Of all the ~~islands~~ still surviving in Malaysia, ~~none~~ ~~points of contact with the Eastern~~ ~~do the natives of the Mentawi Islands~~ ~~the south-west coast of Sumatra.~~ "On a close inspection of the inhabitants the attentive observer at once perceives that the Mentawi natives have but little in common with the ~~peoples~~ ~~tribes of the neighbouring islands,~~ and that as regards physical appearance, speech, customs, and usages they stand ~~entirely~~ entirely apart. They bear such a decided stamp of a Polynesian tribe that one feels far more inclined to compare them with the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands<sup>1</sup>."

The  
Mentawi  
Islanders.

The survival of an Indonesian group on the western verge of Malaysia is all the more remarkable since the *Nias* Islanders, a little farther north, are of Mongol stock, like most if not all of the inhabitants of the Sumatran mainland. Here the typical Malays of the central districts (Menangkabau, Kerinci, and Siak) merge southwards in the mixed Malayo-Javanese peoples of the *Rejang*, *Palembang*, and *Lampung* districts. Although Muhammadans probably since the thirteenth century, all these peoples had been early brought under Hindu influences by missionaries and even settlers from Java; and these influences are still apparent in many of the customs, popular traditions, languages, and letters of the South Sumatran settled communities. Thus the Lampongs, despite their profession of Islam, employ, not the Arabic characters, like the Malays proper, but a script derived from the peculiar Javanese writing-system. This system itself, originally introduced from India probably over 2000 years ago,

Indian Origin  
of the  
Malaysian  
Alphabets.

<sup>1</sup> Von Rosenberg, *op. cit.* vol. I. p. 189. Amongst the points of close resemblance may be mentioned the outriggers, for which Mentawi has the same word (*abak*) as the Samoan (*va'a = vaka*); the funeral sites; ~~tubo~~ the facial expression; and the language, in which the numeral systems are identical; cf. Ment. *limongapula* with Sam. *limagafulu*, the Malay being *limapuluh* (fifty), where the Sam. infix *ga* (absent in Malay) is pronounced *gwa*, exactly as in Ment. Here is a case of cumulative evidence, which should establish not merely contact and resemblance but true affinity, the vast liquid intervening area presenting no obstacle.

including some early forms of the Devanágari, such as those occurring in the rock inscriptions of the famous Buddhist king Ashoka (third century B.C.)<sup>1</sup>. From Java, which is now shown beyond doubt to be the true centre of dispersion<sup>2</sup>, the parent alphabet was under Hindu influences diffused in pre-Muhammadan times throughout Malaysia, from Sumatra to the Philippines.

Under the thinly-spread Indo-Javanese culture, in few places penetrating much below the surface, received a rude shock from the Muhammadan irruption, its natural development being almost everywhere arrested, or else either effaced or displaced by Islám. Nevertheless can any longer be detected of graphic signs in Borneo, where Dyak aborigines have reverted to the savage state even in those southern districts where Buddhism or Brahmanism had doubtless been propagated long before the arrival of the Muhammadan Malays. But elsewhere the Javanese stock alphabet has shown extraordinary vitality, persisting under diverse forms down to the present day, not only amongst the semi-civilised Mussulman peoples, such as the Sumatran Rejangs<sup>3</sup>, Korinchi, and the Bugis and Mangkassaras of Celebes, and the (now Christian) Tagals and Bisayans of the Philippines, but even amongst the somewhat rude and pagan Palawan natives, the wild aborigines of Mindoro, and the cannibal Battas<sup>4</sup> of North

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Ueber den Ursprung der Schrift der Malaiischen Völker*, p. 10; see also my *Appendix to Stanford's Australasia*, First Series, 1879, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Handwritten manuscript von Mindoro*, herausgegeben von A. B. Meyer u. A. B. Meyer, speziell bearbeitet von W. Foy, Dresden, 1895; see also my *Indo-Chinese Ethnology*, p. 277 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The Malay alphabet, which certainly belongs to the same Indo-Javanese system as the Malayan alphabets, has been regarded by Sayce and Renan as "Malayan," while Dr Neubauer has compared it with that current in the 5th centuries B.C. The suggestion that it may have been introduced by the Greek crews of Alexander's admiral, Nearchus (*Archæol. Ind. III.*, p. 116), could not have been made by anyone aware of its close connection with the Lampong of South, and the Batta of North Sumatra (see *Indo-Chinese Ethnology*, p. 116).

<sup>4</sup> The name *Battak*, hence the current form *Battaks* is a solecism, the correct form being either *Battas* or *Battak*. Lassen derives the word from the Malay word *bata*, "stone."

These Battas, however, despite their name, cannot be called savages, as they have a reserve. They are skilful stock-culturists, raising fine crops of maize, and they dwell together in large, settled communities with a central government, hereditary chiefs, popular assemblies, and a civil and penal code. There is even an effective post-office, which utilises for letter-boxes the hollow tree-trunks at the cross-roads, and is largely patronised by the young men and women, all of whom read and write, and carry on an extensive correspondence in their degraded Devanāgarī script, which is written on palm-leaves in vertical lines running upwards, and from right to left. The Battas also excel in several industries, such as pottery, weaving, jewellery, iron work, and house-building; their picturesque dwellings, which resemble Swiss chalets, rising to two stories above the ground-floor reserved for the live stock. For these arts they are no doubt largely indebted to their Hindu teachers, from whom also they have inherited some of their religious ideas, such as the triune deity—Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer—besides other inferior divinities collectively called *diebata*, a modified form of the Indian *devatā*.

<sup>1</sup> Again confirmed by Dr Volz and H. von Autenrieth, who explored Battaland early in 1898, and penetrated to the territory of the "Cannibal Pakpaks" (*Geogr. Jour.* June 1898, p. 672); not however "for the first time," as here stated. The Pakpaks had already been visited in 1822 by Von Rosenberg, who found cannibalism so prevalent that "Niemand Aushuld nimmt das essen von Menschenfleisch einzugestehen" (*op. cit.* i. p. 29).

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that by the aid of the Lampong alphabet, South Sumatra, the Rev. John Mathew reads the word *Daidattā* in the legend on the head-dress of a gigantic figure seen by Sir George Grey on the roof of a cave on the Glenelg River, North-west Australia (*The Cave Paintings of Australia*, &c. in *Four. Anthropol. Inst.* 1894, p. 44 sq.). He quotes from Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindus* the statement that "the Battas of Sumatra believe in the existence of one supreme being, whom they name *Daitā* *Asi*. Since completing the work of creation they suppose him to have remained perfectly quiescent, having wholly committed the government to his three sons, who do not govern in person, but by vakeels or proxies." Here is possibly another confirmation of the view that early Malayan migrations or expeditions, some even to Australia, took place in pre-Mohammedan times, long before the rise and diffusion of the Orang Malāyu in the Archipelago.

of the strongest contrast to these survivals of a foreign culture which had probably never struck very deep roots, stand the savage customs from still more ancient times. Conspicuous among these are the cannibal practices, which if not now universal still take some peculiarly revolting forms. Thus captives and criminals are, under certain circumstances, condemned to be eaten alive, and the same fate is or was reserved for those incapacitated for work by age or infirmities. Cannibalism.

When the time came, we are told by the early European observers and by the reports of the Arabs, the "grandfathers" voluntarily suspended themselves by their arms from an overhanging branch, while friends and neighbours danced round and round, shouting, "when the fruit is ripe it falls." And when it did fall, that is, as soon as it could hold on no longer, the company fell upon it with their knives, hacking it to pieces, and devouring the remains seasoned with lime-juice, for such feasts were generally held when the mangoes were ripe<sup>1</sup>.

Grouped chiefly round about Lake Toba, the Battas occupy a wide domain, stretching south to about the foot of Mount Ophir, and bordering northwards the territory of the Achin people. These valiant warriors, who have hitherto so stoutly maintained their political independence against the Dutch, were also at one time Hinduized, and, apart from many of their traditions, their Malayan language was intermingled with Sanskrit terms, and even their physical features suggested a considerable admixture of Hindu as well as of Aryan blood. With the Arab traders and the Mohammedans, the Koran, and the Achinese people were introduced as over-zealous followers of the Prophet The Achinese.  
Early Records.

At the close of the 12th century. The Muhammadan State, which had long acquired a dominant position in the Archipelago, reached its zenith in the 15th century, when it ruled over about half of the island, exacted tribute from many vassal princes, maintained its supremacy by land and sea, and entered into political relations with Egypt, Japan, and several European

<sup>1</sup> See also, on somewhat distinct ethnical groups, the *Orang-Asi*, in the *Life &c. of Sir T. S. Raffles*, by his widow, 1830.

*Tiong* of the uplands, a comparatively heterogeneous mountain people, and the mixed *Orang-Baruk* of the lowlands, are described by Dr A. Lubbers<sup>1</sup> as taller than the average Malay (5 feet 5 or 6 in.), also less round-headed (indeed, partly with prominent nose, rather regular features, and masculine forms; but the complexion is darker than that of the *Orang-Melayu*, a trait which has been attributed to a larger infusion of Dravidian blood (Klings and Tamuls) from southern India. The charge of cruelty and treachery brought against them by the Dutch may be received with some reserve, such terms as "patriot" and "rebel" being interchangeable according to the standpoints from which they are considered. In any case no one denies them the virtues of valour and love of freedom, with which are associated industrious habits and a remarkable aptitude for such handicrafts as metal work, jewellery, weaving, and ship-building. The Achinese do not appear to be very strict Muhammadans; polygamy is little practised, their women are free to go abroad unveiled, nor are they condemned to the seclusion of the harem, and a pleasing survival from Buddhist times is the *Kanduri*, a solemn feast, in which the poor are permitted to share. Another reminiscence of Hindu philosophy may perhaps have been an outburst of religious fervour, which took the form of a pantheistic creed, and was so zealously preached, that it had to be stamped out with fire and sword by the dominant Moslem monotheists.

Islam and Hindu reminiscences.

Since the French occupation of Madagascar, the Malagasy problem has naturally been revived. But it may be regretted that so much time and talent has been spent on a somewhat thrashed-out question by a number of writers, who did not first take the trouble to read up the literature of the subject. Had they done so, they must have seen that most of the factors in the problem are really known quantities, and that it is at this date somewhat of an anachronism to suggest, for instance, that the Malayan migrations to Madagascar are quite recent<sup>2</sup>, or that the migrations were not from

Ethical Relations in Madagascar.

<sup>1</sup> *Anthropologie des Atjehs*, in *Rev. Med. Batavia*, XXX. 6, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> A. Opper, *Globus*, 70, p. 384. This writer, who scarcely understands the elementary conditions of the question, thinks that "der Zeitpunkt der

...all, but from Melanesia, that the Hovas were all ... that their olive colour is due to the environment<sup>1</sup>, ... of resemblance between the Malayan and Malagasy ... may be due to the influence of Arab (*sic*) traders, and ... North African Libyans may be the remote ancestors of ... whose type in more than one respect resembles that ... Kopts<sup>2</sup>. The extent to which Malagasy ethnology ... into chaos may be judged from the contradictory views ... on the origin, type, and affinities of the dominant ... well-known Hovas, as, for example:—

*Collignon.*

The Hovas differ in no ... respect from the ... Malays; showing close ... to the Javanese and ... most typical of Ma-

*Bloch.*

The Hovas appear to repre-  
sent a now extinct red race,  
who were originally Melanesians  
or Oceanic Negritoes; are quite  
distinct from the Malays; their  
common speech proves nothing,  
as it is common also to the  
Melanesians.

... als etwa um das Jahr 1000 n. Chr. völlig ausreichend

*Collignon*, *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 498 sq. Here it is ... the Hovas "sont issus de cette race primitive [les Nègres ... toutes les autres populations de Madagascar," and that ... jannes ont dû se former comme se forment toutes les ... humaine, c'est à dire sous l'influence de la variabilité qui ... les êtres vivants" (p. 511). But the prototypes of these Hovas ... in Malaysia; consequently they did not need to be again ... Madagascar from a black precursor, an evolution which, as I ... place. At all events it should not be assumed without ... there is no necessity.

*Letourneau* in *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 521 sq. This case ... the source appealed to for some very rash statements, as, for ... linguistic analogies between Malay and Malagasy are "aussi ... possible," being the antiquated *History of Madagascar* ... J. J. Freeman's *Appendix*, 1838. M. Letourneau, who has ... work in other fields, might surely have reflected that the ... was scarcely understood in the thirties, and that since then ... far from being slight, have been proved to be *identities* by ... Richardson, Cousins, and in fact all philologists who ... to the subject.

By what race Madagascar was first peopled is, as far as possible to say. The local reports of primitive peoples, either extinct or still existing in the interior, belong rather to the legends of Malagasy folklore than to that of ethnological research. In these reports mention is frequently made of the *Kimas*, said to have been or formerly living in the Bara country, and of the *Famintana* who are by some supposed to have been Gallas (*Ba-Simba*), although they had no knowledge of iron—whose graves are supposed to be certain monolithic monuments which take the form of squares disposed in circles, and are believed by the present inhabitants of the land to be still haunted by evil spirits, that is, the ghosts of the long extinct Vazimbias.

Much of the confusion prevalent regarding the present ethnical relations is due to the failure to distinguish between the historic Malays of Menangkabou and the Malayan aborigines of the Eastern Archipelago. That some of the historic Malays (the *Orang-Malayu*) have found their way to the island from time to time need not be denied. But it may now be asserted with some confidence that they could never have been very numerous, that they may almost be regarded in the present connection as *une quantité négligeable*, and that the Malayan settlement of Madagascar took place in remote prehistoric times, not only long

before the diffusion of the Sumatran Malays over the Archipelago, but also long before the appearance of Hindu missionaries or colonists in the same region. This is no matter of speculation, but a direct and necessary inference from facts now established, such as the total absence of Sanskrit and largely of late Arabic terms in Malagasy, and the general structure of that language, which is not a Malay dialect, but very much older than Malay—in fact an independent and somewhat archaic member of the Malayo-Polynesian (Oceanic) linguistic family. There is a considerable percentage of Sanskrit words in Malay, Javanese, and Bugis, in fact in all the cultivated, and in many even of the uncultivated languages of Malaysia, introduced with Hinduism probably some two or three centuries before the new era. But

Prehistoric Peoples.

First Oceanic Immigrants the proto-Malayans.

Malagasy Speech not Malay, but Malayo-Polynesian.

many of them quite ordinary terms in daily use, could not all have been left behind by the Malayan settlers in Madagascar and the migrations taken place within the last 2000 years. But none, absolutely none, are found in Malagasy, which language must therefore have crossed the Indian Ocean in prehistoric times.

The same inference follows from a critical study of the Arabic elements in Malagasy, which have misled so many observers and even given rise to the theory that the Malagasy tongue is a corruption of the Arabic. A less extravagant, but no less mistaken view, still prevailing in some quarters, assumes that the Arabic words were introduced either directly through the Muhammadan Arabs, or indirectly through the Muhammadan Malays, from which it would follow that the immigrants from Malaysia were after all prehistoric Malays arriving since 1000 B.C. (Oppel), or even not over 200 years ago.<sup>2</sup> But Mr J. T. Last, who identifies Madagascar with the island of *Menuthias* described by Arrian in the third century A.D.,<sup>3</sup> suggests the possibility that Madagascar may have been reached by Arabs before the Christian era." This "possibility" is converted into a certainty by the analysis of the Arabo-Malagasy words by Dahle, who clearly shows that such terms "are very few," and also "very ancient," in fact that, as suggested by Prof. Fleischer of Leipzig, many, perhaps many of them, "may be traced back to Himyaritic, that is, not merely to pre-Muhammadan, but to pre-Semitic times," as is also pointed out by the Rev. L. Dahle, *Antananarivo Annual*,

The Arabic  
Elements  
Prehistoric.

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* 1896, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> His description of the rivers, crocodiles, land-tortoises, canoes, and water-work weirs for catching fish, apply exactly to Madagascar to-day, but to none of the other islands" (*Jour. Anthropol.* 1896, p. 71).

<sup>4</sup> Thus, to take the days of the week, we have:—Malagasy *al-ahady*; old Arab. (Himyar.) *al-ahadu, al-ismāni*; modern Arab. *al-ahad, al-ismāni* (Sunday, Monday), where the Mal. forms are obviously derived from the present, but from the ancient Arabic. From all this it is possible to infer that the early Semitic influences in Madagascar may



pre-Christian times, just like the Sanskritic elements in the Oceanic tongues.

The evidence that Malagasy is itself one of these Oceanic tongues, and not an offshoot of the comparatively recent standard Malay is overwhelming, and need not here detain us<sup>1</sup>. The diffusion of this Malayo-Polynesian language over the whole island—even amongst distinctly Negroid Bantu populations, such as the Betsileos and Tanalas—to the absolute exclusion of all other forms of speech, is an almost unique linguistic phenomenon more easily proved than explained. There are, of course, provincialisms and even what may be called local dialects, such as that of the Antankarana people at the northern extremity of the island who, although commonly included in the large division of the western Sakalavas, really form a separate ethnical group, speaking a somewhat marked variety of Malagasy. But even this differs much less from the normal form than might be supposed by comparing, for instance, such a term as *maso-mahamay*, sun, with the Hova *maso-andro*, where *maso* in both means “eye,” *mahamay* in both = “burning,” and *andro* in both = “day.” Thus the only difference is that one calls the sun “burning eye,” while the Hovas call it the “day’s eye,” as do so many peoples in Malaysia<sup>2</sup>.

So also the fish-eating *Anorohoro* people, a branch of the *Sihanakas* in the Alaotra valley, are said to have “quite a different dialect from them<sup>3</sup>.” But the statement need not be taken too seriously, because these rustic fisherfolk, who may be called the Gothamites of Madagascar, are supposed, by their scornful neighbours, to do everything

be due to the same Sabæan or Minæan peoples of South Arabia, to whom the Zimbabwe monuments in the auriferous region south of the Zambesi have been accredited by the late Theodore Bent.

<sup>1</sup> Those who may still doubt should consult M. Aristide Marre, *Les Affinités de la Langue Malgache*, Leyden, 1884; Mr Last’s above quoted *Paper* in the *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* and Dr R. H. Codrington’s *Melanesian Languages*. Oxford, 1885. See also *Eth.* pp. 331-2.

<sup>2</sup> Malay, *mata-ari*; Bajau, *mata-lon*; Menado *mata-roii*; Salayer, *mato-allo*, all meaning literally “day’s eye” (*mata*, *mato* = Malagasy *maso* = eye; *dri*, *allo* &c. = day, with normal interchange of *r* and *l*).

<sup>3</sup> Rev. J. Sibree, *Antananarivo Annual*, 1877, p. 62.

“contrariwise.” Of them it is told that once when cooking eggs they boiled them for hours to make them soft, and then finding they got harder and harder threw them away as unfit for food. Others having only one slave, who could not paddle the canoe properly, cut him in two, putting one half at the prow the other at the stern, and were surprised at the result. It was not to be expected that such simpletons should speak Malagasy properly, which nevertheless is spoken with surprising uniformity by all the Malayan and Negro or Negroid peoples alike.

Of these two races, who have occupied the island from time immemorial, the Malaysians probably arrived first, and, the way once found, were afterwards joined at different times by other seafaring bands from the Eastern Archipelago. The Negro Element. The Bantus of the opposite coastlands, not being navigators, could scarcely have themselves crossed the swift-flowing and choppy Mozambique Channel, which is nowhere less than 240 miles wide, and is moreover swept by the great current setting steadily from Madagascar south-westwards to the Cape. Thus the stream that helped the Oceanic Mongols would arrest the African Negroes, who were probably brought over in small bands at intervals by the slavers, at all times active in these waters.

Arriving in this way not as free settlers, but as domestic slaves, the Negroid Bantus would necessarily become assimilated in speech and usages to their Malayan masters, as they have elsewhere been assimilated to their Hamitic, Egyptian, Arab, Persian, and Turkish masters. Thus may perhaps best be explained the absolute predominance of the Malagasy language, to the exclusion of all rivals, and the relations now prevailing in Madagascar may be taken as a striking illustration of the fundamental principle that different races may merge in a new type, but their languages will not mix, and in the struggle all perish but one <sup>1</sup>.

In Madagascar, however, the fusion of the two races is far less complete than is commonly supposed. Various shades of transition between the two extremes are no doubt presented by the *Sakalavas* of the west, and the *Betsimisarakas*, *Sitanakas*, and others of Partial Fusion of the Malayan and Negro Races.

<sup>1</sup> *Eth.* Ch. IX.

the east coast. But, strange to say, on the coast the two seem to stand almost completely apart, as the politically dominant Hovas still present all the characteristics of the Oceanic Mongol, while their southern neighbours, the *Betsileos*, as well as the *Tanalas* and *Ibovas*, are described as "African pure and simple, allied to the south-eastern tribes of that continent".

Specially remarkable is the account given by a careful observer, the Rev. G. A. Shaw, of the *Betsileos*, whose "average height is not less than six feet for the men, and a few inches less for the women. They are large-boned and muscular, and their colour is several degrees darker than that of the Hovas, approaching very close to a black. The forehead is low and broad, the nose flatter, and the lips thicker than those of their conquerors, whilst their hair is *invariably* crisp and woolly. No pure *Betsileo* is to be met with having the smooth long hair of the Hovas. In this, as in other points, there is a very clear departure from the Malayan type, and a close approximation to the Negro races of the adjacent continent".

Now compare these brawny African giants with the wiry undersized Malayan Hovas. As described by Dr. A. Vouchereau<sup>2</sup>, their type closely resembles that of the Javanese—short stature, yellowish or light leather complexion, long, black, smooth and rather coarse hair, round head (83-85), flat and straight forehead, flat face, prominent cheek bones, small straight nose, tolerably wide nostrils, small black and slightly oblique eyes, rather thick lips, slim lithesome figure, small extremities, dull restless expression, cranial capacity 1516 c.c., superior to both Negro and Sakalava<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. W. D. Cowan, *The Bara Land*, Antananarivo, 1881, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *The Betsileo, Country and People*; *Antananarivo Annual*, 1877, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> *Note sur l'Anthropologie de Madagascar &c.*, in *l'Anthropologist*, 1897, p. 149 sq.

<sup>4</sup> The contrast between the two elements is drawn in a few bold strokes by Mrs Z. Colville, who found that in the east coast districts the natives (*Betamisarakas* chiefly) were black "with short, curly hair and negro type of feature, and showed every sign of being of African origin. The Hovas, on the contrary, had complexions little darker than those of the peninsula of Southern Europe, straight black hair, rather sharp features, slim figures, and

...in respect of this high cranial capacity, the measurements of these Malagasy skulls in the Cambridge University Anatomical Museum studied by Mr W. L. H. Duckworth<sup>1</sup>, correspond well with these descriptions. Thus the cephalic index of the Betsimisaraka (Negroid) and that of the Betsileo (Mongoloid) are respectively 71 and 72.4, while that of the Hova is 82.5: the first two, therefore, are long-headed, the third round-headed, as we should expect. But the cubic capacity of the Hova (presumably Mongoloid) is only 1315 as compared

The Black Element from Africa.

with 1475 and 1480 of two others, presumably African Negroes. Mr Duckworth discusses the question whether the black element in Madagascar is of African or Melanesian (Melanesian-Papuan) origin, about which much diversity of opinion still prevails, and on the evidence of the few cranial specimens available he decides in favour of the African. How the advocates of the Oceanic view proposed to bring Melanesians from the Pacific Ocean to Madagascar, at least after the establishment of the Indo-African Continent, was never made quite clear.

Despite the low cubic capacity of Mr Duckworth's Hova, the mental powers of these, and indeed of the Malagasy generally, are far from despicable. Before the occupation the London Church Missionary Society had succeeded in disseminating Christian principles and a certain degree of culture among considerable numbers both in the capital and surrounding districts. The mission had been kept going by native converts who had issued quite an extensive literature

Mental Qualities of the Malagasy.

Spread of Christianity.

in Malagasy and English. Agricultural and industrial arts had been improved, some engineering works attempted, and some craftsmen had learnt to build but not to complete in the European style, because, although they could master the processes, they could not, Christians though they were,

...of the Asiatic type" (*Round the Black Man's Garden*, p. 10). But even amongst the Hovas a strain of black blood is indicated by generally rather thick lips, and in the lower classes wavy hair

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Zool. Inst.* 1897, p. 285 sq.

get the better of the old superstitions, one of the most curious is that the owner of a house always dies within a year of its completion. Longevity is therefore ensured by not completing a house. The curious result that the whole city looks unfinished is the consequence. In the house where Mrs Colville stayed, "one window was not painted and glazed, the other nailed up with rough boards, and the stair-banister had no top-rail; outside only a portion of the pavement had been tiled; and so on throughout".

A good deal of fancy is displayed in the oral histories, surprising histories, or at least legends, fables, songs, and tales. A great mass of folklore, much of which has been rescued from oblivion by the "Malagasy Folklore Society." Some of the stories are very usual analogies to others in widely separated lands, and some seem to be perennial, and to crop up wherever the soil is a little disturbed by investigators. One of those in Mr. Bonin's extensive collection, entitled the "History of Andrianamasoboniamanoro," might be described as a variant of the "Beauty and the Beast." Besides this prince with the long name, called *Bonia* "for short," there is a princess "Golden Beauty," both being of miraculous birth, but the latter a cripple and deformed, until found and wedded by Bonia. Then she is so transfigured that the "Beast" is captivated and contrives to get her off. Thereupon follows an extraordinary series of adventures, resulting of course in the rescue of Golden Beauty by Bonia, when everything ends happily, not only for the two lovers, but for all other people whose wives had also been abducted. These are now restored to their husbands by the hero, who vanquishes and slays the monster in a fierce fight, just as in our nursery tales of knights and dragons.

In the Philippines, where the ethnical confusion is probably greater than in any other part of Malaysia, the great bulk of the inhabitants appear to be undoubtedly of proto-Malayan stock. Except in the southern island of Mindanao, which is still mainly Mohammedan or heathen, most of the settled populations have long been

The Philippine Natives.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> *Eth.* p. 333.

...the other upon a native. It is a...  
 ...the civil functionaries,  
 ...especially the regular clergy. One must  
 ...of unstable political and social  
 ...the occupation of the archipelago by the  
 ...another, with which we are here more  
 ...such a transformation of the subtle Malayan  
 ...who have lived longest amongst the natives  
 ...unfathomable. Having to comply  
 ...Christian observances, they seek  
 ...the most of the Catholic  
 ...the many feast-days of the calendar into  
 ...and dissipation, connived at if not even  
 ...secondly by secretly cherishing the old  
 ...their true feelings, until the opportunity  
 ...and declaring themselves  
 ...A Franciscan friar, who had spent half  
 ...the native is an  
 ...the mainspring of whose line of  
 ...the guiding motive of whose actions have never  
 ...perhaps never will be, discovered. A native will  
 ...satisfactorily for years, and then suddenly abscond,  
 ...such hideous crime as conniving with a brigand  
 ...the family and pillage the house."

...can ever tell what a Tagal, and especially a  
 ...at any moment. His character is a succession of  
 ...experience of each year brings one to form fresh  
 ...the most exact definition of such a kaleidoscopic  
 ...all, hypothetical."

...of misrule, it is perhaps not surprising that no  
 ...has been developed between the natives and the  
 ...tells us that everywhere in the Archipelago  
 ...blushing their little ones to look on their white  
 ...

...Recollects (Friars Minor of the Strict Ob-  
 ...great parade of morality on either side, nor is it any  
 ...have children by the priest.

refer to demoniacal beings, with whom they are to be dreaded. "If a child cries, he is crying for *Castillo*! (Spaniard); if a white man appears, the watchword always is *Castillo*! and the only retreat from the dreadful object."<sup>1</sup>

By the administration the natives are divided into three social divisions—*Indios*, *Infeles*, and *Christianos Civilizados*. aptly remarked by Dr. F. Blumentritt, "an ecclesiastical rather than a political division."

The *Indios* are the christianized and civilized populations of all the settled agricultural districts, arranged into groups, each speaking a distinct Malayo-Polynesian much more archaic type than the standard population of about 5,300,000 distributed as under:<sup>2</sup>—

Nation.	Islands.
Bisayans.	{ Nearly all between Mindoro exclusive and Mindanao inclusive }
Tagalas.	{ Luzon; Mindoro, Polillo; Lubang; Marinduque }
Ilocanos.	Parts of Luzon.
Bicolos.	Luzon, Burias, Masbate (?)
Pangasinanes.	Parts of Luzon.
Pampangos.	Parts of Luzon.
Cagayanes.	Luzon; Babuyanes: Batanes
Zambales.	Parts of Luzon.

Total "*Christianos Civilizados*" in the Philippines

By "*Infeles*" are understood all the aborigines, neither Christians nor Muhammedans, pagans generally in the wild state, described as "savage," "degraded," "warlike," "wild but timid," "peaceful," "poor," "docile and treacherous,"—terms which indicate more or less

<sup>1</sup> *Australasia*, 1894, II. p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> These and further details are from F. Blumentritt's *Fachwissenschaftliche Beschreibung der Filipinas*, in *Bol. Soc. Geogr. Madrid*, 1889, p. 246 sq.

of these independent hill-tribes towards the  
 Sulu Archipelago, especially those in the more inaccessible  
 interior, may be undoubtedly Caucasian Indonesians,  
 Negrito (primitive Malaysians), and a few, the  
 latter may be described as absolutely uncivilized,  
 and almost savages in the strictest sense of the term.  
 The category of "Tribes" Blumentritt enumerates  
 twenty-four tribes, or even nations, ranging over all  
 islands of from 500 or less up to 40,000 (*Igorrotes*,  
 and over 20,000 doubtfully (*Menguanes*), with a  
 total population of from 220,000 to 250,000.  
 The "Tribes" are comprised the Muhammadans  
 of whom are Malaysians (chiefly in the Moluccas,  
 the Sulu, and Palawan), some true Malays (The Moluccas,  
 the Sulu Archipelago). Many of these are still indig-  
 enous, a few, if not actually wild, are certainly but  
 far from the savage state. Yet, like the Sumatran  
 and possess a knowledge of letters, the Sulu people using  
 Arabic, as do all the Orang Malaysia, while the Palawan  
 use a variant of the Devanagari prototype derived  
 from the Javanese, as above explained. No census has  
 been taken of the Philippine Muhammadans, who are roughly  
 estimated by Blumentritt at from 200,000 to 500,000, including  
 those of the Sulu Archipelago.

The Sulu people, till lately fierce sea-rovers, get  
 their religion from then; but, says Mr Foreman, "they appeared  
 to me as a Christian as I was Mussulman". They keep their  
 names, and when asked how many gods there are,  
 they answer, presumably Allah plus the Athanasian Trinity.  
 The people of Angola add crucifying to their "penal code,"  
 and at the time the Baganda scrupulously kept two  
 days, the Mussulman Friday, and the Christian Sunday.  
 Beliefs too rapidly on primitive beliefs are apt  
 to change, they need time to become assimilated.

The aborigines of Formosa are represented both  
 by the Chinese (Mandarin) and Indonesian (proto-Caucasic) ele-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 247.



ments may now be accepted as an established fact. The standing reports of Negrito and Negri-  
Malayans and Indonesians in Formosa.
standing reports of Negrito and Negri-  
 lippine Aetas, have never been substantiated and may be dismissed from the ethnological record.  
 Probably five-sixths of the population of Formosa are Chinese immigrants, amongst whom are included the Hakkas and Hok-los from the provinces of Kien and Kwang-tung<sup>1</sup>. The Chinese have cultivated western lowlands, while the

The Chinese Settlers.
 logical standpoint may be regarded as a group distinct from the Chinese mainland. The rest of the island, the highlands and precipitous eastern slopes, may be regarded on as a north-eastern outpost of Malaysia, habitatively held by Indonesian and Malay peoples. Formosa is Malaysia (especially the Philippines), with possible intruders both from Polynesia and from the north. The Chinese are classed by the Chinese settlers after their usual manner into three social divisions:—

1. The *Pepohwans* of the plains, who are called "Barbarians." are sedentary agriculturists and quite assimilated to their Chinese neighbours themselves, with whom they are merging in a single ethnical group. The *Pepohwans* are described by M. Ibis as a fine race, very tall, and "fetichists," whose mysterious rites are left to the women. Their national dances, and other usages forcibly recall those of the Malays and Polynesians. They may therefore, perhaps, be regarded as early immigrants from the South Sea Islands, distinct in respect from the true aborigines.

2. The *Sekhwans*, "Tame Savages<sup>2</sup>," who are sedentary agriculturists, subject to the Chinese (since 1895 to the Japanese administration, but physically distinct from all the other Formosans—light complexion, large mouth, thick lips, very long and prominent teeth, weak constitution. M. Ibis

<sup>1</sup> Girard de Rialle, *Rev. d'Anthrop.* Jan. and April 1884. These reports are based largely on the data supplied by M. Paul Ibis and others on the island. Nothing better has since appeared except Mr. A. H. S. Huxley's valuable contributions to the *China Review* (see below).

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "ripe barbarians" (*barbarus mûrs*, Ibis).

... dating from the 17th century. All these old books and other curious documents which have given rise to so much speculation, may be added, some mystification, regarding a literature formerly current amongst the aborigines.

... "Green Barbarians"—that is, utter independent aborigines, of whom there are an immense number of tribes, but regarding whom the Chinese possess little definite information. Not so their Japanese neighbours, of whom, Mr Kink Tamai, tells us that the appearance is close resemblance to the Malays of the East Indies and also to those of the Philippines, and in fact to the Japanese themselves. When dressed like the latter, talking with Japanese women, they can hardly be distinguished from them. The vendetta is still rife amongst the aborigines, and such is their traditional hatred of the Japanese that no one can either be tattooed or wear a bracelet until he has carried off a Celestial head. In every household there is a frame or bracket on which heads are mounted, and some of their warriors can boast of over seventy of such trophies. It is a relief to find that their new Japanese masters they have sworn friendship with, the rulers of the land being their "brothers and friends." The oath of eternal alliance is taken by digging a hole in the ground, passing a stone in it, throwing earth at each other, and then covering the stone with the earth, all of which means that the stone in the ground keeps sound, so do we keep our friendship.

It is interesting to note that this Japanese ethnologist's remarks regarding the resemblances of the aborigines are very different from those of European observers. Racial Affinities. . . . . they recalled the Igorrotes of

... of bilingual and other MSS. from Formosa in T. de ... *Note on MSS, Languages, and Races*, Hertford, 1887. ... fully discussed, though the author seems unable to ... even as to the *bona* or *mala fides* of the noted ...

North Luzon, as well as the Malays of the Philippines, and also, who has visited several of the islands of the southern and eastern districts (Sipontin, Zamboanga, Nikes, Amias and many others), traces the origin of the Japanese (Tipuns); others to Malaya (the Malays and head-hunters); and others to the Lia-Kia (the Chinese was now of Chinese speech). He describes the Malays as the most dreaded of all the southern groups, and the charge of cannibalism brought against them in the hours is quite justified.

Whether the historical Malays from Singapore, as above suggested, are really represented in the island as doubted, since no survivals either of Hindu or Buddhist rites appear to have been detected amongst the aborigines, of course possible that they may have reached the island in remote time, and since relapsed into savagery, the Malays and Orang-laut were never very far removed. But in the absence of proof, it will be safer to regard all the wild tribes of Indonesian, partly of proto-Malayan origin.

This view is also in conformity with the character of the numerous Formosan dialects, whose affinities are either with the Gyarung and other languages of the Indonesian tongues, or else with the languages of the Polynesian organic speech generally, but not specifically any particular member of that family, least of all with the comparatively recent standard Malay. Thus Dr Arnold points out that only about a sixth part of the Formosan vocabulary taken generally corresponds with modern Malay.<sup>1</sup> The affinities of all the rest must be sought in the various branches of the

<sup>1</sup> *Les Races Malaiques* etc., in *L'Anthropologie*, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> *The Aborigines of Formosa*, in *China Review*, XIV. p. 106. (No. 3. *A Ramble Through Southern Formosa*.) The services of this intelligent observer to Formosan ethnology deserve more recognition than they have hitherto received.

<sup>3</sup> *Sprachen der Ureinwohner Formosa's* in *Zeitschr. f. Vergleichende Sprachk.* v. p. 437 sq. This anthropologist found to his great surprise that the Indonesian and Maori skulls in the London College of Surgeons presented striking analogies with those collected by himself in Formosa. Hence the remarkable harmony between speech and physical characters.

...and in the Geyang and the non-Chinese  
 ...China. ... presents a curious  
 ... connecting link between the Continental  
 ... islands. ... islands  
 ... archipelago are distinguished two ethnical  
 ... the *Niueans* proper, ...  
 ... of the less accessible ...  
 ... Great Nicobar. But the dis-  
 ... to be rather social than racial, and we may now  
 ... H. Man that all the islanders belong  
 ... Mongolic division, the islanders representing  
 ... the others being "descended from a mongrel  
 ... species being probably in the majority of cases  
 ... occasionally with natives of the opposite coast  
 ... also in remote times with such of the  
 ... have settled in their midst".  
 ... stages which point to an Indo-Chinese  
 ... are pile-dwellings; the chewing of betel,  
 ... here mixed with some earthy substance  
 ... incrustation so thick as even to prevent the  
 ... distention of the ear-lobe by wooden cylinders;  
 ... of milk; and the *covade*, as amongst some  
 ... the language, which has an extraordinarily rich  
 ... (as many as 25 consonantal and 35 vowel  
 ... syllabic and untoned, like the Malayo-Polynesian,  
 ... seems to resemble the Oceanic more than the  
 ... subdivision. Mean height 5 ft. 3 in. (Shom  
 ... nose wide and flat; eyes rather obliquely  
 ... prominent; features flat, though less so than in  
 ... complexion mostly a yellowish or reddish-  
 ... (or full brown); hair a dark rusty brown, rarely  
 ... though not seldom wavy and even ringletty,  
 ... usually quite straight.

... p. 73.  
 ... know nothing of this word, and speak of their  
 ... a vague term applied equally to land, country, village,  
 ...  
 ... in *Your. Anthropol. Inst.* 1889, p. 354 sq.

On the other hand they appear to have inherited from their mental characters; in their frankness, their generosity, and kindness towards their neighbours; in their social equality, as in Burma; and lastly in their belief in evil spirits called *nyi* or *nyu*, who, like the *nyu* of the Burmese, bring sickness and death unless scared away or propitiated. Like the Burmese, also, they place a plate of rice, or a bowl of water, or against the cheek of a corpse before its burial, as a gift to the other world.

One of the few industries is the manufacture of a kind of rough painted pottery, which is made on the islet of Chowra, 5 miles north of Ferovia. This restriction is explained by a popular legend, which in remote ages the Great Unknown, death, of sudden death, an earthquake, or some other calamity, making of earthenware was to be carried on, and all the work of preparing the clay, moulding the pots, was to devolve on the women. Once, however, one of these women, when on a visit in another part, heedless of the divine injunction, to make a visit on the spot. Thus was confirmed the tradition, which has since been made to infringe the "Chowra monopoly".

All things considered, it may be inferred that this island was originally occupied by primitive peoples of the type now represented by the Shom Pen of Great Nicobar, who afterwards re-settled on the coastlands by Indo-Chinese and other intruders, who intermingled, and either extirpated or else drove to the interior the first occupants. The island resembles Formosa in its intermediate position between the continental and pelagian Mongol populations. An interesting point of analogy is the absence of Negritoes from both of these areas, where anthropologists had confidently anticipated the presence of a dark element like that of the Andamanese and Philippine Aetas.

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Man, *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1894, p. 26.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE NORTHERN MONGOLS.

Turki Section—Early Contact with Caucasian Peoples—  
and Mongols—Early Man in Korea and  
and East Europe—Early Man in Babylonia—Akkado-  
—Relations to the Semites and Aryans—Elamite  
—Babylonian Records—Babylonian Religion—Social System—  
The Mongols Proper—Physical Type—Ethnical and  
Divisions—Buddhism—The Tunguses—Cradle and Type  
—Shamanism—The Manchus—Origins and Early  
The Dauri—Mongolo-Turki Speech—Language and  
—Mongol and Manchu Script—The Yukaghirs—  
System—Chukchis and Koryaks—Chukchi and  
—Type and Social State—Koryaks and Kamchadales—  
The Koreans—Ethnical Elements—Korean Origins and  
The Korean Script—The Japanese—Origins—  
—The Ebin Aborigines—Japanese and Liu-kiu  
Languages and Religions—Cult of the Dead—Shintoism

### CONSPECTUS.

*The Central Asiatic Steppe between* Distribution in  
*the Altai Mountains.* Past and Present  
Times.  
*The Northern Hemisphere from*  
*the Arctic Ocean to the*  
*Tibet; Aralo-Caspian Basin; Parts of*  
*the Siberia; Parts of East Russia, Balkan*  
*Peninsula, Danube.*  
*Physical*  
*Charac-*  
*ters.*  
*the same as South Mongol, but in*  
*transitional groups brown, chestnut, and*  
*black; hair wavy and ringletty; beard*  
*black; amongst the Western Turks and some*

**Colour.** *Light or dingy* (as in the Finns, Swedes, and Danes) in the Finns, Swedes, and Danes; *swarthy* (in the transitional groups) in the transitional groups (Magyars, Bulgars, Western Turks, etc.); and *black* (as in the Japanese) in the Japanese and Koreans; in Japan the negroes are also white.

**Skull,** *highly brachy in the true Mongoloids* (as in the Finns, Swedes, and Danes); *variable* (sub-brachy and sub-heli) in the transitional groups and even some Siberians (Ongguts, etc.); *brachy* (as in the Japanese) in the Japanese, Jaws, Cheek-bones, Nose, and Ears *brachy* (as in the Japanese) in the Japanese, as in South Mongols; but nose often long (as in the Japanese); eyes straight, greyish, or even blue (as in the Japanese); hair black (as in the Japanese); Koreans, and some other Mongoloids.

**Stature,** usually short (below 5 ft.) in the Finns, Swedes, and Danes; *medium* (as in the Japanese) in the Japanese, Manchus and Koreans tall (5 ft. 8 or more); Lips, Arms, Legs, and Feet usually *medium* (as in the Japanese); Mongols; but Japanese legs disproportionately long.

Mental  
Charac-  
ters.

**Temperament,** of all true Mongoloids, dull, reserved, somewhat suspicious, but in some groups (Finns, Japanese) often very brave, nearly all brave, warlike, even fierce, and capable of great atrocities, though not normally cruel; with the passage of time the character has almost everywhere undergone a marked change from a rude and ferocious to a more humane disposition; ethical tone higher than that of the Mongol, with more developed sense of right and wrong.

**Speech** very uniform; apparently of a single language (Finno-Tatar or Ural-Altai type); highly typical agglutinating form with an abundance of numerous postfixes attached loosely to an uninflected stem by which their vowels are modified in accordance with the subtle laws of vocalic harmony; the chief members of the family (Finnish, Magyar, Turkish, Mongol, and Japanese) Korean and Japanese) diverge greatly from the Finno-Tatar prototype.

**Religion,** originally spirit-worship through Shamanism (Shaman), perhaps everywhere, and still common and prevalent amongst Siberian and all other uncivilized peoples.

... and *Korant*, nominal  
 ... *Japanese Buddhist*  
 ... *Lapp, Bulgar, Magyar, and*  
 ... nominal *Christian*,  
 ... *barbaric rather than savage*  
 ... *tribes, who are nearly all*  
 ... *with half-wild reindeer herds*  
 ... *the Mongols proper, Kirghis,*  
 ... *semi-nomadic pastors; the An-*  
 ... *and Karau-settled*  
 ... *scarcely any arts or letters and no*  
 ... *Bulgars, and Magyars civilized*  
 ... *beyond the European average*  
 ... *literature, Japanese art).*

... *Shorra (Eastern), Kalmak (West-*  
 ... *Mongol.*

*State*  
*Division.*

- ... *Manchu, Gold, Oroch,*
- ... *and Liu-Kiu.*
- ... *Kirghis; Uzbeg; Taranchi; Kara-*
- ... *Turkman; Anatolian; Osmanli.*
- ... *Baltic Finn; Lapp; Sameyad;*
- ... *Vogul; Ostyah; Bulgar; Magyar.*
- ... *Yahaghix; Chukchi; Koryak;*

... "Mongols" are here to be understood all those  
 ... Division of mankind which are usually  
 ... collective geographical expression *Ural-*  
 ... corresponds the ethnical designation *Mongolo-*  
 ... *Mangolo-Turki*<sup>1</sup>. Their  
 ... separated from that of the  
 ... (Chap. VI.) by the Great Wall  
 ... beyond which it spreads out westwards  
 ... Asia, and a considerable part of North  
 ... scattered groups in Central and South Russia,  
 ... and the Middle Danube basin. In the  
 ... fully explained in *Et.* p. 303.

Domain of  
 the Northern  
 Mongols.



extreme north their territory stretched across the Pacific with Japan and parts of Sakhalin, and ran across Korea, Siberia, Central and Mongolia, and Lapland. But its southern limits can be indicated approximately by a line drawn from the Kuznetsk depression along the northern escarpments of the Iranian plateau to the southern shores of the Caspian; to the west of this line, however, must be drawn in such a way as to include Turkestan, much of the North Persian and Chinese Empires, and nearly the whole of Asia Minor, while excluding Kurdistan, and Syria.

Nor is it to be supposed that even within the North Mongol territory is everywhere a homogeneous race. In East Europe especially, where the most part comparatively recent Mongols are found only in isolated

Early Contact with Caucasian Peoples.

groups in the Lower and Middle Volga basin, the North Caucasian steppe, and in more compact numbers in Rumelia, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Throughout all these regions, however, the process of absorption or assimilation to the European physical type is so far completed that the Nogai and other Russian "Tartars," as they are called, and Baltic Finns, the Magyars, Bulgars, and others, would scarcely be recognised as members of the Mongol family but for their common Finno-Turki speech, and the evidence by which their original connection with this group is established beyond all question.

In Central Asia also (North Irania, the Aralo-Caspian and Tarim basins) the Mongols have been in close contact with Caucasian peoples probably since the New Stone Age, and intermediate types have been developed, by which an unbroken transition has been brought about between the Mongols and the white races.

It is often assumed that these Central Asiatic lands have been occupied by Neolithic man, and that the great inland seas, which formerly covered the whole region, and drained through the Ob into the Arctic Ocean, till a new outlet was found to the Mediterranean

Primitive Man in Siberia and Mongolia.

...Hellepont. But since inland  
 ...and the presence of pebbles  
 now placed beyond reasonable doubt,  
 of Prof. N. Th. Kashechenko in the  
 ...brought to light in 1896 the remains  
 below the surface of a cliff which stands  
 level of the river Tom. Only a few  
 ...were missing, and with it were  
 knives, besides scrapers and about 100  
 ...were split in the usual way for the ch-  
 there were other clear indications of  
 No doubt the mammoth, as many hold,  
 y late times in Siberia, but the  
 other circumstances exclude any recent

of archeological research, it becomes  
 the whole of the North Mongol domain,  
 has passed through the Stone and Metal  
 habitable parts of the globe. During his  
 and Mongolia in the early nineties, Herr  
 upon countless prehistoric stations, kurgans  
 and many megalithic monuments of  
 west Siberia the barrows, which consist solely  
 stone-work, are by the present inhabitants

"Chudish Graves," and, as in North  
 "Chude" is ascribed to a now vanished un-  
 inhabited the land. To them, as to  
 Central America, all ancient monuments are  
 some regard them as prehistoric Finns, others

hier die Reste eines zufälligen Mahles vor  
 at the Congress of Russian Archeologists, Riga,  
 S. K. Kurzesov: *Fund eines Mammutskelettes* &c.  
 Vienna, 1896, XVI. p. 186. On the strength of this  
 rather prematurely that the cradle of the European  
 sought in Siberia.

*Asien und der Mongolei*, in *Mitt. d. Anthrop.*  
 of Stephen Sommler, who calls them "certa-  
 ts, Alfred's *Boermas*, who seemed to speak

identify them with the historic Huns, as Herodotus:

There are reasons, however, for thinking they may represent an earlier race, the same as those migrating from north Europe eastwards, through the valley (which drains to the Obi) before the mammoth, and later spread over the whole, leaving everywhere evidence of their presence, the monuments now being daily brought to light in Mongolia, Korea, and Japan. This view is supported by the characters of two skulls found in 1899 by the one of the five prehistoric stations on the left-hand affluent of the Selenga river, near Ust-Kinkin. They differ markedly from the normal Barin type, recalling rather the long-shaped skulls of the kurgans, with cephalic indexes 73.7 and 75.5, according to M. J. D. Talko-Hryniewicz<sup>1</sup>. Thus, in the early Mongol domain, the characteristically round-headed type, appear to have been preceded, as in Europe, by a long-headed type, presumably that of early Neolithic man, where.

In East Siberia, and especially in the Lake Baikal region, Herr Leder found extensive tracts strewn with implements of which have already been explored, and their contents are in the Irkutsk museum. Amongst these are great numbers of stone implements, and objects made of bone and metal, besides carefully worked copper ware, betraying industry and some artistic taste in the designs. In Transbaikalia, farther east, with the kurgans are associated the so-called *Babi*, "Stone Women," monoliths rough-hewn in the shape of human figures. Many of these monoliths bear

nearly the same language as the Finns: "Da Finnas, hie ja ne Beormas spræcon neah án geþeode" (Oros. I. Ch. I. 14). But these rude nomads could scarcely have been the somewhat cultured "popolo mitico al quale si attribuiscono tutte le reliquie antiche di quelle parti della Siberia e nel settentrione della Russia d'Europa," *Siriensi, Ostiacchi e Samoiedi dell' Ob.* Florence, 1887, p. 49.

<sup>1</sup> Th. Volkov, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 82.

... ancient date (mostly Buddhist not to be confounded with the by W. Thomson through the word *khishin* to Mongolia proper, *Mani* *Leder* *turgans*, which, however, differed for the most part surmounted rectangular stone structures, or else with *khishin* by the present inhabitants, *khishin* and never venture to touch them, *khishin* also are unable to examine their contents, *khishin* with spade or shovel being forbidden *khishin* officials, for fear of awakening *khishin* chambering peacefully below the surface. But *khishin* from the absence of bronze in the *khishin* ancient burial places would appear to *khishin* and Copper Periods. This alone would *khishin* of several thousand years, because bronze, *khishin* of Asiatic origin, is now supposed to have *khishin* not later than about 3000 B.C., possibly much

... is indeed required to explain the spread to the Pacific seaboard, and *khishin* and Japan. In Korea Mr W. *khishin* Early Man in Korea and Japan. *khishin* dolmen 30 miles from Seoul, *khishin* and figures', and which is remarkable *khishin* disproportionate size of the capstone, a *khishin* 14½ by over 13 feet. He refers to four *khishin* in the northern part of the peninsula, and *khishin* in form between a cist and a *khishin* thinks it probable that they were never covered *khishin* ya stood as monuments above ground, in this *khishin* Japanese, "which without exception are *khishin* In some of their features these present *khishin* to the Brittany structures, having either *khishin* which is approached by a gallery of greater

*Anthrop. Inst.* 1895, p. 318 sq.

or less length, and narrow. They are, generally, of the form known as *clay huts*, the space enclosed by the sides amounting to of considerable dimensions."

Besides these dolmens Japan contains a number of a remote past—shell mounds, and certain pits, which are not occupied by the *Hollows*, but are by them attributed to the *Hollows*, who occupied the land before they lived in huts built over these pits. Similar mounds near Nemuro on the north-east coast of *Hokkaido* Japanese to have belonged to the *Ainu*, and terminated by the *Ainu*, hence apparently the *Koro-pok-guru*. They are associated by *M. Shinomura* some primitive peoples of the Kurile Islands, Kamchatka, who, like the Eskimo of the *Alaska* extended formerly much farther south than at present.

In a kitchen-midden, 330 by 200 feet, in the province of Ibaraki, the Japanese antiquarian *M. Shinomura*<sup>1</sup> have found numerous objects of the Stone Age of Japan. Amongst them were flint worked bones, ashes, pottery, and a whole series of human beings. The finders suggest that these have belonged to a homogeneous race of the Stone Age, however, were not the ancestors of the *Ainu*, who are regarded as the first inhabitants of Japan. In the records vague reference is made to other aborigines, the "Long-Legs," and the "Eight Wild Tribes," described as enemies of the first Japanese settlers in *Kiu-shiu*, by *Jimmu Tenno*, the semi-mythical founder of the *Yamato* dynasty; the *Ebisu*, who are probably to be identified with the *Ainu*; and the *Seki-Mansi*, "Stone Men," also known as the southern island of *Kiu-shiu*. The last-mentioned, however, little further is known, seem to have had to be associated with the above described remains of the Stone Age in Japan.

<sup>1</sup> *Zur Prähistorik Japans, Globus, 1896, No. 25.*

the present Mongol peoples, being quite in no way connected with the prehistoric relics daily brought to light in the region (South Russia, the Balkan Peninsula, Hungary). The same remark applies even to Finland, which was at one time supposed to be the cradle of the Finno people, but is now shown to have been first occupied by the Teutons. From an exhaustive study of the bronze-age remains, A. Hackman<sup>1</sup> concludes that the population of the Stone Period was Teutonic, and in this he agrees both with Thomsen and with W. Thomsen. The latter holds on linguistic grounds that at the beginning of the new era the Finns still dwelt in the Gulf of Finland, whence they moved west in later times. The migration to Babylonia, where, as already shown, the remains of the Stone and Metal Ages date back to the same times, the question of their origin is closely bound up with that of the Finno-Turki and the Akhado-Sumerians. Although no general consensus has been reached on this obscure subject, it has been somewhat advanced by Dr K. A. Hermann<sup>2</sup>, who endeavours to show that the language of the early cuneiform texts has strong affinities with the Ugro-Altaic, and more particularly with the Ugro-Finnish branch of that family. There are the same phonesis and vowel changes, the same forms of nouns, numerals, pronouns, and verbs; the same number of identical words, all of which cannot be accounted for by chance. Hence the conclusion that the views of Lenormant and others that the "Ural-Altaists" are "well grounded."

Early Man  
in Finland and  
East Europe.

Early Man  
in Babylonia.

<sup>1</sup> *Finlands*, Helsingfors, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *Akhadische Sprache*, Paper read at the Russian Archaeological Congress, 1883. It may be mentioned that the Mongol connection is supported by Oppert, Lenormant, Rawlinson, and G. Smith, and denied by Haupt, and Donner, while Pinches, Sayce, Almquist and many others are of no judgment. Dr Hommel, who gives up the European origin of the Akhads (*Augsburger Zeitung*, Aug. 28, 1895) now suggests that the Akhadian holds an intermediate position between the Aryan and the Ugro-Altaic languages. The arguments of Prof. Haupt and Dr Donner will be found in *Die Akhadische Sprache*, reprint of a paper read at the Oriental Congress, 1883. In the Appendix Dr Donner argues against the Ugro-Altaic theory.

But even so, there is no clear racial continuity between the early Babylonian Mongols and the present inhabitants of Western Asia. Some 6000 years ago the Akkadians had already been in close contact with the Semites of Mesopotamia<sup>1</sup>, and merged with them and the Sumerians into a single nationality, the Semitic element of which was afterwards strengthened both by Israelites and Jews, and still further by and post-Muhammadan Arabs. Hence the Mongol substratum has long been effaced throughout the Euphrates basin.

Most authorities agree in locating the Akkads on the heights, and the Sumerians on the lowlands of Chaldæa. But while R. von Thieling and Hommel, brings both of these Turko-Semitic

Akkado-Sumerian Origins.

calls them, from "their original home in the mountains," are inclined to the view that they came, not from the south by sea from the south, most probably from Minna in Arabia. Certainly the earliest known settlements—Lagash, Nippur, Uruk, Uru, Uruk—lay about or near the head of the Euphrates, where Babylonian culture would therefore seem to have first taken root, spreading thence northwards to Akkad, Elam, and Assyria. The Semitic Assyrians themselves, formerly supposed to have come from the northern highlands, are now held on good grounds to have reached Mesopotamia from South Arabia. Of the two Babylonian dialects also, the Sumerian of the

<sup>1</sup> "The Sumerians had already mingled closely with the Semites when we first hear of them. Their language gave way to the Semitic and gradually became a language of ceremony and ritual. Their religion became assimilated to the religion, and their gods identified with the gods of the Semites. The process of fusion commenced at such an early date that nothing has really come down to us from the time when the two were strangers to each other" (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 551). As regards the Amorites (Aramæans, Syrians) Mr Pinches has shown that this branch of the Semitic family had already founded settlements in Babylonia at least as far back as the time of Khammurabi.

<sup>2</sup> *Vorgeschichte der Indo-Europäer*, English ed. (*Evolution of the Aryans*), 1897, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Sayce, *Assyrian Gram.*, Schrader, *Die Ursitze der Semiten in Arabien*, *d. D. M. Ges.* XXVII. p. 397.

more archaic than the northern Akkad, which is reflected by foreign elements; and the Akkads themselves followed their first settlements lay about the shores of the Persian Gulf, which formerly extended much farther inland than

this favours a Semitic source of Babylonian culture, the of which might well have been supplied by the proto-civilisation of South Arabia, a region already regarded by some as the seat of the first civilisation in the world. On this the honour of having laid the foundation of all human progress would have to be transferred from the Mongol to the Semite, and

Relations to  
the Semites  
and Aryans.

E. D. Cope now comes forward with a theory dethroning the Mongol and Semite in favour of the Aryan. He argues that the oldest known Akkadian king (4500 B.C.) shows a fine symmetrical figure, large, straight eyes, straight or slightly curved nose, thin lips, and—most of all—a long head. Still it might be asked, was he a proto-

But apart from physical differences, he spoke a language which belonged to the Semites, and which he made Babylon for the first time the capital of a united Babylonia" (1896, p. 84). Khammurabi (Hummurabi) flourished about 1800 B.C. He claimed lineal descent from Ur-bau and Dungi, who had ruled over the united kingdoms of Summer and Akkad (Lowlands and Highlands) about 2800 B.C.

in *The American Naturalist* for August, 1896. It is noted that with this view L. Wilser is inclined to agree (*Globus*,

himself "lord" of Kengi, the name by which Babylonia was known in Semitic times,—its religious centre being the great temple dedicated to Mul-lil, whom the Semites later transformed into the god Nippur. To Nippur succeeded Erech, the "city" in a preëminent position. Its ruler (*patesi*), Lugal-zaggisi, son of Ukus, subdued the surrounding lands and established his sway over all the land from the Persian Gulf to the Taurus. Erech yielded in its turn to U<sub>3</sub> (the Ur of the Chaldees), under Lugal-kigubnidudu became the capital of Chaldea. The revival of the glories of Nippur under Sargon I., founder of the great Semitic empire, and about 1000 years later (2800 B.C.?) the city was again ruled by Ur-Bau (Ur-Gar) and his son Dungi, who reduced



non-Semitic language, and other not very convincing reasons are advanced to make him out an "Aryan" of the North European type. That men of this type may have penetrated into Mesopotamia at an early date is possible; but if so, a shorter route than North Europe would have been the Eurasian steppe, and they would have come, not as settlers, but as conquerors who, as in so many other places (France, Lombardy, the Deccan), became assimilated in speech and culture to their Akkado-Sumerian subjects. But there are no records of such a conquest, and Enshagsagana was far more probably a proto-Semite than a North European "Aryan."

There is, however, nothing improbable in the early date assigned to this ruler. "We found," writes Dr J. P. Peters, "that Nippur was a great and flourishing city, and its temple, the temple of Bel, the religious centre of the dominant people of the world at a period as much prior to the time of Abraham as the time of Abraham is prior to our day. We discovered written records no less than 6000 years old, and proved that writing and civilisation were then by no means in their infancy. Further than that, our explorations have shown that Nippur possessed a history extending backward of the earliest written documents found by us, at least 2000 years<sup>1</sup>."

These discoveries long antedate the time of Sargon I. and his son Naram-Sin, whose chronology was the earliest hitherto determined (about 3800 B.C.). Despite the legendary matter associated with his memory, Sargon, the Semite, was beyond question a historical person. At Agade were found not only his statue, but also his cylinder, with an inscription beginning: "Sharrukin the mighty king am I," and recording how his mother, a royal princess, concealed his birth by placing him in a rush basket closed with bitumen and sending him adrift on the stream, from which he was rescued by Akki the water-carrier, who brought him up as his own child. The incident, about which there is nothing miraculous, presents a curious parallel, if it be not the source of, similar tales related of Moses, Cyrus, and other ancient leaders of men. Sargon also tells us that he ruled from his capital, Agade,

<sup>1</sup> *Nippur, The Narrative of the University of Pennsylvania's Expedition to Babylonia in the years 1888-96*, Philadelphia, 1896-8.

... Upper and Lower Mesopotamia, governed the ... the Akkads are constantly called, rode in many ... over rugged lands, and made expeditions thrice to ... The expeditions are confirmed by inscriptions from ... by the cylinder of his son, Naram-Sin, found by Cesnola ... As they also penetrated to Sinai their sway would ... extended over the whole of Syria and North Arabia, ... and perhaps other islands. They erected great struc- ... Nippur, which was at that time so ancient that Naram- ... brick platform stood on a mass 30 feet thick of the ... debris of earlier buildings. It was from the results ... especially of Dr Peters and Mr Haynes in ... that Dr Hilprecht wrote: "I do not hesitate to date ... of the temple of Bel and the first settlements in ... somewhere between 6000 and 7000 B.C., and possibly ... We come thus within measurable distance of the ... assigned to the duration of the Historic Period in ... and the Nile Valley<sup>2</sup>.

... grandson, Ashurbanipal, who belongs to the late ... empire when the centre of power had been ... from Babylonia to Nineveh, has left recorded ... tablets how he overran Elam and ... capital, Susa (645 B.C.). He states that from this ... brought back the effigy of the goddess Nana, which had ... away from her temple at Erech by an Elamite king ... Akkad had been conquered 1635 years before, *i.e.* 2280 ... Akkad-Elam ruled 300 years, and it was a king of ... Ehudur-Lagamar, who has been identified by Mr ... the "Chedorlaomer, king of Elam" routed by ... iv. 14—17<sup>3</sup>. Thus is explained the presence ... at this time so far west as Syria, their own seat being ... Kurdish mountains in the Upper Tigris basin.

Elamite  
Origins.

... were probably of the same stock as their Akkad ... short, robust people with coarse black hair, peaceful,

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Assyriology*, April 30, 1898, p. 465.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Assyriology*, April 30, 1898, p. 465.

industrious, and skilful husbandmen, with a knowledge of irrigating processes. Even the term "Elam" has the same meaning as "Akkad" (*i.e.* Highland) in contrast to "Sumer" (Lowland)<sup>1</sup>. Yet the type would appear to be wholly rather Semitic, judging at least from the large eyes and thick beard of the Sumerian god, *Enlil*, brought by Ashurbanipal out of Elam, as depicted in Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, see plate 103.

Historical  
Records.

65. This, however, may be explained by the fact that the Elamites were subdued at an early date by intruding Semites, although they afterwards shook off the yoke and became strong enough to conquer Mesopotamia and extend their expeditions to Syria and the Jordan more than 2000 years before the new era. Of Elam, properly Anshad, the capital was the renowned city of Susa (Shushan), whence Susiana, the modern Khuzistan.

Even after the capture of Susa by Ashurbanipal, Elam again rose to great power under Cyrus the Great, who, however, was a Persian adventurer, as stated by Herodotus, but the legitimate Elamite ruler, as inscribed on his cylinder and tablet now in the British Museum:—"Cyrus, the great king, the king of Babylon, the king of Sumir and Akkad, the king of the four corners, the son of Kambyzes, the great king, the king of Elam, the grandfather of Cyrus the great king," who by the favour of Merodach, had overcome the black-headed people (*i.e.* the Akkads) and at last entered Babylon in peace. On an earlier cylinder Nabonidus, last king of Babylon, tells us how this same Cyrus subdued the Medes—here called *Mandas*, "Barbarians"—and captured their king Astyages and his capital Ekbatana. But although Cyrus, hitherto supposed to be a Persian and a Zoroastrian monotheist, here appears as an Elamite and a polytheist, "it is pretty certain that although descended from Elamite kings, these were [at that

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that neither Akkad nor Sumer occurs in the oldest texts, where Akkad is called *Kish* from the name of its capital, and Sumer Kiengi (Kengi), said to mean the "land of reeds and canals." *Kish* has been identified with the Kush of Gen. x., one of the best abused words in Paethnology. For this identification, however, there is some ground, seeing that Kush is mentioned in the closest connection with "Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar" (Mesopotamia) v. 10.

side) kings of Persian race, who, after the destruction of the old [Median] monarchy by Ashurbanipal, had established a new dynasty at the city of Susa. Cyrus always traces his descent from Achaemenes, the chief of the leading Persian clan of Pasargadae.<sup>1</sup> Herodotus although wrong in speaking of Cyrus as an adventurer, Herodotus rightly calls him a Persian, and at this late date Elam itself may well have been already Aryanised in speech<sup>2</sup>, while still retaining its old Akkadian religion. The Babylonian pantheon survived, in fact, till the time of Darius Hystaspes, who introduced Zoroastrianism with its supreme gods, Ahura-Mazda, creator of all good, and Abriman, author of all evil.

The Akkadian deities, thus superseded by the eternal principles of light and darkness, had themselves "begun by being the actual material of the element which was their attribute," and of which they successively became the spirit and the ruler. They continued at first to reside in this element, but in course of time were separated from it, each being free to enter a rival's domain, dwell in, and even rule the world from it, till at last most of them came to be identified with the firmament. Bel, the lord of the earth, and Ea, ruler of the waters, passed into the heavens, which did not originally belong to them. Here they took their place beside Ana-Anu, who, at first, the material heaven itself, the starry vault encompassing the earth, became successively the spirit of heaven (Zi-Ana) and the supreme ruler of the universe. This transformation of the primitive spirit into a personal god-king was, according to

Babylonian Religion.

<sup>1</sup> See Herodotus, *Human Origins*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> It has remained so ever since, the present Lur and Bakhtiari inhabitants speaking, not the standard Neo-Persian, but dialects of the same branch of the Iranian family, as if they had been Aryanised at the time of the Medes, the capital of which was Ekbatana. We have here, perhaps, the origin of the Medes themselves, who were certainly the above-named nomads of Nabonidus, their capital being also the same Ekbatana. Herodotus (*Academy*, Sept. 7, 1895, p. 189) identified the Kimmerians as the Manda nomads, whose king Tukdammé (Tugdammé) was the ancestor of Croesus (l. 3, 16), who led a horde of Kimmerians into Lydia and Greece. We know from Esar-haddon's inscriptions that by the name of Manda these Kimmerians were called Manda, their prince Teupsa (Teispe) was called as "of the people of the Manda." An oracle given to

Lenormant, due specially to the Semites, the Chaldeans nor the Egyptians ever evolved the absolutely supreme being. The supreme god of the early Assyriologists thought they had discovered (Rawlinson), was as much a being of their own imagination as the supreme god imagined by Egyptologists to occupy the highest position in the Egyptian pantheon (*ib.*)<sup>2</sup>. Indeed the Chaldean system passed into a condition hardly to be distinguished from the fetishism of the African negro. "The spirit of the god inspired whatever seemed good to him, and frequently resorted into objects where we should least have expected to find it: animated stones, particularly such as fall from heaven; also trees, as, for example, the tree of Eridhu, which uttered oracles. Such objects, when it was once ascertained that they were imbued with the divine spirit, were placed upon the altar and worshipped with as much veneration as were the statues themselves. Animals, however, never became objects of habitual worship in Egypt."

As in all primitive beliefs, morality is found still entirely dissociated from religion. Thus in Aralu, the Chaldean Hades,

Esar-haddon begins: "The Kimmerian in the mountains has set fire in the land of Ellip," *i.e.* the land where Ekbatana was afterwards founded, which is now shown to have already been occupied by the Kimmerians or Scythian hordes. It follows that Kimmerians, Mandas, Medes with their modern Kurd and Bakhtiari representatives, were all one people, who were almost certainly of Aryan speech, if not actually of proto-Aryan stock.

<sup>1</sup> *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 144 sq.; quoted by Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* p. 644.

<sup>2</sup> As the idea of a primitive universal revelation, from which that of a supreme being cannot be separated, seems to be at least suggested as possible by Mr A. Lang in *The Making of Religion* (1898), it may be again pointed out that such a sublime notion is immeasurably beyond the power of early man, whose cranial capacity did not greatly exceed that of the javanese precursor (see diagram p. 6). The monotheistic conception could never have been the starting point, and was in fact arrived at in quite late times by a continuous process of elimination. In his *Mythologie des Slaves et des Finnois* (*Rev. Mens. de l'Ecole d'Anthrop.* 1897, p. 225 sq.), M. A. Lefèvre shows that even *Bog*, supposed to be the *Deus* of the proto-Slavs, and the *Quallan* represented by *Cernobog* and *Belbog*, are all later developments of the Slav pantheon.

<sup>3</sup> *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 642.

shrines, presided by the goddess Beltis-Allat, who, however, is little influenced by the good or bad lives led by the departed. Almost everything depends on their attitude towards the gods, including their destinies; they are punished for having neglected the service of the temples, and rewarded in proportion to the sacrifices and offerings made at the shrines of the gods.

As the family expands through the clan and tribe into the nation, is clearly seen in the Chaldean social system, in which the inhabitants of each city were still divided into clans, all of whose members claimed to be descended from a common ancestor who had flourished at a more or less remote period. The members of each clan were by no means all in the same social position, some having gone down in the world, others having raised themselves; and amongst them we find many different callings—from agricultural labourers to soldiers, and from merchants to artisans. No natural tie existed among the majority of these members except the remembrance of their common origin, perhaps also a common religion, and ancestral rights of succession or claims upon what belonged to each one individually.<sup>1</sup> The god or goddess, it is suggested, who watched over each man, and of whom each was the son, was originally the god or goddess of the clan (its totem). So also in Egypt, the members of the community were all supposed to come of the same stock (*psit*), and to belong to the same family (*psitu*), whose chiefs (*ropsitu*) were the guardians of the family, several groups of these families being under a *ropsitu-hd*, or head chief.<sup>2</sup> In the local institutions, it is startling to find a fully developed ground-landlord system, though not quite so bad as that which had recently endured in England, already flourishing ages ago in the East. "The cost of repairs fell usually on the lessee, and he was allowed to build on the land he had leased, in which he was declared free of all charges for a period of about ten years; the house and, as a rule, all he had built, then reverted to the landlord."<sup>3</sup>

In other respects great progress had been made, and it

<sup>1</sup> *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 733.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 752.

is the belief of von Ihring<sup>1</sup>, Hommel<sup>2</sup>, and others, that the civilisation of Babylonia was first diffused a knowledge of astronomy, agriculture, navigation, and many other arts, to the Nile valley, and thence through Egypt to the Western World, and through Irania to China and India. In this generalisation there is probably a large measure of truth, although it will be seen farther on that the date of the origin of Egyptian culture is still far from being proved.

General  
Culture.

One element the two peoples certainly had in common was a highly developed agricultural system, which formed the foundation of their greatness, and was maintained in a rainfall climate by a stupendous system of irrigation works. Such works were carried out on a prodigious scale by the ancient Babylonians six or eight thousand years ago. The plains of the Lower Euphrates and Tigris, since rendered desolate under Turkish misrule, are intersected by the remains of an intricate network of canals covering all the space between the two rivers, and are strewed with the ruins of many great cities, whose inhabitants, numbering scores of thousands, were supported by the produce of a highly cultivated region, which is now an arid waste varied only by crumbling mounds, stagnant waters, and the camping-grounds of a few Arab tent-dwellers.

Those who attach weight to distinctive racial qualities have always found a difficulty in attributing this wonderful civilisation to the same Mongolic people, who in their own homes have scarcely anywhere advanced beyond the hunting, fishing, or pastoral states. But it has always to be remembered that man, like all other zoological forms, necessarily reflects the character of his environment. The Akkads, if Mongols, naturally became husbandmen in the alluvial Mesopotamian lands, while the kindred people who give their name to the whole ethnical division and present its physical characters in an exaggerated form, still remain tented nomads on the dry Central Asiatic steppe, which yields little but herbage, and is suitable for tillage only in a few more favoured districts.

The Mon-  
gols Proper.

<sup>1</sup> *Vorgeschichte* &c., Book II. *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyriens*.

From the typical Mongols, cut off from the arable lands of South China and the Tien-shan and Altai ranges, and to some extent from the rich fluvial valleys of the Middle Kingdom and the Great Wall, have for ages led a pastoral life in the available tracts and oases of the Gobi wilderness and the region within the great bend of the Hoang-ho. During the long period these natural and artificial ramparts have been unassailed, they were unmounted by fierce Mongol hordes, pouring like floods of blood-waters over the whole of China and many parts of the world, and extending their predatory or conquering expeditions over the more open northern plains westwards nearly to the shores of the Atlantic. But such devastating torrents, which convulsed and caused dislocations amongst half the human populations of the globe, had little effect on the tribal groups that remained behind. These continued and continue to occupy the original camping-grounds, as changeless and uniform in their physical appearance, mental characters, and social usages as the Arab bedouins and all other inhabitants of monotonous unmodified steppe lands.

It is de Ujfalvy's suggestion that the typical Mongols of the plains, with whom we are now dealing, were originally a long-headed race, can scarcely be taken seriously. Physical Type. In fact, throughout historic times, the typical Mongol peoples are and have been distinguished by a high degree of brachycephaly, with cephalic index generally above 80, and it may be remembered that the highest cephalic index of any undeformed skull was that of Huxley's (1871, p. 11). But, as already noticed, those recovered from the palaeolithic or neolithic kurgans, are found to be dolichocephalous like the palaeolithic and early neolithic man in Europe.

In connection with the numerous prehistoric remains recovered from all parts of Central Asia and Siberia, this fact helps to bring de Ujfalvy's view into harmony with the actual conditions. Everything will be explained by the fact that the proto-Mongolic tribes, spreading from the Gobi plateau over the plains now bearing their name, found the plains already occupied by the long-headed Caucasian peoples of the ages, whom they either exterminated or drove north



to the Altai uplands, and east to Manchuria. A strong Caucasian strain still persists. Deeper than would thus be, not the proto-Mongols who were long-headed, but the long-headed neolithic pre-Mongols by them from Mongolia.

That this region has been their traditional home, migrations from the south their chief source. Here land and people stand in close contact, one to the other; here every geographical feature recalls some popular memory; every stream associated with the name of some national hero. The stream is still worshipped or held in awe as the abode of the ancestral shades. Here the population proper form two main divisions, *Starra* in the west, in the west, while a third group, the somewhat nomadic, have long been settled in the Siberian provinces of Trans-Baikalia. Under the Chinese semi-military rule since the 17th century in 41 *Aimaks* (large principalities with hereditary khans) and 226 *Koshaks*, that is, smaller groups whose chiefs are dependent on their respective Aimaks, who are themselves dependent to the imperial government. Subjoined is a table of administrative divisions, which present a curious combination of the tribal and political systems, and an arrangement in Pondoland and some other districts. Colony, where the hereditary tribal chief assumes the office of a responsible British magistrate.

Tribal or Territorial Divisions	Aimaks (Principalities)	Koshaks
Khalkas	4	100
Inner Mongolia with Ordos	25	1000
Chakars	1	100
Ala-Shan	1	100
Koko-nor and Tsaidam	5	100
Zungaria	4	100
Uriankhai	1	100
	<hr/> 41	226



1. LAO WOMAN.  
(Shan Type.)



2. SAMAGHIR.  
(East Mongol Type.)



3. KALMUK WOMAN, PROFILE.  
(West Mongol Type.)



4. KALMUK WOMAN, FULL FACE.  
(West Mongol Type.)



to their organization in Aimaks and Koshungs, the Mongols have ceased to be a terror to the surrounding peoples. The incessant struggles between these tented warriors and the peaceful Chinese populations, which began long before the dawn of history, were brought to a close with the overthrow of the Zungarian power in the 18th century, when their political cohesion was broken, and the whole nation reduced to a state of abject helplessness, from which they cannot now hope to recover. The arm of Chinese rule could be replaced only by the firmer grip of the northern autocrat, whose shadow already lies athwart the Gobi wilderness.

Thus the only escape from the crushing monotony of a purely pastoral life, no longer relieved by intervals of warlike or predatory expeditions, lies in a survival of the old Shamanist superstitions, or a further development of the degrading Tibetan lamaism represented at Urga by the *Kutukhtu*, an incarnation of the Buddha only less revered than the Dalai Lama himself<sup>1</sup>. Besides this High Priest at Urga, there are over a hundred smaller incarnations—*Gigens*, as they are called—and these saintly beings possess unlimited means of glorifying their votaries. The smallest favour, the touch of their garments, a pious ejaculation or blessing, is regarded as a priceless spiritual gift, and must be paid for with costly offerings. Even the dead do not escape these exactions. However disposed of, whether buried or cremated, like the khans and lamas, or exposed to beasts and birds of prey, as is the fate of the common folk, *tsamans*, which also command a high price, have to be said for *tsamans* to relieve their souls from the torments of the Buddhist purgatory.

It is a singular fact, which, however, may perhaps admit of explanation, that nearly all the true Mongol peoples have embraced Buddhism since the spread of Sakya Muni's teachings.

It is also singular that *Dalai*, "Ocean," is itself a Mongol word, though the word *Lama* is Tibetan. The explanation is that in the 13th century a title of Buddha was raised by the then dominant Mongols to the rank of a deity, the title of *Dalai Lama*, the "Ocean Priest," i.e. the Priest of the Ocean, was bestowed on one of his successors in the 16th century, and is now held by the High Pontiff at Lhasa.

throughout Central Asia, while their Turki language is the language of the followers of the Prophet. Thus is seen, for instance, in the striking spectacle of two Mongolic groups, the *Khalkas* of the eastern branch and the *Kalmuks* of the West Mongol branch, standing side by side on the Lower Volga plains, the former under the banner of the Crescent, the latter devout worshippers of all the incarnations of Buddha. But analogous phenomena occur amongst the European peoples, the *Tentons* being mainly Protestants, those of neo-Latin speech mainly Roman Catholics, and the Easterns Orthodox. From all this, however, nothing more can be inferred than that the religions are partly a question of geography, partly determined by racial temperament and political conditions; while the religious sentiment, being universal, is above all local or ethnical considerations.

Under the first term of the expression *Mongolo-Turki* (people) are comprised, besides the Mongols proper, nearly all those branches of the division which lie to the east and south-east of Mongolia, and are in most respects more closely allied with the Mongol than with the Turki section. Such are the *Ferganans*, with the kindred *Manchus*, *Golds*, *Orochons*, *Lamuts*, and others of the Amur basin, the Upper Lena head-streams, the eastern affluents of the Yenisei, and the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk; the *Gilyaks* about the Amur estuary and in the northern parts of Sakhalin; the *Kamchadales* in South Kamchatka; in the extreme north-east the *Koryaks*, *Chukchis*, and *Yitighoids*; lastly the *Koreans*, *Japanese*, and *Liu-Kiu (Lu-Chu) Islanders*. To the Mongol section thus belong nearly all the peoples lying between the Yenisei and the Pacific (including most of the adjacent archipelagos), and between the Great Wall and the Arctic Ocean. The only two exceptions are the *Yakuts* of the middle and lower Lena and neighbouring arctic rivers, who are of Turki stock; and the *Ainus* of Yezo, South Sakhalin, and some of the Kurile Islands, who belong to the Caucasian division.

A striking illustration of the general statement that the various cultural states are a question not of race, but of environment<sup>1</sup>, is afforded by the varying social conditions of the wide-spread Tungus family, who

The  
Tunguses.

<sup>1</sup> *Ethnology*, p. 215.

the Arctic coast, hunters in the East Siberian tundras, and for the most part sedentary tillers of the soil and town-people in the rich alluvial valleys of the Amur and its southern affluents. The Russians, from whom we get the term *Tungus*, recognise these various pursuits, and speak of *Horse, Catib, Reindeer, Dog, Steppe*, and *Forest* Tunguses, besides the settled farmers and stock-breeders of the Amur. Their original home appears to have been the Shan-Alin uplands, where they dwelt with the kindred *Niu-Chi* (Manchus) till the 13th century, when the disturbances brought about by the wars and conquests of Jenghiz Khan drove them to their present seat in East Siberia. The type, although essentially Mongolic in the somewhat flat features, very prominent cheek-bones, slant eyes, long lank hair, yellowish brown colour, and low stature, seems to show admixture with a higher stock in the shapely frame, the nimble, active figure, and quick, intelligent expression, and especially in the variable skull. While generally round (indices 80° to 84°), the head is sometimes flat on the top, like that of the true Mongol, sometimes high and short; which, as Dr Hamy tells us, is specially characteristic of the *Turkic* race.

Cradle and  
Type.

They derive from the Chinese *Tungshu*, "Eastern Barbarians," or from the *Turkic* tongue, as in Isaac Massa: *per interpretes se Tingoesi vocari dixerunt* (1612), etc., Amsterdam, 1612). But there is no collective national name, and at present they call themselves *Don-ki, Bola, Bole*, etc., terms all meaning "People." In the Chinese records they are referred to under the name of *Tung* as early as 263 A.D., when they dwelt in the forest region between the Yellow, Tumen and Yalu rivers on the one hand and the Pacific Ocean on the other. They paid tribute in kind—sable furs, bows, and stone arrow-heads. Stone arrow-heads were also the tribute paid to the emperors of the *Chou* dynasty (1766-1154 B.C.) by the *Su-shen*, who dwelt north of the Korean peninsula, so that we have here official proof of a Stone Age of long duration in Manchuria. Later, the Chinese chronicles mention the *U-ki* or *Uki* people of the Sungari valley and surrounding uplands, who were the founders of the kingdom of *Pu-kai*, overthrown in 925 by the *Khitan* of the Lower Sungari below its Noni confluence, who were themselves the direct ancestors of the *Tungus* (Howorth, *passim*).

La tendance de la tête à se développer en hauteur, juste en sens vertical du Mongol. La tête du Turc est donc à la fois plus haute et plus courte." (*L'Anthropologie*, VI. 3, p. 8).

All observers speak in enthusiastic language of the refinement and moral qualities of the Tungus, particularly of those groups that dwell about the Tunguska tributaries,

Mental Characters.

which take their name from these daring hunters and fowling. "Full of animation and natural impulse, always cheerful, in the deepest misery, holding themselves and others in the highest, of gentle manners and poetic speech, obliging without servility, unaffectedly proud, scorning falsehood, and indifferent to suffering and death, the Tunguses are unquestionably an heroic people!"

A few have been brought within the pale of the Christian Church, and in the extreme south some are classed as Buddhists. But the great bulk of the Tungus nation are still Shamanists. Indeed the very word *Shaman* is of Tungus origin, though current also amongst the Buryats and Yakuts. It is often taken to be the equivalent of priest; but in point of fact it represents a stage in the development of natural religion which has scarcely yet reached the sacerdotal state. "Although in many cases the shamans act as priests, and take part in popular and family festivals, prayers, and sacrifices, their chief importance is based on the performance of duties which distinguish them sharply from ordinary priests." Their functions are threefold, those of the medicine-man (the leech, or healer by supernatural means); of the soothsayer (the prophet through communion with the invisible world); and of the priest, especially in his capacity as exorcist, and in his general power to influence, control, or even coerce the good and evil spirits on behalf of their votaries. But as all spirits are, or were originally, identified with the souls of the departed, it follows that in its ultimate analysis Shamanism resolves itself into a form of ancestor-worship.

The system, of which there are many phases reflecting the different cultural states of its adherents, still prevails amongst all the Siberian aborigines, and generally amongst all the uncivilized Ural-Altai populations, so that here again the religions strictly reflect the social condition of the peoples. Thus the somewhat

<sup>1</sup> Reclus, vi. ; Eng. ed. p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> V. M. Mikhailovskii, *Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia*, Translated by Oliver Wardrop, *Four. Anthropol. Inst.* 1896, p. 91.

and the Buryats, Mongols, and Manchus are all either  
 Christians, Muslims, or Buddhists; while the uncivilized  
 tribes, such as the Ostyaks, Orchons, Tungus,  
 Chukchi, and Chukchi, are almost without ex-  
 ception heathen. The various sects of the  
 Christians do not appear to constitute a special caste or  
 hierarchy, like the hierarchies of the Christian Church.  
 Some of the clergy, some elected by popular vote, so to say,  
 are called *shamans* (shamans), married or single;  
 and when spoken of, it simply means greater or less  
 proficiency in the performance of the duties imposed on them.  
 This depends on their personal merits, which naturally  
 gives rise to much jealousy between the members of the craft.  
 The "whites" and the "blacks," that is, those  
 who deal with the good and the bad spirits respectively,  
 are in some districts a standing feud, often resulting in fierce  
 and bloody bloodshed. The Buryats tell how the two factions  
 fought each other at great distances, the struggle usually  
 ending in the death of one of the combatants. The blacks, who  
 deal with evil spirits, bringing only disease, death, or ill-luck, and  
 are therefore people by eating up their souls, are of course the  
 most dreaded. Many are credited  
 with extraordinary and even miraculous powers, and there can be  
 no doubt that they often act up to their reputation by performing  
 some of the conjuring tricks in order to impose on the  
 ignorant, or outbid their rivals for the public  
 favour. Richard Johnson of Chancelour's expedition to  
 the Amur, how he saw a Samoyad shaman stab himself  
 with a sword, make the sword red hot and thrust it through  
 his chest, the point protruded at the back, and Johnson  
 saw him take it with his finger. They then bound the wizard  
 with a rope, and went through some performances  
 of the Davenport Brothers and other modern

The question whether the shamans are  
 spirits has perhaps been given by Castrèn,

Journal of the Asiatic Society, 1869 ed. I. p. 317 sq.



who, speaking of the same Samoyad magicians, remarks that if they were merely cheats, we should have to suppose that they did not share the religious beliefs of their fellow-tribesmen, but were a sort of rationalists far in advance of the times. Hence it would seem much more probable that they deceived both themselves and others<sup>1</sup>, while no doubt many bolster up a waning reputation by playing the mountebank where there is no danger of detection.

"Shamanism amongst the Siberian peoples," concludes our Russian authority, "is at the present time in a moribund condition; it must die out with those beliefs among which alone such phenomena can arise and flourish. Buddhism on the one hand, and Muhammadanism on the other, not to mention Christianity, are rapidly destroying the old ideas of the tribes among whom the shamans performed. Especially has the more ancient Black Faith suffered from the Yellow Faith preached by the lamas. But the shamans, with their dark mysterious rites, have made a good struggle for life, and are still frequently found among the native Christians and Muhammadans. The mullahs and lamas have even been obliged to become shamans to a great extent, and many Siberian tribes, who are nominally Christians, believe in the shamans, and have recourse to them."

Of all members of the Tungusic family the Manchus alone can be called a historical people. If they were really descended from the *Khitans* of the Sungari valley, then their authentic records will date from the 10th century A.D., when these renowned warriors, after overthrowing the Pu-hai (925), founded the Liao dynasty and reduced a great part of north China and surrounding lands. The Khitans, from whom China was known to Marco Polo as *Khitai* (Cathay), as it still is to the Russians, were conquered in 1125 by the *Niu-chi* (*Yu-chi*, *Nu-chin*) of the Shan-alin uplands, reputed cradle of the Manchu race. These Niu-chi, direct ancestors of the Manchu, founded (1115) the State known as that of the "Golden Tartars," from *Kin*, "gold," the title adopted by their chief Aguta, "because iron (in reference to the *Liao*, 'Iron' dynasty) may rust, but gold remains ever

The  
Manchus.

Origins and  
Early  
Records.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Mikhailovskii, p. 144.

The Kins, however, retained their brightness for a century, having been eclipsed by Jenghis Khan. But about the middle of the 14th century the Kins came to power under Aishu-Gioro, who, although surrounded by other legendary matter, has been a historical person. He may be regarded as the founder of the Manchu dynasty, for it was in his time the name came into general use. Sing-tsu, one of his descendants, constructed the palisade, a feeble imitation of the sections of which still exist. Thai-tsu, a still more distant member of the family, greatly extended the Manchu empire (1583-1626), and it was his son Tai-dsung who first assumed the imperial dignity under the title of Tai-Tsing. After the Ming dynasty having been overthrown by a rebel, the Manchus were invited by the imperialists to aid in the restoration, entered Peking in triumph, and, finding that the Ming had committed suicide, placed Tai-dsung's son on the throne, thus founding the still reigning Manchu

dynasty. The contribution of the Manchu people to the world's contributions to arts, letters, science, in a word, to the progress of mankind, have been *nil*. They found the world in a state of stagnation, after ages of a sluggish growth, in a state of stagnation, and there they have left it. On the other hand, the corruption of the imperial administration has brought about its ruin, their effacement, and almost their very annihilation as a separate nationality. Manchuria, like Mongolia, is divided into a number of half military, half civil divisions, the "Eight Banners," and the constant demand for troops to support the dynasty and supply trust-ees for all the strongholds of the empire, has drawn the vitality of the people, in fact sapped its vitality at the source. Then the rich arable tracts thus depleted were colonized by agricultural settlers from the south, with the result that the Manchu race has nearly disappeared. From the point of view of the whole region beyond the Great Wall the Amur has practically become an integral part of the world from the political standpoint since 1898 an

integral part of the Russian empire. In the 19th century the Eight Banners numbered a quarter of a million, and about that time it was said that "the Manchu nationality is destroyed." At the present we shall look in vain for a single *Manchu* throughout Manchuria which is not exclusively Chinese. The local colour has been completely lost, except a few nomad groups nobody speaks Manchu.

Similar testimony is afforded by later observers. Rev. Henry Lansdell, amongst others, remarks that during the two centuries they have reigned in China they have been working out their own annihilation. Their language, their very country has become Chinese. He maintains that the Manchu proper are now extinct.

But the type, so far from being extinct, may have received a considerable expansion, especially amongst the populations of north-east China. The taller stature and greatly superior physical appearance of the inhabitants of Tien-tsin and surrounding districts, as compared of the southern provinces (Fokien, Kwang-tung), who are the chief representatives of the Chinese race abroad, cannot be explained by continual crossings with the neighbouring Manchu people, at least since the 12th century, if not earlier.

Closely related to the Manchus (of the same stock) are the Dauri. Howorth, the distinction being purely physical, calls the *Dauri*, who give their name to the extensive Daur plateau, and formerly occupied both sides of the Amur

<sup>1</sup> *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie*, 1853, i. 162.

<sup>2</sup> *Through Siberia*, 1882, Vol. II. p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> European visitors often notice with surprise the fine physical characteristics of the natives, many of whom average nearly six feet in height. The extraordinary disparity between the two sexes, perhaps greater than in any other country. The much smaller stature and feeble constitution of the women is no doubt due to the detestable custom of crippling the feet in childhood, thereby depriving them of natural exercise during the period of growth. It may be noted that an anti-foot-bandaging movement is now in progress throughout China, the object being to abolish the cruel practice by making the *kin lien* ("golden lilies") unfashionable, and the *ti tzu*, the "natural feet,"—i.e. the natural—popular in their stead.

... Mongols applied by the Buryats to all  
 ... The Dauri proper, who  
 ... representatives of the original Manchu  
 ... have intermingled at a remote time with the  
 ... populations of central Asia. They are  
 ... than the Orkhons [Tungus groups] lower  
 ... countenance is oval and more intellectual,  
 ... broad. The nose is rather prominent,  
 ... straight. The skin is tawny, and the hair  
 ... of these characters are such as we should expect  
 ... of mixed Mongolo-Caucasic descent, the latter  
 ... from the long-headed race who had already  
 ... Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, and the adjacent  
 ... times. Thus may be explained the tall  
 ... regular features, brown hair, light eyes, and even  
 ... so often observed amongst the present inhabit-  
 ... and parts of North China.

... except of Chinese literary terms, is seen in  
 ... language, which, like Mongolic, is a  
 ... the agglutinating Ural-Altai Mongolo-  
Turki Speech.  
 ... differences, lexical, phonetic,

... all the members of this widespread order  
 ... in common a number of fundamental features,  
 ... assumption that all spring from an original stock  
 ... has long been extinct, and the germs of which  
 ... developed on the Tibetan plateau. The  
 ... of the system are:—(1) a "root" or notional  
 ... closed syllable, nominal or verbal, with a vowel  
 ... weak (hard or soft) according to the mean-  
 ... hence incapable of change; (2) a number of  
 ... terms somewhat loosely postfixed to the  
 ... with it by the principle of (3) vowel  
 ... of vocal concordance, in virtue of which the  
 ... postfixes must harmonise with the unchangeable  
 ... is strong all the following vowels of the  
 ... what its length, must be strong; if weak

1 Lansdell, II. p. 172.

they must conform in the same way. The number of postfixes are necessarily limited to the number of simple relations; but with verbal postfixes they are unlimited, so that the multifarious relations between subject and object are all incorporated in the word itself, which may thus run at times to incredible lengths. We have the expression "incorporating," common to the agglutinating system, which sometimes goes as far as the notions of causality, possibility, passivity, agency, condition, and so on, besides the direct pronouns. It is one interminable conglomerate, which is then treated as a verb, and run through all the secondary changes of person, tense, and mood. The result is an endless series of theoretically possible verbal forms, which, although in practice naturally limited to the ordinary requirements of language, are too numerous to allow of a complete verbal paradigm being constructed of any fully developed member of the Ural-Altaic group, such, for instance, as Yakut, Tungus, Turkish, Mongolian, Finnish, or Magyar.

In this system the vowels are classed as strong or hard (such as *a*, *o*, *u*), weak or soft (the same *umlauted*: *ä*, *ö*, *ü*), and neutral (generally *e*, *i*), these last being so called because they occur indifferently with the two other classes. Thus, if the determining vowel is *a* (strong), that of the postfixes may be either *a* (strong), *o*, or *u* (neutral); if *ä* (weak), that of the postfixes may be either *ä* (weak), or *e* or *i* as before. The postfixes themselves no doubt were originally notional terms worn down in form and meaning, and express mere abstract relation, as in the Magyar *vel* = with, from *veli* = companion. Tacked on to the root *fa* = tree, this will give the ablative case, first unharmonised: *fa-vel*; then harmonised: *fa-val* = tree-with, with a tree. In the early Magyar texts of the 12th century inharmonic compounds, such as *hald-nak*, later *hald-nak* = at death, are numerous, from which it has been inferred that the principle of vowel harmony is not an original feature of the Ural-Altaic languages, but a later development, due to phonetic decay, and still scarcely known in some members of the group, such as Votyak and Highland Chermessian (Volga Finn). But M. Lucien Adam holds that these idioms have lost the principle

(Russian) influence, and that the few traces still remaining are survivals from a time when all the Ural-Altaic languages were subject to progressive vowel harmony. Dean Byrnes is disposed to regard this as a phonetic utterance of the hard, and the soft elements of the soft vowel series, as an alternation of the alternating active and lethargic conditions of the race, such alternations being themselves due to the conditions of their environment. "Certainly the nomadic life of the great nomadic races involves a twofold experience of life. In summer, when the pastures at their feet during their abundant summer provide for their needs, they are active; in winter, when little can be done. Their character is a striking combination of intermittent indolence and activity. It is very remarkable that this distinction of roots is found in the languages spoken originally where this great distinction of seasons exists. The fact that the distinction [between hard and soft] is imparted to all the suffixes of a root proves that the characteristic which it expresses is thought with these; and it is equally true that the radical idea is retained in the compounds, when these are added to it."

A highly characteristic instance of the methods followed by Byrnes in his ingenious but hopeless attempt to explain the structure of speech by the still more subtle temperament of the race is taken in connection with the alternating nature of the feature in question cannot be due to such conditions of soil and climate, because it is persistent throughout the year, while the hard and soft elements occur simultaneously, might say, promiscuously, in conversation under all conditions of those conversing.

The explanation is given by Schleicher, who points out that the vocal assimilation is the necessary result of

DE RI ET AL.

*Recherches sur les Langues Uralo-Altaïques*, 1874, p.

*Principles of the Structure of Language*, 1885, Vol. I. p. 357.

relied upon is that afforded by the Yakutic, a pure Ural-Altaic language spoken in the region of extremest heat and cold (Middle Siberia), and in which the principle of progressive assonance is well developed.

agglutination, which by this means binds together the idea and its relations in their outward expression, just as they are already inseparately associated in the mind of the speaker. Hence it is that such assonance is not confined to the Ural-Altai group, analogous processes occurring at certain stages of their growth in all forms of speech, as in Wolof, Zulu-Xosa, Keltic (expressed by the formula of Irish grammarians: "broad to broad, slender to slender"), and even in Latin, as in such vocalic concordance as: *annus, perennis; ars, iners; lego, diligo*. In these examples the root vowel is influenced by that of the prefix, while in the Mongolo-Turki family the root vowel, coming first, is unchangeable, but, as explained, influences the vowels of the postfixes, the phonetic principle being the same in both systems.

Both Mongol and Manchu are cultivated languages, employing modified forms of the Uiguric (Turki) script, which is based on the Syriac introduced by the Christian (Nestorian) missionaries in the 7th century. It was first adopted by the Mongols about 1280, and perfected by the scribe Tsorji Osir under Jenezek Khan (1307-1311). The letters, connected together by continuous strokes, and slightly modified, as in Syriac, according to their position at the beginning, middle, or end of the word, are disposed in vertical columns from left to right, an arrangement due no doubt to Chinese influence. This is the more probable since the Manchus, before the introduction of the Mongol system in the 16th century, employed the Chinese characters ever since the time of the Kin dynasty.

None of the other Tungusic or north-east Siberian peoples possess any writing system except the Yukaghirs of the Yasachnaya affluent of the Kolyma river, who were visited in 1892 by the Russian traveller, S. Shargorodsky. From his report<sup>1</sup>, it appears that this symbolic writing is carved with a sharp knife out of soft fresh birch-bark, these simple materials sufficing to describe the tracks followed on hunting and fishing expeditions, as well as the sentiments of the young women in their correspondence with their sweethearts.

<sup>1</sup> Explained and illustrated by General Krahmer in *Globus*, 1896, p. 208 sq.

Specimens are given of these curious documents, some of which are touching and even pathetic. "Thou goest hence, and I bide alone, for thy sake still to weep and moan," writes one disconsolate maiden to her parting lover. Another with a touch of jealousy: "Thou goest forth thy Russian flame to seek, who stands 'twixt thee and me, thy heart from me apart to keep. In a new home joy wilt thou find, while I must ever grieve, as thee I bear in mind, though another yet there be who loveth me." Or again: "Each youth his mate doth find; my fate alone it is of him to dream, who to another wedded is, and I must fain contented be, if only he forget not me." And with a note of wail: "Thou hast gone hence, and of late it seems this place for me is desolate; and I too forth must fare, that so the memories old I may forget, and from the pangs thus flee of those bright days, which here I once enjoyed with thee."

Details of domestic life may even be given, and one accomplished maiden is able to make a record in her note-book of the combs, shawls, needles, thimble, cake of soap, lollipops, skeins of wool, and other sundries, which she has received from a Yakut packman, in exchange for some clothes she has made him. Without illustrations no description of the process would be intelligible. Indeed it would seem these primitive documents are not always understood by the young folks themselves. They gather at times in groups to watch the process of composition by some expert damsel, the village "notary," and much merriment, we are told, is caused by the blunders of those who fail to read the text aright.

It is not stated whether the system is current amongst the other Yukaghir tribes, who dwell on the banks of the Indigirka, Yana, Kerkodona, and neighbouring districts. They thus skirt the Frozen Ocean from near the Lena delta to and beyond the Kolyma, and are conterminous landwards with the Yakuts on the south-west and the Chukchi on the north-east. With the Chukchi, the Koryaks, the Kamchadales, and the Gilyaks they form a separate branch of the Mongolic division sometimes grouped together as "Hyperboreans," but distinguished from other Ural-Altaic peoples perhaps strictly on linguistic grounds. Although now reduced to scarcely 1500, the Yukaghirs were formerly a



numerous people, and the popular superstition that the banks of the Kolyma at one time were covered with ice in the sky seems a reminiscence of more recent times. Great inroads have been made by epidemics, and the excessive use of coarse Ukraine tobacco, which is indulged in even by the women and children, and it is said, never intoxicates himself alone, but always with a family to share the drink, even children in some cases with a portion<sup>1</sup>. Their language, which A. Schlegel regards as radically distinct from all others<sup>2</sup>, is disappearing more rapidly than the people themselves, if it be not already extinct. In the eighties it was spoken only by about a hundred persons, its place being taken almost everywhere by the dialect of the Yakuts.

There appears to be a curious interchange of names between the Chukchi and their Koryak neighbors, the term *Koryak* being the Chukchi name for themselves

Chukchis  
and Koryaks.

"Reindeer," while the Koryaks are called by themselves *Chauchau*, whence some derive the word *Chukchi*. Hooper, however, tells us that the proper form of the word is *Tuski*, "Brothers," or "Confederates," and in many respects the point is of little consequence, as Dittmar is probably correct regarding both groups as closely related, and springing from one stock<sup>4</sup>. Jointly they occupy the north-east extremity of the continent between the Kolyma and Bering Strait, together with the northern parts of Kamchatka; the Chukchi live to the north, the Koryaks to the south, mainly round about the north-eastern inlets of the Sea of Okhotsk. Reasons have already been advanced for supposing that the Chukchi were a Tungus people who came originally from the Amur basin. In their native homes they appear to have waged long wars with the *Chukchi* (Ang-kali) aborigines, gradually merging with the survivors, and

<sup>1</sup> Lansdell, I. p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> *Ueber die Sprache der Jukagiren in Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1809, III. p. 595 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ueber die Koriaken u. ihnen nahe verwandten Tschouktschen, in Denkschrift. Sc. St Petersburg*, XII. p. 99.

Chukchi, with the Koryaks and Chuklukmuit Eskimo  
 on the Asiatic side of Bering Strait.

Relations to all these peoples are involved in great  
 confusion, while some connect them with the  
 Kamshatka<sup>1</sup>, by others they have been  
 identified with the Eskimo, owing to the Eskimo dialect

Chukchi and  
 Eskimo  
 Relations.

spoken by them. But this "dialect" is only a trading  
 sort of "pidgin Eskimo" current all round the coast,  
 composed of Chukchi, Inuit, Koryak, English, and even  
 elements mingled together in varying proportions. The  
 Chukchi language, of which Nordenskiöld collected 1000  
 words, distinct from Eskimo, and probably akin to  
 that of the Swedish explorer aptly remarks that "this race,  
 occupying the primal route between the Old and New World,  
 bears the unmistakable stamp of the Mongols of Asia and the  
 Indian Indians of America." He was much struck by the

resemblance of the Chukchi weapons and household utensils  
 to those of the Greenland Eskimo, while Signe Rink shows that  
 many legends have been diffused amongst the populations  
 of the Bering Strait<sup>2</sup>. Such common elements, how-  
 ever, afford little for racial affinity, which seems excluded by the  
 rounded shape of the Chukchi skull, as compared with  
 that of the Eskimo. But the type varies

Type and  
 Social State.

both amongst the so-called "Fishing  
 Eskimo" who occupy permanent stations along  
 the coast, and the "Reindeer Chukchi," who roam the inland  
 regions, changing their camping-grounds with the seasons. There  
 is no hereditary chieftainship, and little deference is paid to the  
 will of the owner of the largest reindeer herds, on  
 whose behalf the Eskimo have conferred the title of *Jerema*, regarding  
 him as the head of the Chukchi nation, and holding him re-  
 sponsible for the good conduct of his rude subjects. Although  
 they are Eskimo, they continue to sacrifice animals to the

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Man*, p. 391, who says the Chukchi are "as closely  
 related in speech as are Spaniards to Portuguese."

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Man*, Vol. 25, 1879, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Man*, Vol. 25, 1879, p. 138. *Journal of Man*, Vol. 25, 1879, p. 138. *Journal of Man*, Vol. 25, 1879, p. 138.

spirits of the rivers and mountains, and also in various rites. They believe in an after life, but only in the case of a violent death. Hence the resignation and resignation which the hopelessly infirm and the aged expect when it comes, to be despatched by their kinsfolk, in accordance with the tribal custom of *kamitok*, which still survives in the case of the Chukchi, as amongst the Sumatran Batta, and which has prevailed even amongst our Aryan forefathers.

"The doomed one," writes Mr Harry de Witte, "takes a lively interest in the proceedings, and often assists in the preparation for his own death. The execution is always performed at a feast, where seal and walrus meat are greedily eaten, and whisky consumed till all are intoxicated. A special song of singing and the muffled roll of walrus-hide drums mark the fatal moment. At a given signal a ring is fastened round the neck, and the relations and friends, the entire settlement looking on from the background. The executioner (usually the victim's own brother) then steps forward, and placing his right foot behind the neck of the condemned, slowly strangles him to death with a wooden thong. A *kamitok* took place during the latter part of my stay."

This traveller also fully confirms previous accounts of the indescribable moral and bodily filth in which these poor aborigines are content to welter through their lives. Those who care for such nauseous details must be referred to the work just quoted.

Most recent observers have come to look upon the Chukchi and *Koryaks* as essentially one and the same people, the chief difference being that the latter are, if possible even more degraded than their sedentary neighbours<sup>2</sup>. Like them they are classed as sedentary or nomad reindeer-owners, the latter, who call themselves *Tumugulu*, "Wanderers," roaming chiefly between Chukotka Bay and the Anadyr river. Through them the Chukchi merge

<sup>1</sup> *Through the Gold Fields of Alaska to Bering Strait*, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> This, however, applies only to the fishing *Koryaks*, for Mr. Kasten speaks highly of the domestic virtues, hospitality, and other good qualities of the nomad groups (*Tent Life in Siberia*, 1871).

the Kamchadales, who are better known as Kamchadales, of the Kamchatska river, where they are now chiefly concentrated. Most of the Itelmes are already Russified in speech and in religion; but they still secretly immolate to the gods, to propitiate the malevolent beings who throw themselves in the way of their hunting and fishing expeditions. Yet their subsistence depends on their canine associates, who are of a very almost wolfish breed, inured to hunger and hardships, and used for sledge work.

The Gilyaks are distinct both from all these Hyperboreans and from the other peoples, the Orochons, Golds, Manegrs and

The Gilyaks.

The Gilyaks, formerly confined to the Amur delta and the northern parts of Sakhalin. Some observers have connected them with the Ainu and the Korean aborigines, while Dr A. Anuchin regards them as a Mongoloid type—a Mongoloid with sparse beard, high cheekbones, and flat face, and a Caucasian with bushy beard and more European features. The latter traits have been attributed to the Ainu, but, as conjectured by H. von Siebold, are probably due to a fundamental connection with their Ainu

the Gilyaks take a low position—Mr Lansdell regards them as the lowest of any people he had met in Siberia. The influence of the Russian missionaries, and the inducements held out to them, they remain obdurate Shamanists, and even believe that "if one falls into the water the others will not rescue him, on the plea that they would thus be opposing the will of heaven, who wills that he should perish.... The soul of the deceased is supposed to pass at death into his favourite dog, which is accordingly fed with choice food; and when the spirit is called by the shamans out of the dog, the animal is buried in his master's grave. The soul is then represented as being reborn, lighted and guided by its own sun and

Dr. Nat. Sc. xx. Supplement, Moscow, 1877.

Grasse Aenlichkeit in Sprache, Gesichtsbildung und Sitten der Gilyaks" (*Ueber die Aino*, Berlin, 1881, p. 12).

Dr. H. p. 227.

moon, and continuing to lead there, in the same manner of life and pursuits as in the winter.

A speciality of the Gilyaks, as well as of the Ainu, is the fish-skin costume, made from the skins of salmon and from this all these aborigines are known as *Yupitalse*, "Fish-skin-clad People." "They make it with great dexterity, and by beating with a mallet render it supple. Clothes thus made are water-proof, and serve as a travelling-bag, and even the sail of a boat, made of fish-skin."

Like the Ainu, the Gilyaks may be called *fish-eaters*. At least this animal is supposed to be one of their food, although they ensnare him in winter, keep him alive, and when well fattened tear him to pieces, devouring the remains with much feasting and jubilation.

Since the opening up of Korea, some fresh light has been thrown upon the origins and ethnology of its present inhabitants. In his study of the "Yellow Races" Dr Hamy had included the

The Koreans.

Mongol division, but not without reserve, adding that "some might be taken for Tibetans, others look like a cross; hence the contradictory reports and theories of travellers." Since then the study of some skulls at Paris has enabled him to clear up some of the confusion obviously due to interminglings of different elements in remote (neolithic) times. On the data supplied by

Ethnical Elements.

Hamy classes the Koreans in three groups:—1. The northern provinces (Ping-ngan-tao and Hien-king-tao) like their Mongol [Tungus] neighbours; 2. The southern provinces (Kling-tao and Thsius-an-lo-tao), descendants of the Chinese, Han and Pien-hans, showing Japanese affinities; 3. The inner provinces (Hoang-hae-tao and Ching-tsing-tao), a transitional form between the northern and southern, their physical type and geographical position<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Through Siberia*, II. p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 221.

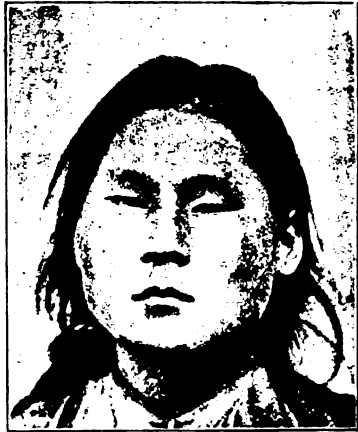
<sup>3</sup> *L'Anthropologie*, VI. No. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Bul. du Muséum d'Hist. Nat.* 1896, No. 4. All the skulls were found by

PLATE V.



1. GOLD OF AMUR RIVER.  
(South Tungus Type.)



2. GILYAK WOMAN.  
(N.E. Mongol Type.)



3. KOREAN.  
(Mongoloid Type.)



4. LIU-KIUAN.  
(Sub-Japanese Type.)



On the whole he considers that, as at present constituted, their affinities are less with the Continental than with the Oceanic Mongols, meaning by this expression Lesson's "Pelasgo-Mongols," that is, both the Malayan and the Polynesian groups of the Oceanic peoples. As the true Polynesians, *i.e.* the Indonesians, belong physically to the Caucasian division, Hamy's view accords very well with the now established fact that Caucasian features—light eyes, large nose, hair often brown, full beard, fair and even white skin, tall stature—are conspicuous, especially amongst the upper classes and many of the southern Koreans<sup>1</sup>. The round form of Dr Hamy's skulls no longer presents any difficulty, since multitudes of other Caucasian peoples—the Slavs, the South Germans, the Swiss and Tyrolese for instance—are also characterised by distinctly round heads; and if it be said that this is due to mixture in the West, the same cause applies with equal force in the East, where the Koreans are now shown to be a mixed race, the Mongol element dominating in the north, as might be expected, and the Caucasian in the south.

These conclusions seem to be confirmed by what is known of the early movements, migrations, and displacements of the populations in North-east Asia Korean  
Origins and  
Records. about the dawn of history. In these vicissitudes the Koreans, as they are now called<sup>2</sup>, appear to have first taken

sub-brachy, varying from 81 to 83·8 and 84·8. The author remarks generally that "photographes et crânes différent, du tout au tout, des choses similaires venues jusqu'à présent de Mongolie et de Chine, et font plutôt penser au Japon, à Formose, et d'une manière plus générale à ce vaste ensemble de peuples maritimes que Lesson désignait jadis sous le nom de Mongols-pélasgiens" p. 3.

<sup>1</sup> On this juxtaposition of the yellow and blond types in Korea V. de Saint-Lartin's language is highly significative: "Cette dualité de type, un type tout à fait caucasique à côté du type mongol, est un fait commun à toute la ceinture d'îles qui couvre les côtes orientales de l'Asie, depuis les Kouriles jusqu'à Formose, et même jusqu'à la zone orientale de l'Indo-Chine" (*Art. préle*, p. 800).

<sup>2</sup> From *Korai*, in Japanese *Kome* (Chinese *Kaoli*), name of a petty state, which enjoyed political predominance in the peninsula for about 500 years (till the 14th century A.D.). An older designation still in official use is *Chao-sien*, that is, the Chinese *Chao-sien*, "Bright Dawn" (Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 334 sq.).



part in the 12th century B.C., when the peninsula was already occupied, as it still is, by Mongols, the *Sien-pi*, in the north, and in the south by several branches of the *Hans* (*San-San*), of whom it is recorded that they spoke a language unintelligible to the *Sien-pi*, and resembled the Japanese in appearance, manners, and customs. From this it may be inferred that the *Hans* were the true aborigines, probably direct descendants of the Caucasian peoples of the New Stone Age, while the *Sien-pi* were Mongolic (Tungusic) intruders from the present Manchuria. For some time these *Sien-pi* played a leading part in the political convulsions prior and subsequent to the erection of the Great Wall by Shih Hwang Ti, founder of the Tsin dynasty (221-209 B.C.)<sup>1</sup>. Soon after the completion of this barrier, the *Hiung-nu*, no longer able to scour the fertile plains of the Middle Kingdom, turned their arms against the neighbouring *Yut-chi*, whom they drove westwards to the Zungarian valleys. Here they were soon displaced by the *Usuns* (*Wu-sun*), a fair, blue-eyed people of unknown origin, who have been called "Aryans," and even "Teutons," and whom Ch. de Ujfalvy identifies with the tall long-headed western blonds (de Lapouge's *Homo Europæus*), mixed with brown round-headed hordes of white complexion<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This stupendous work, on which about 1,000,000 hands are said to have been engaged for five years, possesses great ethnical as well as political importance. Running for over 1500 miles across hills, valleys, and rivers along the northern frontier of China proper, it long arrested the southern movements of the restless Mongolo-Turki hordes, and thus gave a westerly direction to their incursions many centuries before the great invasions of Jenghiz-Khan and his successors. It is strange to reflect that the ethnological relations were thus profoundly disturbed throughout the eastern hemisphere by the work of a ruthless despot who reigned only twelve years, and in that time waged war against all the best traditions of the empire, destroying the books of Confucius and the other sages, and burying alive 460 men of letters for their efforts to rescue those writings from total extinction.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou-Kouch*, 1896, p. 25. This writer does not think that the *Usuns* should be identified with the tall race of horse-like face, large nose, and deep-set eyes mentioned in the early Chinese records, because no reference is made to "blue eyes," which would not have been omitted had they existed. But, if I remember, "green eyes" are spoken of, and we know that none of the early writers use colour terms with strict accuracy.

...we may go further, and identify the Ussuri, the other white peoples of the early Chinese records, with the already described Central Asiatic Caucasians of the present day, whose remains we now possess, and who were on the surface in the very first Chinese documents dealing with the nomadic populations beyond the Great Wall. The same element, with all the correlated characters, existed beyond the Great Wall, for it is continuously referred to in those documents. How is its presence in East Central Asia, including Manchuria and Korea, to be explained? Only on two assumptions—*proto-historic* migrations from the Far West, barred by the proto-historic Great Wall from the Far East, as largely determined by the existence of the Great Wall; or *pre-historic* (neolithic) migrations, from the Far West, but barred by no serious obstacle, because of the absence of the arrival of the proto-Mongolic tribes from the Altai plateau. The true solution of the endless ethnical questions in the extreme East, as in the Oceanic world, will only be found in the now-demonstrated presence of a Caucasian element antecedent to the Mongol in those regions.

When the Hiung-nu<sup>1</sup> power was weakened by their westerly migration to Zungaria and South-west Siberia (Upper Irtish and Balkhash depression), and broken into two sections during the reign of the two Han dynasties (201 B.C.—220 A.D.), the Sien-pi became the dominant nation north of the Great Wall, destroying the last vestiges of the unstable Hiung-nu power, and driving the Mongolo-Turki hordes still westwards, while the most powerful of all the Sien-pi tribes, remained

I thought it desirable to touch on the interminable controversy regarding the ethnical relations of the Hiung-nu, regarding them, not as a distinct group, but like the Huns, their later western representatives, as a collection of Mongol, Tungus, Turki, and perhaps even Chinese, with a Mongol military caste. At the same time I have little doubt that the Tungus elements greatly predominated in the eastern part of the Hiung-nu proper, Manchuria) both amongst the Hiung-nu and amongst their (Sien-pi) successors, and that all the founders of the first great Turki Empire of the Turki Assena in the Altai region (6th century A.D.) were of the same origin, as indeed recognised by Jenghiz-Khan himself. This is the opinion of Sir H. H. Howorth, who returned to the subject at the *Proceedings of the Leyden, 1883 (Actes, Part IV, p. 177-95).*

masters of East Central Asia for about 400 years and then disappeared from history<sup>1</sup>. At least after the 6th century A.D. no further mention is made of the Sien-pi principalities either in

Manchuria or in Korea. Here, however, they form a dominant element in the northern population, calling themselves Ghirin (Khirin), from the valley of the Amur, where they once held sway.

Since those days Korea has been alternately a province of the Middle Kingdom, a province of Japanese ascendancy, interrupted only by the brief Koral ascendancy (934—1368). This was the golden epoch in the national records, when Korea was more than the vassal of China, and when trade, industry, especially porcelain and bronze work, flourished. But by centuries of subsequent misrule, a people of excellent natural qualities have been reduced to a state of degradation. Before the reforms introduced by the events of 1895-96, "the country was eaten up by a system of government which is not only that abuses without number prevailed, but the system of government was an abuse, a sea of corruption, out a bottom or a shore, an engine of robbery, which took life out of all industry." But an improvement is perceptible. "The air of the men has undergone a striking change, and the women, though they nominally retain their habits by seclusion, have lost the hang-dog air which was their lot at home. The alacrity of movement is a change which has replaced the conceited swing of the *yang-bun* [nobles]."

<sup>1</sup> On the authority of the Wei-Shu documents contained in the *Chinese History*, Mr E. H. Parker gives (in the *China Review* and *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, Shanghai, 1895) the dates 386-556 A.D. as the period of the "Sien-pi Tartar dynasty of Wei." This is not to be confused with the dynasty of Wei (224-264), or according to Kwong Ki-Chin (1895) with the term "Tartar" (Ta-Ta), it may be explained, is used by the Chinese as well as by the Chinese historians generally, in a somewhat wide sense to include all the nomad populations north of the Great Wall, whether they were (Manchu), Mongol, or even Turki stock. The original tribes to which they were Mongols, and Jenghiz-Khan himself was a Tatar on his mother's side (*Eth.* p. 303).

<sup>2</sup> Mrs Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbours*, 1898.

of the present." It should also be mentioned that, amid much moral and material squalor, coarse and squalid habits, they at least possess the sterling quality of honesty. Guineau tells us that in the villages along the coast he had to remain on the highway for want of a place to pitch his camp, but he never lost anything, and his baggage passing from hand to hand for general inspection, was returned to the owner.

The religious sentiment is perhaps less developed than among the other people. Buddhism, introduced by the missionaries, took root, and while the people are familiar with the moral precepts of Confucius, the people seem to live in a state of complete religious indifference. They make offerings to the spirits of the forests and fields, and there is a "Children's Feast," when all put on white robes, probably a reminiscence of Buddhism. Seoul, the capital, is perhaps the only city in the world outside Korea which has neither temple nor church of any kind.

The people now recognise some affinity between the Korean and Chinese languages, both of which appear to be connected with the Ural-Altai family.

The Korean Script.

The Koreans possess a true alphabet of 28 letters, which is not a local invention, as is sometimes asserted, but has been introduced by the Buddhist monks about the 10th century, and to be based on some cursive form of the Indian (Devanāgarī) system<sup>2</sup>, although scarcely any resemblance can now be traced between the two alphabets. This script is understood except by the lower classes and the women, who are refusing to write either in Chinese, or else in the Korean script, which is an adaptation of the Chinese symbols to the pronunciation of the Korean syllables. The *nido* is very similar to the Japanese *Katakana* script, in which the Chinese ideographs are used phonetically to

<sup>2</sup> See *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1897, p. 322.

<sup>3</sup> See also the views on "a Tibeto-Indian base" (*Beginnings of Writing in the Far East*, 1894, p. 148); and Mr E. H. Parker: "It is probable that the Korean letters are an adaptation from the Sanskrit," *i.e.* *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Dec. 21, 1895, p. 550).

express 47 syllables (the so-called *shōwa* or *shōwa* syllables) by the *ngwi* and *maru* disjunctive marks. Cf. *Shōwa* and *Shōwa*.

Passing to Japan, we find that in Chinese the word *Yippen* (due the present national name) was adopted about the 7th century, and in Japanese it is logically the same word as *Yippen*.

The  
Japanese.

settlement by neolithic Caucasians, now represented by the "Ainu" of Yezo, the archipelago was occupied

Origins—  
Constituent  
Elements.

both by Continental Mongols and Oceanic Mongols and Indonesians. From the fact that the Japanese

radical affinities with Korean, but none with Malayan, it may perhaps be inferred that the Korean element was also outnumbered the later Malayan intruders, and imposed their Mongol speech on them, and gradually fused them in the present composite Japanese nationality. The fusion must have taken place long before the establishment of political unity, which is, comparatively speaking, quite recent. Even for the legendary Jimmu Tenno, reputed founder of the empire, no greater antiquity is claimed than 660 B.C., and he is represented as being fifth in descent from the Sun-Goddess, and the great divinity of the Shinto religion. Even were his predecessors endowed with the longevity of the antediluvian patriarchs, they would not require the

<sup>1</sup> Both forms come from the Chinese *Nit-pon*, the "Rising Sun" (*Ni-pon*, origin), from which the Chinese made first *Ni-pon*, then *Nippon*, and influence *Yi-pen*, whence Marco Polo's *Zipangu*, and the English *Giappone*, *Japon*, *Japan*, etc.). But in Japan, by assimilation, *Nippon* became *Nippon* (*Nip-hon*, *Nif-hon*), the name, not merely of the island of Hondo, as shown on some maps, but of the whole archipelago. *Ji-pen* = Jap. *Nippon* = Japan. There is also a fanciful national name, *Yami-no-Sima*, "Mermaid Isle."

<sup>2</sup> "The reigning House of Japan descends from the Sun-Goddess (*Ni-haru rasu*)" (J. J. Rein, *Japan nach Reisen u. Studien*, 1881, p. 245). The native chroniclers made out that the present Mikado is the 125th in descent from Jimmu Tenno. In any case the contrast is striking between the impassive Chinese with their 28 or 30 dynasties, and the energetic Japanese, who have been contented to live under a single dynasty since the appearance of the "Sun-Goddess" on earth.

...Japan to be set so far back by one as the  
 ...in Babylonia or Egypt.  
 ...of the Japanese people and the establish-  
 ...government, apparently first in  
 ...southern islands, the Ebiu (Ainu) <sup>The Ebiu  
 Aborigines.</sup>  
 ...Hondo had still to be dealt with. It  
 ...admitted that the Ainu formerly dwelt in these  
 ...shell-mounds and other remains like those of Yezo  
 ...And this is confirmed by tradition and history,  
 ...the present Japanese, on arriving in Nippon,  
 ...by Ebiu or barbarians, whom they recognise  
 ...of the modern Ainus. Year by year the aborigines  
 ...step by step towards the north. About the year 800  
 ...near Morioka, and by the year 1200 they  
 ...practically exterminated from Nippon, and  
 ...had taken refuge farther to the north of  
 ...completely subjugated."

...some exceptionally tall and robust persons amongst  
 ...and the famous athletes, acrobats, and wrestlers,  
 ...impression that the Japanese are on the whole a  
 ...rather weak frames is fully borne out by the now  
 ...military measurements of recruits, showing for  
 ...of 5 ft. 4½ in., for chest 33 in., and dispro-  
 ...short legs. Other distinctive characters, all tending  
 ...individuality on the people, taken as a whole  
 ...of local peculiarities, are a flat forehead, great  
 ...from the eyebrows, a very small nose with raised  
 ...no perceptible nasal root; an active, wiry  
 ...skin less yellow than the Chinese, and rather  
 ...light fawn, but the covered parts very light, some

...Hill Chamberlain; who thinks "the common ancestors of  
 ...and Luchuan [Liu-kuan] nations entered Japan from the  
 ...the Korean Channel with the island of Tsushima as a  
 ...and landing in Kyushu, the southernmost great island of Japan.  
 ...alike by geography, by the trend of legend, and by  
 ...connecting Japanese and Luchuan with Korean and

*Journ.* 1895, p. 316).  
 ...quoted in *Asia*, Vol. I. p. 474.

*Ind. Soc. Geogr.* x. p. 419.

say even white; the eyes also less oblique than in the ethnically Mongol features generally noticed in the hair, which in transverse section is perhaps wider than of most other Mongol peoples.

With this it will be instructive to compare the graphic account of the Liu-Kiu islanders, whose affinities are now placed beyond all doubt to the Japanese race, probably even shorter than the Japanese, more proportioned, being without the long bodies and narrow chests. The colour of the skin varies of course according to the position of the individual. Those who work in the fields only in a waist-cloth, are nearly as dark as a Malay; the classes are much fairer, and are at the same time free of the yellow tint of the Chinaman. To the last, however, they cannot be said to bear any resemblance; and, though the type is much closer to the Japanese, it is nevertheless distinct. ...In Liu-Kiu the Japanese and natives were easily distinguished

Japanese  
and Liu-Kiu  
Islanders.

us from the first, and must therefore be distinguished by a set of very considerable differences. The Japanese has the face less flattened, the eyes set more obliquely, the nose set, and the nose more prominent at its origin. The forehead is high and the cheek-bones somewhat less marked than in the Japanese; the eyebrows are arched and thick, and the eyelids long. The expression is gentle and pleasing, though sometimes sad, and is apparently a true index of their character.

This description is not accepted without some reserve by Chamberlain, who in fact holds that "the physical type of the Luchuans resembles that of the Japanese almost exactly." In explanation however of the singularly mild, though not "even timid disposition" of the Liu-Kiuans, this observer says "the probable absence of any admixture of Malay blood in the race." But everybody admits a Malay element in Japan.

<sup>1</sup> See especially Dr E. Bälz, *Die körperlichen Eigenschaften der Völker*, in *Mitt. der Deutschen Ges. f. Natur. u. Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, 1880, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> *Cruise of the Marchesa*, 1886, I. p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Geogr. Journ.* 1895, II. p. 318.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 460.

... that Guillemaut must be right, and that, even with good photographs, differences do exist, due to the presence of this very Malay strain in the Japanese race. Mr. Chamberlain has given us a scholarly account of the language, which is not merely a younger sister, but obviously an *elder* sister, in its structure and partly in its phonology. It is the oldest known form of Japanese. In the verb, it retains only one past tense of the indicative, whereas Liu-Kiuan preserves the five-fold past tenses, each of which possesses a five-fold variation. All these racial, linguistic, and even mental resemblances, as the fundamental similarity of many of their customs and ways of thought, he would explain with much probability by the routes followed by the first emigrants from the continent. While the great bulk spread east and north over the sea, everywhere "driving the aborigines before them," the smaller stream may have trended southwards to the little islands, whose islets stretch like stepping-stones the whole way to Great Liu-Kiu".

The Language and Religions.

... the common mental traits, mention is made of the "simplest and most rustic form" of the cult of the dead, which survives in Liu-Kiu. Here, as in the original, a rude system of nature-worship, the normal development of which was arrested by Buddhist influences. Later it became associated with ancestorship, the spirits being at first the souls of the dead, and at present no cult of the dead, in the strict sense of the word. The Liu-Kiu islanders probably pay more respect to the departed than any other people in the world. Shintoism, as reformed in recent times, has become a political institution than a religious one. *Kami-no-michi*, that is, the Japanese word for "way of the Gods," or "spirits," is

Cult of the Dead.

Shintoism.

... *Ann. Anthropol. Soc.* 1897, p. 47 sq.  
... p. 58.



not merely the national faith, but the interests of the reigning dynasty, and the direct descendant of the Sun-god. The cardinal precepts now are:—1. Honour whom the emperor is the chief representative as thy sovereign; 3. Obey the will of the whole duty of man. There is no moral question. The Mikado's will is right and wrong.

But apart from this political exegesis, Shintoism may be called a cultured deism, in the sense of obedience to governmental and priestly deities, and dim notions about a supreme creator, immaterial rewards and penalties in the after-life. Some speak as a pantheist might, of a sublime being or essence of nature, too vast and ethereal to be personified in prayer, identified with the *tenka*, "heavens," from which emanate, to which all return. Yet, although a god seems thus excluded, there are Shinto temples, especially the worship of the heavenly bodies and powers of nature, self-existing personalities—the so-called *Kami*, "spirits" of which there are "eight millions," that is, they are everywhere.

One cannot but suspect that some of these notions were grafted on the old national faith by Buddhism. Buddhism was introduced about 550 A.D. and came into great vogue. It was encouraged especially by the military usurpers of the Mikado's<sup>2</sup> functions, obviously against the Shinto theocracy. During their tenure (1192-1868 A.D.) the land was covered with Buddhist temples, some of vast size and quaint design, filled with idols, huge bells, and colossal statues of Buddha.

But with the fall of the Shogun the little prestige which by Buddhism came to an end, and the temples, especially

<sup>1</sup> Ripley and Dana, *Amer. Cyc.* 1x. 538.

<sup>2</sup> *Shogun* from *Sho*=general and *gun*=army, hence Commander-in-Chief. *Mikado* from *mi*=sublime, and *kado*=gate, with which cf. the "Porte" (Rein, *op. cit.* 1. p. 245). But Mikado has become antiquated, being now generally replaced by the title *Kodai*, "Emperor."

... have ever become the resort of pleasure-seekers and of pious worshippers. "To all the larger cities are attached regular spectacles, playhouses, panoramas, and other games of various sorts, including the famous shooting-galleries, where the bow and arrow take the place of the rifle. The accumulated wealth of the priests has been confiscated, the monks driven from their monasteries, and many of these buildings converted into schools. Countless temple bells have already found their way to the foundries, or have been sold for old metal<sup>1</sup>."

In addition to these forms of belief, there is a third religious, or philosophic system, the so-called *Siza*, based on the ethical teachings of Confucius, a sort of refined materialism, such as has formed the whole religious thought of the nation. *Siza*, always the favorite of the *Churati*, has in recent years found a formidable ally in "English Philosophy," represented by such writers as Locke, Mill, Herbert Spencer, Darwin, and Huxley, most of whose works have already been translated into Japanese.

The *Churati* are a highly gifted people, whose best qualities may perhaps be traced to the Caucasian substratum dating from the Stone Age, but which rapidly—some fear too rapidly—assimilated to the *Churati* in their social and religious, as well as their political and intellectual powers, already tested in the fields of industry, economy, and self-government, are certainly superior to other Asiatic peoples, and this is perhaps the best guarantee of the stability of the stupendous transformation that the *Churati* has witnessed from an exaggerated form of feudalism to a political and social system in harmony with the advanced phases of modern thought. The system has not yet penetrated to the lower strata, especially among the rural populations. But their natural receptivity, and their singular freedom from "insular prejudice," must insure the acceptance of the new order by all classes of

<sup>1</sup> Keane's *Asia*, 1. p. 487.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE NORTHERN MONGOLS

The Finno-Turki Peoples—Assimilation to the Caucasian  
—Origins and early Records—The Scythians—Bosporus  
Masagetae and Yue-chi—Indo-Scythians and Getae  
Jat, and Rájput Origins—The "White Huns"  
Inscriptions—The Assena Turki Dynasty—Toghrul  
garian and Zungarian Populations—The Oghuz Turks  
—Seljuks and Osmanli—The Yakuts—The Kirghiz  
—The Kara-Kirghiz—The Finnish Peoples—Finnish  
—Late Westward Spread of the Finns—The Finns in  
Finnish lands—The Baltic Finns—Relations to Germanic  
Finno-Russ Origins—Tavastian and Karelian Finns  
Lapps—Samoyads and Permian Finns—Lapp Origins  
Temperament—Religion—The Volga Finns—The  
Human Sacrifices—The Bulgars—Origins and Migration  
Transformation—Great and Little Bulgaria—Avars and  
Origins and early Records—Present Position of the  
and Linguistic Relations in Eastern Europe.

IN a very broad way all the western branches of the  
Mongol division may be comprehended under the  
The Finno-Turki Peoples. collective designation of Finno-Turki Peoples.  
Jointly they constitute a well-marked racial  
family, being distinguished from the eastern northern  
features which they have in common, and the mixture  
which is unquestionably a much larger infusion of Germanic  
than is seen in any of the Mongolo-Tungusic groups.  
pronounced is this feature amongst many Finnish as well as  
peoples, that some anthropologists have felt inclined to  
direct connection between the eastern and western  
*Homo Mongolicus*, and to regard the Baltic Finns as

... original members of the ... this new ... held this view ... more than doubtful whether ... physiologically with the Turkish-Tatars ... or the Ugro-Finns? ... be allowed that at present the great majority ... populations occupy a position amongst the ... which is extremely perplexing for the strict ... the whole division is brought under survey, ... transition is observed between the Siberian Sa ... branch and the steppe Kirghiz of the Turki ... both of whom show Mongol characters ... and on the other the Osmani Turks and ... most of whom may be regarded as typical ... Moreover, the difficulty is increased by the fact, ... that these mixed Mongolo-Caucasic charac ... amongst the late historic groups, but also ... known groups—"Chudes," Usuns, Uigurs ... may be called Proto-Finnish and Proto-Turki ... here lies the solution of the problem. ... held by Turki and Finnish nations was ... by long-headed Caucasian men of the late Stone ... Then followed the Proto-Mongol intruders from ... who partly submerged, partly intermingled ... forerunners, many thus acquiring those mixed ... they have been distinguished from the earliest ... further interminglings took place according ... hordes, leaving their original seats in the Altai ... advanced westwards and came more and ... with the European populations of Caucasian type. ... conclude that the majority of the Finno- ... the first a somewhat mixed race, and that ... the original Mongol element has gradually ... in the direction from east to west. Such ... by these heterogeneous populations,

*History of Man*, 1865 ed. pp. 185-6.  
*Zeitschrift*, II. p. 190.



who in their primeval eastern descent were Mongols, but have been more and more assimilated to the type in their new Anatolian, Balkan, European, and Asiatic homes.

Observant travellers have often been struck by the progressive conformity of the Mongolo-Turki type on his westward journey through central Asia. On passing from Mongolia to Eastern Turkestan, the people, though tall and fine-looking, had more of the Mongol caste of feature than he had expected. However, though somewhat round, were slightly more than the Mongol, and there was considerably less about them. But there was more roundness, and less sharpness in the outlines than is seen in the Turkestan, Kashgar and Yarkand." Then he adds: "As I proceeded I noticed a gradual, scarcely perceptible, change from a Mongolian type to a sharper and yet more elegant type. ...As we get farther away from Mongolia, we find the faces become gradually longer and narrower; and among some of the inhabitants of Afghan Turkestan the Tartar or Mongol type of feature is almost entirely complete the picture it need only be added that in Asia Minor, the Balkan Peninsula, Hungary, and elsewhere the Mongol features are often entirely lost. "The Turkestan have so much Aryan and Semitic blood in them, that the vestiges of their original physical characters have been lost; their language alone indicates their previous descent."

Before they were broken up and dispersed over the northern hemisphere by Mongol pressure, the Turki Cradle, east, the primitive Turki tribes dwelt in the Howorth, mainly between the Ulugh-dagh mountains and the Orkhon river in Mongolia, that is, along the southern spurs of the Altai-Sayan system from the headwaters of the rivers to the valleys draining north to Lake Baikal. But the Turki Cradle is shifted farther east by Richthofen, who thinks that the home lay between the Amur, the Lena, and the Selenge, and at one time they had their camping-grounds in the

<sup>1</sup> *The Heart of a Continent*, 1896, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> O. Peschel, *Races of Man*, p. 380.

of the Tungus kinsmen. There is nothing to show that any who are admittedly of Turki stock, ever migrated northwards, hence in the Lena basin, which has more than 100,000 inhabitants, has never been their native land<sup>1</sup>.

When they come within the horizon of history the Turks are a very numerous nation, with a north-western and south-eastern extension<sup>2</sup>, which may well have jointly occupied the whole of the Irtysh to the Lena, and both views may thus be maintained. In any case the Turki domain lay west of the Altai, and the Altai uplands, taken in the widest sense, may be regarded as the most probable zone of specialisation for the Turki physical type, which in the new nomenclature introduced by De Lapouge, was formed by a fusion of *Homo europæus* with his ubiquitous *H. Acrogonus*. The element which is constituted the characteristic Turki head, is distinguished for its suboid aspect, due to the parieto-occipital angle, as observed especially among the Yakuts, and some of the Finns (Kamuds, Goklans).

The difficulties between these typical Turks and the Mongols are exemplified in the Usbeks, Kirghiz, Bashkirs, and Nogais; and in the Finns and Finns those extremely mixed groups of the North, commonly but wrongly called "Tartars," as well as the various admixtures between Turk, Slav, Greek, Arab, Osmani of the East, Kurugh of Algeria and others, whose study shows the extreme difficulty of accurately determining the limits of the Turki and the White races<sup>3</sup>.

Similar difficulties recur in the study of the Northern Finns—Samoyeds, Ostyaks, Voguls and other Ugrians—whose great individual variations, leading almost without exception from the Mongol to the Lapp, from the Lapp to the Finn,

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, *Las Aryens* &c. 1896, p. 25. Reference should perhaps be made to Mr. E. H. Parker's theory (*Academy*, Dec. 21, 1895) that the Turki did not originate in the Altai or Altun-dagh ("Golden Mountains") of Central Asia, but rose 2000 miles farther south in the "Golden Mountains" of the present Chinese province of Kansu. But the evidence relied on is very flimsy, and indeed in one or two important instances not evidence at all.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, *Historical Rev.* July 1897.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, *Historical Rev.* No. 3.

from Finn to Slav and Teuton, but the  
of observations continuous between  
and those aberrant Mongolo-Germanic  
Prichard's "Allophylian races." The  
study of details the above broad generalization  
endeavoured to determine the relation of the  
to the primary Mongol and Caucasian divisions.

Gibbon has shrewdly remarked that: "The  
mankind, as they approach nature, are  
of animals, preserve a stronger  
themselves and to each other."

Origins and  
Early  
Records.

bility of their manners is the natural consequence  
fection of their faculties. Reduced to a simple  
wants, their desires, their enjoyments, still confined  
and the banks of the Borysthenes [Dnieper], of the  
the Selenga [in Mongolia], will indifferently present  
uniform spectacle of similar and native manners,  
general uniformity in their social usages and institutions,  
bined with an almost complete ignorance of their  
largely of their physical appearance, is unquestionable.  
still prevailing confusion regarding the earliest history  
Asiatic populations and their first westward migration,  
popular estimation the countless hordes vaguely  
the ancients under the general designation of Scythians

The  
Scythians.

regarded as rude nomads of true Mongol  
be identified with the Hiung-su, of the  
records and the historical Huns (Avars),  
now best represented in the Far East by the Shans  
farther west by the Zungarian and Volga Kalmaks.  
is good reason to believe that many, perhaps the  
those early Scythians were not Mongols at all, but  
Turks, whose domain had already extended from the  
to the confines of Europe many centuries before the

<sup>1</sup> *Decline and Fall*, Ch. XXVI.

<sup>2</sup> They distinguished, to be sure, between the Scythians  
those *extra Imaum*. But this was merely a convenient geographical  
and if the Imaus is to be identified with the Altai, no artificial  
drawn between the nomad tribes on either side of that range.

author has unfortunately lent the weight of his name to the statement that the word "Türkö" ["Turki"] goes back to the 5th century of our era," and that "so far as the history is concerned the name of Turk dates from the 10th," that Turki tribes bearing this national name had penetrated into East Europe hundreds of years before that time, and were already seated on the Tanais (Don) about the new era. They were mentioned by name both by Pomponius Mela<sup>2</sup> and by Strabo, and to the same connection belonged, beyond all doubt, the Parthians, who 300 years earlier were seated on the confines of Iran and Turán, and the regions of Crassus and Anthony, and for 100 years (390 B.C.-229 A.D.) usurped the throne of the "Empire of Kings," holding sway from the Euphrates to the Caspian and from the Caspian to the Indian Ocean. Direct descendants of the Parthians are the fierce Turkoman nomads, who have terrorised over all the settled populations encircling the Caspian depression. Their power has at last been broken by the Russians, but they are still politically dominant in the Caucasus. They have thus been for many ages in the closest contact with the Caucasian Iranians, with the result that the Turkoman type is shown by J. L. Yavorsky's observations to be extremely variable<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* Dec. 21, 1895, p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> "Caucasum urbem ligneam habitant; juxta Thyssagetæ *Turcoque*

habitant, alunturque venando" (i. 19, p. 27 of Leipzig ed. 1880).

<sup>4</sup> "Sunt enim ansem genibus ore influentem incolunt Sarmatæ... Tindari,

et alii, quoque ad solitudines saltuosas convallibus asperas &c." (Bk.

vii. c. 1, p. 224 of Berlin ed. 1886). The variants *Turce* and *Tyrce* are

also given, indicating the same vacillating sound of the root vowel (*u* and

*y*).

<sup>5</sup> "The usurper Nadir Shah a Turkoman of the Afshâr tribe,

his ruling family belongs to the rival clan of Qajar Turkomans

of the Caucasus; the home of their Parthian forefathers.

<sup>6</sup> "The hair is generally a dark brown; the eyes brown

(54); face orthognathous (52) and prognathous (7); eyes

deep-set (10); ceph. index 68.69 to 81.76, mean 75.64; dolicho 28, sub-

brachyceph. 4 sub-brachy. Five skulls from an old graveyard at

the Caucasus very heterogeneous, ceph. index ranging from 77.72 to

81.76, dolicho 28, sub-brachyceph. 4 sub-brachy. One skull from the Caucasus deformed, exceeds in brachycephaly "le célèbre crâne



Both the Parthians and the *Massagetae* have been identified with the *Yué-chi*, who figure so largely in the annals

of the Han dynasty, and as having been driven westward

Hiung-nu after the erection of the Great Wall, that, could we follow the peregrinations of their early seats at the foot of the mountains, their disappearance amid the snows of the north, we should hold the key to the solution of the problem associated with the migrations of the Mongols. The torrent of invasion was diverted westward by the mighty barrier. One point, however, seems clear: the *Yué-chi* were a different people both from those who had already occupied Hyrcania (Khorassan) at the third century B.C., if not earlier, and from the *Massagetae* who were seated on the *Yaxartes* (Sir-darya) in the second century B.C.), whereas the *Yué-chi* still dwelt in the *Tarim* basin in the third century. After their conquest by Hiung-nu and the *Usuns* (201 and 165 B.C.), the *Sogdiana* (Transoxiana), reduced the *Te-His* of the

126 B.C. overthrew the *Græco-Baktrians* which had been founded after the conquest of the *Indo-Scythians* and *Græco-Baktrians* under towards the close of the 4th century in the Kabul valley, south of the *Hindu Kush*.

Greeks still held their ground for over 100 years, until the king of the *Kushans*—a branch of the *Yué-chi*—absorbed the whole nation in a single *Indo-Scythian* state, extending his conquests to *Kabul* and succeeded *Hermæus*, last of the *Græco-Baktrian* dynasty (40-20 B.C.?). *Kadphises'* son *Kadaphes* (20-10 A.D.) added to his empire a great part of *North India*, where his dynasty reigned from the middle of the 1st century to the end of the fourth century A.D. Here they are supposed

authorities to be still represented by the *Jâts*, and even *Prichard* allows that the *Jât* position "does not appear altogether improbable" although "the physical characters of the *Jâts* are very different from those of the *Yué-chi*."

d'un Slave vende qu'on cite dans les manuels d'anthropologie" (*Journal de l'Anthropologie*, 1897, pp. 355-57).

...connected to the Yué-chi [Yué-chi] and the kindred  
... [Yueh-shan etc.] by the writers cited by Klaproth and  
... who say that they are of sanguine complexion

... now know that these characters present little difficulty  
... the composite origin of the Turki people is borne in mind.  
... other hand it is interesting to note that the above-  
... of Ta-Hia have by some been identified with the warlike  
... Dahé<sup>2</sup>, and these with the Dehiya or Dhé, one of the  
... systems of the Indian Jâts. But if Prof. G. Rawlinson<sup>3</sup> is  
... Dahé was not racial but social, meaning *rustic*,  
... as opposed to the nomads; hence the Dahé are  
... everywhere throughout Irania, just as *Dehwar*<sup>4</sup> is still  
... designation of the Tajik (Persian) peasantry in  
... and Baluchistan. This is also the view taken by  
... who identifies the Ta-Hia, not with the Scythian  
... with any other particular tribe, but with the peaceful  
... of Baktriana<sup>5</sup>, whose reduction by the Yué-chi,  
... Tokhari, was followed by the overthrow of the  
... The solution of the puzzling Yué-chi-Jât pro-  
... therefore seem to be that the Dehiya and other Jâts,  
... cultural people, are descended from the old Iranian  
... of Baktriana, some of whom followed the fortunes of  
... into the Kabul valley, while others accompanied  
... Yué-chi founders of the Indo-Scythian empire into

... followed the overthrow of the Yué-chi themselves by  
... (the *si-li-to*) of the Chinese records, that is, the

... W. Crooke, who points out that "the opinion of the best Indian  
... to be gradually turning to the belief that the connection  
... is more intimate than was formerly supposed" (*The*  
... of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Calcutta, 1896,

... "Turki Dahé" (*En.* VIII. 728): possibly the Dehavites

<sup>2</sup> *En.* VIII. 728, p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> *En.* VIII. 728, p. 413, village (Parsi *dahi*).

<sup>4</sup> *En.* VIII. 728, p. 64 sq.

*Ephthalites*, or so-called "White Huns," of the Greek and Arab writers, who about 425 A.D. overran Transoxiana, and soon afterwards penetrated through the mountain passes into the Kabul and Indus valleys. Although confused by some contemporary writers (Zosimus, Am. Marcellinus) with Attila's Huns, M. Drouin has made it clear that the Yé-tha were not Huns (Mongols) at all, but, like the Yué-chi, a Turki people, who were driven westwards about the same time as the Hiung-nu by the Yuan-Yuans (see above). Of Hun they had little but the name, and the more accurate Procopius was aware that they differed entirely from "the Huns known to us, not being nomads, but settled for a long time in a fertile region." He speaks also of their white colour and regular features, and their sedentary life<sup>1</sup>, as in the Chinese accounts, where they are described as warlike conquerors of twenty kingdoms, as far as that of the A-si (Arsacides, Parthians), and in their customs resembling the Tu-Kiu (Turks), being in fact "of the same race." On the ruins of the Indo-Scythian (Yué-chi) empire, the White Huns ruled in India and the surrounding lands from 425 to the middle of the sixth century. A little later came the Arabs, who in 706 captured Samarkand, and under the Abassides were supreme in Central Asia till scattered to the winds by the Oghuz Turki hordes.

From all this it may perhaps be inferred that—while the Baktrian peasants entered India as settlers, and are now represented by the agricultural Játs—the Yué-chi and Yé-tha, both of fair Turki stock, came as conquerors, and are now represented by the Rájputs, "Sons of Kings," the warrior and land-owning race of northern India. It is significant that these Thákur, "feudal lords," mostly trace their genealogies from about the beginning of the 7th century, as if they had become Hinduized soon after the fall of the foreign Yé-tha dynasty, while on the other hand "the country legends abound with instances of the conflict between the Rájput and the Bráhman in prehistoric times<sup>2</sup>." This "prehistoric" hostility shows that the Rájputs entered India, not as "Aryans" of the Kshatriya or military caste, as is commonly assumed, but as aliens (Turks), the

<sup>1</sup> *De Bello Persico, passim.*

<sup>2</sup> Crooke, *op. cit.* IV. p. 221.

of the true Aryans, that is, the Brahman or the Kshatriya caste. Thus also is explained the intimate connection of the Rájputs and the Játs from the first. The latter were the Turki leaders of the invasions; the Játs were the faithful Indian subjects following in their wake.

It is not, therefore, that the Játs may be ethnologically "linked with the Rájputs" is perhaps too strong, and even somewhat misleading. It might be more correct to say the two are not originally one, but have become largely assimilated with each other through close contact during the last 1600 years.

It is striking that the haughty Rájputs are of unsullied "Aryan" blood, scarcely any longer held even by the Rájputs themselves. Intermixtures with Játs and others of much lower caste have, it may be said, been always the normal condition, and in many instances of different social rank are recognised: "one the descendant of a noble and legitimate descent, married in the orthodox manner, the other the descendant of irregular connections with low-caste women."

Most closely related to the White Huns were the *Uigurs*, the name of the Chinese annals, who may claim to

be the true Turki nation that founded a relatively The Uigurs.

empire in Central Asia. Before the general commotion caused by the westward pressure of the Hiung-nu, they appear to

have been in eastern Turkestan (Kashgaria) between the Usuns and the Sogdians, and here they had already made considerable

progress under Buddhist influences about the fourth or fifth century of the new era. Later, the Buddhist missionaries from

India were replaced by Christian (Nestorian) evangelists from Persia, who in the seventh century reduced the Uigur

to a written form, adapting for the purpose the Syriac alphabet, which was afterwards borrowed by the Mongols and the

Arabs. The Uigur script—which, as shown by the authentic inscription found at Khotan, was introduced into China in 635 A.D.—is not to

be confused with that of the Orkhon inscriptions<sup>8</sup> dating from the eighth century.

<sup>8</sup>Discovered in 1899 by N. M. Yadrintseff in the Orkhon valley, which flows into the southern affluent of Lake Baikal. The inscriptions, one in Chinese

732 A.D., and bearing a certain resemblance to some of the Runic characters, as also to the Korean, at least in form, but never in sound. Yet although differing from the Uiguric, Prof. Thomsen, who has successfully deciphered the Orkhon text, thinks that this script may also be derived, at least indirectly through some of the Iranian varieties, from the same Aramean (Syriac) form of the Semitic alphabet that gave birth to the Uiguric<sup>1</sup>.

The Orkhon  
Inscriptions.

It is more important to note that all the non-Chinese inscriptions are in the Turki language, while the Chinese text refers by name to the father, the grandfather, and the great-grandfather of the reigning Khan Bilga, which takes us back nearly to the time when Sinjibu (Dizabul), Great Khan of the Altai Turks, was visited by the Byzantine envoy, Zimarchus, in 569 A.D. In the still extant report of this embassy<sup>2</sup> the Turks (Τούρκοι) are mentioned by name, and are described as nomads who dwelt in tents mounted on waggons, burnt the dead, and raised monuments to their memory, statues, and cairns with as many stones as the foes slain by the deceased in battle. It is also stated that they had a peculiar writing-system, which must have been that of these Orkhon inscriptions, the Uiguric having apparently been introduced somewhat later.

Originally the Uigurs comprised nineteen clans, which at a remote period already formed two great sections:—the On-Uigur ("Ten Uigurs") in the south, and the Toghuz-Uigur ("Nine

and three in Turki, cover the four sides of a monument erected by a Chinese emperor to the memory of Kyul-teghin, brother of the then reigning Turki Khan Bilga (Mogilan). In the same historical district, where stand the ruins of Karakoram—long the centre of Turki and later of Mongol power—other inscribed monuments have also been found, all apparently in the same Turki language and script, but quite distinct from the glyptic rock carvings of the Upper Yenisei river, Siberia. The chief workers in this field were the Finnish archaeologists J. R. Aspelin, A. Snellman and Axel O. Heikel, the results of whose labours are collected in the *Inscriptions de l'Yénisséi recueillies et publiées par la Société Finlandaise d'Archéologie*, Helsingfors, 1889; and *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon* etc., Helsingfors, 1892.

<sup>1</sup> "La source d'où est tirée l'origine de l'alphabet turc, sinon immédiatement, du moins par intermédiaire, c'est la forme de l'alphabet sémitique qu'on appelle araméenne" (*Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, Helsingfors, 1894).

<sup>2</sup> See Klapproth, *Tableau Historique de l'Asie*, p. 116 sq.

to the north. The former had penetrated westwards to as early as the 2nd century A.D., and many of them took part in Attila's invasion of Europe.

Amongst these Western Uigurs, mentioned amongst the border states of the Eastern Empire in the 5th and 6th centuries, the population especially with the Turki Avars, disappear from history, being merged in the Ugrian and other Finnish peoples of the Volga basin. The Toghuz section also, after throwing off the yoke of the Mongol or Tangus Geugen (Jeu-Jen) in the 7th century, were for a time submerged in the

The Assena  
Turki  
Dynasty.

Empire of the Altai Turks, founded in 552 by the founder of the House of Assena (A-shi-na), who was

to assume the title of Kha-Khan, "Great Khan," and his dynasty ruled over the united Turki and Mongol peoples from the Pacific to the Caspian, and from the Frozen Ocean to the frontiers of China and Tibet. Both the above-mentioned states, who received the Byzantine envoy, and the Bilga Khan of the *Ukha-shik*, belonged to this dynasty, which was replaced

by Fei-lo (Huci-hu), chief of the Toghuz-Uigurs. This is to understand the statement that all the Turki states during the somewhat unstable rule of the Assena

from 552 to 774 had undergone many vicissitudes, and were even broken into two great sections (Eastern and Western) the Karakoram region and Western Turks of the Tarim

states again united in one vast political sys-

Toghuz-  
Uigur Empire.

tem, the Toghuz-Uigurs. These are hence-

forth in history simply as Uigurs, the On

as stated, long disappeared in the West. The power seems to have oscillated between Kara-

in Eastern Turkestan, the extensive ruins of which have been explored by Regel and the brothers Grum-

Their vast dominions were gradually dismembered, and the *Ki-li-Kissé*, precursors of the present

the eastern (Orkhon) districts about 840, and the Muhammadans of Máwar-en-Nahar (Transoxiana),

the "Lion Kings," as the Uigur Khans of Turfan

the "Tens," who at this time dwelt beyond the Caspian Sea (Dionysius Periegetes).

were called, and set up several petty Mussulman states in Eastern Turkestan. Later they fell under the yoke of the Kara-Khitais, and were amongst the first to join the devastating hordes of Jenghiz-Khan; their name, which henceforth vanishes from history<sup>1</sup>, being thus perhaps perpetuated under the form of "Ogres," in fable and nursery tales.

At present the heterogeneous populations of the Kashgaria (Kashgaria, Eastern Turkestan) where the various elements have been intermingled, offer a striking contrast to the Zungaria valley (Zungaria), where one invading horde has successively been superimposed on another. Hence the complex population of Kashgaria is of the Kashgarian type, in which the original "horse-like" elements have been where crops out, absorbing the later Mongolo-Turkic elements. In Zungaria the Kalmak, Chinese, Dungan, Taranchi, and other groups are all still sharply distinguished and perceptible at a glance. "Amongst the Kashgarians—a term as vague as that of the 'Aryan'—Richthofen has determined the successive elements of the Su, Yué-chi, and Usun hordes, as described in the Chinese chronicles<sup>2</sup>."

In close proximity to the Toghuz-Uigurs dwell the Ghuz (*Ghus, Us*), for whom eponymous heroes have been mentioned in the legendary records of the Eastern Turks, although the latter terms would appear to be merely shortened forms of the names of the

The Oghuz  
Turks and  
their Migra-  
tions.

But whether true Uigurs, or a distinct branch of the Turki people, the Ghuz, as they are called by the Arab writers, began their migrations about the year 780. After settling in Transoxiana, where they are now represented by the Uzbeks,

<sup>1</sup> It still persists, however, as a tribal designation both amongst the Kirghiz and Uzbeks, and in 1885 Potanin visited the *Yegurs* of the Eastern and south-east Mongolia, said to be the last surviving representatives of the nation (H. Schott, *Zur Uigurenfrage in Abhandl. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1873, p. 101-21).

<sup>2</sup> Ch. de Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Etendue-Khania*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> "The Uzi of the Greeks are the Gozi [Ghuz] of the Orientalists; they appear on the Danube and the Volga, in Armenia, Syria, and China, and their name seems to have been extended to the whole Turkoman [by the Arab writers]; Gibbon, Ch. LVII.

<sup>4</sup> Who take their name from a mythical Uz-beg, "Prince Uz-beg," a Turki = a chief, or hereditary ruler).

surrounding lands, they gradually spread as conquerors over all the northern parts of Irania, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Caucasian steppes, Ukraina, Dacia, and the Balkan Peninsula. In most of these lands they formed fresh racial combinations both with the Caucasian aborigines, and with many kindred Turki as well as Mongol peoples, some of whom were settled in these regions since neolithic times, while others had either accompanied Attila's expeditions, or followed the Huns (Pechenegs, Komans, Alans, Kipchaks, Kara-Kalpaks), and had arrived later in company with Jenghiz-Khan and his successors (Kaisan and Nogai "Tatars").

In Rousia, Rumania (Dacia), and most of the Balkan peninsula the Mongolo-Turki blends have been again submerged by the Slav and Rumanian peoples (Great and Little Russians, Ukrainians, Montenegrini, Moldavians, and Walachians). But in Eastern Asia they still constitute perhaps the majority of the population between the Indus and Constantinople, in large numbers forming numerous compact communities, in which the Mongolo-Turki physical and mental characters are conspicuous. Such, besides the already mentioned Turkomans of Persia and Hindustan, are all the nomad and many of the settled populations of Khiva, Ferghana, Karategin, Bokhara, generally known under the name of Uzbegs and "Sartes." Such also are the Turki peoples of Afghan Turkestan, and of the neighboring lands (Hazaras and Aimaks who claim Mongol descent, and speak of Persian speech); the Aderbaijani and many other nomad groups in Persia; the Nogai and Kumuk tribes of the steppe; and especially most of the nomad and settled populations of Asia Minor. The Anatolian peasantry, however, the most numerous and compact division of the population still surviving in any part of their vast domain between the Bosphorus and the Lena.

These peoples take their name, not from mythical but from historical events. Thus the *Khans* of the Volga, "the rival of Cyrus and Alexander," who were the founders of the House of Jenghiz, consequently not a Turk, like most of the other Mongols (cf. 1304); and *Nogai*, the ally and champion of the latter against the Mongols marching under the terrible Hologu Khan across the Bosphorus.



Out of this prolific Oghuz stock descended the founders of vast but somewhat unstable empires, the Gassanides, who ruled from Persia to the Mediterranean, who first wrested the Asiatic peninsula from the Seleucid and Ptolemaic dominions; the Osmanli, so named after Osman, an Arabized form of Athman, who was the ancestor of Orkhan (1326-60), true builder of the Ottoman Empire, has alone survived the shipwreck of all the others. The vicissitudes of these monarchies, indeed, were not too kindly an eye by Gibbon, belong to the domain of the historian, and it will suffice here to state that from the 11th to the 13th century the chief interest centres in that of the Seljukids, a period from about the middle of the 11th to the middle of the 13th century. It was under Togrul-beg of this dynasty that "the whole body of the Turkish nation" entered with fervour and sincerity the religion of Mahomet<sup>1</sup>. From this time began the permanent Turki occupation of Asia Minor, after the conquest of Armenia (1065-68) and the overthrow of the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes (1071), and the military settlements, followed by nomad Turkoman colonies, were established by the great Seljuk rulers, Alp Arslan and Shah (1063-92), at all the strategical points. These colonies were joined later by others fleeing before the Mongol invasions by Jenghiz-Khan's successors down to the time of Timur. But the Christians (Greeks and earlier aborigines) were exterminated, and we read that, while great numbers were slain, "many thousand children were marked by the knife of circumcision; and many thousand captives were devoted to the service or the pleasures of their masters" (*ib.*). In other words, the mixed Turki intruders were yet more modified by further minglings with the earlier inhabitants of Asia Minor, and those who, following the fortunes of the Othman dynasty, crossed the Bosphorus and settled in Rumelia and some other parts of the Balkan Peninsula, now prefer to call themselves *Gassanides*.

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, Chap. LVII. By the "Turkish nation" is here to be understood the western section only. The Turks of Máwar-en-Nahar and Turkestan (eastern Turkestan) had been brought under the influence of Islam by the first Arab invaders from Persia two centuries earlier.

...the national name "Turk" still retained with pride  
 ...present classes of Asia Minor. The latter are often  
 ... "Seljuk Turks," as if there were some racial difference  
 ... and the European Osmanli, and for the distinction  
 ... foundation. As pointed out by Arminius Vambéry<sup>1</sup>,  
 ... has been influenced and modified by their closer  
 ... with the Christian populations of the Balkan lands,  
 ... Anatolia the Seljuks have been able, better to preserve  
 ... type and temperament. The true Turki spirit ("das  
 ...") survives especially in the provinces of Lykaonia  
 ... and Cappadocia, where the few surviving natives were not only  
 ... but ethnically fused, whereas in Europe most of them  
 ... (Albanians) were only Islamised, and here the Turki  
 ... has always been slight.

...the original Turki type and temperament are  
 ... preserved amongst the remote *Yakuts*. The Yakuts.  
 ... and the *Kirghis* groups (*Kirghis* and *Kara Kirghis*) of the West Siberian steppe and the  
 ... The Turki connection of the Yakuts, about  
 ... unnecessary doubts had been raised, has been set  
 ... by V. A. Sicrochevsky<sup>2</sup>, who, however, describes them  
 ... mixed people, owing to alliances with the Tunguses  
 ... They are of short stature, averaging scarcely  
 ... and this observer thought their dark but not brilliant  
 ... sunk in narrow orbits, gave them more of a  
 ... than of a Mongol cast. They are almost the only  
 ... aboriginal people in Siberia, although numbering not  
 ... 500,000 souls, concentrated chiefly along the river  
 ... plateau between the Lena and the Aldan.

...we have an extreme instance of the capacity of  
 ... himself to the *milieu*. They not merely exist, but  
 ... display a considerable degree of energy and enterprise  
 ... region on the globe. Within the isothermal of  
 ... Vankhoyansk, in the heart of their territory, is alone

<sup>1</sup> *Die Türken in Europa*, in *Geogr. Zeitschrift*, Leipzig, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *Recherches*, edited by Prof. N. E. Vasilofsky for the  
 ... 1896, quoted in *Nature*, Dec. 3, 1896, p. 97.

included for the period from November to February, and in this temperature, at which the quicksilver freezes, the Yakut children may be seen gambolling naked in the snow. In midwinter Mr R. Kennan met some of these "men of iron," as Wrangel calls them, airily arrayed in nothing but a shirt and a sheepskin, lounging about as if in the enjoyment of the balmy zephyrs of some genial sub-tropical zone.

Although nearly all are Orthodox Christians, or at least baptized as such, they are mere Shamanists at heart, still conjuring the powers of nature, but offering no worship to a supreme deity, of whom they have a vague notion, though he is too far off to hear, or too good to need their supplications. The world of good and evil spirits, however, has been enriched by accessions from the Russian calendar and pandemonium. Thanks to their commercial spirit, the Yakut language, a very pure Turki idiom, is even more widespread than the race, having become a general medium of intercourse for Tungus, Russian, Mongol and other traders throughout East Siberia, from Irkutsk to the Sea of Okhotsk, and from the Chinese frontier to the Arctic Ocean<sup>1</sup>.

To some extent W. Radloff is right in describing the great Kirghiz Turki family as "of all Turks most nearly allied to the Mongols in their physical characters, and by their family names such as Kypshak [Kipchak], Argyn, Naiman, giving evidence of Mongolian descent, or at least of intermixture with Mongols<sup>2</sup>." But we have already been warned against the danger of attaching too much importance to these tribal designations, many of which seem, after acquiring renown on the battle-field, to have passed readily from one ethnic group to another. There are certain Hindu Kush and Afghan tribes who think themselves Greeks or Arabs, because of the supposed descent of their chiefs from Alexander the Great or the Prophet's family, and genealogical trees spring up like the conjurer's mango plant in support of such illustrious lineage. The Chagatai (Jagatai) tribes, of Turki stock and speech, take their name from a full-blood Mongol, Chagatai, second son of Jenghiz-Khan, to whom fell Eastern Turkestan in the partition of the empire.

<sup>1</sup> A. Erman, *Reise um die Erde*, 1835, Vol. III. p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Peschel, *Races of Man*, p. 383.

and the same way many Uzbek and Kirghiz Turki tribes are descended from nomadic Mongol chiefs, although no one will deny a admixture of Mongol blood in all these heterogeneous groups. It is evident enough from the square and somewhat flat Mongol nose, prominent cheek-bones, oblique eyes, large mouth, feet and hands, yellowish brown complexion, ungainly obese figures and short stature, all of which are characteristic of both sections, the Kara Kirghiz highlanders, and the Kazaks of the lowlands. Ethnologists regard these Kirghiz groups, not as a distinct branch of the Mongolo-Turki race, but rather as a confederation of several nomad tribes stretching from the Gobi to the Lower Volga, and mingled together by Jenghiz-Khan and his successors'.

Their true national name is *Kasak*; "Riders," and as they were originally for the most part mounted

*Kasak and  
Kossack.*

warriors, or free lances of the steppe, the term *Kasak* was gradually applied to all nomad and nomadic tribes engaged in predatory warfare. It thus at an early date reached the South Russian steppe, where it was adopted in the form of *Kossack* by the Russians themselves. It should be noted that the compound term Kirghiz-Kasak, introduced by the Russians to distinguish these nomads from their own Cossacks, is a misnomer. The word "Kirghiz," what-

*The Kara-  
Kirghiz.*

ever its origin, is never used by the Kazaks in reference to themselves, but only to their near neighbours, the Kirghiz, or Kara-Kirghiz<sup>2</sup>, of the uplands.

The Kirghiz highlanders, who roam the Tian-shan and Pamir valleys, are divided into two sections:—*On*, "Right" or East, and *Sol*, "Left," or West. They are the *Diko Kamennyi*, that is, "Wild Rock People," whence the expression "Block Kirghiz" still found in some English books of travel. But they call themselves simply Kirghiz, claiming descent from an original tribe of that name, and from a legendary Kirghiz-beg, from whom are also descended the Chilik, Kitars and others, all now reunited with the Kirghiz of the *Sol*.

The Kazaks also are grouped in long-established and still unaltered sections—the *Great*, *Middle*, *Little*, and

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal de la Société de Géographie*, Paris, 1883.

<sup>2</sup> The word "Kasak" with reference to the colour of their round felt tents.

*Inner Horde*—whose joint domain extends from Lake Balkhash round the north side of the Caspian down to the Lower Volga<sup>1</sup>. All accepted the teachings of Islam many centuries ago, but their Muhammadanism<sup>2</sup> is of a somewhat negative character, without mosques, mollahs, or fanaticism, and in practice not greatly to be distinguished from the old Siberian Shamanism. Kumiss, fermented mare's milk, their universal drink, as amongst the ancient Scythians, plays a large part in the life of these hospitable steppe nomads.

One of the lasting results of Castrèn's labours has been to place beyond reasonable doubt the Altai origin of the Finnish peoples<sup>3</sup>. Their cradle may now be localized with some confidence about the headwaters of the Yenisei, in proximity to that of their Turki kinsmen. Here is the seat of the *Soyotes* and of the closely allied *Koibals*, *Kamassintzi*, *Matores*, *Karagasses* and others, who occupy a considerable territory along both slopes of the Sayan range, and may be regarded as the primitive stock of the widely diffused Finnish race. Some of these groups have intermingled with the neighbouring Turki peoples, and even speak Turki dialects. But the original Finnish

<sup>1</sup> On the obscure relations of these Hordes to the Kara-Kirghiz and prehistoric Usuns some light has been thrown by the investigations of N. A. Aristov, a summary of whose conclusions is given by Dr A. Ivanovski in *Centralblatt für Anthropologie* etc., 1896, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Although officially returned as Muhammadans of the Sunni sect, Levchine tells us that it is hard to say whether they are Moslem, Pagan (Shamanists), or Manichean, this last because they believe God has made good angels called *Mankir* and bad angels called *Nankir*. Two of these spirits sit invisibly on the shoulders of every person from his birth, the good on the right, the bad on the left, each noting his actions in their respective books, and balancing accounts at his death. It is interesting to compare these ideas with those of the Uzbeg prince who explained to Mr Lansdell that at the resurrection, the earth being flat, the dead grow out of it like grass; then God divides the good from the bad, sending these below and those above. In heaven nobody dies, and every wish is gratified; even the wicked creditor may seek out his debtor, and in lieu of the money owing may take over the equivalent in his good deeds, if there be any, and thus be saved (*Through Central Asia*, 1887, p. 438).

<sup>3</sup> See especially his *Reisberichte u. Briefe aus den Jahren 1845-49*, p. 401 sq.; and *Versuch einer Koibalischen u. Karagassischen Sprachlehre*, 1858, vol. 1. *passim*.

are well represented by the Soyotas, who are "found in the mountains, and from these their kinsmen, the Samoyeds, are supposed to breeders of reindeer to the north of the continent from the White Sea to the Bay of Chatanga." Others, following the mountains along the foot of the Altai and down the Irtysh to the Volga appear to have long occupied both slopes of that range, and necessarily acquired some degree of culture, and especially that of metallurgy, and skill in working the precious and other metals, to which the "White-eyed Chudes" were famous, and to which frequent reference is made in the songs of the *Kalevala*². As there are no mines or minerals in Finland itself, it seems obvious that the legendary heroes of the Finnish national epic must have been in some metalliferous region, which could only be the Altai or the Urals, possibly both.

When the case the Urals became a second home and point of departure for the Finnish tribes (*Ugrian Finns*), whose migrations—some historic, some historic—can be followed thence down the Volga and Dvina to the Frozen Ocean³, and down the Kama to the Volga. From this artery, where permanent settlements were made (*Volga Finns*), some conquering hordes went south to the Danube (*Danubian Finns*), while more peaceful wanderers

² *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, p. 386.

³ In a valuable paper on this collection of Finnish songs Mr C. U. Clark (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1898, p. 238 sq.) shows from the primitive character of the songs, the frequent allusions to copper or bronze, and the almost utter absence of iron, and other indications, that these songs must be of great antiquity. There seems to be no doubt that some parts date back to at least the Bronze Age, before the Finns and the Hungarians had become distinct nations. The names of the divinities, many of the customs, and even particular legends and bits of superstitions mentioned in the *Kalevala* are to be found in ancient Hungarian writings."

⁴ When Marco Polo made his famous voyage round North Cape to the Cwen Sea, he found that all this Arctic seaboard was inhabited, not by Samoyeds, as at present, but by the *Permyans*, whom King Alfred calls *Boormas*, i.e. the *Biarmanians* (see *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1898, p. 113). The *Permyans* and the *Permyians* (*Permyians*) of the Russians (*Orosius* I. 13). The *Permyans* occupied the whole region between the White Sea and the Urals, and the *Permyians* occupied the whole of the *Permyans*; but since the withdrawal southwards of the Ziryanians, the *Permyians* and the *Permyians* this Arctic region has been thinly occupied by the *Permyians*, who are now wandering slowly westwards from Siberia to the Pechora and

ascended the great river to Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and thence to the shores of the Baltic and Lapland (Finland).

Thus were constituted the main branches of the

**Former and Present Domain.** Finnish family, whose descent was from the Khatanga beyond the Arctic Ocean, and from the Arctic Ocean, the Caspian, and the Volga, with one

in the Danube basin. But throughout their historic life the Finnish peoples, despite a characteristic power of resistance, have in many places been absorbed, or even entirely eliminated, by more powerful races such as the Siberian "Tatars" in their Altai country, the Kirghiz and Bashkirs in the West Siberian steppes, the Russians in the Volga and Lake districts, the Lithuanians in the Baltic Provinces (Kurland, Livonia), the Rumanians, Slavs, and others in the Danube basin. The Ugrian Bulgars and Magyars have been almost assimilated in type (and the former also in speech) to the European populations.

Few anthropologists now attach much importance to the not yet quite obsolete regarding a former spread of the Finnish race over the whole of Europe, and the British Isles. Despite the fact that

**Late Westward Spread of the Finns.** Finns are essentially round-headed, they were identified with the long-headed cavemen, who retreated north with the last glacial age, as was the favourite hypothesis, and then with the early races who were also long-headed. Elaborate but now discarded essays were written by learned philologists to establish a common origin of the Basque and the Finnic tongues, which had in common, and half the myths, folklore, and legends of the western nations were traced to Finno-Ugrian sources.

Now we know better, and both archæologists and anthropologists have made it evident that the Finnish peoples are quite recent arrivals in Europe, that the men of the Bronze Age in Finland itself were not Finns but Teutons, and that at the beginning of the new era all the Finnish tribes and peoples of the Gulf of Finland<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See A. Hackmann, *Die Bronzezeit Finnlands*, Helsingfors, 1892.

... but the eastern migrations themselves, as above mentioned, appear to have taken place at a later epoch, long after the inhabitants of Siberia had passed from the New Stone to the Iron and Bronze Ages. J. R. Aspelin, "founder of ethnological archaeology," points out that the Finno-Ugrian peoples originally occupied a geographical position between the Scandinavian and the Mongolic races, and that their first Iron Age was probably a development, between the Yenisei and the Ural, of the so-called Ural-Altai Bronze Age, the last echoes of which may be traced westwards to Finland and north Scandinavia. In the Upper Yenisei districts iron objects had still the character of the Bronze Age, when that ancient civilisation, associated with the name of the "Chudes," was interrupted by an invasion which introduced the still persisting Turki Iron Age, expelled the local inhabitants, and thus gave rise to the great migrations of the Finno-Ugrians, and then of the Turki peoples (Bashkirs, "Tatars" and others) to and across the Urals. It was here, in the Turanian territory between the Irtysh and the Kama, that the Siberian (Chudish) Iron Age continued its normal and gradual evolution. The objects recovered from the old graves in the present governments of Tver and Iaroslav, especially at Ananyino on the Kama, centre of this culture, show how took place the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age some 300 years before the new era, and here was born a later Iron Age, whose forms are characteristic of the Finno-Ugrian lands. The whole region would thus have been first occupied by these immigrants from the north, after the interruption of the Turki hordes into Western Siberia in the last Iron Age, at most some 500 or 600 years before

The Iron and Bronze Ages in the Finnish Lands.

Montelius, V. Thomsen and others, who have all, on various occasions, reached the same conclusion. Even D. E. D. Europæus, who has held very heterodox views on the Finnish cradleland, and on the connection of the Finns to the Mongolo-Turki languages, agrees that "vers le commencement de J. C., c'est-à-dire bien longtemps avant que ces peuples fussent en Finlande, elles [the western Finns] étaient établies dans les contrées au sud des lacs d'Onéga et de Ladoga." (*Travaux Géographiques de Finlande jusqu'en 1895*, Helsingfors, 1895, p. 141.)



the Christian era. The Finns-Ugrians are traced back to a period of not more than 2,000 years, and this conclusion, based on archaeological and ethnological data, well with the historical, linguistic, and other evidence.

It is especially in this obscure field of ethnology that the eminent Danish scholar, Prof. Vilhelm Thomsen, has rendered inestimable services to European ethnology.

**The Baltic Finns.**

In his linguistic studies A. H. Sæviö has traced the origins of the Baltic Finns, the now all but extinct Livonians, extinct Kurlanders, from the time when they lived south-east of the Baltic lands, under the influence of the incoming Lithuanian and Gothic tribes, till the German conquest of the Baltic provinces. We learn from Jordanes, as the first authentic account of these populations, that the Finnish tribes were subject to the Gothic king, and Thomsen now shows that all the Western Finns (Livonians, Votes, Vepses, Karelians, Tavastians, etc., in Finland), must in the first centuries of the new era have been practically as one people in the closest social union, speaking the same language, and following the same religious, tribal, and social institutions. Earlier than the Gothic was the Lettish contact, as shown by the fact that its traces are present in the language of the Volga Finns, in which Germanic elements are absent. From these investigations it becomes clear that the Finnish domain must at that time have stretched over the present Esthonia, Livonia, and Lake Ladoga south to the Dvina.

The westward movement was connected with the relations of the Finns to the Goths, Letts, and Slavs. When the Slavs south of the Dvina moved west, other Slav tribes must have pushed them westward, thus driving both Letts and Finns westward into the Baltic provinces, which had previously been occupied by the Germans (Goths). Some of the Western Finns must have found their way about 500 A.D., scarcely earlier, into the Baltic region, where they came into hostile and friendly contact with the

<sup>1</sup> *Finska Forminnesföreningens Tidskrift, Journ. Fin. Antiqu. Soc.*, p. 137 sq.

These relations would even appear to be reflected in the psychology, which may be regarded as in great measure a result of historic events. The wars of the Swedish and Danish Vikings referred to in these oral records may be regarded as plundering expeditions rather than permanent conquests, while the undoubtedly active intercourse between the Scandinavian coasts of the Baltic may be explained on the basis that, after the withdrawal of the Goths, a remnant of Gothic populations remained behind in the Baltic region.

From Nestor's statement that all three of the Varangian peoples settled, not amongst Slavish but amongst Finnic peoples, it may be inferred that the Finnish peoples constituted the most important section in the early founded Russian State; and it may here be mentioned

Finnic-Russ  
Origins.

that "Rus" itself has now been traced to the Finnish word (*Ruosi*), a "Norseman." But although at first greatly outnumbering the Slavs, the Finnish peoples soon lost the political initiative, and their subsequent history may be summed up in the gradual absorption in the surrounding Slav population. This inevitable process is still going on amongst all the Baltic and Baltic Finns, except in Finland and Lapland, where conditions obtain.

Finnish ethnologists agree that however much they may differ in their physical and mental characters and usages, the Lapps were all originally one people. Some variant of the word "Lapp" has entered into the national name of all the Baltic groups—the Finns of Finland, *Somelaised*, those of Esthonia, *Somelaised*, the Lapps, *Samoyed*, the Samoyedes. In fact, the Norsemen called all the Lapps "Finns" (as

leurs congénères ont occupé autrefois, sur d'immenses étendues, les régions forestières de la Russie septentrionale et centrale, et qui, plus tard, refoulés et divisés par d'autres tribus, se réduisirent à des tribus isolées, dont il ne reste maintenant que quelques restes.) (*Annales Géographiques*, p. 132).

The word "Lapp" has a different meaning, commonly but wrongly supposed to mean "Lapland," and thus to be the original of the Teutonic *Finns*, "Fennoscandia," *Einfluss d. ger. Spr. auf die finnisch-lappischen*, p. 14).

the Norwegians still do), and that early writers

that these "Finns" resembled the  
 Tavastian and Karelian language as the Beormas, and  
 Finns.

Nor do the present inhabitants of Finland  
 as a whole, differ more in outward appearance  
 from their Lapp neighbours than do the Tavastians  
 Karelions, that is, their western and eastern  
 other. The Tavastians, who call themselves "The  
 People," have rather broad, heavy frames, sunken  
 or grey eyes, towy hair and white complexion, with  
 florid colour of the North Germanic and English  
 temperament is somewhat sluggish, passive and  
 and vindictive, but honest and trustworthy.

Very different are the tall, slim, active Karelians  
 "Cowherds," from *Kari*, "Cow"), with more  
 straight grey eyes, brown complexion, and chest  
 that of the hero of the *Kalevala*, hanging in  
 shoulders. Many of the Karelians, and most of the  
*Ingrians* about the head of the Gulf of Finland, the  
 Votes and Vepses of the great lakes, have been  
 speech, religion, and usages to the surrounding  
 tions. But the more conservative Tavastians  
 tenaciously preserved the national sentiment, language  
 tions. Despite the pressure of Sweden on the west  
 Russia on the east, the Finns still stand out as a  
 pean nationality, and continue to cultivate with  
 harmonious and highly poetical language. Since the  
 they have been Christians, converted to the Catholic  
 "Saint" Eric, King of Sweden, and later to Lutheranism  
 by the Swedes". The national university, removed from  
 Abo to Helsingfors, is a centre of much scientific  
 work, and here E. Lönnrot, father of Finnish literature  
 out his various editions of the *Kalevala*, that of  
 of some 50,000 strophes.

A kind of transition from these settled and

<sup>1</sup> "þa Finnas, him þuhte, and þa Beormas spræcon  
 (Orosius I. 14).

<sup>2</sup> See my paper on the Finns in Cassell's *Storehouse of*

of Scandinavia and Russia is formed by the still more or less at least restless *Kwens*, who for centuries have ranged as far as the White Sea, which in olden times was known as the *Cross Se* (*Kwæn* Sea). These *Kwens* still number nearly 300,000, are even called nomads by *Dr. J. A. Yllä*, who tells us that there is a continual movement of *Kwæn* bands between Finland and Scandinavia. "The *Kwens* pass round the Gulf of Bothnia and up the coast as far as Kittälä, where they separate, some going to *Umeå*, and others to *Alten*. They follow the same route which, according to historians, some of the Norsemen followed in their wanderings from Finland!" The references of *Dr. Yllä* are mostly to these primitive Bothnian Finns, with whom the Norsemen first came in contact, and who in the 6th and 7th centuries were still in a rude state not greatly removed from that of their Ugrian forefathers. As shown by *Dr. Yllä's* researches, they lived almost exclusively by hunting and fishing, and had scarcely a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture, and could prepare neither butter nor cheese from the milk of their reindeer herds.

They are also, and in some measure still are, the kindred of the *Lapps*, with the allied *Yurak Samoyads* of Siberia. The *Lapps* are the only true nomads still surviving in Europe. Mr A. H. Cocks, who travelled in Lapland among these rude aborigines in 1888, describes

The Lapps,  
Samoyads and  
Permian  
Finns.

the *Lapps* who range north to Lake Enara, as "for the most part a very rough class," and found that the Russian Lapps of the *Ural* region, "except as to their clothing and the addition of sugar to their food supply, are living now much the same as their ancestors probably lived 2000 or more years ago in a very primitive life, in fact, than the Reindeer Lapps of *Sweden*." They have not yet begun to use tobacco, and the use of *fire-arms* is entirely unknown among them. Unlike the *Lapps* of the *Ural* divisions of the race [the Norwegian, Swedish, and Finnish], they are a very cheerful, light-hearted people,

see *Dr. Yllä's* English ed. p. 58. The Swedish *Bothnia* is stated to be the name of *Kwæn*, meaning low-lying coastlands; hence *Kainulaiset*, the *Lapps* of *Umeå*, would mean "Coastlanders."

and have the curious habit of expressing their feelings in extempore sing-song<sup>1</sup>."

Similar traits have been noticed in other parts of the north. Mr. F. G. Jackson describes as an extremely pitiable people, delighting in gossip, and spending their leisure hours in idleness and merriment<sup>2</sup>. He gives their mean height as 4 ft. 10 in. (which is about the same as that of the Lapps, the average being 2 in., others rather less), while that of the Finns is 5 ft. 5 in. (Topinard). Although the general Mongol characteristics are much less pronounced in the Lapps than in the Finns, in some respects—low stature, flat face with peculiarly prominent nose—the latter reminded Mr. Jackson of the Ziryaniens, a northern branch of the Beormas (Permian Finns), though they are much mixed with the Russians. The so-called "petrified graves," occurring throughout the southern parts of the north, are now known from their contents to have belonged to a Norse race, who appear to have occupied this region during the New Stone Age, while the Lapp domain seems not to have reached very much farther south than Trondhjem.

All these facts, taken especially in connection with the arrival of the Finns themselves in the north, support the view that the Lapps are not of the Suomalaiset, but of the Permian race, and reached their present homes, not from Finland, but from North Russia through the Kanin and Kola Peninsulas, round the shores of the White Sea, at some remote period prior to the occupation of Finland by its present inhabitants. This assumption would also explain Ohthere's statement that the Finns and Permians seemed to speak nearly the same language, the resemblance is still close, though I am not competent to judge which branch of the Finno-Ugrian family Lapp is more closely allied.

Of the Mongol physical characters the Lapp still retain a round low skull (index 83), the prominent nose, the cheek bones, somewhat flat features, and unsharply defined jaw. The temperament, also, is still perhaps more Mongol than

Lapp  
Origins and  
Migrations.

Tempera-  
ment—  
Religion.

<sup>1</sup> *A Boat Journey to Inari*, Viking Club, Feb. 1, 1899, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *The Great Frozen Land*, 1895, p. 61.

the Samoyeds, although since the 18th century they have been converted—Lutherans in Scandinavia, Orthodox in Russia. In Lapland, where Shamanism had nowhere acquired a greater development than amongst the Lapps. A great feature of the system were the "wizards," made of pine or birch bark, inscribed with names of gods, men, or animals, which were consulted on all important occasions, and their mysterious signs interpreted by the Shamans. Even foreign potentates hearkened to the voice of these "wizards," and in England the expression "Lapland-wizards" became proverbial, although it appears that there were any witches, but only wizards, in Lapland. Such wizards have long ceased to be practised, although some of the superstitions of a material after-life still linger on. Money and other treasures are often buried or hid away, the owners dying without revealing the secret, either through forgetfulness, or more probably of set purpose in the hope of thus making provision for the other world.

Even amongst the kindred Samoyads, despite their Russian orthodoxy, the old pagan beliefs enjoy a still more vigorous existence. "As long as things go well with him, he is a Christian; but when his reindeer die, or other catastrophe happen, he immediately returns to his old god *Nim* or *Chaddi*... He conducts his religious services by night and in secret, and carefully screens himself from any image of *Chaddi*." Mr Jackson noticed several instances of this compromise between the old and the new, such as a wooden cross supplemented on the Samoyad graves by an amulet or sledge to convey the dead safely over the snows of the other world, and the rings of stones, within which the human remains were perhaps formerly offered to propitiate *Chaddi*; although these things have ceased, "it is only a few years since a Samoyad living on Novaia Zemlia sacrificed a young

reindeer. These beliefs and practices still prevail not only amongst the Samoyads of the Yenisei and Obi basins, and the Finns of the Urals—but even amongst the Mordvians, Cheremisses and other tribes still surviving in the Volga basin. So recently as

The Volga  
Finns.

<sup>1</sup> *The Great Frozen Land*, p. 84.

the year 1896 a number of Votyaks were tried and convicted for the murder of a passing mendicant, whom they had beheaded to appease the wrath of Kiremet, Spirit of Evil and author of the famine raging at that time in Central Russia. Besides Kiremet, the Votyaks—who appear to have migrated from the Urals to their present homes between the Kama and the Viatka rivers about 400 A.D., and are mostly heathens—also worship Inmar, God of Heaven, to whom they sacrifice animals as well as human beings whenever it can be safely done. We are assured by Baron de Baye that even the few who are baptized take part secretly in these unhallowed rites<sup>1</sup>.

To the Ugrian branch, rudest and most savage of all the Finnish peoples, belong these now moribund Volga groups, as well as the fierce Bulgar and Magyar hordes, if not also their precursors, the *Jazyges* and *Rhoxolani*, who in the 2nd century A.D. swarmed into Pannonia from the Russian steppe, and in company with the Germanic Quadi and Marcomanni twice (168 and 172) advanced to the walls of Aquileia, and were twice arrested by the legions of Marcus Aurelius and Verus. Of the once numerous *Jazyges*, whom Pliny calls *Sarmates*, there were several branches—*Maotæ*, *Metanastæ*, *Basilii* ("Royal")—who were first reduced by the Goths spreading from the Baltic to the Euxine and Lower Danube, and then overwhelmed with the Dacians, *Getæ*, *Bastarnæ*, and a hundred other ancient peoples in the great deluge of the Hunnish invasion.

From the same South Russian steppe—the plains watered by the Lower Don and Dnieper—came the *Bulgars*, first in association with the Huns, from whom they are scarcely distinguished by the early Byzantine writers, and then as a separate people, who, after throwing off the yoke of the Avars (635 A.D.), withdrew before the pressure of the Khazars westwards to the Lower Danube (678). But their records go much farther back than these dates, and while philologists and archæologists are able to trace their wanderings step by step north to the Middle Volga and the Ural Mountains, authentic Armenian

<sup>1</sup> *Notes sur les Votyaks payens des Gouvernements de Kazan et Viatka*, Paris, 1897. They are still numerous, especially in Viatka, where they numbered 240,000 in 1897.

traced their history back to the 6th century B.C. Under the name of the numerous bands of Bulgars, driven from their homes by the Danube confluence by civil strife, settled on the banks of the Danube since that time (150—114 B.C.) the Bulgars were known to the Armenians as a great nation dwelling away to the north beyond the Caucasus.

The origin of the name, which afterwards acquired such an odious meaning among the European peoples, may have been more significant than ethical, implying not so much a particular nation as all the inhabitants of the *Bulga* (Volga) between the Danube and the Caspian. But at that time this section of the Danube seems to have been mainly held by more or less homogeneous branches of the Finno-Ugrian family, and palethnologists have shown that to this connection beyond all question belonged in physical appearance, speech, and usages those bands known as the Bulgars, who formed permanent settlements in Moesia and the Lower Danube towards the close of the 7th century.<sup>1</sup> They were bold and dexterous archers, who drank the milk and ate the flesh of their fleet and indefatigable horses; whose warriors followed, or rather guided, the motions of their horses; to whose inroads no country was remote or imperious, and who were practised in flight, though incapable of fear,<sup>2</sup> and who formed a powerful state, which maintained its independence for more than a hundred years (678—1392).

They were first in association with the Slavs, and then assuming "the dominion" over their restless Sarmatian allies, the Bulgars spread the terror of their hated name throughout the Balkans, and were prevented only by the skill of Belisarius from assisting their Turki kinsmen in the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire itself. Procopius and Jornandes have left us a full description of the ferocity, debasement, and utter savagery of the Bulgars and of their Slav confederates during the period of the foundation of the Bulgar dynasty in Moesia. When the Slavs (Antes, Slavini) passed, no soul was left

<sup>1</sup> See Schafarik's classical work *Slavische Alterthümer*, II. p. 159  
<sup>2</sup> See Martin, *Études de Géographie Ancienne et d'Ethnographie*, p. 29, also the still indispensable Gibbon, Ch. XLII. &c.  
 and Schafarik, XLII.



alive; Thence and Illyria went straight to the captives were shut up with harts and hounds, consumed together, while the brutal hordes revelled of their shrieks and groans. Indescribable scenes by the Bulgars, who killed for killing's sake, and of destruction, swept away all works of the raised cities, left in their wake nought but a cheerless native steppes. Of all the barbarians of the Empire, the Bulgars have left the most detestable closely rivalled by the Slavs.

To the ethnologist the later history of the Bulgars of exceptional interest. They entered the Danubian seventh century as typical Ugro-Finns, repulsive appearance and mental characters. Their dour celebrated his triumphs with sanguinary rites, and yielded in no respects to the Huns themselves in brutality. Yet an almost complete moral if not a reformation had been effected by the middle of the eighth when the Bulgars were evangelised by Cyril and exchanged their rude Ugrian speech for a Slavonic so-called "Church Slav," or even "Old Bulgarian," henceforth merged in the surrounding Slav population. The national name "Bulgar" alone survives, as that of a peaceful southern "Slav" people, who have in our days acquired the political independence of which they were deprived by Bajazet I. in 1392.

Nor did this name disappear from the Volga lands. The great migration of Bulgar hordes to the north during the 3rd and 4th centuries, and, on the contrary, here arose another and a greater empire, which was known to the Byzantines of the sixth as "Black Bulgaria," and later to the Arabs and Westerners as "Great Bulgaria," in contradistinction to the "Little Bulgaria" south of the Danube<sup>1</sup>. It fell to pieces during the tenth

<sup>1</sup> Rubruquis (13th century): "We came to the Etil, a very large river four times wider than the Seine, flowing from 'Great Bulgaria' lies to the north." Farther on he adds: "It is from this Great Bulgaria"

nothing now remains of the Volga Bulgars, except the  
 which they were named. In the same region, but farther north,  
 lay also a great city, the original seat of those other Ugrians  
 the Hungarians and Magyars, who followed in the track of the Bulgars, and like  
 permanent settlements in the Danube basin, but  
 in Pannonia, the present kingdom of Hungary. Here,  
 the Magyars had been preceded by the kindred (or at  
 least connected) Avars, the dominant people in the  
 Danube lands for a great part of the period between the  
 of the Huns and the arrival of the Magyars<sup>2</sup>. Rolling  
 from the depths of Siberia to the Volga and  
 sweeping everything before them, reducing Kutigurs,  
 Bulgars, and Slavs, the Avars presented themselves in  
 on the frontiers of the empire as the unwelcome  
 of Justinian. Arrested at the Elbe by the Austrasian Franks,  
 by the Gepids, they withdrew to the Lower  
 the ferocious Khagan Bayan, who, before his over-  
 the Emperor Mauritius and death in 602, had crossed  
 the Danube, captured Siriniam, and reduced the whole region  
 on the Byzantine empire. Later the still powerful  
 their Slav followers, "the Avar viper and the Slav  
 the Balkan lands, and in 625 nearly captured  
 Constantinople. They were at last crushed by Pepin, king of

Bulgarians who are beyond the Danube, on the Constantinople  
 (see V. de Saint-Martin).

nearer to the Ural Mountains, for Jean du Plan Carpin  
 Hungary was the land of *Bascari*, that is, *Bashkir*, a large  
 people, who still occupy a considerable territory in the Orenburg  
 about the southern slopes of the Urals.

were associated many of the surviving fugitive On-Uigurs  
 (or Varchonites<sup>3</sup>), whence the report that they were not  
 the Turki genealogies would appear to admit their claim  
 in any case the Uigurs and Avars of those times cannot  
 distinguished. *Kandish*, one of their envoys to Justinian,  
 name, and *Varchonites* seems to point to the Warkhon  
 successive ages of the eastern Turks, the Uigurs, and the

Italy, who reoccupied Sirmium in 799, and brought back such treasure that the value of gold was for a time enormously reduced.

Then came the opportunity of the *Hunagars* (Hungarians), who, after advancing from the Urals to the Volga (550 A.D.), had reached the Danube about 886. Here they were invited to the aid of the Germanic king Arnulf, threatened by a formidable

coalition of the western Slavs under the redoubtable Zventibolg, a nominal Christian who would enter the church on horseback followed by his wild retainers, and threaten the priest at the altar with the lash. In the upland Transylvanian valleys the Hunagars had been joined by eight of the derelict Khazar tribes, amongst whom were the *Megers* or *Mogers*, whose name under the form of *Magyar* was eventually extended to the united Hunagar-Khazar nation. Under their renowned king Arpad, son of Almuth, they first overthrew Zventibolg, and then with the help of the surviving Avars reduced the surrounding Slav populations. Thus towards the close of the 9th century was founded in Pannonia the present kingdom of Hungary, in which were absorbed all the kindred Mongol and Finno-Turki elements that still survived from the two previous Mongolo-Turki empires, established in the same region by the Huns under Attila (430-453), and by the Avars under Khagan Bayan (562-602).

After reducing the whole of Pannonia and ravaging Carinthia and Friuli, the Hungars raided Bavaria and Italy (899-900), imposed a tribute on the feeble successor of Arnulf (910), and pushed their plundering expeditions as far west as Alsace, Lorraine, and Burgundy, everywhere committing atrocities that recalled the memory of Attila's savage hordes. They were reported to drink the blood of their captives, so that in medieval legends the term *hungar*, *ongar* (the *ogre* of our fairy tales), indicated a man-eating monster who devoured the flesh and drank the blood of children. Later the same word seems to have been revived and associated with the Uigur Turks who, as above seen, took part in the Mongol invasions of Europe under Jenghiz-Khan and his successors.

This period of lawlessness and savagery was closed by the

of Saint Stephen I. (997-1038), after which the Magyar nation became gradually assimilated in type and general culture, and in its speech, to the western nations<sup>1</sup>. Their harmoniously and highly cultivated language still remains a typical member of the Ural-Altaic family, reflecting in its somewhat composite vocabulary the various Finno-Ugric and Turki elements (Ugrians and Finns from the Urals, Volga Finns, Turki Avars and Magyars), of which the substratum of the Magyar nation is con-

stitutionally the Magyars continue to occupy a position of vital importance in Eastern Europe, wedged in between the northern and southern Slav peoples, and thus presenting an insurmountable obstacle to the aspirations of the Pan Slavist dreamers. The energetic and vigorous Magyar nationality, a compact body of about 10,000,000 (1898), holds the boundless plains watered by the Danube and the Theiss, and thus permanently separates the Hungarians, Moravians, and Slovaks of Bohemia and the northern Magyars from their kinsmen, the Yugo-Slavs ("Southern Slavs") and the other now Slavonized Balkan lands. These Slav peoples are in their turn severed by the Rumanians of Neo-Romania from their northern and eastern brethren, the Ruthenians, Poles, Great and Little Russians. Had the Magyars and Rumanians adopted any of the neighbouring Slav idioms, it is almost certain that, like the Ugrian Bulgarians, they must have long since been absorbed in the surrounding Pan Slav world, with consequences to the central European nations which it would not be possible to forecast. Here we have a striking illustration of the power of language in developing and preserving the national identity, analogous in many respects to that now witnessed on the Atlantic coast amongst the English-speaking populations on both

<sup>1</sup> See p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> The late Professor Schlegel, perhaps the best authority on this point, holds that in its general type it leans more to the Finno-Ugric, and in its vocabulary to the Turki, of the Ural-Altaic linguistic family. He attributes the effacement of the Turki type partly to the effects of the environment, partly to the assimilating influences of the Ugric, Turki, Slav, and Germanic peoples in the West. See *Ursprung der Magyaren*, in *Mitt. d. K. K. Geograph. Anst.* (L. Nos. 3 and 4).

sides of the Atlantic and in the Austro-Asiatic region. In the view of the ethnologist may unreservedly be made the trenchant remark that "the nation stands or falls by its speech".

<sup>1</sup> "Das Volk steht und fällt mit der Sprache" (Lepsius, *Monatsschrift für Ethnologie*, 1897, p. 14).

## CHAPTER X.

## THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES.

Origin and Cultural Evolution—Two Primitive Types: Long-heads from Europe; Round-heads from Asia—Mongolo-Caucasic Relations—The American specialised in America—Palaeolithic Man in America—Independent Evolution of Speech in America—Stock Languages—Distribution of the Original Ethnical Elements—Cranial Deformation—The "Toltecs"—Type of North-west Coast Indians—Contrasts and Transitions between British Columbians and Eskimoans—Eskimo Origins and Migrations—Skull-types and Norsemen—Eskimo and Aleut Cradleland—Tribal Organization—Variable Type—Uniform Character of Eskimo Speech—Cultural Systems—Shamanism—*Thlinkit* and *Haida* Heraldic Posts—Folklore—Range of the *Athabascans*—*Navajos* and *Apaches*—The Indian Reservations—The Mound-Builders—The "Six Nations"—The *Cherokees*—The Cherokee Writing System—The *Muskogean*—Primitive Man in Florida—The *Siouans*: Origins and Migrations—The *Biloxi*: Migrations and Displacements—Cosmogonies—The *Dakotas*—Dakota Social Systems—The Totem—Clan, Gens, and Phratry—The *Pueblo Indians* and *Cave Dwellers*—Their Cultural Relations—The Pueblo Clan System—*Snake* and *Snake Dances*.

## CONSPECTUS.

**Primeval Home.** *North and South America.*

**Present Range.** *N. W. Pacific Coastlands; the North of the Arctic Ocean, Labrador, and Greenland; the western part of Alaska and the Dominion; Reservations in the Dominion and the United States; Florida, Arizona, and New Mexico; most of South America with Fuegia either wild and semi-civilized half-breeds.*

**Physical Characters.** *Stature, small; hair, coarse, often very long, nearly black; face and body hairless; eyes, generally coppers or yellowish-brown, but dark in the Westlands, and light brown in the Amazonian Westlands; Skull, generally mesocephalous*

Distribution in Past and Present Times.

Physical Characters.

(79°), but with wide range from 70° to 90° (some British Columbians); **Teeth**, Incae more frequently present than in the rest of the world, but the os linguae (hyoid bone) of the Incae is well developed; **Jaws**, massive, but moderate in length (gnathous, 72); **Cheek-bone**, rather prominent, and also high, but often of normal contour; **Skull**, generally large, straight or even aquiline (73); **Ears** (50); **Eyes**, nearly always black, reddish, or hazel, small, rather deep-set, and sometimes prominent; **Stature**, usually above the medium (51), but variable—under 5 ft. 6 in. on the coast (Peruvians, &c.), also in Fuegia and Alaska, and upwards in Patagonia (Tehuelchae), and in the interior (Bororos) and Prairie (Algonquians, &c.); **Arms, Legs, and Feet**, of normal (52).

**Mental  
Charac-  
ters.**

**Temperament**, moody, reserved, but outwardly impassive and capable of enduring much pain; considerate towards each other, but stern towards their women and children, but not in a vindictive manner; keen sense of justice, heads strong, but also easily pacified. The outward show of a lofty air assumed by many seems due more to ostentation than to a feeling of true pride. **Capacity** considerable, much higher than the average of the whole inferior to the Mongol.

**Speech**, exclusively polysynthetic, a type not elsewhere; is not a primitive condition, but a specialised form of agglutination, in which affixes of the sentence tend to coalesce in a single polysynthetic word. **Stock languages** very numerous, perhaps more numerous than the stock languages of all the other orders of the rest of the world.

**Religion**, various grades of spirit and magic, corresponding to the various cultures, the crude form of shamanism prevalent amongst the North American aborigines, polytheism with a priestcraft amongst the cultured peoples (53).

... *except nowhere clearly evolved; ...*  
*... afterlife very prevalent, if not un-*  
*... highly diversified, ranging from the lowest*  
*... through various degrees of barbarism*  
*... social state of the more or less civilised*  
*... Chibchas, Yuncas, Quichuas, and Aymaras;*  
*... pottery, weaving, metal-work, agriculture,*  
*... architecture fairly well developed; letters*  
*... the Maya script seems to have reached*  
*... state; navigation and science rudimentary*  
*... in general savagery far more prevalent*  
*... in South than in North America, but the*  
*... everywhere persistent.*

**North America:** *Eskimauan* (Innuit, Aleut, Kara-  
*... (Kuchin, Chippewyan, Apache, Navajo);*  
*... (Delaware, Abenaki, Chippeway,*  
*... and Fox, Blackfoot);* *Iroquoian*  
*... Tuscarora, Seneca, Cayuga, Onon-*  
*... (Dakota, Omaha, Crow, Iowa, Osage,*  
*... (Comanche, Ute);* *Salishan*;  
*... (Creek, Choctaw,*  
*... (Zuni, Teguá, Jemez,*

Main  
Divisions.

**South America:** *Opatan*; *Nahuatlan* (Aztec,  
*... (Maya, Quiché, Pocoman);* *Mistecan*;  
*... (Otomitlan);* *Talamancan*.

**South America:** *Muyscan* (Chibcha); *Quechuan*  
*... (Inca, Aymara);* *Yuncan* (Chimu);  
*... (Zaparan);* *Beloyan*; *Warrauan*;  
*... (Lecan);* *Barrtan*; *Tucuman*; *Chi-*  
*... (Atorai, Maypure, Wapiana,*  
*... (Layana);* *Cariban* (Bakairi, Nahuqua,  
*... (Galina, Arecuna, Macusi, Ackawoi);*  
*... (Tupi, Omagua, Mundrucu);* *Gesan*  
*... (Charruan);* *Mataguayan*; *Lulean*;  
*... (Araucan);* *Puelchean* (Pampas);  
*... (Yahgan, Alacaluf).*



No serious inquiry into the antiquity of the inhabitants of the New World can avoid the following

primary questions as their origin and evolution. Are they indigenous to the New World? Or, if not, from what part of the Eastern Hemisphere did they reach America? Or, what is practically the same thing, from what race or divisions of mankind did they branch off? How far, if at all, has their physical and cultural development influenced that of the Old World?

My own views on these fundamental questions, given in some detail<sup>1</sup>, may here be briefly repeated. The most abundant traces of primitive man—both the works of his hands and in some places even his osseous remains themselves—throughout the continent from Alaska to Fuegia, show that there is no exception to the general statement that all the lands of the globe were occupied by man in pleistocene times during the early Stone Ages. But at that period, primitive man, as well as man himself, were still but slightly differentiated everywhere presenting the same generalised and rudimentary type. Consequently the American pleistocene man can not be distinguished from his fellows in other regions. But this generalised precursor originated, not in several zoological zones from several independent miocene ancestors, but in one zoological zone—indeed from one pliocene ancestor, perhaps best represented by *Pithecanthropus erectus*, and spread by migration throughout the globe<sup>2</sup>. It follows that the American aborigines are indigenous in the absolute sense, but reached the Western and Eastern Hemisphere in the primitive state, prior to their cultural developments.

A study of their physical constitution, substantially wholly uniform—with indeed two marked sub-varieties

<sup>1</sup> *American Indians, Encyclopaedia Britannica New Edition*, 11th ed., vol. 11, Chap. XIII.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 3-8.

the coast by the Eskimo long-heads, and the  
 heads, in the south by the Botocudo  
 the Andean round-heads—points at  
 the immigrants from the Old World.  
 The Botocudo section has been traced to  
 the prehistoric man of Europe<sup>1</sup>, which  
 the study has shown to have been connected with North  
 through the Feroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland  
 of glacial times. The other section, which probably  
 numbered the first, came apparently later (during the  
 Age) from Eastern Asia by the Bering waters, and are  
 allowed, allowing for great intermixture, by the still  
 round-headed element.

Even till late historic times there were no further arrivals  
 by the Egyptian route, the land connection having been sub-  
 stantially cut off by the Asiatic to any appreciable extent, no clear  
 evidence of the forthcoming of the presence of early historic, that  
 of the civilized Asiatic peoples in the New World. On like  
 grounds, which have here the force of the strongest  
 arguments, early immigrants numerous enough to affect  
 the issue are also excluded both from Africa and

the continent elements of our aborigines would therefore  
 be of the proto-Europeans of the First Stone Age, a somewhat  
 primitive Cansasic type, and proto-Asiatics, a some-  
 what primitive Mongolo-American type, both Euro-  
 pean and Asiatic still preserving many common features of the  
 Pleistocene precursors. Is it surprising that, under such  
 conditions should differ as to the actual relations of the  
 the great ethnical groups in the Old World; some  
 others vehemently denying, all Mongol kinship,  
 denying a European connection, some with Ehrenreich

and others suggests that at the close of the Solutrian  
 the some of the primitive inhabitants of France migrated  
 the latter, and passing by the then existing land bridge into  
 the ancestors of the Eskimo, the earliest "French Colonists"  
 (Formation de la Nation Française, 1897). This view  
 is supported on anatomical grounds (*Eth.* p. 364).

maintaining that they are *not* genuine, and are to be considered as much or as little a distinct variety as the parts of the world, in any case differing less from Asiatics? This is precisely what is meant by the American division, with its undeniable general and substantial uniformity, combined with a few marked types, were really constituted as a distinct variety. Ehrenreich winds up a lengthy discussion of the subject with the remark that "if the Caucasians were strange were it not subject to various main divisions. In fact the American aborigines show uniformity when compared with the whole of the world which taken in its widest sense comprises the Mongol and Hamitic stocks, whose colour ranges from white through all transitional shades to the deepest black. Their skulls show every degree of dolicho- and brachycephaly. Differences also as occur in Africa amongst the Hottentots, and Bushmen are not found amongst the American peoples whose variability is scarcely greater than that of the Mongol peoples." To me it is specially gratifying that this careful observer of the American aborigines, who on one part of the continent closes the discussion with the statement of my general conclusion that "without doubt the origin of both groups [Mongol and American] is the same," has argued that the American offshoot has diverged sufficiently to be regarded as a distinct variety in the same sense in which the latter is itself taken as a distinct variety<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Eth.* p. 222, quoted by Ehrenreich in *Anthropologische Studien*. Indications of such divergence are afforded by the five anatomical specimens of the American aborigines described by Dr Hermann Yung (one of which is perhaps the form of the hybrid bone supporting the tongue). This observer finds that the large occipital condyle soldered to the body of the bone in Europeans, remains distinct in the Americans, as in 17 old Zufis, 9 moundbuilders, one Yahgan, a man from the west of Argentina, another from a Patagonian cave near Lake Nahuelbuta, Patagonians from the Rio Chubut, and one Brazilian. He regards this as a case of arrested development which he considers highly interesting as "American" (*Sur quelques points d'anatomie humaine*).

The question of origins thus disposed of, that of cultural development is settled *à priori*. It must be obvious that if the American race starts on its life history from the Stone Ages, and receives no later accessions from abroad, whatever degree of culture it ultimately reached, whatever stage of progress the arts, industries, science, and letters may have acquired in Mexico, Yucatan, Peru, or any other centre of civilisation, they must all have been independent local growths, owing absolutely nothing to foreign influences.

American  
Culture  
independently  
developed.

To this logical position the only possible reply might be an *à posteriori* argument based on facts at variance with the *à priori* assumption. Such facts, if forthcoming, might, for instance, be the presence in some part or parts of the continent of some language or languages clearly traceable to an eastern source; or some ancient buildings unmistakably designed on Egyptian, Babylonian, Hindu, or other foreign prototypes; or any inscriptions on such monuments either explicable by the aid of Asiatic or other languages, or carved in some script whose foreign origin could not be denied; or any sailing craft built on the lines of the Greek trireme, the Venetian galley, the Chinese junk, the Malay prau, or even the more primitive Polynesian outrigger or Indian catamaran; or oil lamps of some familiar type<sup>1</sup>; or some such economic plants as wheat and rice, which, not being indigenous, might be found cultivated in suitable localities, and thus supply an argument at least for later intercourse. But nothing of all this

*Revista del Museo de la Plata*, VII. 1896). Here may be quoted Virchow's weighty words on the general uniformity of the American type in connection with the seven Patagonians (Piyoché tribe) brought to Europe in 1879: "Wir haben fast nichts in der alten Welt dieser Homogenität an die Seite zu stellen. Die Massenhaftigkeit der Knochenentwicklung...die bei den Grönländern anfängt, und sich durch fast alle ältern Völkerschichten Amerikas bis zur Magelhäensstrasse verfolgen lässt, tritt hier so auffallend vor, dass der Kopf, in Verhältniss zu dem Gesamtkörper, nahezu so gewaltig erscheint wie der Kopf eines Löwen" (*Zeitsch. f. Ethnol.* 1879, p. 199).

<sup>1</sup> Except amongst the Eskimo, who might have borrowed the idea from the Norsemen, "no lamps at all were known to the indigenes of America, not even to the comparatively cultured Mexicans and Peruvians" (E. B. Tylor, *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* 1884, p. 352).

has ever been found, and the list might be indefinitely extended without discovering any cultural links between the various spheres beyond such as may be traced to the common psychic unity of the human race. It is not here to be advanced of this sweeping statement that it find its confirmation in the details that are to be given.

One point only need detain us—the nature of the navigation of America of any sailing vessels or other craft, whether for inland or marine waters, at all contacts with the eastern peoples. The Algonquians had dugout canoes, in the calm Peruvian waters rafts, dugouts, and currents, and it is somewhere mentioned in the Indies the roving Caribs hoisted a rudimentary craft when venturing from island to island. Can it be a pleasant contrast be imagined than that presented by Petrie's "New Race" already 5000 years ago, with its fictile vases with the device of "a long boat with a single ensign pole, and many oars," and the rude dugout of the Eskimo, who despite their vicinity to Asia have no show except the open skin kayak with its double-bladed paddle. In fact all the American boats were mainly propelled by a paddle, which replaced oar, rudder, and true sails. Instances to such contrivances occurring for the most part some times some years after contact with Europeans. On his voyage, however, Columbus met some fine canoes with 150 persons off the coast of Cuba; Pizarro also encountered a vessel at Tumbez, which was said to have a sail and rudder, or one or two other allusions are made by the early writers to boats with sail and rudder, or with sail and oars.<sup>1</sup> If these can be trusted, it may be inferred that in pre-Columbian times the art of navigation had at least made a beginning among

<sup>1</sup> Dr W. J. Hoffman. *The Graphic Art of the Eskimos*, New York, 1900, p. 847.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, Eng. ed. 1896, p. 100.

...and one or two other cultured peoples. But this very fact is clearly local, as shown by the fact that the Aztecs, and all in so many respects, had not even got to that point, so that the sails hoisted by Cortez on their lagoons were as an unknown wonder.

In historic times America could be reached only by more civilized peoples of specialized type, possessing, not merely canoes, but real seaworthy vessels capable of long oceanic voyages freighted with useful commodities to sustain life on the way and open trading relations on arrival. Moreover, one or two such trips would be useless in the present connection. For any general effect such intercourse must have been maintained for a considerable period of time, that is, the ocean route to America must have become a beaten track in pre-Norse or Columbian days. Who is bold enough to associate his mind with such an assumption as that?

Were these early navigators—Phoenicians, Egyptians, Arabs, Chinese, Japanese, Pelasgians, Mykenæans—wherever they landed must have found the country either uninhabited, or occupied by the American aborigines; or, is there any alternative? If uninhabited, then they took possession, made permanent settlements, and perpetuated their race and culture. Or did they burn their ships behind them, like Caesar's soldiers, and voluntarily relapse into savagery, beginning again in their bark canoe or coracle? But even so, the racial characteristics would have persisted, and one asks, where in America are the Phœnician, Egyptian, or other civilized and specialised

On the other hand, the country was already held by the aborigines. How did these learn nothing from their foreign friends? And if anything what has become of it? Where before the introduction of wheat or rice<sup>1</sup>, which could scarcely help to sustain life in many places? Where the dog, sheep, horse, ox, and other animals which once introduced must have thriven then as

<sup>1</sup> The Asiatic cereal, not the "wild rice," or "Canada rice" which is known to many North American tribes, and an account of which is given by Mr Gardiner P. Stickney in the *Amer. Anthrope-*

well as now? Where the linguistic affinities, the inevitable loan words, the Egyptian or Chinese hieroglyphs, the Phœnician alphabet, the Babylonian cuneiforms, of what value? Of such things there are frauds, enough to make any single genuine document in stone, bronze, or metal, never been found anywhere between the two worlds. No link, not one tangible link, has ever come to connect the cultures of the Old and New Worlds. Yet how much more to be needed for a chain long enough to stretch across the Pacific!

The *à priori* assumption therefore stands, and in the research, those ethnologists are fully justified in assuming an absolutely independent evolution of post-neolithic man in the New World. Amongst them it is satisfactory to mention the name of Mr J. W. Powell, who has rendered such valuable services to American anthropology, of which he is the first living exponent. In the paper already mentioned Powell affirms that "the aboriginal peoples of America are allied preferentially to any one branch of the human race of the Old World"; that "there is no evidence that any of the implements and many other things are found in the glacial epoch deposits of valleys and plains everywhere in America," although "nothing has been discovered which is of the glacial epoch"; that "the industrial arts of America were in America, America was inhabited by tribes at the beginning of industrial arts. They left the Old World when they had learned to make knives, spear and arrowheads, and when they knew the art only in its crudest state. The American man has been here ever since the invention of the stone hammer." He further contends that "the American Indian did not derive his forms of government, his decorative arts, his languages, or his mythological systems from the Old World, but developed them in the New"; and that "the demotic characteristics of the American Indians, which are common to tribes of the Orient is universal, all that is peculiar to the

<sup>1</sup> Whence came the American Indians? *Forum*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1.

... distinguished from apother in America distinguishes them  
 ... of the world'.

... general conclusions, however, leave untouched: the  
 ... of palaeolithic man in the New World, on  
 ... continues to be divided, especially in  
 ... States. Some confusion has certainly  
 ...

palaeolithic  
 Man in  
 America.

... by the failure to distinguish carefully between time  
 ... sequences. It is not denied that multitudes of stone  
 ... occur in many parts of America which closely  
 ... those of the palaeolithic age in Europe. Nevertheless  
 ... as evidence of a corresponding palaeolithic age in the  
 ... World is denied, because here they represent, or may repre-  
 ... a low stage of culture which still continues, and has  
 ... reference to time. The European objects occur in  
 ... glacial and even pre-glacial deposits, in caves under  
 ... floors, in association with long extinct faunas, and  
 ... circumstances, by all of which their pleistocene age  
 ... antiquity are established. But in America, it is  
 ... they are mostly surface finds, and when occurring *in situ*,  
 ... on the geological age of the beds, or on their  
 ... (whether disturbed or not), or even on the good faith of  
 ... Hence in his *Primitive Industry*<sup>3</sup>, Dr Thomas Wilson,  
 ... antiquity, claimed for the objects in question no more  
 ... they were "to be taken as serious evidence in favour of  
 ... Man in America," just as they have "proved him to  
 ... in Europe," and this "under all reserve, and subject  
 ... discoveries."

... such a discovery would appear to have been made  
 ... party of experts who undertook by independent  
 ... the much contested evidence from the Delaware  
 ... where Dr C. C. Abbott had been at work for

... question is taken by others, among them being Prof. Edward  
 ... opened a discussion on the subject at the meeting of the *Amer.*  
 ... and insisted upon the essential unity of the American race,  
 ... characters and cultural developments, noting especially the  
 ... of tea, silk, and other useful and easily transported  
 ... as already pointed out in *Eth.* Ch. XIII.  
 ... 1894, p. 534 of the Smithsonian Report for 1892.



years. Mr Mercer, while suggesting that the chips were found above, "when all was considered felt that the presence of a significant number<sup>1</sup> of artificial chips, some of which were of an age-indicating character, was sufficient to settle the question of age. Prof. Hollick reported that the sand in which they were found was found to be distinctly stratified and that the deposit." He "accepts the conclusions of the geologists that the so-called paleoliths are of human origin and that the sand in which they occur is of glacial age." The controversy which seems possible is over the question of intrusion from above and, in view of the facts now adduced, the question of proof should in fairness rest with those who believe in intrusion. Unless, therefore, intrusion is proved, of which there is at present no evidence, the question would appear to be settled in favor of Paleolithic Man in North America.

Further evidence in the same direction has been furnished in South America by Prof. A. Nehring, who describes a skull of *sambaqui* (shell-mound) at Santos, on the south coast of Brazil, which presents many characters like those of the Java *anthropus erectus*<sup>2</sup>. There is the same marked recession of the frontal behind the orbital region, a trait highly characteristic of old and late South American skulls, some being even more pronounced relatively, but absolutely not broader than the Java. The orbital region of the frontal is somewhat like the *anthropus erectus* with low retreating forehead and well-developed orbital ridges; cephalic index 77.6, but height and breadth of the cranial capacity much greater than the Java, so far as can be conjectured. The face also is strongly prognathous, the prognathism enhanced perhaps by the abnormal dental development, the premolars and molars being very like those of the *anthropus erectus* cranium.

Dr H. Meyer's explorations in 1896 of the huge *sambaquis* in the same region, some quite 50 feet high, have

<sup>1</sup> About fifty mostly man-made argillite, chert, jasper, and quartz chips.

<sup>2</sup> *An Investigation of Man's Antiquity at Trenton*, by Prof. G. A. Cooper, Prof. Arthur Hollick, Messrs H. B. Kümmel, G. N. Knapp, and H. C. Meyer. (Science, Nov. 5, 1897).

<sup>3</sup> *Verhandl. Berliner Anthropol. Ges.* 1896, p. 710.

have brought to light further remains of primitive man, as many as seven skeletons found at different localities, have greatly strengthened the views which were previously advanced regarding the presence of Pleistocene Man in America, and were based on the researches of Ameghino, Burmeister, Hudson, Lovisato and others in the Lagôa Santa caves of Minas Geraes, in the Parana district (Cataratas), in the Buenos Ayres district (Samborombon), in Patagonia (Rio Negro Valley), and in Tierra del Fuego (Elizabeth Island)<sup>1</sup>.

It may be incidentally mentioned that, from a thorough study of the fossil remains, especially of Lagôa Santa, the Danish paleontologist, Hærluf Winge, infers that man is more closely related to the gibbon than to the other simians—a conclusion also supported by the Java skull—and that the cradle of mankind is to be sought in the Old World, whence primitive man migrated to America at a remote period<sup>2</sup>. These independent inferences are completely with the views here advocated on the origin and migration of the human race, and on the peopling of America in the Stone Ages.

This has also been confirmed by the linguistic relations in the New World. These are such as can be explained only

on the assumption that the early settlers possessed a primitive and unelaborated form of speech at a low stage of development, and that its further development

Independent  
Evolution  
of Speech in  
America.

took place on American soil during an immense period of comparative isolation unaffected in any way by extraneous influences. The absence from extraneous influences is shown by the entirely original character of the American languages, not one of which, after many years of patient comparative study, has yet been traced to any foreign source. It is not merely that they differ from European languages in their general phonetic, structural, and

<sup>1</sup> See *Globus*, LXIX. p. 338 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ueber die Wanderung der Menschen (Primates) von Lagôa Santa, &c.* Copenhagen, 1861. The migration from the Old to the New World is, of course, supported by the absence of all traces of the Simiidsæ from America, as this is shown by the *Eth.* p. 157.

lexical features; they differ from them in their very morphology, as much, for instance, as in the zoological world class differs from class, order from order. They have all of them developed on the same polysynthetic lines, from which if a few here and there now appear to depart, it is only because in the course of their further evolution they have, so to say, broken away from that prototype<sup>1</sup>. Take the rudest or the most highly cultivated anywhere from Alaska to Fuegia—Eskimo, Iroquois, Algonquin, Aztec, Tarascan, Ipurina, Peruvian, Yaghan—and you will find each and all giving abundant evidence of this universal polysynthetic character, not one true instance of which can be found anywhere in the eastern hemisphere. There is incorporation with the verb, as in Basque, many of the Caucasus tongues, and the Ural-Altai group; but it is everywhere limited to pronominal and purely relational elements.

But in the American order of speech there is no such limitation, and not merely the pronouns, which are restricted in number, but the nouns with their attributes, which are practically numberless, all enter necessarily into the verbal paradigm. Thus in Tarascan (Mexico): *hopocuni* = to wash the hands; *hopodini* = to wash the ears, from *hoponi* = to wash, which cannot be used alone<sup>2</sup>. So in Ipurina (Amazonia): *nicuƿacatƿaurumatiniĩ* = I draw the cord tight round your waist, from *ni*, I; *cuƿaca*, to draw tight; *tƿa*, cord; *túruma*, waist; *tini*, characteristic verbal affix; *ĩ*, thy, referring to waist<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Such disintegration is clearly seen in the Carib still surviving in Dominica, of which Mr J. Numa Rat has contributed a somewhat full account to the *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* for Nov. 1897, p. 293 sq. Here the broken form *arametakuahdtina buka* appears to represent the polysynthetic *arametakuanientibubuka* (root *arameta*, to hide), as in Père Breton's *Grammaire Caraïbe*, p. 45, where we have also the form *Arametakualubatibubasubutuiruni* = know that he will conceal thee (p. 48). It may at the same time be allowed that great inroads have been made on the principle of polysynthesis even in the continental (South American) Carib, as well as in the Colombian Chibcha, the Mexican Otomi and Pima, and no doubt in some other linguistic groups. But that the system must have formerly been continuous over the whole of America seems proved by the persistence of extremely polysynthetic tongues in such widely separated regions as Greenland (Eskimo), Mexico (Aztec), Peru (Quechuan), and Chili (Araucanian).

<sup>2</sup> R. de la Grasserie and N. Léon, *Langue Tarasque*, Paris, 1896.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. J. E. R. Polak, *Ipurina Grammar*, &c., London, 1894.

deduced from such examples that polysynthesis is not a haphazard addition of speech, as is often asserted, but on the contrary a highly developed system, in which the original agglutivative process has gone so far as to attract all the elements of a sentence to the verb, round which they cluster like swarming bees about their queen. In Eskimo the tendency is shown in the construction of nouns and verbs, by which other classes of words are made almost unnecessary, and one word, sometimes of considerable length, is able to express a whole sentence with its subordinate clauses. Dr H. Rink, one of the first Eskimo scholars of modern times, gives the instance: "Suérkame-tunungmagot-tusaramiuk-tuningimago-iluarngilát = they did not know that he (a) had omitted to give him (b) something, as he intended that he (b) was going to depart on account of being without anything of everything<sup>1</sup>." Such monstrosities "are so complicated that in daily speech they could hardly ever occur; but still they are common and can be understood by intelligent people<sup>2</sup>."

Dr Rink gives another and much longer example, which the reader will not spare, adding that there are altogether about 200 particles, many as ten of which may be piled up on any given stem. The process also often involves great phonetic changes, by which the original form of the elements becomes disguised, as, for instance, the English *half-penny* = half-pennyworth. The attempt to determine the number of words that might be formed in this way on a single stem, such as *igloo*, a house, had to be given up after getting to the compound *igdlorsualiorlugssarsiumavoq* = he wants to know who will build a large house.

It is clear that such a linguistic evolution implies both the influence of other influences, which must have disturbed and broken up the cumbrous process, and also the lapse of a long period of time to develop and consolidate the

<sup>1</sup> *Principles of the Eskimo Tribes, their Distribution and Characteristics*, Copenhagen, 1851, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The same very word was first given "as an ordinary example" by Kleinmann, *Handbuch der Grönländischen Sprache*, Sect. 99, and is also quoted by Rink, *Principles*, p. 11. He translates: "They disapproved of him, because he did not give to them anything, and he heard that he would go off, because he had nothing" (*Principles*,

system throughout the New World. The language of the continent imperiously demanded by the necessities of intercourse. The Stock Languages. languages, many already existing, were introduced all over the continent, all of which were found in their vocabulary, often also in their phonetic structure. There is nothing in common except this extraordinary peculiarity in which they are cast. The most moderate estimate counts at least 150 such stock languages for the whole continent, not many as in all the rest of the world.

But even that conveys but a faint idea of the diversity of speech prevailing in this truly linguistic continent. Powell, who has himself determined as many as 300 languages for North America alone<sup>1</sup>, points out that the particular idioms are far more numerous than might be imagined from such a large number of mother tongues. Thus in the Algonquian<sup>2</sup> linguistic family he tells us there are about 100 dialects of which could be understood by a people speaking the Athapascan from 30 to 40; in Siouan over 20; and in the Iroquoian a still greater number<sup>3</sup>. It is the same, or perhaps more so, in Central and in South America, where the linguistic diversity is so great that no complete classification of the languages seems possible. Sir Clements R. Markham has given us a full list of the Amazonian tribes, with altogether 1000 names, and even after allowing for a large number of synonyms and branches, there still remain some 625 tribal groups, each at least a distinct dialect. Indeed, but for such linguistic peculiarities, large numbers of these groups would be quite indistinguishable from each other, so great is the prevailing similarity in their appearance and usages in many districts. Thus Ethnologist tells us that, "despite their ethnico-linguistic differences, the people about the head-waters of the Xingu present complete similarity."

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Linguistic Families of America north of Mexico*, Washington, 1891, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Following this ethnologist's convenient precedent, I use both *Algonquin* and here the final syllable *an* to indicate stock races and languages. Thus *Algonquin* = the particular tribe and language of that name; *Algonquian* = the whole family; *Iroquois*, *Iroquoian*; *Carib*, *Cariban*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Forum*, Feb. 1898, p. 683.

<sup>4</sup> *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* 1895, p. 236 sq.

their habits in the conditions of their existence; and in general, culture." Yet amongst them are represented most of the radically distinct linguistic groups of Brazil, some (Aché and Nahangu) belonging to the Carib, some (Anetö and many) to the Guarani-Tupi, and some (Mehinaku and Yaura) to the Arawak family. Obviously these could not be so discriminated for their linguistic differences. On the other hand the same phenomenon is occasionally presented of tribes differing markedly in their social relations, which are nevertheless of the same origin, or what is regarded by Ehrenreich as the same thing, as to the same linguistic group. Such are the Ipurinas, the Guaitã and the Yamamañi of the Purus valley, all grouped together because they speak dialects of the Arawakan stock (p. 104). At the same time it should be noted that the social changes observed by some modern travellers are often due to the increasing contact with the whites, who are now encroaching on the Guari-Chaco plains, and ascending every Amazonian tributary quest of rubber and the other natural produce abounding in these regions.

In the introduction to his valuable list Sir Clements Markham says that the evidence of language favours the theory that the Amazonian tribes, "now like the sands on the sea-shore for their originality sprang from two or at most three parent stocks. Dialects of the Tupi language extend from the roots of the Andes to the Atlantic and southwards into Paraguay... and it is established that the differences in the roots between the various Amazonian languages are not so great as was generally supposed. This no doubt is true, and will account for much. Thus we see it here recorded that of the Carabuyanas (Japura) there were or were 16 branches, that the Chiquito group comprises forty tribes speaking "seven different languages"; that of the Juris (Upper Amazons) there are ten divisions; that of the Beni and Mamoré rivers 26 branches, "speaking according to Southey, thirteen languages"; of the Uaupés 18 divisions, and so on, we feel how much there is to be accounted for. Attempts have been made to weaken

† *Urbewohner Brasiliens*, p. 46.

the force of the linguistic argument has been for some time much in favour, that the American languages, of what evanescent nature, in an unstable environment, their form and structure within a few generations. Powell, "this widely spread opinion does not tally with the facts discovered in the course of this research. It has everywhere been impressed with the fact that languages are singularly persistent, and that a language, once established for its existence upon oral tradition is not easily displaced. A test case is the Delaware (Leni Lenape), now extinct, which, judging from the specimens collected by Captain Campanius about 1645, has undergone but slight changes during the last 250 years.

In this connection the important point to be noted is that some of the stock languages have an insular distribution, others are crowded together in indescribable numbers in the upland valleys, or about river estuaries, or in the mountainous less woodlands, and this strangely irregular distribution is in all the main divisions of the continent. Thus of the 58 linguistic families in North America as mentioned above, 18 are restricted to the relatively narrow strip of coast-land between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, ten are dotted along the Gulf of Mexico from Florida to the Rio Grande, and five are round the Gulf of California, while nearly all the rest of the some six million square miles—is occupied by the widely diffused Eskimauan, Athapaskan, Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Shoshonean families. The same phenomenon is repeated by Central and South America, where less than a dozen languages—Opatan, Nahuatlan, Huastecan, Choroteguan, Arawakan, Gesan (Tapuyan), Tupi-Guaranian, Caribean, etc.—are spread over millions of square miles, while many others are restricted to extremely narrow areas. Here the distribution is largely determined, as in Caucasia, by the altitude. In Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia; Sierras in Mexico; in the United States the chief resort of the "Indians" has been the fjord-like formations and estuaries with their narrow

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Linguistic Families*, p. 141.

of the Pacific seaboard. The theory advanced by the leading American anthropologists that these fishing-grounds were occupied by primitive man, who thence radiated along the coast, at least, over the continent, has not been generally accepted. However plausible in itself, it seemed difficult to reconcile it with some of the ascertained data, not the least of which was the discovery that the great Siouan family of Indians are of original seats not on the Pacific but on the Atlantic slope (see, for example, the Gasolinas). Hence in this instance at least the early migration was not from the west to the Missouri, but from the east apparently to and up the Mississippi to their later prairie haunts. The extraordinary abundance of nutritious and easily obtained food yielded by the Pacific estuaries need not be over-estimated as a determining cause. But a more potent one was probably the scouring action of fierce predatory steppe nomads, so common, as in Central Asia, most of the heterogeneous groups of Indians together in contracted areas may still be regarded as the "springs of the plains."

It was inevitable that such dislocations, which have occurred both in the New as well as in the Old World, should give rise to endless interminglings of the two original elements, causing that great variability which characterizes narrow limits which justifies Dr

Distribution  
of the Original  
Ethical  
Elements.

Dr Huxley's opinion regarding the diversity of the present American Indian groups. First comes the distinctly round-headed type, which comprises the mound-builders, the cliff-dwellers, and the "Hohokam Indians" who belong to one and the same race. Further research in the old graves and ruins invariably brings to light the remains of a short, stout, round-headed people with a broad face, thin nose, and large cheek-bones, resembling the type of the Uchias, and other survivors of several tribes in the West. True brachycephaly increases southwards, as seen in the Mayas, Mixtecs, Zapotecs, and others of Central America, and also the old Chiriquis of Costa Rica, and

Les groupes se comportent à peu près de la même manière que  
l'on trouve, en Amérique comme en Océanie, des types  
"Malaisiens." (*Les Races Malaises et Américaines*, in *L'Anthropologie*,



beyond doubt the Chinua, Quechua, and Aymara of Bolivia. Still farther south it recurs in the Puelches of Yucatan (84°), with equally short heads and moderate prognathism. These Puelches are not to be connected with the Yuncas of the Pacific Coast.

On the other hand the Tehuelches, who have been the Sumadouro district in Comodoro Rivadavia, characterised by long heads of archaic type, are found in the Santa caves of this district that Lund found the high and prognathous skulls, which best represent the long-headed race in South America. From this point they spread in all directions, north to Guiana, east to the Strait of Magellan, west to Ancon, south to the Pampas. Its living representatives are the Botocudos, many Guarani, the Paraguanis, and the long-headed Fuegians. The long-heads appear first, and to have been followed much later and displaced by the round-heads.

But in North America the round-headed type, as others were encroached upon by populations of the dolichocephalic type—Redskins and Cherokees, Chickasaws, Acolhuas. Even still dolichocephaly is seen among the Iroquois, Coahuilas, Sonorans, while the intermediate type with on the prairies and plateaux undoubtedly represents a mixture between the long-headed invaders and the round-heads whom they swept aside as they advanced southward. The Minnetaris are highly dolicho; the Ponkas and the Sioux are brachy; the Algonquians variable, while the Siouans are widely round a mesaticephalous mean.

The Athapascans alone are homogeneous, and brachycephaly recurs amongst them, as it does among their other southern kindred, who have attained an exaggerated form by the widespread practice of artificial deformation, which dates from remote times. In typical cases both of brachy and dolicho deformation, as in the Cerro de las Palmas graves in south-west Mexico, deformation prevails also in Peru and Bolivia, as well as in

Cranial  
Deformation.

...to the Atlantic side. The flat-head stock, as  
 ...the Columbia estuary to Peru, is found amongst  
 ...relations the Maya-Quiché,  
 ...It was also in use amongst the ancient  
 ...Hayti, and Jamaica, and the  
 ...Toltec, that is, the people of Tollen.  
 ...founded a civilised state on the  
 ...4th and 5th centuries A.D., and whose name  
 ...associated with every ancient monument  
 ...Central America. On this "Toltec question" the  
 ...theories are current, and while some hold  
 ...Toltecs were a great and powerful nation, who after  
 ...of their empire migrated southwards, everywhere  
 ...their culture throughout Central America, others regard  
 ...as "fabulous," and the Toltecs themselves as a  
 ...events "nothing more than a sept of the  
 ...themselves, the ancestors of those Mexicans who built  
 ...the present city of Mexico. A third view,  
 ...Dr Valentini, that the Toltecs were not Nahuas but  
 ...supported both by E. P. Dieseldorf<sup>1</sup> and by  
 ...It is argued that the Mayas formerly ranged  
 ...N., but that all were driven south by Aztec  
 ...the north and west, the Huastecs of Vera Cruz alone  
 ...Toluca and Cholula were Maya settlements, and their  
 ...was adopted by the Aztecs, whence the similarity  
 ...in many points.

...North-west Pacific Coast the same ethnical inter-  
 ...and Dr Franz Boas<sup>2</sup> here distin-  
 ...four types, the Northern (Tsim-  
 ...), the Kwakiutl, the Harrison Lake,  
 ...Flat-heads, Shuswaps, &c.).

Type of  
 North-west  
 Coast Indians  
 Variable.

...headed, but while the Taimshians are of medium  
 ...concave nose, very large head, and enormously  
 ...the average for North America by 6 mm.,

<sup>1</sup> *Who were the Toltecs?*

<sup>2</sup> *Classification etc. of the Kwakiutl Indians, Washington, 1897,*

the Kwakiutls are shorter, with very high and relatively narrow hooked nose, and quite exceptionally high face; the Harrison

Lake very short, with exceedingly short nose, passing in this respect all other forms in America"; lastly, the inland Salish rather high and wide nose of the characteristic

It would be difficult to find anywhere that which is presented by some of the natives, those, for instance, of Harrison Lake heads (88-8), and some of the Labrador of dolichocephaly not exceeded even by the But this violent contrast is somewhat forms, such as those of the Thlinkits, the the western (Alaskan) Eskimo, by which also to be noticed that the skulls brought Greenland by A. Pansch, of the 2nd German expedition, and studied by Sören Hansen, show index as high as 75, with an extreme range from

Assuming that the *Skrällinger* of the early ancestors of the present Greenlanders which there is not much room for and many think purest section of

Eskimo  
Origins and  
Migrations.

in touch with Europeans ever since the discovery of the New World by Eric the Red about 980 A.D. They formerly ranged as far south as Massachusetts; they again met in 1004 by Thorvald about Kjalarnes, which has been identified with the present Cape Cod. This account applies badly or not at all to the Algonquian other Indians, but quite well to the Eskimos, their small size, dark colour, and broad features, and

<sup>1</sup> W. L. H. Duckworth, *Jour. Anthrop. Inst. August*

<sup>2</sup> *Centralblatt f. Anthropologie*, etc., 1896, pp. 137-8

which despite considerable variations present all the main Eskimo type and especially the characteristic high pyramidal form found one, "an welchem die Schläfenlinien beiderseits durch einen etwa 2 cm. breiten aufgetriebenen Scheitelansatz ausgangs wie bei den menschenähnlichen Affen." Another (Greenland) presented the lowest nasal index yet measured

around Inupiat unknown to the other natives, and  
 of marrow and blood, and what looked like  
 the Eskimo name *Eskimautic*, "raw-flesh eaters" given  
 by the Alaska Algonquians, and corrupted by the French  
 to *Esquimaux*. The most general national name is *Inuit*,  
 in the west (Alaska); *Yuit*, of same meaning, on the  
 west of Bering Strait; and in the east (Greenland) *Karait*,  
 which may be a native form of *Strilling*. It is  
 noticeable, in connection with their costume, some  
 implements, myths, and even physical traits, that the two  
 sides by side for several hundred years till the  
 day when the Norsemen withdrew, and that contact  
 had continued down to the present time early in the  
 day when the Danes reoccupied Greenland. To these  
 relations Prof. Tylor attributes the many striking coin-  
 cidences between the two cultures, mentioning especially the  
 curious habit of rival parties reciting satirical verses  
 each other, stone lamps and kettles. "It is thus likely  
 that the Eskimanders may have learnt from the Scandinavians  
 to work the potstone both into kettles and lamps. If so,  
 these would spread from Greenland over the whole  
 continent."

This view has to be put the theory strenuously  
 by Dr. H. Rink, that the Eskimo cradle was in the

Dr. E. Pettit, who takes *Eskimo* from the Cree dialect, gives the  
 Cree name "Mangeurs de chair crue" (wiyas=chair, arki=cru,  
 etc.). He adds that the collective Mackenzie name is *Chiglerk*,  
 the Hudson Bay *Aggut* or *Axut*, pl. *Agutit*, while the western  
 name is *Tesut* or *Tagut*, pl. *Chukhit*, all these terms meaning  
 "raw-flesh eaters" (*Proc. Roy. Soc. Geogr.* x. 1875, p. 256 sq.)

Prof. E. B. Tylor, *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* 1884, p. 349-  
 350, says that *Strilling* may be a Norse form of *Karait*. The term  
 was used by W. H. Dall (*Alaska and its Resources*, Boston, 1870;  
 also *Alaskan Tribes of Alaska*, etc., in *Proc. Amer. Ass.* 1870,  
 p. 100) as a designation of all the Eskimo, Aleutian, and Chukchi  
 peoples with general acceptance.

See also *Christianity among the Modern Esquimaux*, Jour.

1878, p. 122.  
 See also *The Eskimos, their Distribution and Characteristics*, 2 vols., Copen-  
 hagen, 1877.

interior of the continent, whence they moved down the Yukon, and perhaps other rivers, to the coast. Here (in

<sup>Belknap and</sup>  
<sup>Abbot's</sup> ~~Crath~~  
<sup>land.</sup>

Alaska) they must have spent some time about the lower coast, developing a "culture home," and gradually moving to an Arctic environment before a steady advance along the lines of least resistance, over the ice-board from Bering Strait to Greenland was possible. Conditions accord with the view that the Eskimos of the interior of Alaska; that, apart from the Aleutian branch in the earliest period peopled the coast, the main stream settled later at the river-mouths along Bering Strait, hiving off some colonies passing round to the Mackenzie river, then to the pelago to Labrador and Greenland. This migration taken thousands of years, as they can have advanced bands, very much as to this day they are seen during certain seasons.

This view is supported by many facts of their usages and speech, but not from their physical features. The kayak does not attain its highest perfection among the Eskimos. Again the labret or lip ornament, obviously of Thlinkit origin in a reduced form due to climatic influence to the Mackenzie. Here two smaller labrets are used. The mouth replace the large Thlinkit and Aleutian labret remarked by Dall, "no hunter exposed to the ice waters could have worn"; it would have exposed a strip of flesh to freezing and been an impediment otherwise." Reference is also made to the Eskimos of the Yukon, where Lieut. Ray of the Point Barrow expedition brought to light "a pair of wooden goggles" found 26 feet below the surface. It has also been pointed out that the Eskimo could only have followed this line of migration of their stone lamps, without whose light and heat it would be impossible in those high latitudes. "Since the Eskimo is dependent upon his lamp for his life, it seems safe to bring forward as a corollary that his migration into his present home was subsequent to the

The Eskimo has been shown to have determined the distinctive  
 features of his "gangs" in the strict sense, an *avangit*  
 or social organization being, on the *avangit* itself,  
 highly developed, and although the *avangit* <sup>Tribal</sup>  
 system has been denied because <sup>no avangit</sup>  
 the *avangit* <sup>and (avangit, avangit)</sup> of the group-name means  
 such districts or stations, nevertheless "the term  
 is probably the most correct in this case." Recent  
 research shows that "each larger household comprising  
 a village has a chief as conscientiously venerated and  
 regarded of communities or magistrates elsewhere."  
 It is a mistake to suppose that all the Eskimos dwell on  
 the coast, within 50 miles of the shore, and <sup>Variable</sup>  
 there are several inland tribes who <sup>Type. Avangit</sup>  
 hunting, and have largely intermingled with  
 the fusion with the Thlinkits and Athapascans being  
 in some districts. The Nushegagnuts of the Nushegak  
 have a skill on both land and water.  
 inhabiting the head-waters of the river and the lake  
 the interior are in constant communication with the  
 "tribes," while others "have been strangely mixed by  
 from the westward and the northward." To this  
 may partly be attributed the physical variability  
 Bink recognises three distinct types:—(1) the  
 natives of Kotzebue Sound, who live on fish,  
 and always have a hungry look; (2) the  
 gigantic Nualoks of splendid physique, who  
 on the inland uplands, and feed on the reindeer, mountain  
 sheep; (3) the short, stumpy people, who pro-  
 bably the old Eskimos before contact with southern

*The Origin and Range of the Eskimo Loop*, in *Amer.*  
*Anthrop.*, 1896, p. 128.

Hence we cannot accept as applicable to the whole  
 the statement that "there seems to be no recognised chief-  
 settlement generally containing one man who makes  
 by superintending all intercourse and traffic with visitors"  
*Alaska etc. of Alaska*, Washington, 1884, p. 125).

tribes, and are now found chiefly on the coast. Whale, seal, and reindeer are the staple foods. Reference has already been made to the Eskimo of the people of East Greenland, where the Eskimos present are the Anmagalika. These Eskimo stations on the coast district ever again were first for the first time by the Danish expedition of that date comprised 413 souls distributed in 100 a tract of about 80 miles. Each station had one of these was as large as the *Kasiga*, which is found in every Alaskan village. Inmates, being 28 feet long, 15 wide, and divided off into eight "stalls," varying in size of persons in each family. And here they live during the long Arctic winters, cooking, merrymaking, dancing, singing, perhaps gorging but never wrangling. "No quarrel disturbs the no dispute about the use of the narrow space; unkind words are considered a misdemeanor amongst most Eskimo peoples.

A marvellous linguistic phenomenon is the Eskimo language, which, despite its involved structure (see above), shows a surprising uniformity from Bevirguk to Greenland. It is as if the Aryan languages were still current in all its fulness, with but slight variation, from Ceylon to Iceland. This persistence of years in such an exceedingly extenuated domain to the migrations ranging everywhere over previous regions, so that no disintegrating effects were produced with other tongues. The dialectic differences, which "comparatively insignificant," are no greater than between broad Scotch. On several grounds Rink's language was fully developed, as we now know to be the dispersion from the culture home. Thus the name

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* II. p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Rink, I. p. 26. The language itself is said to contain no swear term, so that it is impossible to swear in Eskimo.

... bearded seal, walrus, Greenland whale, ... poles, are everywhere the same. So also ... belongings are identically named in the ... dialects, showing that not only the language, ... and it may be added many myths and ... as at present. Yet, according to ... of the national folklore would carry us ... epoch, when the Eskimo people, ... were still in direct relation not only with ... but even with the "Hairy Ainu", these-

... again raised the whole question of racial affinities, ... contact and direct intercourse,

... evidence of like usages, arts, religious Cultural  
Systems ... conditions, legendary matter and everything

... under the expression folklore. That great similarities, ... do exist in all these respects between the ... the Siberia, and other aborigines is undeniable.

... the vapour-baths produced by red-hot stones, ... the Arctic circle with much soothing from Lapland ... Alaska and down the north-west coast; several creation ... myths; a common belief in good and bad spirits, ... conception, and that borrowed, of a really Supreme ... mostly at the shamanistic stage, though with ... differences; magic practices and jugglery associated ... and witchcraft.

... all this, and much more of a like order, is carefully ... found to establish little beyond the psychic unity ... the accepted fact that America received some of its ... from Asia during the New Stone Age, that is, ... peoples had already reached a certain degree ... It will never prove, for instance, that the Aleuts ... the Thlinkits Yakuts, the Eskimauans Tunguses, the ... or that there has been any direct contact ... several groups since the New Stone Age. It is a

... *the Dog*, an Eskimo Folk-tale, *Amer. Anthropologist*, June



was subject, and can then be understood with a view to the number of similar organizations, and that reduce the question to a mere problem.

We are assured by the editor of *Evil Spirits* that "the notion of a bad spirit, a 'Shaman' to the aborigines, and entirely borrowed from authorities are quoted. Nevertheless the belief in evil spirits is overwhelming", and here reference is made to the "Evil Mania," which is "only," and again to "an evil being, a malignant 'came on earth, and with him brought the death'." Here is the Evil One playing at hide-and-seek, the text of which the editor states is a native production.

So far then the American and Siberian beliefs. But such notions are well-nigh universal, and supply no argument for common origin or of a shamanistic element more or less common to both.

"shaman," which of course is a term of Shamanism.

America, is so freely used by various religions, that the identity of these and the systems is tacitly assumed, with all the above instances. But the American *tungaks*, as the Alaskan Eskimos stand for the most part at a much lower level than Siberian shamans. They are little more than conjurors, like those who in Africa "smell out" the other evil-doers. Although sometimes looked upon

<sup>1</sup> *The Lempi and their Legends*, etc., Philadelphia, 1882, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the Eskimo say there is a good spirit who protects the kayaks, and a bad spirit how to spoil and destroy them (S. Petroff, p. 137). Cf. also Niblack's statement that among the Coast Indians the sway of the shamans "depends largely on the respect excited by belief in their influence and power over spirits" (*The Coast Indians*, p. 348).

<sup>3</sup> p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> p. 173.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 175-7.

<sup>7</sup> To the western *tungak* corresponds the Greenland *angak*, little heard of, but figures largely in the records of the early missionaries Egede and others.

... it is impossible to say whether or not  
 ... in the actual control of spirits by the con-  
 ... which the Siberians have no doubt. "Among the  
 ... natives they are credited with "the power of  
 ... by incantations and the use of certain charms,"  
 ... their duties is also "to drive out the evil spirit  
 ... the sick man". They are also expected to perform  
 ... such as removing the scalps of the slain in battle,  
 ... the death-sentence, when "the shaman  
 ... the condemned person by throwing disease into him,  
 ... him in some other (supernatural?) way".  
 ... are clever conjurers, yet "do not seem  
 ... unless they combine with the business of  
 ... of an expert trader and skilled hunter".  
 ... the office appears to be inherited, and cases are  
 ... so thoroughly ashamed of their equivocal  
 ... their sons from accepting the *damned Ave-*  
 ... the other hand observers are unanimous in declaring  
 ... take part in, conduct, or preside at sacrificial rites  
 ... or venture to propitiate evil spirits, whereas  
 ... is one of the most important functions of  
 ... shaman.

... the ground on which both agree best are the con-  
 ... which are often of a strikingly similar character.  
 ... the Samoyeds witnessed by the old traveller Richard  
 ... be compared the scene described by Franz Boas,  
 ... performer (a shamanka?) invites the people

... 190.

... *The Coast Indians, etc.*, p. 349.

... *Social Organization, etc.*, p. 650.

... 190.

... of the Niska tribe, Naas River, told Franz Boas that "only  
 ... a *shaman* can become a shaman." He added  
 ... to be shamans have no supernatural helpers at all,"  
 ... himself was called to cure disease, "four supernatural men  
 ... and helped him. They pointed out witches to him, and  
 ... see ghosts, etc." (*Tenth Report of the North-Western Tribes of*  
 ... 59-60.)

to kill her, when "she is placed on a table, and one of her attendants complies with her wish to drive a wedge through her head. The wedge is first shown to the patient, and changed for another, which consists of a wooden band that is slipped over her head. Thus it seems that the butt is standing out, having passed through her skull. As she lies containing blood, which are attached to the top of the blood is seen to flow down her face."<sup>1</sup>

Many of these pretended supernatural powers associated with the "medical profession" are common amongst primitive peoples. But the Americans resembled the African witch-doctor far more than the shaman, because amongst the Americans almost universally attributed to sorcery and other magical powers amongst the Bantu Negroes themselves. "The reasonable or efficacious system of medicine, which held that diseases were caused by unseen evil beings, witchcraft, and every cough, every toothache, every headache, every chill, every fever, every boil, and every wound, and every ailment, were attributed to such cause. Their medical practice was a horrible system of sorcery, and to save human life was sacrificed on an enormous scale. Many were given over to priest doctors to be tormented and destroyed; and a universal and profound belief in witchcraft made them suspicious, and led to the killing of all obnoxious people, and engendered blood feuds on a large scale.... In fact, a natural death in a savage was a comparatively rare phenomenon; but death by sorcery, or blood feud arising from a belief in witchcraft, was common."<sup>2</sup>

In the treatment of ailments the medicine-men relied much to their own devices; nor were the shamans anywhere very clearly defined. On the whole, the tungak, to generalise the word, may be regarded as

<sup>1</sup> *Social Organisation*, etc., p. 489.

<sup>2</sup> Powell, *Indian Linguistic Families*, p. 39.

... arriving in the late Stone Age and ...  
 ... in various directions from his Siberian proto-  
 ...  
 ... perhaps than these resemblances are those of  
 ... which are found to prevail be-  
 ... the British Columbian Indians and the South  
 ... and which are well illustrated by  
 ... symbolic carvings of the Haida totem or  
 ... and the *tiki*, or carved pillars, often set up at the  
 ... of the Maori chiefs and others in New Zealand. The best  
 ... the still current daring speculations based on the simi-  
 ... and design presented by some of these objects will  
 ... in the remarks of Mr Niblack, who has made a special  
 ... the subject, and contrasts the famous *tiki* near the grave  
 ... Where-Where's daughter with several sculptured columns  
 ... Thinkits and Haidas: "Many resemblances of the Haida  
 ... remote stocks have been pointed out by writers; but  
 ... how futile such clues are in tracing the origin and  
 ... of the tribes of the world, a parallel is here briefly  
 ... between the Maori of New Zealand and the Haida. The  
 ... organization of the tribe, their ownership of land, and  
 ... of blood-revenge are similar. The men tattoo with  
 ... to identify them with their sub-tribe or house-  
 ... they ornament their canoes, paddles, house-fronts, etc.,  
 ... the same manner.... The carved wooden mortuary  
 ... in front of the Maori houses are also suggestive;  
 ... to say that while all this is not in one sense acci-  
 ... the resemblances and similarities are as likely to have  
 ... the like tendencies of the human mind under the  
 ... conditions, or environment, to develop along  
 ... as through contact of these tribes or through a  
 ... Here it may be added that if the Thinkits  
 ... in virtue of their common door-posts, the  
 ... and Yakuts must also be one in virtue of their common  
 ... and as things equal to the same are equal to one  
 ... arrive at the conclusion that the Turki Yakuts and  
 ... Maori are also one, which nobody has yet ventured

Mr Niblack's reasoning applies to the popular belief and persistence of the *Feiticeiro*, which is the wide-spread

myths and folklore in the strict sense of the word. European were-wolf and Malayan were-ghosts, the South-American were-jaguar, as amongst the Indians who speak of a good man formerly dwelling on the banks of some men, including one of the murderers, who was one night murdered by a gang of Indians on the sedgy river-bank when a black jaguar appeared and killed down the assassin. This jaguar was often seen, but never hurt anybody unless he happened to be in the way, and when all were killed he was seen no more. The story, despite its Christian colouring is undoubtedly of Indian origin. current in Paraguay about Yaguareté-Aba, a half-breed who changes at night to a jaguar in order to feed on the Indians. Withdrawing to a thicket, he falls prone on the ground, and thus transformed. Then to become man again he undergoes the process in reverse order. He differs from a man in having a very short tail (a mere stump) and hairless forehead. He is wounded by a daring youth and vanishes, but the youth following up the trail of blood comes to a cave attended by bones, renews the fight, and slays the ghoul.<sup>1</sup>

More striking still is the story current in the Province of Tucuman about two brothers, who formerly lived in a forest wood infested by a man-eating jaguar. All attempts to kill him down had failed, as at every shot his hair matted together, causing the bullet to rebound. Now one of the brothers decided that whenever the jaguar appeared his brother was to be on hand, sat a-watching, and one day followed stealthily after him into the woods, till they reached a tree on which hung a bundle of salt and a jaguar skin rolled up in a bundle. Here the brother, taking three grains of salt and spreading them on the ground, danced round and round until he became exhausted. Horrified at the sight, the watcher went home, and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. Ambrosetti, *La Legenda del Yaguareté-Aba*, in *Anales de la Academia Científica Argentina*, 1896, vol. 41, p. 321.

...the man, kindled a fire into which he threw the  
... On his return to the hut, there was his dying  
... who knew what had happened, and said he must die  
... had time to get him a bit of the skin. So his pitying  
... was off and back in all haste with an unburnt strip  
... from the embers, which the moribund eagerly seized  
... his shoulders and was in a flash again a jaguar,  
... a mighty bound sprang from the hut and was seen

According to the north, Franz Boas<sup>2</sup> shows that the folklore  
of the Northwest Indians has spread over wide spaces by borrow-  
ing and migrations. Thus a group of myths, in which the raven  
takes the chief part as creator, etc., was originally confined to the  
Tsimshians and neighbouring Haidas and Tsimshians, but spread  
to the Columbia river peoples, though picking up foreign  
elements on the way. By following the track of such myths,  
they often be thrown on the migrations of the tribes them-  
selves as in the case of the Tsimshians, who have so little  
contact with their present neighbours that their arrival on the coast  
is regarded as of relatively recent date.

On the Atlantic side of the continent we seem to enter a  
new mythological world, and here it may be readily admitted  
that Charles G. Leland has shown direct contact between the  
myths of the Algonquians and those of the East Algonquian tribes (Micmacs,  
Passamaquoddis). "Lox," the wolverine, may not be an  
Algonquian word; but his misdeeds bear too great a resemblance  
to those of Loki to be explained away as mere coincidences. To  
be sure, however, for these and many other identities of thought  
we need but recall what has been stated of the long  
contact of the Norsemen in Greenland, of their southern expedi-  
tions to Vinland, and of the former range of the Eskimos  
in North America, overlapping and undoubtedly intermingling  
with the Algonquians of New England, etc. 1884.

<sup>1</sup> See also... *La Legenda del Jaguar-Abá*, in *Anales de la*  
*Real Academia de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales de*  
*Buenos Aires*, 1896, vol. 41, p. 321.  
<sup>2</sup> See also... *Geog. Anst. f. Anthropol.*, etc. 1895, p. 487 sq.; also *Indianische*  
*Mythen der Nordpazifischen Küste Amerikas*, Berlin, 1895, p. 329 sq.; and  
*Journal of the American Anthropological Association*, 1894, p. 660 sq.  
<sup>3</sup> See also... *Legends of New England*, etc. 1884.

with the Eastern Algonquians, and they are closely related to the western Athapascans.

These two great families of Athapascans, with their endless ramifications, were rather occupied in pre-Columbian times probably more than half of the continent.

Range of Athapascans.

The Athapascans, so named from the Athapascan domain, but also collectively called Eskimos, occupied a divided territory, compact in the north from the point in Alaska nearly to Port Nelson on Hudson Bay, and in the south from the Rocky Mountains along the coast, conterminous with the Algonquians, rising inland and dipping westwards nearly to 50° N. Then, along the west coast a few small enclaves, which on the track taken during their southern migration, were in the Mexican borderlands, where they roamed till the wide tract comprising portions of Arizona, New Mexico, and the Rio Grande basin.

So marked is the contrast between the mostly peaceful and even timid hunters or trappers in service of the Hudson Bay Company, and the fierce predatory Apache, Lipan, and Navajo, that kinship might have perhaps escaped detection. The common Athapascan speech. The northern, and southern sections have a joint population of about 100,000, the southern being by far the most numerous. They are mostly reduced and settled in various reservations, the northerners (Ah-tenas, Kuchins, Chippewyan, "Dog Knives," Dog Ribs, Hares, Slaves, Nahanic, etc.) the free life of hunters and traders under the protection of the Dominion Government.

Despite several centuries of a lawless existence on the steppe tribes, the Navajos have preserved their ancient and apparently correct oral traditions. Their arrival in the San Juan valley before the close of the 14th century, where they were probably cliff-dwellers, is attested to Mr F. W. Hodge the Apaches—who are not to be confused with the Navajos, as commonly supposed—were at that time

Navajos and Apaches.

the north-western and south-western parts of New Mexico. Since the 18th century the Navajoes had been joined by the remnants of Athapascans, Tanous, Tanous, Maricous, and others, and by the acquisition of the Navajoes after the first Spanish expedition (1548) the population underwent a complete change. Before the discovery of these invaders were strong enough to penetrate the Pacific continent, which afterwards suffered so severely from their depredations.

The few remaining remnants of the past are the mere echoes of the past, imparted with those of the eastern families—Algonquians, Muskogean—all of whom have been in the contact with the European settlers for about 300 years, and have probably come under Norse influences as early as the 11th century. Originally the Algonquian domain was more extensive than the Athapascan, forming a vast but irregular triangular space, whose northern base, indented by the Gulf of St. Lawrence, stretched from Labrador to the Rockies, so that it was almost everywhere continuous on the north with the Eskimo, and round the Labrador seaboard with the Eskimos. On the south the two sides were roughly enclosed by the Mississippi and the Atlantic shore line, reaching on the one hand as far as Tennessee, on the other to and perhaps a little beyond Chesapeake Sound, North Carolina. Between these two points, towards its apex, the triangle was truncated, and the territory arrested and even encroached upon by the Iroquoian domain in the west, by a detached southern branch of the Iroquoians in the centre, and by Siouan and other tribes towards the Atlantic.

The Algonquian basin the northern and chief section of the

of the *Navajoes and Apaches* in *Amer. Anthropologist*, 1895, p. 233 sq.

however, that Mr Hodge's views are questioned by Capt.

the Shawnees had even penetrated from Tennessee into South Carolina, where they were known as Savannahs—a name still surviving in the name of the Savannah River. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes had pushed westwards to the Rocky Mountains, and had pushed to South Dakota, Wyoming, and Colorado, here forming the western range of the Algonquian peoples.



Iroquoian family was completely exterminated, so that it formed a great ethnical island, enclosed Lakes Erie and Ontario, and the mouth of the St. Lawrence nearly to the head of the Gulf, comprised the whole of the present State of New York, the great part of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the head of Chesapeake Bay. These limits, which coincided with the geographical features of the region, to continual fluctuations, first during the struggle of the two rival nations, and then during the present struggle of the French and English for supremacy, in which the Algonquians generally sided with the former, the latter.

Although greatly reduced, broken up, and confined to reservations chiefly about the United States, and in the borderlands, the Algonquians still greatly outnumber the other North American family groups. In fact over half of the aborigines belong to this division, which amounts to a population of at least 95,000 (60,000 in Canada, 35,000 in the United States). Of the particular Algonquian tribe, whence the name, less than 5000 still survive, all located in the north of Ontario and Quebec. But of the Ojibwas, the next most numerous, remain as many as 32,000 round about all the Great Lakes, and of the Crees, the next most numerous, there are about 17,000, all in Manitoba and the region between Hudson Bay and Hudson Bay. The Cree language is a typical Algonquian idiom, perhaps approaching nearer to the original than any other, whence it has been inferred that the original race lay north of the Laurentian basin, probably on the shores of Lake Winnipeg. Against this assumption

<sup>1</sup> The estuary, the islands of the Gulf, and surrounding headlands of the Algonquian area, except the Labrador coast and the northern part of Newfoundland, which were still occupied by the Eskimos, and the district in central Newfoundland, which was originally held by the Beothukans. These are shown by A. S. Gatschet to have been of unknown origin, but of non-Algonquian speech. (*The Esquimaux Amer. Philos. Soc.* June 19, 1885, and May 7, 1886.) The island belonged to, or was constantly visited by the Algonquians of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

...the fact that the central tribes—Algonqui, Shawnee and Naticoke—whose territory lay between the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay, regarded themselves as the progenitors of the whole stock. From this point their numbers increased, they sent colonies northward to the coast, driving back the Eskimo, and probably the Algonqui eastward and north-westward up the valley of the Potomac, and the lakes, and southward to occupy the coast as far as a part of Carolina, where, in conjunction with the Cherokee, they expelled the Cherokees from the upper part of the Ohio, and compelled them to take refuge in the western fastnesses to the south. Most of these movements, with the subject of well-supported tradition, belong to pre-historic times, but the advance of the Algonquian tribes into the West is comparatively modern.<sup>1</sup>

Amongst the renowned Delawares (Leni Lenapé), Sac and Shawnee, and Shawnees yet extinct, although jointly numbering some 2000, all collected in agencies and reservations in Pennsylvania, New York and other places. Of the Massachusetts, whom Eliot translated the first Bible in any native tongue; the Narragansets, the Long Island Montauks<sup>2</sup>, the Manhattan, Powhatans<sup>3</sup>, the Panticos, and other Atlantic coast

<sup>1</sup> *See* *The Siwan Tribes of the East*, Washington, 1894, p. 12.  
<sup>2</sup> The name of the Montauk Indians was heard in the Civil Courts of New York in 1793, when documents of the 17th century signed by their chiefs were accepted as valid title-deeds to certain lands and fishing grounds on Long Island, Glen Cove. The Montauks proper, a few of whom still survive about Montauk Point, only held the section of the island near East Hampton; but the authority of their Sachem (Grand Sachem) has been acknowledged by the Rockaways, the Matinecocks and other tribal groups in the southern section, all of whom are mentioned in E. P. Thompson's *History of Long Island*, New York, 1892, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> The Powhatans, however, a group of about 100 half-breeds, descendants of the Indians who were members of the Algonquian Confederacy founded by Chief Powhatan, and associated with the romantic adventures of Captain John Smith and Pocahontas. They are settled in the district of Indian River (so named from them) some 20 miles east of New York. They speak a new of English speech, though still proud of their descent

tribes, with whom the English settlements survived the "wreck of nations."

Chicago, which has a white population as numerous as all the North American Indians, is the site of Fort Dearborn, which was founded by the turbulent prairie Indians, and was the scene of a memorable gathering of the Pottawatomis, and other the formerly wide-spread Algonquian Mississippian, they ceded to the United States Government more than "prairie value," a vast domain of territory constituting the present States of Illinois and Indiana. This tract are now thickly strewn thriving agricultural settlements of the white intruders, while the original land are reduced to about 1500 souls, distributed among the Indian Territory, Kansas, and other parts of the West.

But even the most maudlin of sentimentalists

scarcely venture to affirm that from a utilitarian point of view there is anything to be regretting the transformation.

The Indian Reservations. Reservations, when honestly administered, as always has been and now also for the most part in the States, are to regret an inevitable change, by which the Indians possibly be doomed to ultimate extinction or absorption by a higher race, but by which they are in the past every opportunity of becoming peaceful and civilized. Many, such as the Chikasaws and Cherokees in the Six Nations in New York, the Ojibwas and Shawanons, and these Pottawatomis themselves, have accepted their destinies with a sort of philosophic resignation, and have made considerable progress in the arts and industries of the white man. Even letters have not been neglected. A surprise was afforded to thoughtful observers by a paper on Indian legends and superstitions published in the *Forum* for July 1898, by the Pottawatomi chief, Red Jacket.

and of being the only Virginia tribe still occupying a considerable hunting ground" (J. Garland Pollard, *The Passing of the Indian*, Washington, 1894).

...of what may be called mysticism in the  
 ...a curious account of certain processes  
 ...communicate with the spiritual world, as  
 ...the writer himself; "Poles 10 to 12 feet high are set  
 ...in the form of a circle from 6 to 8 feet in diameter.  
 ...of the lodge is left open; the sides are tightly covered  
 ...the skins of animals. A fire is built close to  
 ...for the purpose of enabling the spectators to light their  
 ...they generally smoke during the strange performance,  
 ...a low, tinkling sound is heard, like several small  
 ...With a rush, on comes the leading performer,  
 ...magician's little flat rattle-box like a tambourine. He  
 ...the fire, and begins by telling his audience how he  
 ...of the dead, as well as of those yet living in the  
 ...that any present can ask them questions and receive  
 ...thereof. He next sings a true song which can  
 ...be understood. He then either goes into the lodge by  
 ...or sits outside with the audience; throwing his  
 ...some other clothing over the top of it. Immediately  
 ...begins to shake, like a creature of life with an ague chill.  
 ...in the lodge a sound, like that of a distant strong  
 ...through leafless trees, and intermingled with strange  
 ...questions are asked by anyone present they are  
 ...in an unknown tongue; but, luckily, among the  
 ...is always a special interpreter to explain what the

...events, is as good as the *séances* of our modern  
 ...with their paid mediums, mahatmas and other ex-  
 ...and a great deal better than the scalplings, lingering  
 ...nameless horrors of Indian warfare.

...the relations of these Algonquian tribes to those  
 ...of an unknown past, the earth-  
 ...mounds which are strewn  
 ...The Mound-  
 ...Builders.  
 ...Mississippi basin and some adjacent lands,  
 ...recorded especially in the Ohio valley, which at all  
 ...of the Algonquian domain? Few now believe  
 ...were a different race from the present Indians,  
 ...antiquaries agree with Dr Cyrus Thomas, who

has dealt exhaustively with the subject, and has shown that these mounds that the Indians call *tablas* and *tablas* many have been erected or continued by the Indians, and consequently by the present aborigines, and there is no reason for ascribing them to any other people, and no knowledge.

This general conclusion is in no way confirmed by Nadailac's suggestion that the mounds were built by Indians, but of more civilized tribes than the Seminoles, by whom they were driven south, and that they were found with their towns, council-houses, and other buildings by the first white settlers.<sup>1</sup> It would appear from Mr F. H. Cushing's investigations, that the mounds and houses of the Seminole Indians were a natural growth growing up on the spot under conditions quite different from those prevailing in the north. Many of the mounds, especially between Tampa and Cape Sable, are of a circular structure, that is, made with definite purpose, and arranged symmetrically into large mounds comparable to the mounds of the interior. They are built on the shores of dwellings in shallow water, where the kitchen refuse, shells, accumulates and rises above the surface, and the structure appears to stand on posts in a low mound. This structure comes to be regarded as the normal form of dwelling everywhere. "Through this natural series of circumstances there is a tendency to the development of mound-building habitations and for the council-house of the chief to be situated on sites being either separate mounds or single large mounds according to circumstances. Thus the study of the mounds of the Seminole Indians and of the shell-mounds in the same region affords a possible origin for a custom of mound-building which is prevalent among the North American Indians." "The origin of the genesis of such structures, the custom must have been introduced from the shores of the Gulf inland, and not from the Gulf towards Florida.

<sup>1</sup> *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1897, p. 702 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 702 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Sixteenth An. Report Bur. Ethnology*, Washington, 1897, p. 702 sq.

of a different order are presented by the Algonquian and Iroquoian, the Iroquoians, whose social organization has been made the subject of special studies by several eminent American ethnologists. Noted at all times for their proud warlike spirit, and highly developed military system, they were called the "Romans of the New World," and despite limited numbers and long-standing inter-tribal feuds, such an empire might have been established between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi had the advent of the Whites been a few generations longer. In the Laurentian region, their cradle, they formed originally two hostile sections, the *Eries* (*Wyandots*) and the *Iroquois*, that is, the "Five Nations"—Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Onondagoes, Senecas—who became the "Six Nations" when joined by the Tuscaroras from North Carolina in 1712. After the dispersion of the Eries by the Iroquois in 1656, the Wyandots disappear from history, and survive now only in the form of the two great lakes Huron and Erie, so called from their aborigines.

Further south the chief member of the family are the Cherokees, their connection with the Iroquois, first suggested by Barton, has now been placed beyond doubt by Horatio Hale and others. Much interest attaches also to this southern branch, the Cherokees, although they have made no name in history, they are regarded as amongst the most intelligent of all the North American Indians. It was a Cherokee, Segwoya, better known as Great, who in 1824 performed the remarkable intellectual feat of analysing the sounds of the Cherokee polysynthetic tongue, and providing

The  
Cherokee  
Script.

The migration of the Iroquois points to the St. Lawrence region as the early home of the Algonquian tribes, whence they gradually moved down to the southern shores of the Great Lakes" (Powell, *Indian Linguistic Families*,

1910)  
which strained etymologies have been proposed, was the name of the famous league known to the English as that of the "Six Nations," while they called themselves "*Ongwehowiw*,"

symbols for a complete syllable system, and the modifications of the letters in an alphabet. He himself neither read nor write, nor speak any other than his only notion of writing being derived from the printed books. The syllabary, which is still in use, and is, as well, comprises 85 signs, of which one only is a letter, the rest being full syllables made up of  $\frac{1}{2}$  the consonant combination with six vowels, as, *aa, ka, ke,* &c. The Cherokees, who have not met with over-education at the hands of the authorities, have all been driven from their original homes in Virginia and the Carolinas to the West, where they hold the most important of all the Indian reservations of the present population, including the Choktaws, of the same stock. All the rest of the once powerful Iroquoians, numbering more than 20,000, distributed in about equal parts between the States and Dominion Agencies.

The just mentioned Choktaws were at one time a distinct branch of the *Muskogean* family, and were one of the members of which were the Muskogees, who were the name proper, generally known as *Choktaws*.

The Muskogean.

They were numerous inlets or coast streams in their territory, and were driven to Mexico; the Seminoles of Florida; the Chickasaws of the Appalachian, and a few others, whose collective domain occupied nearly the whole region between Tennessee and the Gulf between the Lower Mississippi and the Atlantic. The Seminoles, occupied by the Seminoles, did not originally belong to the Muskogean family, but to the now extinct *Timuquanans*, who were a distinct though not necessarily a stock, language. In fact, the Seminoles suggested Carib affinities, and although the Caribs were believed to have had their cradle, not in North America, but in Central Brazil, it is likely enough that these people, in prehistoric times have passed from the Antilles to Florida, where they were later driven out by the Seminoles. The Seminoles, as later Heilprin, have shown that Florida has been occupied by man in remote times, and it appears from Mr C. B. Moore's researches that the skulls from the old burial-mounds are of the same

<sup>1</sup> *Certain Sand-Mounds of Duval Country, Florida, &c.*, by C. B. Moore, Sc. Philadelphia, x 1895.

of Ehrenreich's Bahari and other Brazilian  
 (pp. 110-111).

themselves, if they were round-heads of  
 have been preceded by a still  
 race possibly dating from  
 The oldest perfect skull known

Primitive  
 Man in  
 Florida.

is extremely dolichocephalic and entirely different  
 type; it was found by Wyman at the bottom of  
 near Hawkinsville on the St Johns. This  
 that its lower layers of the shells had become  
 and transformed into a limestone in which the  
 bones of the skeleton are firmly imbedded. We  
 if this skeleton is not that of a survivor of  
 people who were on the peninsula before the short-

the Athapascans and Algonquians, the most wide-  
 American nation were the Siouans\*,  
 is now known to have been even  
 than it was lately supposed to be.

The  
 Siouans.

being confined to the plains west of the Mississippi,  
 were supposed to have reached from the Pacific  
 ranged south to the Gulf of Mexico and east to  
 and occupied wide tracts in Virginia and the  
 in fact is now sought their primeval home.  
 began the settlement of Virginia, a term at  
 wider meaning than now, the whole region  
 Appalachians and the coast was occupied by a large  
 groups in a state of extreme instability,  
 was the ethnical confusion that their descendants  
 succeeded in clearing it up.

the Powhatan (Algonquian) confederates, there were  
 and Muskogean tribes, together with the

*Brasiliens*, pp. 120-27.

*Science*, Feb. 7, 1896 (Reprint, p. 4).

adopted by Mr Powell for the whole family, of which  
 are the chief division. It is an extension of *Sioux*, a  
 of "Nadowe-si-wag" (Snakes or Enemies), an abusive term  
 to some of the northern members of the family.



independent *Ucheans* (*Yuchi*) of the same stock as the other groups whose hitherto unsuspected relationship has now been placed beyond reasonable doubt by the abundant historic evidence. These were the *Muscogean* tribes, such as the Saponi, Tutelo<sup>1</sup>, Catawba, *Wecon*, and others, who were centred chiefly on the James River, and the Pamlico, Richmond, and were at constant war with the Powhatans, while hard pressed by the superior Algonquians, whom most of them appear to have been eventually absorbed or driven with the Algonquians beyond the Allegheny and the plains of the Mississippi basin. The survivors of the latter again been united with the kindred Dakotas, Arapahoes, and Siouans after a separation which Mr. Dorsey calculates at about 1500 years, basing his calculation on the dissimilar character of the Siouan tongues spoken by the Algonquians.

"All the statements and traditions concerning the Algonquian tribes, taken in connection with what we know of the traditions of the western tribes of the same stock, point to the upper region of the Ohio—the Alleghany, Kanawha, and Kanawha country—as their original home, from which the one branch crossed the mountains to the waters of Virginia, while the other followed along the Ohio and the Alleghany to the west. Linguistic evidence indicates that the eastern members of the Siouan family were established upon the Atlantic coast before the western tribes of that stock had reached the Alleghany."

That the Siouan family ranged also in former times to the Gulf of Mexico is shown by the late survival in Louisiana of the *Bluksi*, i.e. "trifling or worthless," as they were called by the Choktaws, though they called themselves *Tanchi*. Their original home was in the present State of Mississippi, near Bay, named from them, where they were first met by the Spaniards in 1699, but whence they migrated about 1760 across the Alleghany to Louisiana. From the specimens of their language

<sup>1</sup> It was from the last full-blood Tutelo (Totero) chief that Mr. Dorsey obtained the linguistic materials which enabled him to make the above announcement that the Tutelo must have been a Siouan tongue. (*Philosoph. Soc.* 1883.)

<sup>2</sup> Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes*, etc. p. 29.

Mooney and Doney it is clearly shown that "the Biloxi are a fragment of an isolated Siouan tribe".<sup>1</sup> It may be conjectured that the Siouan language heard from the Mississippi delta to the Carolina coast was at one time continuously occupied by a common stock, of whom the Biloxi are a fragment separated from their Atlantic kinsmen by the irruption of the Muskogean race west into the south-eastern States of Alabama and Georgia. "The Muskogean tribes all claim to have come into the Gulf States from beyond the Mississippi," and the tradition is clearest among the Choctaw and Chickasaw—who may be supposed to have crossed last. As they advanced they came at last in contact with the Timuquanan and Uchean tribes of Florida and Georgia, and then began the long struggle which ended only with the destruction of the Timukua and the incorporation by the Muskogean race supreme from Florida Cape to the Combahee River in South Carolina. This wave of invasion must necessarily have had its effect on the Carolina tribes towards the coast," and, it may be added, on the Siouan (Biloxi) tribes of the Gulf Coast.

irruptions  
and displace-  
ments.

Some of their customs and religious ideas, though not necessarily such, the eastern Siouans must have derived considerably from their Missouri kinsmen. Cosmogonies.

A chief told W. Byrd that "he believ'd there was one God, who had several subaltern deities under him. This master-God made the world a long time ago. He made the sun, the moon, and stars their business in the world, which they, with good looking after, have faithfully attended to ever since.... After death both good and bad people are put into a strong guard into a great road, in which departed spirits are together for some time, till at a certain distance this road divides into two paths, the one extremely level, and the other very steep and mountainous. Here the good are parted from the bad by a flash of lightning, the first being hurry'd away to the right, the other to the left. The right-hand road leads to a charming

<sup>1</sup> Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

warm country, where the spring is ever in bloom, and the summer in May; and as the year is always in the same season, and particularly the women are bright and beautiful. That in this happy climate there are many buffaloes innumerable, perpetually fat and well laden, and are loaded with delicious fruit quite throughout the year. The left-hand path is very rugged and barren, and the country and barren country, where it is always winter, and the whole year round cover'd with snow, and the trees are upon the trees but icicles.... Here, after having been tormented a certain number of years, and having incurred several degrees of guilt, they are again sent to the world, to try if they will mend their manners, and the next time in the regions of bliss'.<sup>1</sup>

A curious illustration of the universality of the sin which from their very nature might be supposed to be of a certain time and place, is afforded by the "fire dance" in an aggravated form amongst the Catawbas, the ancient Sabines, the Fijians, and so many other nations. These miserable wretches are strangely infatuated with the devil; it caused no small horror in me to see one of these leap out of the fire without hurt or sign of any kind.

Although shorn of their Gulf and Atlantic coasts, the Siouans still occupied till lately a vast if somewhat sterile domain in the heart of the continent, where they had long thought themselves strong enough to raise the standard of war against the United States Government more than half a century ago. In the second half of the 19th century. Before their destruction followed by the usual distribution amongst the States of Dakota, Montana, Nebraska, and other Agencies. The prairie nomads roamed from the Saskatchewan to the Arkansas, and from the Mississippi west to the Rocky Mountains and Wyoming. A distinction, however, should be drawn between these true predatory hordes banded together in the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Mooney, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Lederer, *ib.* p. 71.

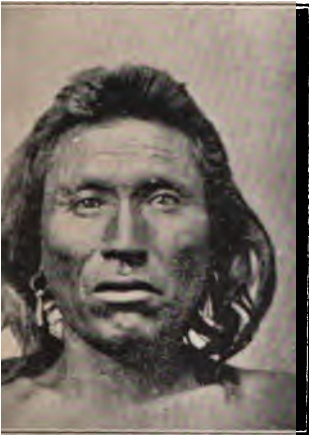
PLATE VI.



1. "SITTING BULL."  
(Dakotan Type.)



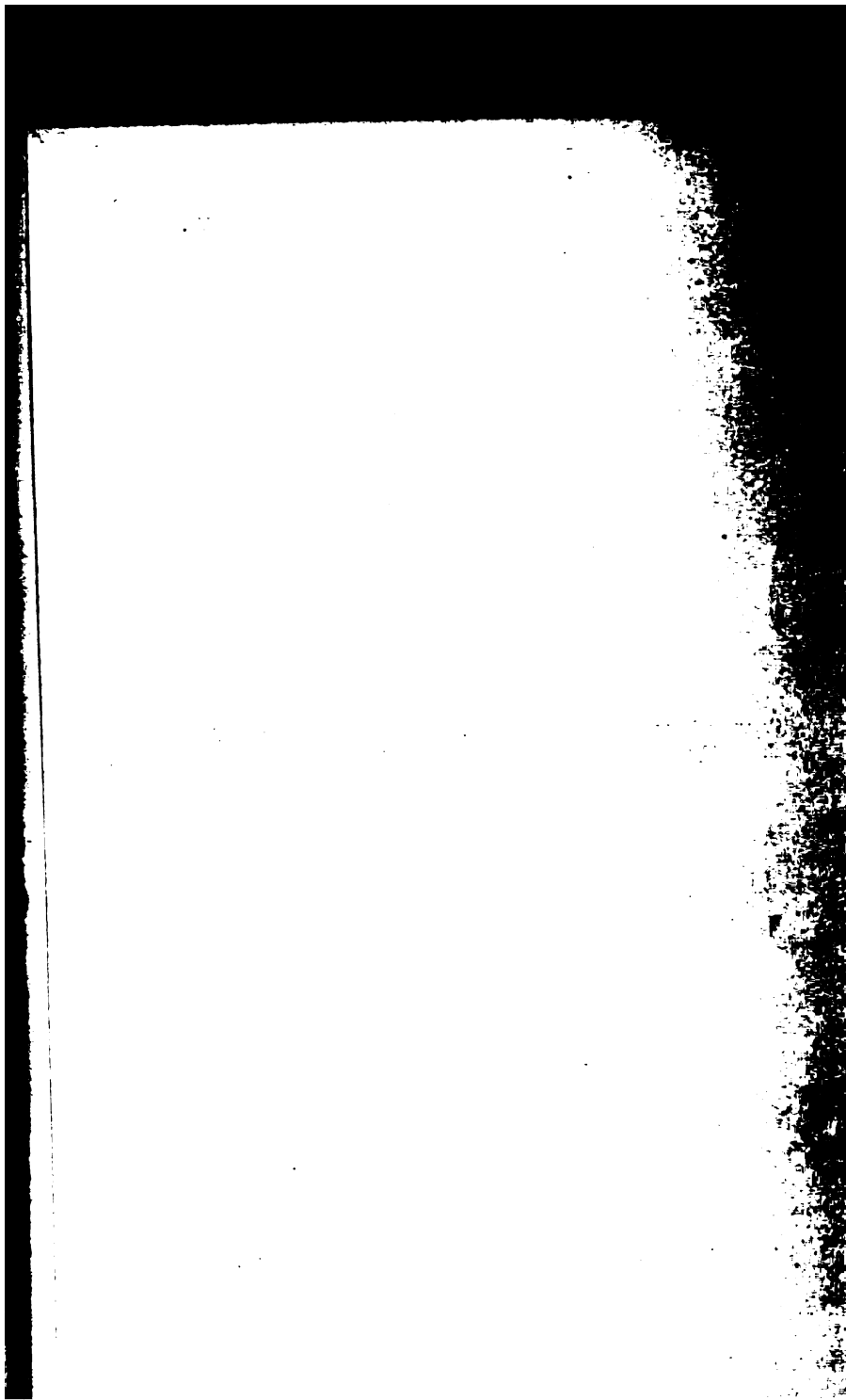
2. "SCORCHED LIGHTNING."  
(Dakotan Type.)



3. YANKTON CHIEF.  
(Dakotan Type.)



4. ELIZABETH WYNAN.  
(Dakotan Type.)



Counted First, and constituting the formidable confederacy of the Dakotas, "Friendlies," i.e. "Allies" (of which the chief members were the Santees, Sissetons, Wahpetons, Yanktons, Yanktonais and Tetons), and the other branches of the Siouan family—Assinaboins, Omahas, Ponkas, Kaws, Osages, Quapaws, Iowas, Otoes, Missouris, Winnebagos, Mandans, Minnetaris, Crows (Absarokas)—who formed independent national groups often hostile to the Dakotas, and presenting many distinct features in their speech, tribal organisation, religious beliefs, social usages, and even in their physical appearance. So marked are some of these characters, as amongst the Assinaboins, Omahas, Osages, and Mandans, that the Siouan family may be regarded as a wide-spread people who, in pre-Columbian times, were already undergoing a process of disintegration which, if left to themselves, must in course of time have resulted in the development of several distinct nationalities.

But exceptional interest attaches to all the Siouan peoples, thanks to the light which their social systems throw upon the origin of the family, clan and tribe, the The  
Dakotas. totem, early religious conceptions, and the other primitive elements of human society. Hence the importance of the bulky memoirs devoted to the Siouan Indians by Mr W. J. McGee and the late Rev. James Owen Dorsey in the fifteenth *Annual Report* (1893-4) of the *Washington Bureau of Ethnology* (1897). Thus Mr McGee clearly shows that the current conception of the Dakotan *Wakanda*, as well as that of the Algonquian *Manito* ("Manito the Mighty" of *Hiawatha*), and the Supreme or Great Spirit, Creator and so on, is a delusion, *Wakanda* being rather a quality than an entity, and in any case only a material substance or being, and in no sense a spirit, much less "Great Spirit." Thus among many tribes "the sun is wakanda;—not *the* wakanda or *a* wakanda, but simply wakanda; and among the same tribes the moon is wakanda, and so are lightning, the stars, the winds, the cedar; even a man, especially a shaman, might be wakanda or a wakanda. In fact the term was applied to mythic monsters of the earth, and various animals, the horse among the prairie

tribes, many natural objects and places are sacred, though it is easy to understand how the mind, dominated by definite spiritual concepts, and the crafty native informants, came to adopt such an erroneous interpretation. The term may be rendered 'mystery' perhaps more satisfactorily than *wakanda*, an English word, yet this rendering is at the same time as *wakanda* vaguely connotes also power, sacred, animate, immortal, etc.<sup>1</sup>

A closer study of the tribal system has also shown a widespread fallacy, that of the cattle-raiding tribes of the Dakota Social System. —universal chaos and promiscuity as the point of all human society: "The organizations of the lower grade are no less definite, no less definite, than those pertaining to the higher grade. In the history of demotic growth among the American Indians, traced backward, the organizations are found as they grow more definite, albeit more simple. What the development revealed through research are projected toward their origin, they indicate an initial condition antithetic to the postulated horde, in which the society was segregated in small discrete bodies, probably families, and that in each of these bodies there was a definite organization while each group was practically independent of, and inimical to, all other groups<sup>2</sup>."

And thus the family, the initial unit, segments into clans, each distinguished by its totem, its name, its badge, which badge, becoming more and more venerable age to age, acquires inherited privileges, becomes the center of endless superstitious practices and is ultimately absolute.

The Totem. Miss Fletcher, who has made a special study of the totemic concept as prevalent amongst some of the Siouan tribes, may be right in regarding the totem as a fetish grown hereditary. But it is difficult to follow her when she speaks of the origin of this personal totem through a process involving a trance or vision. "Those who had seen the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 182-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 182.

amongst the Bear society; those to whom the Thunder or Water Totem had come formed the Thunder or the Pebble society. That membership came from every kinship group in the tribe, kinship was ignored, the bond of union being a common right in a common vision'. The system may have been later influenced and modified by visions and other shamanistic practices; but its origin lies behind all such developments, behind all strictly religious notions, and it was at first a mere device for distinguishing one individual from another, one family or clan group from another. Thus amongst the Piaroa of the Chiriquí below San Fernando de Atabapo, the belief holds that the *tapir*, originally the totem of the clan, has become their *chichito*, and that after death the spirit of every Piaroa passes into a *tapir*; hence they never hunt or eat this animal, and they also think all the surrounding tribes are in the same way each provided with their special animal forefather'. It is easy to see how such ideas tend to cluster round the clan or family totem, at first a distinguishing badge, later a protecting or tutelar deity of human form. It should be remembered that the personal or family name precedes the totem, which grows out of it, as seen by the conditions still prevailing amongst the very lowest peoples (e.g. the Papuans of Torres Strait).

Students of the Siouan social system distinguish carefully between the clan, the gens, and the phratry, and their theories of the matriarchate and patriarchy (descent through the female and the male) depend on this distinction, the assumption being that in all cases the former preceded the latter. "The difference between the gens of savagery and the gens of barbarism is important and significant. The clan is a group of people reckoning kinship through the female line, while the gens is a group of people reckoning kinship through the male line. In barbarism patriarchies are found as well as matriarchies with nomadic tribes, but in savagery the patriarchy is the rule. Hence the first great revolution in tribal society was the transition from the clan to the gens, the consolidation of

Clan, Gens  
and Phratry.

*The Import of the Totem.* Amer. Ass. Detroit, 1897.

M. Chaffanjon, *Tour du Monde*, 1888, LVI. p. 348.

*Anthropology*, pp. 9, 11.



power in the hands of the few, and the family.<sup>1</sup> Then the phratry is described as sometimes found in savagery (a group of gentes) and sometimes in barbarism (a group of gentes). "There are many gentes in a tribe, and two or more of them constitute an intervening unit which we call a phratry. In the Muskogean there are four phratries, east, west, north and south; with the Zúñis, besides the above, one for the zenith and nadir. The phratries are organized by mythologic regions, and the system of regimentation finds expression in the Council Chamber, in the plaza, and in the dance. Here in the phratry we have the beginning of civilization, which ultimately prevails in civilization."<sup>2</sup>

Such are the now current views resulting from the exhaustive studies of the tribal systems prevalent among the North American Indians. As the views of such competent observers, they are entitled to acceptance, and to adequate presentation in all ethnological works. They may even be accepted as perhaps approximately correct for the ethnical groups in question; but they cannot have universal application, and we have already seen that they have not necessarily preceded patriarchal institutions. Consequently the distinction here insisted upon between the gens and the gens is purely local, while for practical purposes the phratry may for the most part be taken as identical with the tribe or group of clans. Even in North America there seem to be some hesitation about clan and gens, and as we write that "at the time of the discovery most of the tribes had apparently passed into gentile organization, and vestiges of clan organization were found"; and as for the other aborigines north of Mexico, the Siouan were organized on the basis of kinship, and were thus in a tribal society. All of the best known tribes had, however,

<sup>1</sup> *Fifteenth An. Report*, Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Introduction, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> p. 180, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Fifteenth An. Report*, p. 177.

...of organization characterized by descent in the male line, though kinship-ties and some relatively unimportant examples of descent in the female line have been discovered. That the kinship-system was obsolescent, and the gentile system fairly developed; that the people were practically out of the stage of savagery and well advanced in the stage of barbarism.<sup>1</sup> So (Hooten)—“Among the Dakota...and other groups the man is the head of the family.” It is too soon to criticise further, but enough has been said to show that the clan as here defined is still on its defence even in North America, while in most other regions matriarchal institutions, except as purely local phenomena, have already shared the fate of the group-marriage and promiscuity-theories of Australian ethnologists.

From the Spanish word *Pueblo*, “town,” “village,” are named and gently characterised a considerable group of Indians, who from remote times have dwelt and continued to dwell in fixed settlements of a peculiar type scattered over the *mesas* (“tables” or flat rocky heights), in the present states of New Mexico and Arizona. They do not form a single ethnical or linguistic family, but rather a number of heterogeneous communities speaking several stock languages, and including (Moqui) a dialect of the widely-diffused Shoshonean stock. A certain uniformity is, however, imparted to the whole group by their common usages, traditions, religious conceptions, and general culture. In this respect they stand on a higher level than any of the other North American aboriginals, whence the theory often advanced that the Pueblos represent an intermediate stage in a continuously progressive series beginning with the northern mound-builders and ending with the Aztec, Maya, and Peruvian civilizations of the West of North America.

The Pueblo  
Indians and  
Cliff Dwellers.

There is a steady rise of the culture-grades in the direction north to south is undoubted, and it may not be without reason that the round-headed mound-builders, Pueblos, and Cliff-dwellers are now commonly regarded as all belonging to the same stock. “There is no warrant whatever for the

<sup>1</sup> *South Am. Report*, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 213.

old assumption that the Cliff-dwellers and the cliff dwellings must be regarded as a distinct architecture<sup>1</sup>." But the connection is established between the mounds and the Pueblo architecture and the Maya-Aztec monuments, while the evidence for regarding all alike as independent is not strong.

Their Culture and Local Development.

this was the case with the Cliff-dwellers. It has shown to be more than a coincidence, and Mr Mindeleff now proves that the Pueblo *casas grandes*—huge stone buildings enough to accommodate the whole community under local conditions, and had no prototypes elsewhere. The question of the close relation of primitive architecture to environment Mr Mindeleff's remarks are highly instructive. A complete adaptation of Pueblo architecture to the conditions in which it is found has been commented on by many. It did not originate in the country where it is found, but certainly bear traces of former conditions. The same is common in all arts, and instances of it are not wanting in architecture that no examples need be cited. The same adaptation to survivals has been found in Pueblo architecture. It is very instructive; it is the presence of the same groups of rectangular rooms, which occur in the same places. These chambers are called *estufas* or *hivas*, and are used for houses and temples of the people [the medicine men, the government and religious affairs of the tribe]. It is owing to their religious connection that they have been preserved to the present day, carrying with them the same time when the people lived in round chambers. The whole Pueblo country is covered with the remains of these and groups of rooms, put up to meet some immediate need. Some of these may have been built centuries ago, and some a few years or a few months old, yet the structures are the same.

<sup>1</sup> Cosmos Mindeleff, *The Cliff Ruins of Canyon de Chelly*, Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington 1897, p. 192. He is inclined to regard the old quaternary skull from Calaveras as a type of the mound-builders, cliff-dwellers and Pueblos, who "une seule et même race" (*L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 142).

PLATE VII.



1. CREE OF HUDSON BAY.  
(North Algonquian Type.)

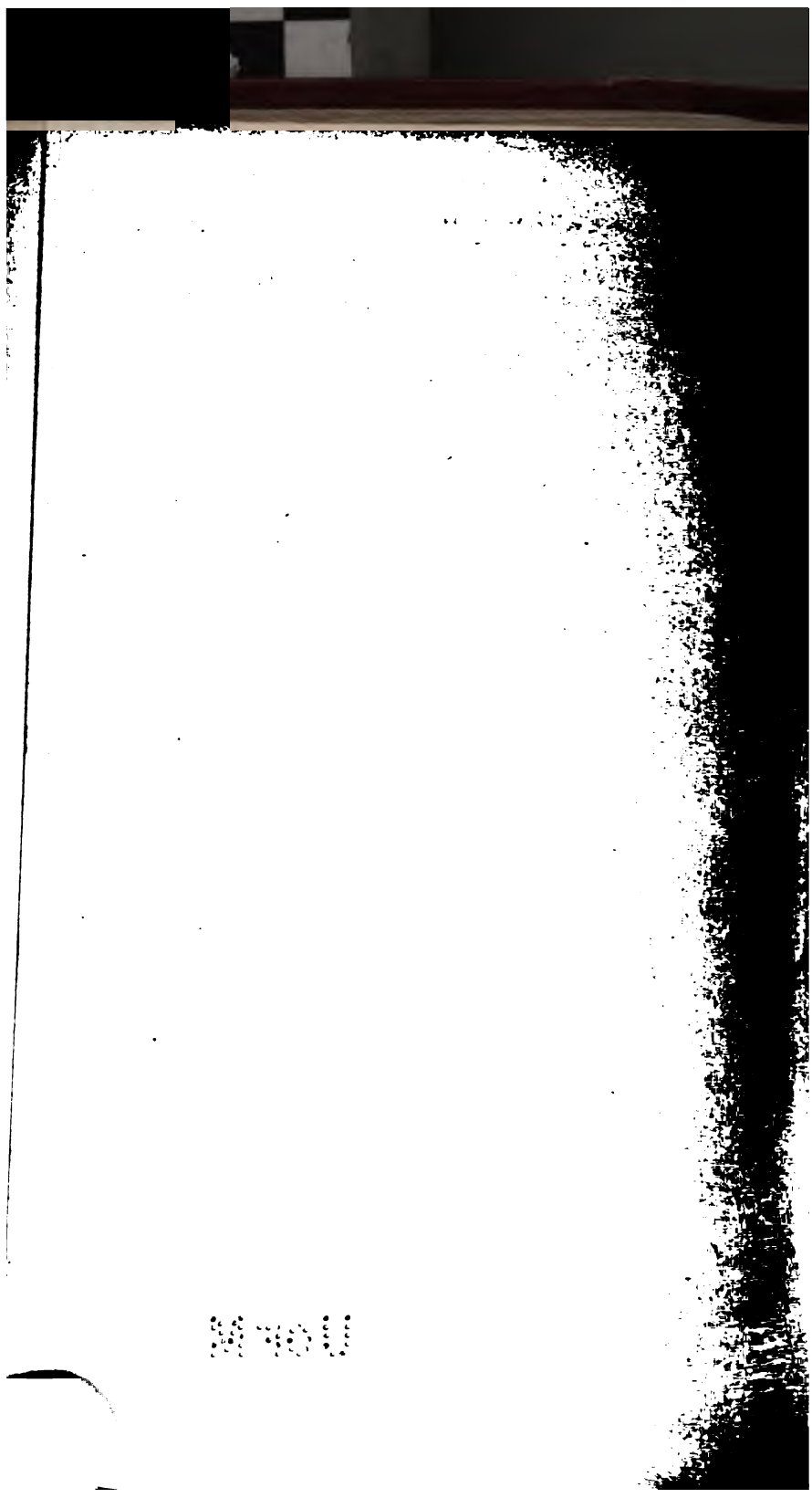


HOPOKAN WARRIOR.  
(Algonquian Type.)



3. GUATUSO.  
(Costa Rican Type.)

100



1901

from one another; nor, on the other hand, does the similarity imply that the builder of the oldest example knew less or more than his descendant to-day—both utilized the material at hand and each accomplished his purpose in the easiest way. In both cases the result is so rude that no sound inference of sequence can be drawn from the study of individual examples, but in the study of large aggregations of rooms we find some clues. It must not be forgotten that the unit of Pueblo construction is the single room, even in the large many-storied villages. This unit is often quite as rude in modern as in ancient work, and both are very close to the result which would be produced by any Indian tribe who came into the country and were left free to work out their own ideas. Starting with this unit the whole system of Pueblo architecture is a natural product of the country and of the conditions of life known to have affected the people by whom it was practised<sup>1</sup>.

In a word it is not necessary to invent a new race different from the present aborigines to account for the Pueblo structures any more than it is to account for the mounds. This inference becomes self-evident when we find that one of the Pueblo divisions—the *Moqui* or *Hopi*<sup>2</sup>—are actually a branch of the extended Shoshonean family, who differ in no essential respect from the *Siouans* and all the prairie Indians.

Besides these *Moqui*, who occupy six pueblos in North-east Arizona, there are three other nations, as they may be called—*Navaho*, *Keresan* and *Zuni*—each speaking a stock language and the usual polysynthetic type, and occupying collectively nearly six pueblos with a total population of about 10,300. Each nation, except the *Zuni* who hold a solitary pueblo in New Mexico, comprises a number of tribal or dialectic divisions, and it is now known from the researches of Cushing, Bandelier, Hodge and

<sup>1</sup> The term "Pueblo," is the proper tribal name; *Moqui* (pronounced *Mohi*) is a name imposed on them by their neighbours, and ought to be dropped. They occupy the seven pueblos of the Tusayan district, Arizona, on the Utah frontier, "each built upon the crest of a precipice of sandstone, inaccessible to any assault to be expected from aboriginal foes" (J. G. Bourke, *The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, 1884, p. 226).

others, that the clanship system prevailed. The numerous are these groups that include not more than 500 members, and Mr F. W. Hodge<sup>1</sup> gives a list of the Tanoan, Keresan, and Zuhian nations, the population of 8,666 an average membership of 100 to a clan. The clan names, of which translations comprise such things as the calabash, various dance-kilt, grass, salt, the swallow, ant, hummingbird, which it may again be inferred that such terms are merely distinctive badges which only later acquired or religious significance. It seems impossible for any aborigines could at any time be at once so stupid as to think themselves of grass, calabash, or ant. These ideas obviously came afterwards by the water analogy and germinal growth.

But, we are told, these Pueblo Indians are steeped in Symbolism. a highly elaborate symbolism, manifested in recurrent seasonal festivities, snake dances, and other religious ceremonies, so elaborate indeed that the symbolism is said to throw light on the intricate Aztec and Maya monuments<sup>2</sup>. All this may be so, but the fancies that such ceremonial forms were an inheritance of Pueblo society, let him study the "social systems" amongst the Mexican Seres, the Fuegians, Bushmen, or New Guinea Papuans; and let him remember that these are later developments compared with the crude beginnings of human society.

<sup>1</sup> *American Anthropologist*, Oct. 1896, p. 345 sq.

<sup>2</sup> "The revolting ceremonials of Tusayan [Hopi] fall into a series of observances and ceremonials connected with the agriculture from the plains of the Mississippi to the ancient cities of Mexico, America, and even unto Peru, and some of the most puzzling customs, usages and inscriptions of the ancient cities, as well as the curious superstitions among our north-eastern Indians can be interpreted fully only by the Tusayan researches" (16th Ann. Report (1894-5) Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1897, p. xcviij).

to the anthropologist to Dr J. Walter Fewkes' account of the "Tusayan Pueblo Chronology," it is pointed out that "the Pueblo Indians adore a plurality of deities, to which various potencies are ascribed. These zoic deities, or beast gods, are worshipped by means of ceremonies which are sometimes highly elaborate; and, so far as practicable, the specific zoic potency is represented in the ceremony by a living animal of similar species or by an artificial symbol. Prominent among the animate representatives of the zoic pantheon throughout the arid region is the serpent, especially the venomous and mysteriously potent rattlesnake. To the primitive mind there is intimate association, too, between the swift-striking and death-dealing lightning, with its attendant rain and thunder; and, likewise, intimate association, too, between the moisture-loving plants of the subdeserts and the life-giving storms and freshets; and the native rattlesnake plays an important rôle in the ceremonies, especially in the invocations for rain, which characterize the entire arid region<sup>1</sup>."

Dr. Fewkes pursues the same fruitful line of thought in his monograph on *The Feather Symbol in Ancient Hopi Designs*<sup>2</sup>, pointing out how amongst the Tusayan Pueblos, although they have no written records, there survives an elaborate paleography, the feather motif in the pottery found in the old ruins, which he calls "a picture writing often highly symbolical and complicated," revealing certain phases of Hopi thought in remote times. "We come back to a belief, taught by other reasoning, that the ornamentation of ancient pottery was something higher than a simple effort to beautify ceramic wares. The ruling motive was religious one, for in their system everything was under the same law. Esthetic and religious feelings were not differentiated, but they implied the other, and to elaborately decorate a vessel was to introduce a religious symbol was to the ancient potter a necessity." So it was with the Van Eycks, the Giotto's before pictorial art became divorced from religion in the Low Countries.

<sup>1</sup> p. xcvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Amer. Anthropologist*, Jan. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> p. 13.



... With regard to the cliff dwellings, the district is one of arid plateaus, separated by deep cañons, frequently composed of steeply rising ledge-marked cliffs by the erosive action of water. "Only along the few streams heading downwards permanent water exist, and along the plateaus suitable for building abound; and the people dependent as they were on environment, and the cliff dwellings. The tendency toward this type of life by intertribal relations; the cliff dwellers were separated from agricultural or semi-agricultural villagers by their position against enemies, and the control of land and aggregation in communities... Locally the ruins of Canyon de Chelly are known as Aztec ruins, and this is just so far as it implies relationship with the moderately advanced culture in Mexico and Central America, though it would be misleading if regarded as indicating a difference between the ancient villagers and their descendants, and neighbours still occupying the pueblos."

<sup>1</sup> 16th Ann. Report, p. xciv.

(The following is a list of the contents of the book, as far as they are known from the title page and the table of contents.)

CHAPTER XI.

THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES (continued).

The Central American Civilized Peoples: *Nahuatlans* and *Huastecans*; *Maya-Aztec* Origins and Relations—Aztec and Maya Scripts and Calendars—*Yucatecs* and *Shoshones*—Chichimec and Aztec Empires—*Mixtecs* and *Tepehualtecs*—Ruins of *Mitla*—Uncultured Mexican Peoples: *Otomis*; *Seri*—*Cavemen* in Yucatan—The *Maya-Quichés*—Transitions from North to South America—The *Cebuys*—Early Man in the Bahamas—The *Luicians*—*Chimale*, *Chaves*, and *Cunas*—The South American Aborigines—The *Café Savages*—The Cultural Zone in S. America—The Columbian *Chichis*—Peruvian Culture—Empire of the Incas—*Quachua* Race and Language—*Quechua*-*Aymara* Origins and Cultural Relations—The *Tiahuanaco* Monuments—*Chimu* Culture—Huacas and Pyramids—Peruvian Politico-Social System—The *Araucanians*—The *Pampas Indians*—The *Guanches*—*Patagonians* and *Puegiens*—*Patagonians* and *Berovers*: Migrations—Linguistic Relations South of the Plate River—The *Yahgans*—*Brazilian* Aborigines—The *Cashibos*—The *Pano Family*—Ethnical Relations in Amazonia—The *Cariban Family*—Carib Cradle—*Arawakan Family*—Migrations—The *Ger (Tapuyan) Family*—The *Botocudos*—The *Tapu-Guaranian Family*—*Tucunas* and *Tacanas*—The *Chiquitos*—*Matons* and *Tobas*—Caucasic Type in S. America.

In Mexico and Central America interest is centred chiefly in the great ethnical groups—the *Nahuatlan* and *Huastecan*—whose cultural, historical, and even geographical relations are so intimately interwoven that they can scarcely be treated apart. Thus, although their civilizations are concentrated respectively in the *Mexican* (Mexican) plateau and Yucatan and Guatemala, the two domains overlap completely at both ends, so that there are *Yucatec* branches of the Huastecan family in Mexico (the *Totonacs*) of Vera Cruz, from whom the whole group

Mexican and Central American Cultures.

is named), and of the Nahuatlans in Mexico (the Aztecs and others)<sup>1</sup>.

This very circumstance has no doubt added to the difficulties connected with the questions of the origin and mutual cultural influences. Some of these difficulties disappeared by the removal of the "Toltec" element, which had hitherto been a great disturbing element, and all the rest have in my opinion been solved, at least of by E. Förstermann, a leading authority on these questions<sup>2</sup>. This eminent archaeologist refers to the theory of Dr Selser<sup>3</sup>, who assumes a southern movement from Yucatan, and a like movement of Aztecs from Nicaragua, and even to Yucatan. On the other hand he holds that Maya art was independently developed, and that between it and the Aztec show that an interchange took place in which process the Maya was the giver, the Aztec the receiver. He further attributes the overthrow of the Maya to the Aztecs years before the discovery to the Aztecs, and that the Aztecs and Nahuas took their god Quetzalcoatl from the "Toltecs," a Maya people. Ph. J. Valentini also infers that the Aztecs, the original people, the Aztecs "mere parasites," were

Now Förstermann lays down the principle that any theory to be satisfactory, should fit in with such facts as—(1) the antiquity and diversity of both cultures; (2) the antiquity and importance of the mysterious Toltecs; (3) the complete isolation of the Huastecs from the other Maya tribes, and their independence of them; (4) the equally complete isolation of the Aztecs, the Pipils, and of the other southern (Nicaraguan) Aztecs from the rest of the Nahua peoples; (5) the remarkable absence of Aztec local names in Yucatan, while they occur in the

<sup>1</sup> Some Nahuas, whom the Spaniards called "Mexicans" were met by Vasquez de Coronado even as far south as the Gulf of Panama. These Seguas, as they called themselves, have since disappeared, and it is no longer possible to say how they strayed so far from their homes.

<sup>2</sup> *Neue Mayaforschungen*, in *Globus* LXX. p. 37 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Allerthümer aus Guatemala*, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Analysis of the Pictorial Text inscribed on two Papyrus-bundles*, London, 1896.

Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, where scarcely any scraps met of Maya names. To account for these facts he assumes that in the earliest known times Central America from about 23° to 16° N. was mainly inhabited by Maya tribes, who had even reached Cuba. These Mayas, while still at a somewhat low stage of culture, were invaded by the Aztecs advancing from as far north as at least 26° N. but only on the Pacific side, thus leaving the eastern Huastecs untouched. The Mayas, coming thus in contact with the Nahuas first in the north naturally called them "Toltecs" from the settlers in the northern district of Tola. But when all the relations became clearer, the Toltecs fell gradually into the background, and had last entered the domain of the fabulous.

Now the Aztecs borrowed much from the Mayas, especially place names they simply translated. A typical case is that of *Quauhan*, which becomes *Quetzalcoatl*, where *cuc* = *quau* = the *Great Weaver* *resplendens*, and *can* = *coatl* = *snake*<sup>1</sup>. That the Mayas had already developed their writing system is unthinkable; this took place first amongst the Quichés of Guatemala, the central part of their domain. With the higher culture here developed the Aztecs came first in contact after passing through Mixtec and Zapotec territory, not long before Columbian times, so that they had to come here to consolidate their empire and assimilate the Mayas. On the contrary the Aztecs were themselves merged in all but the Pipils and the settlements on Lake Nicaragua, which retained their national peculiarities.

Where whence came the hundreds of Aztec names in the lands of the Huastecas and Nicaragua? Here it should be noted that the names are almost exclusively confined to the more important places, while the less prominent places have everywhere names in the tongues of the local tribes. But even the Aztec names themselves occur properly only in official use, hence also in the legends, and are not current to-day amongst the natives who have kept aloof from the Spanish-speaking populations.

Now, however, the "Bright-feathered Snake," was the supreme god of the Huastecas, the incarnation of *Tonacateatl*, the "Serpent-Sun," creator of the world, whom clusters most of the mythology, and of the pictorial art of the Mexicans.

Hence the inference that both names were in use by the Spaniards and their Mexican associates in these lands, say, up to about 1535, and that the latter, which was not conquered from Mexico, still survives. This accepts this view, advanced by Sapper, and others, which suggests.

The higher Maya culture had not fully developed in Yucatan, when its further development was arrested by the Spaniards; nor had it lasted long in the south by the Spaniards; nor had it lasted long in the north. The thesis that the memorial columns of Copan and Palenque before the 15th century be right.

On this theory, which certainly harmonizes with the conditions, the Mayas would appear to have been on a higher plane of culture than their Aztec rivals, and that the difference may be drawn from their respective writing systems. Among the aborigines these two alone had developed what is called a script in the strict sense of the term; although, if they had reached the same level of efficiency as the Chinese, the cuneiforms, the Chinese or the Egyptian hieroglyphs, or even of the syllabic and alphabetic systems of the Greeks, or even of the barbaric peoples, such as most of the peoples of the Americas had reached the stage of graphic symbolism, and were well beyond the threshold of writing at the discovery. "The art of writing was limited to crude pictography. The pictographs were painted or sculptured on cliff-faces, boulders, the walls of houses, or even on trees, as well as on skins, bark, and various other objects. Among certain Mexican tribes, also, autographs were in use, and some of them were more highly developed and differentiated than any within the present limits of the United States. The records were painted and sculptured on stone and moulded in statuettes, or inscribed in books or codices of native parchment, or on skins, while the characters were measurably arbitrary, and not pictographic."

Aztec and  
Maya Scripts,

Perhaps the difference between the Aztec and Maya scripts is best defined by stating that the former is more pictographic.

<sup>1</sup> 16th Ann. Report, p. xcvi.

...ideographic, the latter more ideographic and phonetic, and consequently approximates nearer to a true phonetic system. No doubt much diversity of opinion prevails regarding the real nature of the Maya symbols, and it is a fact that no single text, however short, has yet been satisfactorily deciphered. Nevertheless Dr. Cyrus Thomas, than whom no greater authority can be quoted, does not hesitate to say that many of the symbols possessed true phonetic value and were used to express sounds and syllables. "He does not claim that the Maya scribes had reached that advanced stage where they could indicate each letter sound by a glyph or symbol. On the contrary, he thinks a symbol was selected because the name or word it represented had as its chief phonetic element a certain consonant sound or syllable. If this sound is the symbol would be used where *b* was the prominent element of the word to be indicated, no reference, however, to its original signification being necessarily retained. Thus the symbol for *cab*, "earth," might be used in writing *caban*, a day name, or *cahil*, "honey," because *cab* is their chief phonetic element... One reason why attempts at decipherment have failed is the misconception of the peculiar character of the writing, which is a transition stage from the purely ideographic to the phonetic." From the example here given, the Maya script would appear to have in fact reached the rebus stage, which also plays a large part in the Egyptian hieroglyphic system. *Cab* is certainly a rebus, and the transition from the rebus to true ideographic and alphabetic systems has already been explained: "It was not only were the Maya day characters phonetic; the Maya calendar itself, afterwards borrowed by the Aztecs, has been described as even more accurate than the Julian itself. "Among the plains Indians the calendars consist commonly of a record of winters ('winter months') and of notable events occurring either during the winter or some other season; while the shorter time divisions are measured by 'nights' (days), 'dead moons' (lunations), and seasons of budding, flowering, or fruiting of plants, migrating of birds, &c., and there is no definite system of reducing days

... Symbols of the Maya Year in 16th Ann. Report, p. 205.

to lunations or lunations to years. Among the Pueblo Indians calendric records are inconspicuous or absent, though there is a much more definite calendric system which is fixed and perpetuated by religious ceremonies; among the Mexican tribes there are elaborate calendric systems with complete calendric records. The persistence among the Maya and Nahuatl Indians is testified not only were 365 days reckoned as a year, but also the 260-day cycle is recognized.<sup>1</sup>

In another important respect the systems of the Quiché peoples over the Nahua and Shoshones. Nahua and Shoshones. incontestable. When their systems are compared, it is at once seen that the discovery the Mexican Aztecs were little more than barbarians newly clothed in the borrowed robes of a culture, to which they had not time to properly adapt.

<sup>1</sup> *16th Ann. Report*, p. xcvi. In "The Maya Year" Thomas shows that "the year recorded in the Dresden Codex consists of 18 months of 20 days each, with 5 supplemental days, or 365 days." Those who have persistently appealed to these Maya-Aztec systems as convincing proofs of Asiatic influences in the evolution of the American systems will now have to show where these influences come in. "If the systems are fundamentally distinct, the American showing indications of local development, as seen in the mere fact, proves that the day characters of the Maya codices were phonetic, and explicable only in the Maya language, which has no affinities with the Old World systems." The Aztec month of 20 days is also clearly indicated by the signs on the great Calendar Stone made by king Axayacatl and fixed in the wall of the Cathedral tower of Mexico. "The Calendar Stone is a basalt stone, which weighs 25 tons and has a diameter of 13 feet." In the *Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico* by Señor Alfonso Cortés y Larraz describes the astronomic system here perpetuated to the present by the American aborigines, so profoundly does it differ from the Babylonian and all other Old World systems. Or, he says, if indeed our source, then only from such data as might have been brought by tribes from lands or islands now covered by the Pacific Ocean. A recent reproduction of the Calendar Stone in T. U. Brocklehurst's *Annals*, 1883, p. 186; also Zelia Nutall's study of the "Mexican Calendar" in the Tenth Internat. Congress of Americanists, Stockholm, 1884, pp. 10-11. "The rotation of market-days and the day of enforced rest are the most prominent and permanent features of the civil solar year."

which they could but masquerade after their own savage  
 instincts. It is to be remembered that the Aztecs were but one branch  
 of the Nahuatlans family, whose affinities Borchmann has traced  
 southwards to the rude Shoshonean aborigines who roamed from  
 the present States of Montana, Idaho, and Oregon down into  
 Utah, Texas, and California. Possibly to this Shoshonean stock  
 belonged the barbaric hordes who overthrew the civilization  
 which flourished on the Anahuac (Mexican) tableland about the  
 6th century A.D. and is associated with the ruins of Tula and  
 Chichimec. In any case it seems now clear that the so-called  
 "Chichimecs," the "Pyramid-builders," founders of this earliest Central  
 Mexican culture, were not Nahuatlans but Huastecans, who  
 migrated southwards and formed fresh settlements in  
 Chichimec and Yucatan.

After their withdrawal barbarism would appear to have re-  
 mained its way in Anahuac, where it was later  
 superseded by the rude Chichimec tribes merged  
 into a political system which was dignified in  
 Aztec traditions by the name of the "Chichimec Empire."  
 The probability these Chichimecs were true Nahuas, whose

Chichimec  
 and Aztec  
 Empires.

*See also De Aztec Sprache, 1839, passim.*

of the "Nahuatl race" (De Nahuatlac, p. 279). It should, how-  
 ever, be noted that under this general and abusive name of "Dogs" (*Chichi*,  
 which comprised a large number of savage tribes—Otomis, Pames, Pintos,  
 etc.—were described as wandering about naked or wearing only the skins  
 of animals, living in caves or rock-shelters, armed with bows, slings, and clubs,  
 and engaged in wars amongst themselves or with the surrounding peoples, eating  
 the flesh and drinking the blood of their captives or treating them with unheard-of  
 cruelty, and inspiring a horror and terror to all the more civilized communities.  
 The "Chichimec Empire" may therefore be taken merely as a euphemistic expres-  
 sion for the reign of barbarism raised up on the ruins of the early Toltec  
 (Huastecan) civilization. Yet it has its dynasties and dates and  
 its legends of events, and we are told by the veracious native historian,  
 that on the behalf of royal lineage, that Xolotl, founder of the empire, had  
 a great number of wives and children, that his decisive victory over the  
 Chichimecs was in 1015, that he assumed the title of "Chichimecatl"  
 (Chief of the Chichimecs), and that after a succession of revolts,  
 and revolutions, Maxtla, last of the dynasty, was over-  
 thrown by the Aztecs and their allies.



ascendancy lasted from about the 12th to the 15th centuries, when they were in their turn overthrown and replaced by a new Nahuatl Nahuatl confederacy of the *Aztecs* (the *Mexicas*) (the present city of Mexico), the *Acolhuacs* (the present city of Texcoco) and the *Tlaxtecs* (capital Tlacopan).

Thus the Aztec Empire reduced by 1519 to a few small states. The Aztecs had but a brief record, although their culture was as advanced as well as many other tribes of Nahuatl speakers. Their civilization was in contact with the more civilised Huastecs and Olmecs long before the appearance of the Spaniards. It is probable that during these ages that the Nahuas "borrowed" many ideas from the Mayas, as Förstermann puts it, without great modification of the process. Thus the Maya gods, for the most part of a mild type like the Mayas themselves, became merged with the Aztec pantheon ferocious demons with an insatiable thirst for blood, so that the teocalli, "gods' houses," were really human shambles, where on solemn occasions the victims were made to have numbered tens of thousands<sup>1</sup>.

Besides the Aztecs and their allies, the *Acolhuacs* and *Tlaxtecs* the plateaux were occupied by several other advanced and civilized nations, such as the *Mixtecs* of the mountains of Oajaca, the *Tarascos* and neighboring *Purhechancas* of Michoacan, all of whom spoke independent languages, and the *Totonacs* of Vera Cruz, who were of a different speech, and were probably the earliest representatives of the

Uncultured Mexican Peoples.

<sup>1</sup> Named from the shadowy land of Atlán away to the south, where they long dwelt in the seven legendary caves of Chicomostoc, whence they came at some unknown period to the lacustrine region, where they founded their empire.

<sup>2</sup> "The gods of the Mayas appear to have been less sanguinary than those of the Nahuas. The immolation of a dog was with them enough to atone for a crime, whereas among the Nahuas human sacrifices were as nothing compared with the countless victims demanded by their gods. "The dedication by Ahuizotl of the great temple of Huitzilopochtli in 1487 is alleged to have been celebrated by the butchery of 70,000 captives" "under Montezuma II. 12,000 captives are said to have perished in the immolation (*ib.* p. 297); all no doubt gross exaggerations, but lending weight to the story for perhaps the most terrible chapter of horrors in the annals of these religions.

highly polished race and culture. The high degree of civilization attained by some of these nations before their reduction by the Spaniards is attested by the magnificent ruins of Mitla, capital of the Isthmus, which was captured and destroyed by the Mexicans in 1519. Of the royal palace Viollet-le-Duc speaks in enthusiastic terms, declaring that "the monuments of the golden age of Greece and Rome alone equal the beauty of the masonry of this great building". In general their usages and religious rites resembled those of the Aztecs, although the Zapotecs, besides the civil ruler, had a High Priest who took part in the government. His feet were never allowed to touch the ground; he was carried on the shoulders of his attendants; and when he appeared before even the chiefs themselves, had to fall prostrate before him, and none dared to raise their eyes in his presence". The Zapotec language is still spoken by about 260 natives in the State of Oaxaca.

Further north the plains and uplands continued to be inhabited by a multitude of wild tribes speaking an unknown number of local languages, and thus presenting a chaos of ethnical and linguistic elements comparable to that which prevails along the north-west coast. Of these rude populations one of the most important are the Otomi of the central region, <sup>Otomi—Seri.</sup> noted for the monosyllabic tendencies of their language, which Najera, a native grammarian, has on this ground compared with Chinese, from which, however, it is fundamentally distinct. Still more primitive are the Seri Indians of Sonora, who were discovered in 1895 by Mr McGee, and found to be "probably more savage than any other tribe remaining on the North American Continent. Most of their food is eaten raw, they do not domesticate animals save dogs, they are totally without agriculture, and their industrial arts are few and rude".

It is noteworthy that but few traces of such savagery have yet been discovered in Yucatan. The investigations of Mr Henry Gifford in this region lend strong support to Förstermann's theory regarding the early Huastecan migrations and the general

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by De Nadaillac, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> p. 363.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. Report*, p. lxiii.

<sup>4</sup> *The Hill Caves of Yucatan*, Philadelphia, 1896.

southward spread of Maya culture into

Early Man  
in Yucatan

Nearly thirty caves examined to yield any remains either of man, of dog, or of early man associated with these animals. Hence Mr. Thompson says that the Mayas reached Yucatan already in an advanced stage of civilization which consequently was not developed on the spot, but remained unchanged till the conquest. In the caves were found large quantities of good pottery, generally well finished and of geometrical form, the oldest quite as good as that of the Aztecs. They occur in stratified beds, showing no progress since the first arrivals had no metals or domestic animals, but a few bones of a dog, while the fractured bones occurring at Loltun and at some other places, raise suspicions of cannibalism.

Mr Edward H. Thompson, however, who has examined some of these caves, declares that "none of them showed any trace of being charred by fire, or any other evidence of cannibalism." In other respects he agrees with the above and expresses his conviction that "no people or cave-people ever existed in Yucatan, and that what is called the Loltun type were undoubtedly inhabited by the same race that built the great stone structures now seen. I furthermore believe that the caves were only temporary places of refuge and not permanent habitations<sup>1</sup>."

Since the conquest the Aztecs, as well as the other nations of Anahuac, have yielded to European influence to a greater extent than the Maya-Quichés of Yucatan and Guatemala. In the city of Mexico the last echoes of the rich, noble Aztec have almost died out, and this place, although formerly the seat of Aztec culture, has long been one of the leading centres of Spanish arts and letters in the New World<sup>2</sup>. But Mexico City on the site of the ancient Ti-hoó, has almost again become a Maya town, where the white settlers themselves have

<sup>1</sup> *Cave of Loltun, Yucatan, Report of Explorations by the U. S. Army*, Cambridge, Mass. 1897.

<sup>2</sup> "In the city of Mexico everything has a Spanish look" (see p. 15). The Aztec language however is still current in the mountains and generally in the provinces forming part of the former Aztec

The Mayas  
to-day.

usages to the natives. The very streets  
carved images of the hawk,  
deities, while the houses  
to be built in the old Maya  
above the street level, with a walled porch  
round the enclosure.

This remarkable contrast may be that the  
above seen, was to a great extent borrowed  
names, whereas the Maya civilization is now  
the epoch of the Tolan and Cholulan  
Hence the former yielded to the first shock,  
exists to such an extent that Yucatan, from the  
may still be called Mayapan, as in the days of  
confederacy, whose splendour is attested by the  
remnants of Palenque, Copan, Chichen-Itza, Uxmal,  
fully described ruins of Quiriqua, Lake Itzal, and  
Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador. Despite  
disposition, as expressed in the softer and almost  
of their features, the Mayas held out more valiantly  
against the Spaniards, and a section of the nation  
strip of territory between Yucatan and British Hon-  
maintains its independence. The "barbarians," as  
ants of this district are called, would appear to be  
civilised than their neighbours, although they have  
the teachings of the padres, and transformed the Catholic  
to wayside inns. Were Yucatan by any political convul-  
sion detached from the central government, all its inhabitants,  
with most of those south of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec,  
probably in a few generations revert under modified con-  
ditions to the old Maya culture. Even as it is the descendants  
of the Spaniards have to a great extent forgotten their mother-  
tongue, and Maya-Quiché dialects are almost everywhere current  
except in the Campeachy district. Those also who call themselves  
Catholics preserve and practise many of the old rites. After

the grave to the house is carefully chalked,  
the departed may know the way back when  
the body of some new-born babe. The  
national astrologers everywhere pursue their

arts, determining events, forecasting the future, and the conjunctions of the stars, and was called "Zadkiel" who reads the future in the stars. Even certain priests continue to celebrate the ceremonies which a cock is sacrificed to the Mayan deities, the Trinity and their associates, the Sun, the Moon, and crops. "These tutelar deities, however, have other names, the Red, or God of the East, having been called the White, or God of the North, St Gabriel; the God of the West, St James; and the Yellow God, St Mary Magdalene<sup>1</sup>."

To the observer passing from the northern to the southern division of the New World no transition is at first perceptible, either in the physical appearance, or in the social conditions of the population. The substantial uniformity, which prevails from the Arctic to the Austral waters, is illustrated by the comparatively slight differences of the primitive populations dwelling north and south of Panama.

Transitions  
from North  
to South  
America.

Most of the insular connecting links, such as the Cibunys of Cuba<sup>2</sup>, the nearly extinct Cibunys of the West Indies, and the entirely extinct Cibunys of the Bahamas, have no doubt disappeared with the other aborigines of the Antilles. But the Cibunys would appear to have been formerly connected with the Timuquanans of Florida through the Windward Islands.

Cibunys  
and Lucayans.

<sup>1</sup> Reclus, Vol. XIX. p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> The rapid disappearance of these Cuban aborigines has been the subject of much comment. Between the years 1512-32 all but some of them were exterminated, although they are supposed to have originally numbered about 1,000,000, and were distributed in 30 tribal groups, whose names and territories have been preserved. But they practically offered no resistance to the Spaniards, and it was a Cuban chief who even under torture refused to accept Christianity, declaring that he would never enter the same heaven as the Spaniards. He is reminded of the analogous cases of Jarl Hakon, the Norwegian, and Witikind, who rejected Christianity, preferring to share the fate of his forefathers in the next world.

to the Caribs of the Guianas, and similarly from the Lesser Antilles and the Greater Antilles to the Arakanian groups of the West Indies and surrounding lands. The statement of Columbus that the Lucayans were "of good size, with large eyes and broader noses than he had ever seen in any other race of men" is fully borne out by the character of some old skulls from the Bahamas measured by Mr W. K. Brooks, who unhesitatingly declares that "they are the remains of the people who inhabited these islands at the time of their discovery, and that these people were a well-marked type of the North American Indian race which was at that time distributed over the Bahama Islands, Cuba, and the greater part of Cuba. As these islands are only a few miles from the peninsula of Florida, this race must at some time have inhabited at least the south-eastern extremity of the continent, and it is therefore extremely interesting to note that the North American crania which exhibit the closest resemblance to those from the Bahama Islands have been obtained from Florida." This observer dwells on the solidity and massiveness of the Lucayan skulls, which brings them into direct relation with the skulls both of the Mississippi plains and of the Brazilian and Guianese coast-lands.

Equally close is the connection established between the Iroquoian, Tethyan and Colombian peoples of the Amazon and Magdalena basins. The Chontals of Colombia are scarcely to be distinguished from those of the Santa Marta hillmen, while the Chocos and perhaps the Chiriquians of Panama have been affiliated to the Chocos of the Cauca and San Juan rivers. Attempts, which however cannot be regarded as successful, have even been made to establish ethnic relations between the Costa Rican Guatusos and the Guayana of the Merida uplands of Venezuela, who are themselves members of the formerly wide-spread Muyscan family.

From these Muyscans we at once enter a new ethnical domain, in which may be studied the resemblances between the Guayana and the Guayana of the Amazon, and the common origin of all the American aborigines, and the differences due obviously to long isolation and independent

Chontals,  
Chocoes and  
Cunas.

local developments in the two cases. In the southern populations present among the northern in their social and intellectual attainments, while the wild tribes touch a lower degree, at least of the civilised peoples rise to a higher one, if not in letters—where the inferiority is manifest in the arts of engineering, architecture, agriculture, and domestication. Thus we need not travel many miles

Isthmus without meeting the Catios, a people between the Atrato and the Cauca, more graded even than the Seri of Sonora, most degraded of the American hordes. These Catios, a now remnant of the Choco stock, were said to dwell like the Seri in the branches of trees; they mostly were cannibals, reported, like the Mangbattus and other Catios, to "fatten their captives for the table." Their neighbors of the Nore valley, who gave an alternative name to the peninsula, were accustomed to steal the women, to cohabit with them, and carefully bring up the children until the tenth year, when they were eaten with much relish, the ultimately sharing the same fate<sup>1</sup>; and the Marañon "were in the habit of eating their own children and grinding their bones to drink in their soup." They said it was better to be inside a friend than outside up by the cold earth." In fact of the Colombia, Herrera tells us that "the living are the grave of the dead; the husband has been seen to eat his wife, the brother or sister, the son his father; captives were roasted."

Thus is raised the question of cannibalism in the tropics where at the discovery it was incomparably more common than north of the equator. Compare the Eskimo cannibals at the two extremes, the former practically extinct,

<sup>1</sup> *The Travels of P. de Cieza de Leon* (Hakluyt Soc. 1892), p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Sir C. R. Markham, *List of Tribes, &c. Jour. Anthropol. Soc.*

"This idea was widespread, and many Amazonian peoples were reported to be eaten by their friends than by worms."

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Steinmetz, *Endokannibalismus*, p. 19.

and in distress sparing wives and children, and eating their dogs; the latter sparing their dogs because useful for catching fish, and sparing and eating their old women because useless for further purposes'. In the north the taste for human flesh had declined, and the practice survived only as a ceremonial rite, chiefly amongst the British Columbians and the Aztecs, except in case of famine, when even the highest races are capable of devouring their fellows. But in the south cannibalism in some of its most repulsive forms was common enough almost everywhere. Killing and eating feeble and aged members of the tribe in kindness is still general; but the Mayorunas of the Upper Amazon waters do not wait till they have grown lean with years and debilitated with disease; and it was a baptized member of the same tribe who complained on his death-bed that he would not provide a meal for his Christian friends, but must be devoured by worms. But the lowest depths of the horrible are perhaps reached by what J. Nieuwhof relates of the Tapuyas, a wide-spread family which includes the Botocudos, and is the same to which Von Martius has given the collective name *Tapuyas*.

In the southern continent the social conditions illustrated by these practices prevailed everywhere, except on the high plateaux of the western Cordilleras, which The Cultural Zone. probably ages before the discovery had been the seat of several successive cultures, in some respects rivalling, and in others much inferior to those of Central America. When the conquistadores reached this part of the New World, to which

see Darwin, *Journal of Researches*, 1889, p. 155. Thanks to their contact with Europeans since the expeditions of Fitzroy and Darwin, the practice has given up the practice, hence the doubts or denials of Hyndes, and other later observers.

see Martius, *Zur Ethnographie Brasiliens*, 1867, p. 430.

see Spencer, *The Principles of Ethics*, 1892, 1. p. 330.

see Nieuwhof, *Tapuyas sagt er dass die todtte Frucht sogleich von der Mutter gegessen wird, da sie nicht besser bewahrt werden könne, als in den Händen der Gebährerin; auch der Nabelstrang und die Nachgeburt (sic) gekocht von der Mutter in ihrer Waldeinsamkeit gegessen*" Something similar is related by Dobrizhoffer even of the *Tapuyas* was not usually regarded as bestial savages (*ib.* p. 18).



they were attracted by the not altogether fabulous wealth embodied in the legend of the "Land of Gold," they found it occupied by a culture almost continuously from the present republics of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia to the north the dominant people of the Chibchas, already mentioned.

The  
Chibchas.

Muyscas<sup>1</sup>, who had developed an organized state on the Bogota tableland, and had succeeded in introducing what more refined social institutions to some extent to the rest of Colombia, though not to many of the outlying tribes of their own race. As in Mexico many of the Nahuatlans were little better than savages to the last, so in Colombia the Muyscas were surrounded by numerous kindred tribes, such as the Natagaima, Tocaima and others, collectively known as the "Indians," who were real savages with scarcely any tribal organization, wearing no clothes, and according to the early accounts practicing cannibalism.

The Muyscas proper had a tradition that their superiority to a certain Bochica, half human, half deity, came from the east a long time ago, taught them the arts, then became the head of their pantheon, worshipped with rites and even human sacrifices. Amongst the arts was that of the goldsmith, in which they surpassed the peoples of the New World. The precious metal was to be minted in the shape of discs, which formed a solitary instance of a true metal currency amongst the aborigines<sup>2</sup>. Many of the European cabinets are filled with these and other gold objects—brooches, pendants, and grotesque little figures of men and animals—while

<sup>1</sup> The national name was *Muysca*, "Men," "Human Body," and twenty (in reference to the ten fingers and ten toes making up the hand and foot). *Chibcha* was a mimetic name having allusion to the sound of the word, which is of frequent recurrence in the Muysca language. See the *Ballacula* (British Columbia) 19 = 1 man - 1; 20 = 1 man, 10 with Lat. *undeviginti*.

<sup>2</sup> W. Bollaert, *Antiquarian, Ethnological, and other Researches in Granada*, etc. 1860, *passim*.

found in great numbers and still occasionally turn up on the plateau. These finds are partly accounted for by the practice of offering such objects at the altars erected everywhere in the region as to the personified constellations and forces of nature, which were constantly increasing in number according to the whim or fancy of their votaries. Any mysterious sound emanating from a forest, a rock, a mountain pass, or gloomy gorge, was accepted as a manifestation of some divine presence; a shrine was raised to the embodied spirit, and so the whole land became literally crowded with local deities, all subservient to Bochica, sovereign lord of the Muysca world. This world itself was upborne on the shoulders of Chibchicum, a national Atlas, who labored and then eased himself by shifting the burden, and thus excited earthquakes. In most lands subject to underground disturbances analogous ideas prevail, and when their source is not obvious, it seems unreasonable to seek for explanations in local affinities, contacts, foreign influences, and so forth.

It has often been remarked that at the advent of the whites the native civilisations seemed generally stricken as if by the hand of death, so that even if not suddenly arrested by the invaders they must sooner or later have perished of themselves. Such speculations are seldom convincing, because we never know what recuperative forces may be at work to ward off the evil day. Not so much may be admitted, that the symptoms of decay were everywhere more in evidence than the prospects of stability. Such was certainly the case in Muyscaland, where the national life and all hopes of healthy development had been stifled by an oppressive system of exclusive social castes headed, as in India, with like baneful results, by the priestly class. Although the High Priest—who like the Tibetan Dalai Lama, dwelt in some necessary inaccessible to the public—was chosen by election, the sacerdotal hierarchy inherited their offices through the female line, doubtless a reminiscence of matriarchal customs. These priests, as they were called, obtruded themselves everywhere, and performed such diverse functions as those of the shaman, the physician, judge, and executioner.

They were followed, in exactly the same order as in India, the warriors, utilised also as police and tax-gatherers, the traders,

craftsmen, and peasants, beyond whom were the nomads, and hovers, and other organized political system. It broke to pieces from without, and so disheartened had the people, their half theocratic rulers, that they could not defend of a government which in their eyes was only with tyranny and oppression. The case facilitated by the civil war at the time, northern and southern kingdoms which with independent states constituted the Muyscañ domain was almost conterminous southwards with that of the Coconucos, and other South Colombian tribes, whose influences had spread beyond the political domain north, without, however, quite reaching the Muyscañ domain.

But, for an unknown period prior to the discovery of the Peruvian Incas had been established nearly the whole of the Andean territory directly ruled by them extended to the district about the equator for some 2500 miles from Rio Maule in Chili, with an average breadth of 400 miles the Pacific and the eastern slopes of the Cordillera dominion thus comprised a considerable part of the republics of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chili, and Argentina, roughly estimated area of 1,000,000 square miles, and a population of over 10,000,000. Here the ruling race were the

Quechua  
Race and  
Speech.

(Quichuás), whose speech, the "Inca language," is still current in several well-known dialectic varieties throughout all the provinces of the empire. In Lima and all the seaports and inland cities prevails, but in the rural districts Quechuan remains the tongue of over 2,000,000 natives, and has even been the *lingua franca* of the western regions, just as Tupi-Guaraní is the *lingua franca*, "general language," of the eastern section of South America. The attempts to find affinities with Aryan (especially the Celtic) and other linguistic families of the Eastern Hemisphere have broken down before the application of sound philology.

in these studies, and Quechuan is now recognised as a stock language of the usual American type, unconnected with any other except that of the Bolivian Aymaras. Even this connection is regarded by some students as verbal rather than structural, an interchange of a considerable number of terms being easily explained by the close contact in which the two peoples have dwelt since prehistoric times. But on the other hand one of the national traditions of the Quechuas themselves traces their cradle to the southern shores and islands of Lake Titicaca, that is the hallowed region which is intimately associated with the earliest reminiscences of both races.

Quechua-  
Aymara  
Origins.

The very island which gives its name to the lake is the "Tiger Rock," the former abode of a huge jaguar who, like the dragon of the Pamir, wore in his head a great jewel which illumined the whole lake. Later, when the tiger had disappeared from the sacred islet, there emerged from its cavernous recesses the sun-king Manco-Capac, first of the Incas, bearing a golden bough which he had received from the divine orb, with the injunction to walk on and on till he reached a spot where the emblem of the future glories would take root in the ground. Here was founded the renowned city of Cuzco, first seat of the dynasty and capital of the Tawantisuyan (Peruvian) monarchy.

As apart from the supernatural elements, what weight can be attached to these traditions on the Titicaca origin of the Incas and their people? On the authority of Garcilaso de la Vega, a descendant of Inca lineage, they are accepted by most inquirers into Peruvian origins, who fail to perceive that, if true, then the Incas must be of Aymara stock, the Titicaca lands being a question within the domain of the Aymara race. But the usual assumption is that the Quechuas are and always have been the dominant people, and that they were the builders of the stupendous Tiahuanaco monuments on the southern shores of the lake, and not far from the island in the very heart of Aymaraland. Now

Tiahuanaco  
Monuments.

the very assumption, involving the transfer of a whole culture

<sup>1</sup> *Yagu*, "a jaguar; *caco*, "rock."

<sup>2</sup> This custom, introduced by the Spaniards, is unknown to the natives, who call the *Tawantisuyan*, i.e. "The Four Quarters" (of the world).

with its myths, monuments, and traditions, and another, that has obscured the relations of the inquiry into Peruvian origins with the contradictions. The credit of having cleared up these obscurities, and placed the whole question on a footing, is due to the patient researches of M. Uhle<sup>1</sup>, who make it evident that the monuments of Tiahuanaco, including the wonderful Gateway, perhaps the greatest architectural triumph of the Incas, were the work neither of "Toltecs" from Central America, nor of Quechuas from Peru, nor of any other people known in whose territory they were raised. It should be noted that this territory was not even included in the empire of the reign of Yupanqui, scarcely 130 years before the Spaniards, that is, at a time when the very legends had already passed into the world of legend, and the beings associated with the pre-Inca cult of Viracocha were "all things." Garcilaso himself tells us that when the Mayta-Capac, first penetrated to the lake district, these structures struck his Quechuan followers as

<sup>1</sup> *Die Ruinenstätte von Tiahuanaco im Hochlande des alten Peru*, 1893. Since the appearance of this monumental work Middendorff returned to the subject, and in his *Peru: Beobachtungen u. Forschungen*, vol. III. denies that the Tiahuanaco monuments were monuments of Viracocha, while admitting with our authors that they are in fact differ fundamentally from all others in South America, and that of this civilization were connected with the now degraded legends from some foreign land, as indicated by their name, *Tiahuanaco*, he interprets "Wanderers from Foreign Lands." This, however, is a national name, and whatever its meaning, appears to be of Quechuan origin. For our purpose it is enough that Middendorff now recognizes the character of the monuments and their connection with the Aymara.

<sup>2</sup> The still standing monolithic uprights in this district have attracted the attention of English archaeologists, owing to their likeness to Stonehenge. "Die Aenlichkeit macht durch seine Aenlichkeit mit den Stonehenge-Steinen. Aeußeren allerdings einen besonders alterthümlichen Eindruck. Die Aenlichkeit betrifft nur seinen gegenwärtigen Zustand, und es ist fraglich, ob das unverletzte Werk die gleiche Uebereinstimmung mit den alten megalitischen Steinbauten Englands hätte." Middendorff (*Ruinenstätte*, p. 46).

...that they were unable to understand by what processes such buildings had been erected, proof enough that they were not the Incas.

It is here made abundantly evident that the great temple and surrounding edifices, which were never completed, date from pre-Inca times, that they were dedicated to Viracocha, tutelary deity of the Aymaras, and that the building operations were executed by the Incas, who regarded Tiahuanaco, seat of this cult, as the rival of Paccaritambo, near Cuzco, centre of the Quechua worship. But after the complete conquest of Aymaraland the original hostility between the two religious centres disappeared, international jealousies, based more on political than religious grounds, died out, and Viracocha himself was adopted into the Quechuan pantheon. His name was even borne by one of the Incas (Viracocha, son of Yahuar-Huacac); in the esoteric teaching of the Peruvian priests he was identified with the "Unknown God," said to have been worshipped under the name of Pachacamac in Upper Peru and of Viracocha at Cuzco<sup>1</sup>; lastly this Aymara deity's name became in later times a general title of Incas, and at present all Europeans are greeted by the natives as *Viracocha-tatai*, "Our father Viracocha." With the Aymara deity were naturally appropriated the above described myths and traditions, until Titicaca, home of the Aymaras, became the mystic cradle of the sun-descended Incas, and thus in the early writers (Piedro de Cieza de Leon, Garcilaso, etc.) the Aymaras and all their works were merged in the dominant Quechuan nationality<sup>2</sup>. Such would appear to be the solution of perhaps the most interesting, certainly one of the most obscure and perplexing historical problems in the New World.

...however, the "Herodotus of the New World," had his doubts, for he writes: "Y se tiene, que antes que los Incas reynassen non muchos edificios, y se ven algunos edificios destos: porque yo he oydo afirmar a los Incas, que los Incas hizieron los edificios grandes del Cuzco, por la forma que se ven en la muralla, o pared que se vee en este Tiaguanaco" (*Chronica*, l. 100).

It is also significant in this connection that, as Garcilaso himself confesses (l. 100), the term *Viracocha* had no meaning at all in the Quechuan language of his Inca forefathers.

Here is not the place to enter into details

ing architectural, engineering

The Chimus.

now generally assigned to the

this respect become the "Toltecs" of the  
but were here preceded, not only by the  
the *Chimus*, perhaps by the *Ancas*, and  
peoples whose very names have perished.  
to the name of the Chimus themselves, who  
their overthrow by the Inca Yupanqui extended  
Grand Chimu, where is now Truxillo, for 655 miles  
nearly to the Chilian frontier.

The ruins of Chimu cover a vast area, nearly  
which is everywhere strewn with the remains of  
aqueducts, ramparts, and especially *huacas*,  
pyramids not unlike those of Mexico, whence  
the Chimus, of unknown origin, were "Toltecs"  
America. One of these huacas is described by  
high with a base 580 feet square, and an area of  
ing from a distance the appearance of a huge  
is the so-called "Temple of the Sun," 800 by  
high, and covering an area of 7 acres. An immense  
hundreds of thousands was assigned to this  
times; but from some rough surveys made in  
appear that much of the space within the enclosure  
waste lands, which had never been built over, and  
that at no time could the number of inhabitants  
exceeded 50,000.

We need not stop to describe the peculiar  
institutions of the Peruvians, which are  
knowledge. Enough to say that  
was planned in the interests of the

all-powerful Incas, who were more than obeyed, almost  
with divine worship by their much bethralled  
subjects. "The despotic authority of the Incas  
of government; that authority was founded on  
respect yielded to the descendant of the sun, and

Peruvian  
Political  
System.

<sup>1</sup> Peru, p. 120.

combined hierarchy. The population was divided into decuries, and amongst the ten individuals who formed each decury, the Inca or his representatives chose one, who became the chief over the nine others. Five decuries had at their head a decurion of superior rank; fifty decuries a chief, who thus commanded 500 men. Lastly, 100 decuries obeyed a supreme chief, who received orders direct from the Inca<sup>1</sup>. It was a kind of communism, half religious, half military, in which everything of artificial nature stamped out, and the individual reduced to a simple, a numbered member of a clan or group, to which he was tied for life, in which he could neither rise nor sink, hope nor fear. The system was outwardly perfect, but soulless, and its life that of the Cundinamarca Muyscas, collapsed at the first touch with a handful of mounted Spanish brigands.

Beyond the Maule, southernmost limits of all these effete civilisations, man reasserted himself in the "South American Inquois," as those Chilian aborigines <sup>The Araucanians.</sup> have been called who called themselves *Moluche*, "rebels," but are better known by their Quechuan designation *Araucanians*, "Rebels," whence the Spanish Araucans (Araucanian). These "Rebels," who have never hitherto been overcome by the arms of any people, and whose heroic deeds in the long wars waged by the white intruders against their freedom have the topic of a noble Spanish epic poem<sup>2</sup>, still maintain a measure of national autonomy, as the friends and faithful allies of the Chilian republic. Probably no people have ever carried the sense of personal independence to greater lengths, and the sentiment embodied with us in the half-jocular expression, "I'm independent as my neighbour," would seem to be taken quite seriously by the Araucanians. Here there never has been a central authority of any kind; not only are all the tribes absolutely free, but the same is true of every clan, sept, and family group, which recognise no authority save the *paterfamilias* himself, who does not even pretend to chastise his children or control his household. Needless to say, there are no slaves or serfs, no tribal laws or penal

<sup>1</sup> De Nadaillac, p. 438.

<sup>2</sup> Alonso de Ercilla's *Araucana*.



code, no hereditary chiefs, nothing but a sense of duty, or national spirit, in virtue of which they voluntarily in concert, come together and elect a *toqui* (dictator) in time of war, and the return again to their isolated homes and farms, and even sufficient cohesion to dwell together in communities.

There was, however, one controlling or dominating factor of ancestry worship, or at least a profound belief in the forefathers, who after death went to people and from that vantage-ground continued to watch over the welfare of their children. And this simple belief had become a substitute for the rewards and punishments which were the motive for the observance of an artificial ethical code in more developed religious systems.

In the sonorous Araucanian language, which is spoken by about 40,000 full-blood natives, the term *che*, however, occurs as the postfix of several ethnical groups, which are not tribal but purely territorial divisions. The term *che* is the collective name of the whole nation, *Huilli-che*, and *Puel-che* are simply the North and South men respectively. The Central and most numerous group is the *Pehuen-che*, that is, people of the Pehuen district, which is the most typical and most intelligent of all the Araucanians. Ehrenreich's remark that many of the Araucanians resemble Europeans as much as or even more than the Mongols, is certainly borne out by the facial expression of the Pehuen-ches. The resemblance is even extended to their characters, as reflected in their oral literature. One of the specimens of the national folklore preserved in the original dialect and edited with Spanish translations by Dr. Ehrenreich is the story of a departed lover, who returns from the dead to demand his betrothed and carries her off to his home, though this might seem an adaptation of Bürger's *Der Totenbräutigam*. It is of opinion that it is a genuine Araucanian legend.<sup>1</sup>

Of the above-mentioned groups the Puel-ches are an

<sup>1</sup> In the *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* for 1880, p. 100.

usually in Argentina. They are, however, true Molu-ches, although sometimes confused with the neighbouring tribes of Patagonia and the Patapas, to whom The Pampas Indians. the Indian postfix *che* has also been extended.

The very term Puel-che, meaning simply "Easterns," is applied only to the Argentine Molu-ches, whose territory stretches of the Cordilleras as far as Mendoza in Cuyo, but also to all aborigines commonly called *Pampeans* (*Pampas Indians*) by Europeans and *Puel* by the Patagonians. Under the designation of Puel-ches would therefore be comprised the now extinct *Ranquel-ches* (Ranqueles), who formerly raided up to Buenos Ayres and the other Spanish settlements on the Plateau; the *Mapo-ches* of the Lower Salado, and generally all the tribes as far south as the Rio Negro.

These aborigines are now best represented by the *Gauchos*, who are mostly Spaniards on the father's side and Indians on the mother's, and reflect this double Gauchos.

influence in their half-nomadic, half-civilised life. These Gauchos, who are now also disappearing before the encroachments of the "negros," i.e. the white immigrants from almost every country in Europe, have been enveloped in an ill-deserved halo of romance, by reason mainly to their roving habits, splendid horsemanship, love of song, and genial disposition combined with that innate grace and courtesy which belongs to all of Spanish blood. But those who know them best described them as of sordid nature, cruel to mankind, reckless gamblers and libertines, ruthless political enemies, and at times even religious fanatics without a spark of true humanity, and at heart little better than bloodthirsty savages.

Beyond the Rio Negro follow the gigantic Patagonians, that is the *Tehuel-ches* or *Chuel-ches* of the Araucanians, who have no true collective name unless it be The Patagonians. the word of uncertain use and origin. Most

of the tribal groups—Yacana, Pilma, Chao and others—are now extinct, and the former division between the Northern *Tehuelchet* (Tehuelhet), comprising the *Callilehet* (Serranos or *Chulches*) of the Upper Chupat, with the Calilan between the *Propaganda Griegos*, "Greeks," so called because supposed to speak "Greek," and the *Propaganda* other than Spanish.

Rios Chupat and Negro, and the South Sea (the Straits of Magellan, the Straits of Chuan, etc.), south to Fuegia, no doubt a general displacement of all these factors. The branch of the Tehuelches are unquestionably the eastern parts of Fuegia, the true aboriginal *Yahgans* of the central and the *Alakulfs* of the south.

Hitherto to the question whence came the Bororos no answer could be given beyond the suggestion that they have been specialised in their present habits. They seem to be obviously intruders. Now, however, we perhaps venture to look for their original home among the *Bororos* of the region south of Goyas, between the Rios Parana and Paraguay. These *Bororos* were first heard of by Martius, but whose very existence has since long been known to the Portuguese settlers. They have lately been interviewed by Ehrenreich, who found a very numerous and powerful nation (as in fact also Milliet de Saint-Adolphe<sup>1</sup>), ranging over a territory of 1000 German miles. Their physical characters, as described by Ehrenreich, correspond closely with those of the Patagonians. They are an exceptionally tall race rivalling the Polynesians, and the Redskins; by far the tallest Indians hitherto known in the tropics, some being 6 ft. 4 in. high, although not measured; head very large and round (measured 17.4).<sup>2</sup> With this should be compared the very large Patagonian skull from the Rio Negro, measured by Ehrenreich as described in the Quarterly Journal of Swiss Naturalists. The account reads like the description of some forefathers of the historic Bororo irruption into the Patagonian steppe.

To the perplexing use of the term Puelche above, there is perhaps due the difference of opinion still prevailing as to the number of stock languages in this southern section of the continent. D'Orbigny's emphatic statement<sup>4</sup> that the Puelche

<sup>1</sup> "Nação de Indios poderosa...dominando sobre um vasto território" (*Diccionario Geographico do Brasil*, 1863, I. p. 160).

<sup>2</sup> *Urbewohner Brasiliens*, 121, 125.

<sup>3</sup> Zurich, 1896, p. 496 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *L'Homme Américain*, II. p. 70.

language fundamentally distinct both from the Araucanian and Patagonian has been questioned on the strength of a few Puelche words, which were collected by Garmen on the Rio Negro, and differ but slightly from Patagonian. But the Rio Negro lies on the ethnical boundary between the two races, which sufficiently accounts for the differences, while the words are too few to prove anything. I call them "Southern Puelche," but they were in fact Patagonian, the true Pampean Puelches having disappeared from that region before Hale's time<sup>1</sup>. I have now the reliable authority of the Rev. T. P. Schmid, for many years a missionary amongst these aborigines, for asserting that Garmen's statement is absolutely correct. His Puelches were Pampeans, because he locates them in the region between the Rio Negro and Colorado, that is, north of Patagonian and south of Araucanian territory, and Mr Schmid assures me that all these—Araucanian, Pampean, and Patagonian—are undoubtedly distinct languages, distinct both in their vocabulary and structure, having nothing in common except their common polysynthetic form. Out of 2000 Patagonian and Araucanian words he found only a few like, *patac* = 100, and *huarunc* = 1000, numerals obviously borrowed by the rude Tehuelches from the more cultured Pampeans. In Fuegia there is at least one radically distinct language, the Yahgan, studied by the Rev. Mr Brydges. Here the language is probably a Patagonian dialect, and Alakaluf perhaps more allied to Araucanian. Thus in the whole region south of the Plate River the stock languages are not known to exceed Araucanian; Pampean (Puelche); Patagonian (Tehuelche); and Yahgan.

Aboriginal peoples have been the subject of more glaringly untrue statements than the Yahgans, to whom the most lengthy monographs have been devoted in the last few decades. How contradictory are the statements of intelligent and even trained observers,

The  
Yahgans.

who were replaced or absorbed partly by the Patagonians, but chiefly by the Southern Puelches, who many years ago migrated down the Rio Negro as far as Garmen and even to the coast at Bahia Blanca. Hence Hale's mistake in fact Araucanians with a Patagonian strain.

whose good faith is beyond suspicion, and who will not serve except the truth, will best be served by a candid relation the accounts of the family relations, from the well-known Italian observer, and Dr P. Hyades, of the Cap Horn Expedition, both summarised by Bove.

*Bove.*

The women are treated as slaves. The greater the number of wives or slaves a man has the easier he finds a living; hence polygamy is deep-rooted and four wives common. Owing to the rigid climate and bad treatment the mortality of children under 10 years is excessive; the mother's love lasts till the child is weaned, after which it rapidly wanes, and is completely gone when the child attains the age of 7 or 8 years. The Fuegian's only lasting love is the love of self. As there are no family ties, the word 'authority' is devoid of meaning.

Both men and women are expected to be respectful and obedient to their superiors.

Some men have several wives, but more commonly one.

Children are not loved by their parents, and are treated by them with little deference.

The Fuegians are of a disposition and habits of pleasures with others, and exercise due control over severely any act of im-

These seeming contradictions may be partly explained by a general improvement in manners due to the beneficent influence of the English missionaries in recent years, and great progress certainly has been made since the expeditions of Fitzroy and others. But it is to be feared that these influences are mainly confined to the vicinity of the stations, beyond which the darkness and savagery presented by the early observers and later by Bove, Lezardier, and others, still hold good.

But even in the more favoured regions of the Amazon basins many tribes are met which yield little credit to the Fuegians of the early writers in sheer savagery and barbarism.

Thus the *Cashibos* or *Carapaches* of the Amazon, who are described as resembling the Fuegians, even in appearance<sup>2</sup>, may be said to answer to the

<sup>1</sup> *Mission Scientifique de Cap Horn*, vol. VII., par P. Hyades, Paris, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> "Les Kassivos cannibales du haut Ucayali qui ressemblent aux Fuegiens" (L. Rousselet, *Art. Amérique*, 1895). Others, however, tell us they are

better than any other human group to the old saying, *homo bestia lupus*. They roam the forests like wild beasts, living almost entirely upon game, in which is included man himself. "When one of them is pursuing the chase in the woods and hears another hunter imitating the cry of an animal, he immediately makes the same cry to entice him nearer, and if he is of another tribe kills him if he can and (as is alleged) eats him." Hence they are naturally "in a state of hostility with all their neighbours".

These Cashibos, *i.e.* "Bats," are members of a widespread linguistic family which in ethnological writings bears the name of *Pano*, from the Panos of the Huallaga and Marañon, who are now broken up or greatly reduced, but whose language is current amongst the Cashibos, the Conibos, the Karipunas, the Pacaouaras, the Setebos, the Shipivios (Shipibós) and others about the head-waters of the Amazon in Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil, as far east as the Madeira. Amongst these, as amongst the Moxos and so many other riverine tribes in Amazonia, a slow transformation is in progress. Some have been baptized, and while still occupying their old haunts and keeping up the tribal organization, have been induced to change their savage ways and turn to peaceful pursuits. They are beginning to wear clothes, usually cotton robes of some vivid colour, to till the soil, take service with the white traders, or even to navigate themselves in their canoes up and down the tributaries of the Amazon.

The Pano Family.

In this boundless Amazonian region of moist sunless woods, fringed north and east by Atlantic coast and diversified by the open Venezuelan llanos, and extending southwards in the vast alluvial plains

Ethnical Relations in Amazonia.

of the Parana-Paraguay basin, much light has been brought to the obscure ethnical relations by the recent explorations of Dr Paul Ehrenreich and Karl von den Steinen in the Rio Negro, Purus, Madeira and other southern affluents of the great artery. Excluding several isolated—that is, not yet

connected with long beards," while "the missionary Girbal was astonished at the beauty of their women" (Markham, *List of Tribes etc.*, p. 249).

classified—groups such as the *Aravakians* which comprise the countless *Brasilians* of the Guianas, which in conformity with Pöppel's classification named the **CARIBAN, ARAWAKAN, Guianese** families.

Hitherto the Caribs were considered to have had their original homes in the northern part of the Alleghany uplands, and it has been doubtfully identified with the Caribs and whence they spread through the Guianas, Venezuela, the Guianas, and north-east Brazil. They were not known to have ranged anywhere else. But this view is now shown to be untenable. Tribes, such as the Bakairi<sup>1</sup> and Nahuquas<sup>2</sup> of the Alleghany, all speaking archaic forms of the Carib, have been met by the German explorers in the western part of the Alleghany, whence the inference that the cradle of this race is rather in the centre of South America, perhaps in the Matto Grosso tablelands, from which region they spread northwards, if not to Florida, at least to the Caribs named from them<sup>3</sup>.

A connecting link is formed by the *Aplous* of the Tocantins between the Amazonian section and the Guianas, where the chief groups are the Venezuelan *Makusi*, *Kalinas*, and *Galibi* of British, Dutch, and French respectively. In general all the Caribs present the same physical characters, although the southernmost Caribs (5 ft. 4 in.) with less round heads (index 79° 5') than the northern Caribs (5 ft. 2 in., and 81° 5').

Perhaps even a greater extension has been shown by the German explorers to the *Arawakan* family, like the *Cariban*, was hitherto supposed to be confined to the region north of the Amazon. It is now known to range as far south as the Upper Amazon.

<sup>1</sup> Ehrenreich, *Urbewohner Brasiliens*, p. 45 sq.

<sup>2</sup> It should be stated that a like conclusion has been reached by Adam from the vocabularies brought by Crevaux from the Guianese tribes—*Witotos*, *Corequajes*, *Kariginas* and others—all of Carib origin.

PLATE VIII.



1. CARIB.  
(Guiana Type.)



2. CARIB.  
(Guiana Type.)



3. TEHUELCHÉ.  
(Patagonian Type.)



4. TEHUELCHÉ.  
(Patagonian Type.)





20° S. lat. (*Layanas, Kwanas*, etc.), east to the Amazon estuary (*Arawak*), and north-west to the Goajira peninsula. To this great family—which von den Steinen proposes to call *Ne-Arawak* from the pronominal prefix *nu*=I, common to most of the tribes—belong also the *Mappures* of the Orinoco; the *Atorais* and *Vapisianas* of British Guiana; the *Manaos* of the Rio Negro; the *Yumanas*; the *Paumarys* and *Ipurinas* of the Ipuri basin, and the *Mohos* of the Upper Mamoré.

Physically the Arawaks differ from the Caribs scarcely, if at all more than their Amazonian and Guiana sections differ from each other. In fact, but for their radically distinct speech it would be impossible to constitute these two ethnical divisions, which are admittedly based on linguistic grounds. But while the Caribs had their cradle in Central Brazil and migrated northwards, the Arawaks would on the contrary now appear to have originated in the north (Guiana, Antilles), and spread thence southwards beyond the Amazon-Parana watershed into the Paraguay basin.

Our third great Brazilian division, the Gesan family, takes its name from the syllable *ges*<sup>1</sup> which, like the Araucan *che*, forms the final element of several tribal names in East Brazil. Of these the most characteristic are the *Aimores* of the Serra dos Aimores coast-range, who are better known as Botocudos, and it was to the kindred tribes of the province of Goyaz that the arbitrary collective name of "Ges" was first applied by Martius. A better general designation would perhaps have been *Tapuya*, "Strangers," "Enemies," a term by which the Tupi people called all other natives of that region who were not of their race or speech, or rather who were not "Tupi," that is, "Allies" or "Associates." *Tapuya* had been adopted somewhat in this sense by the early Portuguese writers, who however applied it somewhat loosely not only to the Aimores, but also to a large number of kindred and other tribes as far north as the Amazon estuary<sup>2</sup>.

The Gesan  
Family.

<sup>1</sup> An alternative which met with little favour, was *cran*, "chief," also a tribal ending of frequent occurrence, as in *Macamecran*, of the Tocantins.

<sup>2</sup> *Tapuyas, nação d' Indios, tronco de numerosas tribus derramadas por varias provincias do Brasil, principalmente pelas do Maranhão e do Ceará... e tambem algumas tribus d' esta nação no maritimo de Pernambuco...*

To the same connection belong the Tapuyas, already described by Milliet and Martinière, and by Ehrenreich and von den Steinen; the Suyas, a large nation with several divisions between the Xingu rivers; and the Akua, better known about the upper course of the Tocantins. Other tribes, such as the Kamés or Kainganga, the "Tapuyados," and the Choglengs of Santa Catharina do Sul, are scattered over the southern provinces.

The Tapuyas would thus appear to have occupied the whole of East Brazil from the Amazonas to an unknown distance inland. Here they met the true aborigines, who were in remote times crushed upon, and broken into isolated fragments, by the Guarani stock spreading from the interior seaward.

Both in their physical characters and extreme state, or rather the almost total absence of any thing called "culture," the Tapuyas are the nearest representatives probably the direct descendants of the primitive osseous remains have been found in the Lagoa da Santa Catharina shell-mounds. On anatomical

Botocudos are allied both to the Lagôta man and to the Sambaqui race by the author who describes the skull as marked by a prominent glabella and superciliary arches, keel or roof-shaped lateral walls, simple sutures, receding brow, deep nasal root, high prognathism, massive lower jaw, and (index  $73^{\circ}30'$ ) with cranial capacity 1,480 cc. for men and for women<sup>2</sup>. It is also noteworthy that some of the

Trazião mettidas em buracos que fazião nas orelhas e no bico da boca de madeira (Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, vol. II. p. 689).

<sup>1</sup> "D'après Gonçalves Dias les tribus brésiliennes descrites par elle sont races absolument distinctes: la race conquérante des Tupi, et la race pourchassée, des Tapuya" (V. de Saint-Martin, VII. p. 517).

<sup>2</sup> *Novos Estudos Craniológicos sobre os Botocudos, Rio Janeiro*.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly so called from the Portuguese *botoque*, a hard wooden plug or disc formerly worn by all the tribes both on the ear as an ear-plug, distending the lobes like great leathern buttons on the shoulders. But this embellishment is called *tembeitera* by the natives.

call themselves *Nac-nana*, *Nac-jerac*, "Sons of the Soil," and they have no traditions of ever having migrated from any other land. All their implements—spears, bow and arrows, mortars, wooden vessels, bags—are of wood or vegetable fibre, so that they may be said not to have yet reached even the stone age. They are not, however, in the promiscuous state, as has been asserted; for the unions, though temporary, are jealously guarded while they last, and, as amongst the Fuegians whom they resemble in so many respects, the women are constantly subject to the most barbarous treatment, beaten with clubs or hacked about with bamboo knives. One of those in Ribeiro's party, who visited London in 1883, had her arms, legs, and whole body covered with scars and gashes inflicted during momentary fits of brutal rage by her ephemeral partner. Their dwellings are mere branches stuck in the ground, bound together with bast, and though seldom over 4 ft. in height accommodating two or more families. The Botocudos are pure nomads, roaming naked in the woods in quest of the roots, berries, honey, frogs, snakes, grubs, man, and other larger game which form their diet, and are eaten raw or else cooked in huge bamboo canes. Formerly they had no hammocks, but slept without any covering, either on the ground strewn with grass, or in the ashes of the fire kindled for the evening meal. Notwithstanding their cannibalism, which has been doubted, there is really no question. They wore the teeth of those they had eaten strung together as necklaces, and ate not only the foe slain in battle; the members of kindred tribes, all but the heads, which were stuck on stakes and used as butts for the practice of archery. At the graves of the dead fires are kept up for some time to drive away the bad spirits, from which custom the Botocudos might be credited with some notions of the supernatural. But perhaps it would be more correct to say that at this low stage of their civilization they have not yet realised the distinction between the natural and the supernatural. We are too apt to read such elements into the savage mind, which is essentially anthropomorphic, attributing all mysterious manifestations to perhaps supernatural, but still human or quasi-human agencies. All good spirits, however, perhaps be connected with *beti-apoc*, the native name of the sun, which gives quite a fantastic derivation (i. p. 162).

influences are attributed by the natives to the *Yan-chong* (sun), all bad things to the "night demon," the thunderstorm, and is supposed to be the earth, crushing the hill-tops, flooding the plains, and multitudes of people. During storms and earthquakes shot up to scare away the demons or spirits amongst so many Indo-Chinese peoples. There is no conception of a supreme being, or even a *yan-chong*, *lapan*, said to mean "God," standing for demon, thunder, or at most the thunder-god.

Owing to the choice made by the missionaries of language as the *lingua geral*, to facilitate intercourse amongst the multitudes of Brazil and Paraguay, a somewhat

The Tupi-Guaranian Family.

idea has been formed of the range of the Tupi. Many of the tribes about the stations, after being taught by the padres to learn this convenient *lingua franca*, were of time to forget their own mother-tongue, and are accounted members of this family. But allowing for source of error, there can be no doubt that at the Tupi or Eastern, and the Guarani or Western, stand jointly an immense area, which may perhaps be about one-fourth of the southern continent. They met all along the main stream as far as Peru, where represented by the Omaguas ("Flatheads"), about many fables were circulated. Formerly they occupied bank of the Upper Amazons for 200 leagues between Tamburagua and Putumayo, waging incessant war with on the south and the Tacunas on the north side. They still numerous towards the sources of the Japura and

These *Tacunas* (Ticunas, Jumanas) who, like the and many other South American peoples, are in a good and evil principle, one good and one doing the work of the other, and both

Tacunas and Tacunas.

<sup>1</sup> They are the *Cambebus* of the Tupi, a term also meaning they are so called because "apertão aos recém-nacidos as taboas afim de achatá-las, costume que actualmente han perdido" (p. 174).

For the final possession of man, are not to be confounded with the *Tacanas* (*Araras*) a widely ramifying nation about the Beni and Madre de Dios, head streams of the Madeira<sup>1</sup>. Some attention has been paid to their sonorous speech, which appears to be a stock language with strong Pano and weak Aymara<sup>2</sup> affinities. Although its numeral system stops at 2, it is still in advance of a neighbouring *Chiquito* tongue, which is said to have no numerals at all, *stems*, supposed to be 1, really meaning "alone."

Yet it would be a mistake to infer that these Bolivian Chiquitos, who occupy the southernmost headstreams of the Madeira, are a particularly stupid people. On the contrary, the Naquisobois, "Men," as they call themselves, are in some respects remarkably clever, and, strange to say, their otherwise rich and harmonious language (presumably the dominant *Monoco* dialect is meant) has terms to express such various distinctions as the height of a tree, of a house, or a tower, and other subtle shades of difference disregarded in more cultured tongues<sup>3</sup>. But it is to be considered that, *pace* Prof. Max Müller, the range of thought and of speech is not the same, and all peoples have no doubt many notions for which they have no equivalents in their necessarily defective languages. The Chiquitos, *i.e.* "Little Polks," were so named because, "when the country was first invaded, the Indians fled to the forests; and the Spaniards came to their abandoned huts, where the doorways were so exceedingly

The Chiquitos.

<sup>1</sup> D'Orbigny, III. p. 364 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Such "identities" as Tac. *drejã* = Aym. *chacha* (man); *elai* = *utax* (house) etc., are not convincing, especially in the absence of any scientific study of the laws of *Lautverschiebung*, if any exist between the Aymara-Tacana phonetic systems. And then the question of loan words has to be settled before any safe conclusions can be drawn from such assumed resemblances. The point is important in the present connection, because current statements regarding the supposed reduction of the number of stock languages in South America are chiefly based on the unscientific comparison of lists of words, which may have nothing in common except perhaps a letter or two like the *m* in Macedon and Monmouth. Two languages (cf. Turkish and Arabic) may have hundreds or thousands of words in common, and yet belong to fundamentally different linguistic families.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Balbi, *Atlas Ethnographique du Globe*, xxvii. With regard to the *stems*, this authority tells us that "il a emprunté à l'espagnol ses noms de *stems*." (H.).

low that the Indians who had fled westward. They are a peaceful industrious nation. They manufacture their own copper bells, ponchos and straw hats, and when they plant a row of indigo, and rows of white and striped trousers are in fashion. Hence these clever little people may not after all have possessed some defective numeral system, (such as the *Mataco* neighbours who count up to 4), which was superseded by the Spanish numbers.

These *Matacos* (*Mataguayos*) of the *Bentley* and *Tobas* between that river and the *Gran Chaco* are the only tribes of the *Gran Chaco* mentioned by Ehrenreich, who notices their short arms and legs, and excessive development of the nose. To judge from the photographs taken by Ehrenreich the expression especially of the *Tobas* is strikingly European. Their crossings can hardly be suspected amongst a people who hitherto maintained their independence, and who, despite the few white intruders in their secluded domain, thus seem to afford strong support to Ehrenreich's theory of the general resemblance of so many South American Indians to the Caucasic type (see above).

<sup>1</sup> Markham, *List of the Tribes*, p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> *Urbewohner Brasiliens*, p. 101.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE CAUCASIC PEOPLES.

General Considerations—Constituent Elements of the Caucasian Division—Past and Present Range—Cradleland: Africa north of Sudan—The Contemporary "Sahara"—North Africa Home of the Mediterranean Races—Early Long-heads and Round-heads—The Migrations northwards from Africa—The Three Great European Ethnical Groups: Tall, blond Long-heads; Short, dark Long-heads; Brown Round-heads—*The Canary Islanders*—The MEDITERRANEANS: *Iberians; Ligurians; Pelasgians*—Type and Origin—Iberian and Hamitic Languages fundamentally one—*The Ligurians*—Former Range to Rhineland—and to Italy from Africa—*Sicilian* Origins—*Siculi; Sardi; Corsican* Origins—Ethnical Relations in Italy—Sergi's Mediterranean Domain—Range of the Mediterraneans in Africa—*The Eastern Hamites—The Western Hamites: Berbers and "Moors"*—General Hamitic Type—Berber and Arab Connections—*The Tibus—The Egyptian Hamites*—Origins—The Stone Ages in Egypt—The Egyptians indigenous in the Nile Valley—Neolithic and Bronze Culture—Egyptian Language and Type specialised in Remote Times—Physical Characters persistent—Social Condition of the Ancient and Later Egyptians—Other Eastern Hamites—*Hadendowas—Somals and Gallas*.

### CONSPECTUS.

**Primeval Home, Africa north of Sudan.**

**Present Range, all the extra-tropical habitable lands, except Chinese empire, Japan, and the Arctic zone; inter-tropical America, Arabia, India, and Indonesia; sporadically everywhere.**

Distribution in Past and Present Times.

**Three types:—1. *Homo europæus* (North Euro-Asian and Palearctic); 2. *H. alpinus* (Central and East European, Iranian, Oceanic); 3. *H. mediterraneus* (Mediterranean).**

Physical Characters.

**Color, very light brown, flaxen or red, rather long,**



straight or wavy, smooth and glossy, reddish brown, wavy, rather abundant; 2. dark brown or black, wiry, curly, abundant in section; beard of all full, bushy, often lighter than hair of head, abundant. Colour: 1. florid. 2. pale white, yellowish brown. 3. very variable—white, light brown and even blackish (Eastern Europeans). Skull: 1 and 3 long (69° to 75°); 2 short and upwards); all orthognathous (70°); all small, never projecting laterally, prominent (some Berbers and Scotch). Nose, mostly straight, arched or hooked (46°), sometimes heavy, concave and short. Eyes, 1. mostly hazel-grey and black; 3. black or deep blue (many Hamites).

Stature, 1. tall (mean 5 ft. 8 or 9 in.); 2. (mean 5 ft. 6 in.), but also very tall (Indians to 6 ft.). 3. under-sized (mean 5 ft. 4 in.) (some Hamites, Hindus, and others). Lips, mostly rather full and well-shaped, thin, or upper lip very long (many Irish), pendulous (many Jews). Arms, rather short with Negro. Legs, shapely, with calves well developed. Feet, 1. rather large; 2 and 3. small instep.

Mental  
Charac-  
ters.

Temperament, 1. earnest, energetic, and steadfast, solid, and stolid; outwardly reserved and deeply religious; humane, firm, but not cruel. 2 and 3, brilliant, quick-witted, and impulsive; sociable and courteous, but not worthy, and even treacherous (Iberian, and often atrociously cruel (many Slavs, Finns, Indonesians and even South Europeans); 2. highly, ethic slightly developed. All brave, musical, and richly endowed intellectually.

Speech, mostly of the inflecting order, with tendency towards analytical forms; very

languages (Aryan, Indo-Hamitic, Semitic, Tibeto-Mongol), except in the Caucasus, where stock languages of highly agglutinative type are numerous, and in Indonesia, where the agglutinative stock language prevails.

(7) Religion, mainly Monotheistic, with or without priesthood and sacrifice (Jewish, Christian, Muhammadan); polytheistic and animistic in parts of Caucasus, India, Indonesia, and Africa. Gross superstitions, and even fetish-worship, still prevalent in many places.

(8) Culture, generally high—all arts, industries, science, philosophy and letters in a flourishing state now almost everywhere except in Africa and Indonesia, and still progressive. In some regions civilisation dates from the remotest times (Egypt, South Arabia); in others from 2000 to 3000 years B.C. (pre-Mycenaean, Mycenaean, Hellenic, Hittite, and Italic cultures). Indonesians and many Hamites still rude, with primitive usages, few arts, no science or letters, and cannibalism prevalent in some places (Gallaland).

(9) *Homo europæus*: Scandinavians, North Germans, Dutch, Flemings, most English, Scotch and Irish, Anglo-Americans, Anglo-Australasians, English and Dutch of Africa; Thrako-Hellenes, some Kurds, most West Germans, Afghans, Dards and Siah-post Kafirs, many ~~Indians, many Russians, & North French.~~

Main  
Divisions.

(10) *Homo alpinus*: most French and Welsh, South Germans, Swiss and Tyrolese; Russians, Poles, Chekhs, Slav Slavs; some Albanians and Rumanians; Armenians, many Kurds, Tajiks (East Persians), Galchas, & others.

(11) *Homo mediterraneus*: most Iberians, Corsicans, Sicilians, Italians; Greeks; Berbers and other Africans; Arabs and other Semites; some Hindus; Malays, Tulas, Ainus.

Conclusions as regards the underscoring of the above is questionable & open to considerable criticism. No any Russian, & many of the above French.

It is a remarkable fact that the Caucasian family, of which nearly all the peoples of the Caucasus are members, with which we are so familiar, say, on the most familiar of our maps, is one of the constituent elements of which we might count on being best acquainted, is in point of fact the least known of the whole range of anthropological studies. This is so is not at first sight quite apparent, though it may perhaps be partly explained by the fact that its component parts are really of a more complex nature and present more intricate problems for solution than any other division. But to some extent this would be one of those cases in which we fail to see the wood for the trees. To put it plainly, few will venture to deny that the difficulties of the subject have in recent times been more than diminished by the bold and often unorthodox theories, and, in some instances one might add, by the speculations put forward in the earnest desire to penetrate the less obscure in which the more fundamental questions are undoubtedly still involved. Controversial matters which have thrashed out have been reopened, several fresh questions have been brought into play, and the warfare connected with such topics as Aryan origins, Ibero-Pelagic relations, the long-heads and long-heads, has acquired renewed interest. Rival theories of the Penks, Schraders, de Lapouge, and other eminent champions of the new ideas.

A return to chaos is even threatened by the theories that have been directed from more than one quarter against the long-established Caucasian terminology, and the right to it is to be withdrawn from such time-honoured names as "Semitic," even "Caucasic" itself, in favour of "Eurafrican," "Eurafrican," and other upstarts, which while lacking

<sup>1</sup> That is, of course, when taken as the substitute for "Caucasian" in a restricted geographical sense its use is not only legitimate but also necessary.

<sup>2</sup> *Eurafrican* seems specially objectionable, being in etymology a combination of *Eurasiatic*, and therefore meaning a mulatto or something of the kind. In geology it has a very definite sense, as in the expression "Eurafrican Continent" (*Eth.* p. 230). To indicate the common origin of

...offer no compensating advantages in respect of clearness and scientific accuracy. It would be well if innovators in these matters were to take to heart the sober language of the Librarian, who reminds us that the accepted names are, when they ought to be, "purely conventional," and "historically justified," and "should be held as valid until something better may be found to take their place." Meanwhile can anything more illogical be imagined than, for instance, the fierce objections to "Caucasic" by the very writers who meekly accept "Hamitic" and "Semitic"? Doubtless, as we all know, the multitudinous populations covered by the symbol "Caucasic" did not originate in the Caucasus; but, on the other hand are the objectors prepared to assert that "Shem" or "Ham" had ever any ethnic reality at all, were ever even so much as mythical eponymous heroes, such as "Hellen," "Italus," "Brutus" and the rest of the sort? It was considerations such as these, weighing so strongly against the favour of current usage, that induced me *stare per vias anti-*...

...in the *Ethnology*, and consequently also in the present work. Hence, here as there, the Caucasian Division retains its title, together with those of its main subdivisions—Hamitic, Semitic, Celtic, Slavic, Hellenic, Teutonic, Iranic, Galchic and so on. The chief exception is "Aryan," a linguistic expression forced upon the philologists into the domain of Ethnology, where it has no force or meaning. There was of course a time when a community, or group of communities, existed probably in the steppe between the Carpathians and the Hindu-Kush, by whom the Aryan mother-tongue was evolved, and who still for a time maintained a certain uniformity in their physical characters, were, however, of Aryan speech and type. But while their Aryan speech

...of the Mediterranean, I proposed the form "Afro-European" (*Eth.*... Hence it was with some surprise that I found myself charged with... by the originator of *Eurafrican* in its objectionable sense, a sense... have never used it, and which I hold in the strongest aversion. Nor... proper substitute for Caucasian, because it leaves out the vast... spread Indonesian sections of this division.

...Namen sind natürlich rein conventionell. Sie sind historisch... und mögen Geltung behalten, so lange wir keine zutreffenden an... können" (*Anthropologische Studien* etc., p. 15).

persistence in endlessly modified forms, and has disappeared as a distinct race, merged with the races on whom they, perhaps as conquerors, imposed their language. Hence we can and must speak only of an Aryan linguistic family, which continues to spread over the globe. But of an Aryan race there is no question since the absorption of the original and other races in remote pre-historic times. (The only references have to be made, I therefore substitute for the Aryan race the expression peoples of Aryan descent wherever the unqualified term Aryan might be understood in its original standing.)

This way of looking at the question, which is far more thorny than ever, has the signal advantage of being open to any preconceived theories regarding the origin of that long vanished proto-Aryan race. How good or bad it may be judged from the mere statement that the anthropologists are still almost to a man loyal to the view that the first Aryans were best represented by the long-headed, tawny-haired, blue-eyed Teutonic barbarians, who, Virchow tells us, have completely disappeared from the present population—the Italian school, as the chief exponent, Prof. Sergi, now assures us that the proto-Aryans that such Aryans never existed, that “the true Aryans were not long, but round-headed, not fair but dark, not tall and short, and are in fact to-day best represented by the Celts, Kelts, Slavs, and South Germans”<sup>1</sup>.

The fact is that the Aryan prototype has vanished completely as has the Aryan mother-tongue, and can be restored only by processes analogous to those by which other philologists have endeavoured with doubtful success to restore the organic Aryan speech as constituted by the original Aryan population. At the same time one may perhaps venture an opinion that the weight of evidence seems rather in favour of the view that the first Aryans answered better than any other

<sup>1</sup> “Io non dubito di denominare *aris* questa stirpe (the *Arii*, Bologna, 1897, p. 14, and elsewhere).

of the "Aryan" European type, as described by Linnæ and Tacitus'.  
 Dr. G. de Lapouge, leader of the new French school of  
 anthropologists, returns to Linnæ's terminology<sup>3</sup>, and substitutes  
 the term *Europæus* for "Aryan" as understood by Penka, that is,  
 the northern of the three divisions into which he divides the  
 present European peoples.

Referring to these divisions, which he adopts and brilliantly  
 illustrates, Dr. W. Z. Ripley remarks that "instead of a single  
 European type, there is indubitable evidence of at least three  
 distinct races, each possessed of a history of its own, and each  
 contributing something to the common product, population as we  
 see it to-day." Then he adds:—"If this be established, it does  
 away at one fell swoop with most of the current mouthings about  
 Aryans and pre-Aryans; and especially with such appellations as  
 the 'Caucasian,' or the 'Indo-Germanic' race<sup>4</sup>."

The term "Aryan," for the reasons stated, is to be deprecated. But  
 "Caucasic" when properly understood—not as the equivalent of  
 "Indo-Germanic," as here apparently suggested, but as the col-  
 lective designation of one of the four main divisions of mankind—  
 cannot be dispensed with until a more suitable general term be  
 discovered. It need not interfere in the least with Dr Ripley's  
 three races, or with any number of such sub-varieties, for it covers  
 them all, just as analogous general terms cover any number of  
 species, and varieties in zoology or botany. Those who  
 object to "Caucasic" are apt to forget the vast field that has to  
 be embraced by this single collective term; a field comprising  
 the peoples of Aryan speech alone, not the tribes of the Caucasus  
 alone, but all these and many more—Semites, Hamites, Eastern  
 Europeans, all of whom belong anthropologically to the same  
 division of mankind.

*Europæus*: *Albus, sanguineus, torosus, pilis flavescens, pro-*  
*terius, etc.*" (*Systema Naturæ*).

"Je m'en tiens à la terminologie linnéenne," giving  
 the assurance that the confusion is thus avoided which arises from the use of  
 terms to designate types often forming a minority in the nation itself  
 (*Revue Sociale*, Paris, 1896).

See *Physical Geography of Europe*, in *Popular Science Monthly*, June, 1897.

And here arises the more important question: how are so many and such diverse elements grouped together and ticketed as Caucasians, in order to be really taken as such?

Constituent Elements. Merely artificial groupings, arbitrarily assembled, certainly this Caucasian Division consists of a very heterogeneous elements, more so than perhaps any other of the Ethiopic. Hence it seems to require a special effort to sweep into a single category, however diverse, the peoples—Europeans, North Africans, West Asians, and others all the way to the Indo-Gangetic plains. The complexion presents every shade of colour, from the palest white to the deepest brown or even black.

But they are grouped together in a single category because their essential properties are one, and because, as Ehrenreich, who himself emphasises these objections, substantial uniformity speaks to the eye that sees. At the first glance, except perhaps in a few cases, it is which it would be futile to create independent divisions. To recognise a common racial stamp in the facial features, the structure of the hair, partly also the bodily proportions, which points they agree more with each other than with the main divisions. Even in the case of certain black races, such as the Bejas, Somali, and a few others, we are reminded instinctively more of Europeans than of negroes, thanks to their more regular features and expression. "Those who will accept nothing as unmeasured, weighed, and numbered, may think pertaining to modern notions this appeal to the outward eye unscientific. Nevertheless nobody can deny the obvious physical differences between Caucasians, Mongols, Australians and so on. After all, physical anthropology itself dates only from the moment when we became aware of these differences, even before we were able to express them by measurements. It was precisely this appeal to the eye that spoke powerfully and directly to the eye!"

<sup>1</sup> *Anthrop. Studien*, p. 15, "Deise Gemeinsamkeit der Menschen uns die Blutverwandtschaft" (*ib.*).

...has pursued further, as it will receive abundant details to follow. ...the discovery of the New and the Austral Worlds, the Asiatic divisions as represented by the chief European nations received an enormous expansion. Here of course it is necessary to distinguish between political and ethnical conquests, as, for instance, those of India, held by military tenure, and of Australia by actual settlement. Politically the whole world has become Caucasian with the exception of half-a-dozen states such as China, Turkey, Japan, Siam, Marocco, still enjoying a real or fictitious autonomy. But, from the ethnical standpoint, those regions in which the Caucasian peoples can establish themselves and perpetuate their race as colonists are alone to be regarded as fresh accessions to the original and later (historical) Caucasian domains. These fresh accessions are however of vast extent, including the greater part of Siberia and much of Caucasia, where the Slav and other branches of the Aryan-speaking peoples are now founding permanent new homes; the whole of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, which have become the inheritance of the Caucasian descendants of the British Isles; large tracts in South Africa, already occupied by settlers chiefly from Holland and Great Britain, and lastly the New World, where most of the northern continent is settled by full-blood Europeans, mainly British, French and German, while in the rest (Central and South America) the European immigrants (chiefly from the Iberian peninsula) have formed new ethnical groups by fusion with the aborigines. These fresh accessions, all acquired within the last 400 years, are roughly estimated at about 28 million square miles, which with some 12 millions held by the historic period (Africa north of Sudan, most of Europe, South West and parts of Central and South Asia, India, etc.) cover an extent of 40 million square miles to the present day. The whole of the dry land scarcely exceeds 52 millions, and not more than about 12 millions for the now reduced habitable area of all the other divisions, and even of this a great part (the tundra, Gobi, tundras, Greenland) is barely or not habitable. This, it may be incidentally remarked, is

Past and  
Present  
Range.



perhaps the best reply to those who have taken the expression to gloomy forebodings regarding the future of the Caucasian races. The "yellow danger" is not the reflection that the Caucasian population, which has acquired nearly four-fifths of the earth's surface, is in absolute dominion of the high seas, is not to be merged by any conceivable combination of all the other races, still less by the Mongol alone<sup>1</sup>.

Where have we to seek the primeval stocks of the vigorous and dominant branches of the human family? On the assumption that all the races of the world have been evolved independently in different geographical zones, each from its own pleistocene ancestor, the question may be thus formulated, in what zone was the specialised pleistocene ancestor specialised? What type constituted in all its essential features? The answer can yet be given, but this much may be said: the type of Sudan corresponds best with all the known types which were found in quaternary times all the physical conditions which zoologists demand for great specialisations—ample space, ample climate and abundance of food, besides communication at two or three points across the Mediterranean Sea. The pliocene and early pleistocene faunas moved freely between the two continents.

Former speculations on the subject failed to take account of the fact that because the writers took, so to speak, their eyes from under their own feet, by supposing that the land under a vast "Quaternary Sahara" had no existence, and which, moreover, was supposed to be of North Africa to a Mauritanian island, a narrow isthmus to Europe," as it is in one place expressly called. The inconvenient inland basin was got rid of, not by an elevation, but by the same level as the Atlantic, of which it was, in fact, a part.

<sup>1</sup> Sir W. Crooke's anticipation of a possible future of the world, as affecting the destinies of the Caucasian peoples, is discussed at *Meeting Br. Assoc.* Bristol, 1898) is an economic question which should be discussed.

<sup>2</sup> p. 2 sq..

... by "evaporation," which process is however somewhat confined to this inlet, and does not affect either the Mediterranean or the Atlantic itself. Nor is it explained how the oceanic waters were prevented from rushing in according "as the Sahara was supposed to become a desert." The attempt to evolve a "Saharan race" in such an impossible area necessarily broke down, other endless perplexities being involved in the initial geological misconception.

Not only was the Sahara dry land in pleistocene times, but it stood then at a considerably higher altitude than at present, although its mean elevation is still estimated by Chavanne at 2000 feet above sea-level. "Quaternary deposits cover wide areas, and were at one time supposed to be of marine origin. It was even held that the great sand dunes must have been raised under the sea; but at this date it is scarcely necessary to discuss such a view. The advocates of a Quaternary Sahara were misled chiefly from the discovery of marine shells at several points in the middle of the Sahara. But Tournouër has shown that to call in the aid of a great ocean in order to explain the presence of one or two shells is a needless expenditure of energy." At an altitude of probably over 2000 feet the Sahara must have enjoyed an almost ideal climate during late pliocene and pleistocene times, when Europe was exposed to more than one glacial invasion, and to a large extent covered at long intervals by the extension of solid ice-caps. We now know that these stony and sandy wastes were traversed in all directions by great rivers, such as the Massarawa trending south to the Niger, or the Nile flowing north to the Mediterranean, and that these ancient beds may still be traced for hundreds of miles by chains

of lakes. *The Geology of the Sahara*, in *Science Progress*, July, 1895.

The name, meaning in Berber "running water," has been handed down to us when the Igharghar was still a mighty stream with a northerly course of over 800 miles, draining an area of many thousand square miles, in the north of the Sahara, and is not at present a single perennial brooklet. It would appear that crocodiles still survive from those remote times in the so-called Lake Chad of the Tassili district, where von Bary detected very distinct traces of crocodiles in 1876. Mr A. E. Pease also refers to a Frenchman "who had himself of the existence of crocodiles cut off in ages long ago from the Nile, and that have disappeared" (*Contemp. Review*, July, 1896).

of pools or lakelets, by long eroded, shallow  
 tions of the action of running water.

Nor could there be any lack of water in  
 a favoured region, which was thus able to  
 natural irrigation arteries, while the tropics  
 by great elevation and at times by the  
 sub-arctic Europe.

From these well-watered and fertile lands  
 continued even in Roman times to be the  
 came that succession of southern animals—  
 rhinoceros, elephant, cave-lion—which made  
 “zoological appendix of Africa.” In association  
 came primitive man himself, whose remains from  
 Spy, La Naulette, La Denise, Brûx, Podbabsky,  
 Galley Hill (Kent), show that the substratum  
 populations was of North African origin. So  
 is scarcely room for much discussion, especially  
 years such abundant evidence has been brought  
 presence of early man all over North Africa from  
 Mediterranean through Egypt to Somaliland.  
 de Morgan's momentous conclusion is that the  
 lized men in Egypt may be reckoned by thousands  
 aborigines by myriads of years. These aborigines  
 with the men of the Old Stone Age, of whom  
 stations have been discovered—Dahshur, Abydos,  
 Thebes<sup>1</sup>.

Of Tunisia the same story is told by M. Auzan  
 emphatically declares that “the immense period  
 which man made use of stone implements is now  
 shown as in Tunisia.” Here some of the finest  
 abundance under a thick bed of quaternary  
 by the waters of a stream that has disappeared  
 origin of man in Mauritania must be set back  
 which deranges all chronology and confounds  
 the mythologies<sup>2</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte: L'Âge de la Pierre*  
 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 394. This indefatigable

Of course it is open to anyone to say with M. de Mortillet that the men of the later Palaeolithic period represented in France by the Langerie race, whose remains occur in the Madelenian deposits at Langerie-Basse and at Chancellade, both in Dordogne, were developed *in situ* from the older race, and were not a foreign invading type<sup>1</sup>. But even so Mauritania would remain the *officina* Procurers of the European Aborigines. for the first arrivals in Europe, where they were thus afterwards specialised into men of the normal European (Caucasic) type. But no such specialisation on the spot was needed, for it was continually going on in North Africa, whence the stream of migration set steadily and uninterruptedly into Europe through both Stone Ages.

This doctrine of the specialisation of the fundamental European type in Africa, before their migrations northwards, lies at the base of Sergi's views regarding the African origin of those types. Opposing against the Asiatic origin of the Hamites, as held by Richard, Virchow, Sayce and others, he points out that this race, even if at all represented in Asia, has an immense range in Africa, where its several sub-varieties must have been evolved before their dispersion over a great part of that continent and Europe. Then, regarding Hamites and Semites as essentially one, he concludes that Africa is the cradle whence this primitive race spread northwards to Europe, where it still persists, especially in the Mediterranean and its three principal peninsulas, and westwards to West Asia<sup>2</sup>.

It is proclaimed in unqualified language the essential unity of the three main divisions of the Caucasian family, and the North-African origin of the European branch. The evidence, anatomical, ethnological, and linguistic, in support of this conclusion is rapidly accumulating, and daily making converts even amongst some of the ethnologists who are strongly opposed to Sergi's generalisation.

It is shown as to the continuity of human culture in Tunisia throughout the Old and New Stone Ages, that "ces populations fortement mélangées d'éléments autochtones de la Kromirie fabriquent encore des vases de tous points semblables à la poterie néolithique" (*ib.*).

*Revue de la Nation Française*, 1897.

*Atropologia della Stirpe Camitica*, Turin, 1897, p. 404 sq.

sation in all its fulness and to many other races, a distinct race, says M. Zaborowski, "is not needed, such as is presented by both the Cro-Magnon and the Neanderthal, but only a connection with the whole of North Africa including the Sahara till lately still thickly peopled". Then he asks "What has this North African and Mediterranean race done since quaternary times, he answers "by the Libyans, Egyptians, Pelasgians, Iberians"; and, following the Asiatic theory, he elsewhere arrives at "the conclusion that the whole of North Africa, connected by the Nile in the Quaternary epoch, formed part of the trunk of the ancient white race, of which the Egyptian is being the parent stem, would appear to be the result."

Coming to details, Dr Bertholon<sup>2</sup>, from the

Early Euro-  
pean and Mau-  
ritanian types  
identical.

found by M. Carton at Bulla-Rogha in Tunisia and surrounding lands, the long-headed types, one like the Neanderthal both in Khumeria, and in the station (paleoliths), the other like the later Cro-Magnon whom De Quatrefages had already identified with the long-headed, fair, and even blue-eyed Berbers still met in Mauritania, and formerly represented in the Cro-Magnon. Bertholon agrees with Dr Collignon that the Mauritanian builders are of the same race as those of Europe, and that the two long-headed races describes (1) a short round-headed race of Gerba Island and East Tunisia<sup>3</sup> representing the

<sup>1</sup> "Le nord de l'Afrique entière, y compris le Sahara, est un pays peuplé," i.e. of course relatively speaking (*Du Dniester à la Méditerranée*, Soc. d'Anthrop. 1896, p. 81 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 654 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Résumé de l'Anthropologie de la Tunisie*, 1896, p. 4 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ethnology*, p. 376. This identity is confirmed by the skulls from the dolmens of Madracen near Batna, Algeria, in the Constantinian Museum, found by MM. Letourneau and Papillat, and their affinities with the long-headed Cro-Magnon race (Ceph. long. leptoprosopé with prominent glabella, notable alveolar process, occipital bone projecting chignon-fashion at the back (*Bull. Soc. Anthrop.* 1896, p. 347).

<sup>5</sup> He shows (*Exploration Anthropologique de l'Île de Gerba*, p. 107).

and (4) a blond type of the Sahel, Khumeria, and other parts, which he identifies with the Masices of Herodotus, with the "Afri," whose name has been extended to the whole continent, and the blond Gatalians of the Aures Mts.

Dr. Bartholomew still holds to the old view that these may all have been immigrants from Europe during the Stone Age. But at that time the stream of migration for all the fauna set the other way, and it is noteworthy that the horse which belongs to the Asiatic zoological world does not appear in Africa till quite recent (historic) times, although it had already ranged into Europe in the old Stone (Solutrian) epoch. Such an animal could scarcely fail to have accompanied the men of the Stone Ages into North Africa had their movements been in that direction, and would thus have been known to those Libyans of the "New Race" who were after the 6th dynasty formed permanent settlements in Upper Egypt, and also to the Egyptians themselves at the very dawn of their history. Yet M. Pièrrement has conclusively shown that the horse is nowhere figured on any of the Egyptian monuments before the Hyksos irruption at the close of the Middle Empire'. Hence, the migrations were from Africa, and in this favourable environment, rather than in the periodically ice-clad Europe, took place those slow differentiations by which the pleistocene man of the Neanderthal type gradually became the Afro-European whom we now call Caucasian.

1872-1874

(Bull. Soc. Anthropol., p. 424 sq.) that the North African brown brachycephalics, forming the population in Mauritania, and very pure in Gerba, resemble the European populations the more they have avoided contact with foreign races. He quotes H. Martin: "Le type brun qui domine dans la Grande Kabylie du Nord ressemble singulièrement en majorité au type français brun. Si l'on voyait ces hommes de vêtements européens, vous ne les distingueriez pas de ceux de nos soldats français." He compares them especially to the Bretons, and agrees with Martin that "il y a parmi les Berbères bruns des brachycéphales volontiers que les brachycéphales bruns sont des Ligures. Les Berbères et Ligures paraissent avoir été originairement de la même race." He also notes that the names are the same: "Aïsser est exactement le même mot que Aisler, qui n'était plus fréquent dans les dialectes primitifs que la mutation du

1872-1874. *Cherous dans les Temps Préhistoriques*, etc. in *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1872-1874, p. 427 sq.

But it may be objected that, according to de Lapouge and Ripley, these are the three main types of races in Europe:—(1) The tall, long-headed type, commonly identified by de Lapouge as the "Reibengräber," i.e. the "Germanic," which he identifies with the Kymric or Aryan, for which de Lapouge uses the term *Europæus*, and to which Ripley applies the term *Alpines*, because the whole combination of characteristics corresponds with the descriptions handed down to us by the historians. These were the Goths, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Franks, Saxons, together with the Danes, Norsemen, Scandinavians, etc., all corroborated by natural science." (2) The short-headed (Mediterranean) zone of short, dark long-heads, i.e. the "Mediterranean," called Iberians by the English, and identified by de Lapouge as Ligurians, Pelasgians, and even Hittites, but generally known by Ripley as *Mediterraneans*¹. (3) The Central zone of short, medium-sized round-heads with light or hazel eye, de Lapouge's and Ripley's *Alpines*, which he identifies with the Kelts or Kelto-Slavs of the French, the Ligurians of Beddoe and other English writers.

The question is, Can all these have come from the same source? We have seen that this region has yielded the round-headed and two long-headed prehistoric types. Malbot now points out that, as far back as we can go, there are two quite distinct long-headed Berber types, and this duality is proved especially by the megalithic tombs of Roknia between Jemmapes and Guelma, which are 5000 years old. The remains here found by Combes belong to two different races, both dolichocephalic, but one with prominent zygomatic arches and very strong jaws, which reads almost like the description of a brawny Celt, the other short, with well-balanced skull and small nasal bones. It is added that the earliest (Egyptian) records refer to blond populations living in North Africa some 5000 years ago.

¹ *Racial Geography of Europe, passim.*

² *Les Chaouias, etc. in L'Anthropologie, 1897, p. 100.*

would almost seem as if the raw materials, so to say, were here obtained both of the fair northern and dark southern European types. Then we have Bertholon's round-heads from East Asia (see above), who may similarly be taken as the prototypes of Lapouge's much contested *Homo alpinus*.

These different races were represented even amongst the extinct Guanches of the Canary Islands, as shown by a study of the 52 heads procured in 1894 by Dr H. Meyer from caves in the archipelago. These distinct types are determined: (1) Guanche, akin to the Cro-Magnon, tall (5 ft. 8 in. to 6 ft. 2 in.), robust, aloof (78°), low, broad face; large eyes, rather short nose; fair, bluish or light chestnut hair; skin and eyes light; ranged throughout the islands, but centred chiefly in Tenerife; (2) "Semitic," not (5 ft. 4 or 5 in.), slim, narrow mesocephalic head (81°), narrow, long face, black hair, light brown skin, dark eyes; range, Grand Canary, Palma, and Hierro; (3) *Armenoid*, akin to von Schuchman's pre-Semitic of Asia Minor; shorter than 1 and 2; very narrow, broad, and high skull (hyperbrachy, 84°), hair, skin and eyes probably of the West Asiatic brunette type; range, mainly in Grand Canary, but met everywhere. Many of the skulls had been trepanned, and these are brought into direct association with the Babod Berber, of the Aures Mts. in Algeria, who still practise trepanning for wounds, headaches, and other reasons. The *Armenoid* type is not to be distinguished from Lapouge's short brown *Homo alpinus*, which dates from the Stone Ages, and is found in great masses in the Central Alpine regions, eastern plains of France, and, as we shall see, in Anatolia and Irania.

Thus again we see how unnecessary it is to go to Asia for the European round-heads, who are generally introduced from the

*Ueber die Schädsammlung von den Kanarischen Inseln*, with Dr F. von Schuchman, appendix; also *Ueber die Urbewohner der Kanarischen Inseln*, *Zeitschrift für Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 63. The inferences here drawn are in substantial agreement with those of Mr Henry Wallack, in his paper on *The Guanches*, in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* June, 1887, p. 158 sq.; and also with Mr H. Huxley, who, however, distinguishes four pre-Spanish types from a series of numerous skulls and other remains from Tenerife in *Proc. Cambridge Phil. Soc.* 1854-78.

The  
Guanches—  
Types and  
Affinities.



east in the Bronze Age, although it is well known that they had already established themselves in the West of Europe during the New Stone Age. This point of importance, has been strangely overlooked by those who have built up their theories without taking account of the facts. How numerous were the inhabitants of France? It is inferred from the long list of no less than 4000 crania given for that region by M. Ph. Salmon, 47 per cent. derived from those stations measured by him, 57.7 per cent. as dolicho, 21.3 as brachycephalic, and 21.0 as mesocephalic. This distinguished palethologist regards the latter as the result of crossings between the first and second of these he thinks the first arrivals in France were the heads, who ranged over a vast area from the Channel, the Pyrenees, and the Alps. In France 60 per cent. of the graves hitherto studied contained the type<sup>1</sup>. Belgium also, where a mixture of long-headed and short-headed found amongst the men of Furfooz, must be included in the lithic brachy domain. But Sergi minimises this fact, which he identifies with the Aryan from Asia as representing round-headed Slavs, Teutons, and Kelts, and takes Salmon's 21.2 per centage of brachycephalics, cutting down to the 21.1 of intermediates, and thereby greatly reducing the proportion of Neolithic round-heads in West Europe to in fact merely "peaceful infiltrations in France," and not the great invasions<sup>2</sup>. Such minimisings would not have been had he looked to Africa instead of to Asia for the first long-headed as well as for the first long-headed population. No doubt these were later (during the Metal Age) the "great invasions" from Asia, in which were represented tall, fair long-heads (Aryans from the steppe), and dark round-heads of average size (probably from the Caucasus). But all of these had themselves first been specialised in Africa, the true centre of evolution and of dispersal of the main branches of the Caucasian family.

<sup>1</sup> *Dénombrement et Types des Crânes Néolithiques de la Gaule*, Paris, de l'École d'Anthrop. 1896.

<sup>2</sup> "Infiltrazioni pacifiche." (*Arii e Italici*, p. 124).

With that part of Sergi's view which traces the first inhabitants of the northern shores of the Mediterranean (Iberians, Ligurians, Messapians, Siculi and other Itali, Pelasgians), to North Africa, I am in full accord. I agree also that all or most of these were primarily of a dark (brown), short, dolicho type, which still persists both in South Europe and North Africa, and in fact is the race which Ripley properly calls "Mediterranean," although in the west they almost certainly ranged into Brittany and the British Isles.

The Medians:  
Iberians;  
Ligurians;  
Pelasgians.

For the Basques and Iberians we have now the independent testimony of Dr R. Collignon<sup>1</sup>, perhaps the first living authority on this race. "The physical traits characteristic of the Basques attach them unquestionably ('indiscutablement') to the great Hamitic branch of the white races, that is to say, to the ancient Egyptians and to the various groups commonly comprised under the collective name of Berbers. Their brachycephaly, slight as it is, cannot outweigh the aggregate of the other characters which they present.... It is therefore in this direction and not amongst Finns or Estonians that is to be sought the parent stem of this paradoxical race. It is North African or European, assuredly not Asiatic."

To this and the archaeological evidences of identity derived from their common megalithic monuments may now be added a linguistic proof, which seems all but conclusive. On the African side we have the Hamitic (Berber) language still in its full vigour; and apparently but little changed for thousands of years. But in Europe the corresponding primitive tongues have everywhere been swept away by the Aryan (Hellenic, Italic, Keltic) except in Italy and Iberia. Of Pelasgic, if a member of this family, nothing remains except the statement of Herodotus, a dangerous guide in this matter, that it was a barbaric tongue like the people themselves. Of Messapian also there remain but a few fragments, not enough to show that it was not a member of the Italic branch of the Aryan family, if we even allow with Mommsen that it was Aryan at all.

<sup>1</sup> *Revue*

<sup>1</sup> *La Race Basque, L'Anthropologie, 1894, pp. 270-87.*

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p. 27.

But in Iberia there fortunately survives a remnant of the western Pyrenees, which beyond question was the seat of the speech which was current in the peninsula before the invasion, and on the assumption of a common origin for the languages on both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar might be expected to show traces of kinship with the Hamitic languages.

Basque and  
Berber  
Tongues of  
one Stock.

It is the result of the posthumous work on this subject by the eminent philologist G. von der Gabelentz, who has shown more than mere traces, and is able to establish a number of phonetic and verbal resemblances, but structural resemblances are so few that his editor Graf von der Schulenberg is still of opinion that there is no longer any doubt as to the relationship of the two languages. The Great divergence, due to a separation of many thousand years, is of course inevitable, and is seen in the shifting of the positions of postfixes while the form remains, and in the absence of the distinction of nominal gender which is so characteristic of the Hamitic languages, even here the Bas. verbal *k* masc., *n* fem. answers to the Ham. *k* masc., *n* fem. where *n* = *m*, as in Bas. *isen* = Ham. *isem* (name).<sup>1</sup> Still there are a few structural and other equations<sup>2</sup>:—

<i>Basque</i>	<i>Berber</i>	<i>English</i>
ak (pl. ending)	ak .	all
Chikhiro	ikerri	wether
jarri	ers	to sit
ezarri	sers	to set
sortu	iseru	to begot
urten, irten	eru	to be born
estali	sentel	to cover
tik, dik	deg	(Abl. case)
n, en	n, en	(Gen. case)
z	s	(Instrumental case)
jargi	aruku	seat, saddle
ekarri	eglu	to bear
erruki	lequ	pity, to be sorry
hamar, amar	merau	ten

<sup>1</sup> *Die Verwandtschaft des Baskischen mit den Berbersprachen*, nachgewiesen, Brunswick, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> "Die Sprachen waren mit einander verwandt, das stand ausser Zweifel" (Pref. iv.)

<sup>3</sup> Of the doublets in the English column the 1st means the Basque, the 2nd to the Berber.

	<i>Berber</i>	<i>English</i>
new)	aggar	moon
	aganna	day, sky
	agahar	river
	ʒasta	leaf, twig
	imercyaen	hawk, vulture
	agures	heel
	starrah	basket, net
	ers	to fall
	igas	to cook
	azgar, asyar	rod, stick
all	melelli	soft, to soften
	tafait, fetafot	spring (season)
	aqsun	dog
	idálen	blue
	egru	to find
	aseksad	basket, sieve
	ti-mindi)	
	ti-midi }	century, hundred
	aqennaz	boar, pig
	agerda	weasel, rat
	andigdig	to waste, ruin
	hakkir	to see
	dekir	to take, steal

general *auslaut* is better preserved in Berber than in Basque.

<i>Basque</i>	<i>Berber</i>	<i>English</i>
	nek, neki	I
	ageris	dew, hoarfrost
	agús	south wind, south
	auray	yellow
rig, malig)	tshulleg	white, to be pale

These equations, which form a vocabulary of no less than 25, are much closer than they seem, because the differences are explained by constant or normal phonetic laws of such a nature as those established by Rask and Grimm for the Germanic languages, and by other considerations which are too technical to be considered<sup>1</sup>. Let one example suffice. The Basque *ne* and *ni* are the remarkable vocalic shifting in the tri-literal roots, which is developed in Semitic, less so in Hamitic, and incipient traces of which are present in Basque. Such variants as Ham. *abrid*, *azrib*, *azerg*, *azrug* compared with Bas. *eguzki*, *iduzki*, *iruzki*, *iluzki* (sun) &c.

*mende* = a century, is identical with *mens* where *ti* is merely a fem. prefix and *mens* the loss of *n*. In this as in many other respects the archaic form, while in other respects closer to the original Hamito-Iberian mother-tongue, the undoubted resemblances are far too close to be explained away as coincidences or later borrowings. Many Berbers took part in the Moslem invasion of Arabic, the dominant speech, alone affected the language and the geographical nomenclature, as we see in *Tarik*, i.e. "Tarik's-Hill" although Tarik himself a Berber from Tripolitana; so also *Guadalquivir* = "Great River."

Besides, the invaders never penetrated to the west to which the Basque language had already been confined. But that it was not originally a local language, but originally diffused over the whole of Iberia and South Gaul is often denied as asserted by the protagonists of the Basque is now convincingly proved by Father F. Fita, a living authority on this subject. In a paper on the Roman inscriptions of Fraga<sup>1</sup> he makes it evident that at Roman times, that is, in the prehistoric age, a large type was current amongst the aborigines on both sides of the Pyrenees. When Hannibal crossed into Gallia Narbonensis his march to Italy he came upon a flourishing city of that name with which his Iberian allies were familiar, because left behind them in their own territory of *Baetia* another place of the same name, meaning in Basque "Newtown," as it still does in modern Basque<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See also M. Gèze, *De quelques rapports entre les langues basques* in *Mém. Soc. Archéol. du Midi de la France*, vol. XIII, where words are compared, with the conclusion that in an exceedingly close connection existed for a long period of time between the Basques and Berbers. This memoir was unknown to von Hübsner.

<sup>2</sup> In *Bol. Real Acad. de la Historia*, October 1894.

<sup>3</sup> Other identities are:—*Tolosa*, twice in Spain and on the Garonne; *gurriss* on Ebro and Garonne; *Elemberris*, *Aturris*, *Iluvo* and *Iluro* in Spain; *Elimberris*, *Adour*, *Iluvo* (Oloron) and *Aturenensis* in France. Cf. also *Andere* (Matres Tolosanæ) and *andere* = woman (Basque).

deep and see what a wide area is covered by these Iberian settlements, one in the south-west, not far from the shores of the Atlantic, the other looking out on the North Mediterranean waters. But it may be now shown that their range extended both in the west and east far beyond these limits. Caesar's *Aquitani* were almost admittedly Iberians, as were beyond doubt their successors, the *Vascones*, whose name survives in the present *Basques* as well as in *Gascony*, from which most of them have disappeared<sup>1</sup>. This western branch of the Iberian family thus ranged north to the Garonne, beyond which were seated the *Alitani*, now also commonly regarded as Iberians, and most probably ancestors of the *Picts* who occupied Britain before the arrival of the *Kelts*<sup>2</sup>.

Farther east, beyond "Newtown," the Iberians, as shown by Sergi, must now be grouped with the Ligurians, whose ethnical position has hitherto been strangely The  
Ligurians. misunderstood. Sergi—and this is one of his great services to anthropological studies—makes it quite clear that the *Alitani* Ligurians were not round-headed Kelts<sup>3</sup>, but, like the Iberians,

it seems to me conclusive that a people speaking the same language as that spoken in Baetica inhabited Southern Gaul in early times" (W. Webster in *Anthrop.*, Sept. 26, 1891). This authority also recognises a distinct though close kinship between the Iberians south of and the *Pictones* north of the Garonne.

J. F. Bladé (*Les Vascons avant leur établissement en Novempopularie*, 1891), argues that there were no Basques in Gascony before the later migration from the Ebro in the 6th century. But the above-quoted place-names show that the country (Aquitania) had been settled in remote times by Iberian pre-occupants of those Basques.

"I believe Picts and Iberians to have belonged to one and the same family, which I have ventured to call Ibero-Pictish" (Prof. J. Rhys, *Academy*, August 21, 1891).

It is not necessary to put this point stronger than M. G. Hervé, who even goes beyond this, completely identifying the Kelts with the populations of Liguria, and whose suggestions remove the confusion caused by the term "Kelt" by striking out of scientific nomenclature "un terme aussi radicalement faussé et de le remplacer par le mot de Ligures" (*Rev. Mens. de l'École d'Anthrop.* IV. 1896). It should be noted that Hervé traces the Cro-Magnon race from the Quaternary through the Neolithic period, when it was identical with that of the *Alitani* *Alitani*-Chandes, and when the Neolithic brachy race of Grenelle abounded. In the Bronze period this brachy element abounds, and to it he applies

a section of the long-headed Mediterranean stock. From prehistoric stations in the region collected 59 skulls, all of this type, and tradition being of accord that before the region belonged to the Ligurian domain, prehistoric Italy was occupied by the Mediterranean two branches—Ligurian and Pelagian—the inhabitants of the Po valley, now extinct, were Ligurian<sup>1</sup>."

These Ligurians may now be traced from the

Ligurians in Rhineland and Italy.

Mediterranean into Central Europe of the Neolithic finds made in the district between Neustadt and Wiesbaden.

He infers that here the first settlers were Ligurians, who came up the Rhone and Saône into Rhineland. At the Museum in Rome he was surprised to find a similarity between objects from the Riviera and from the Rhine (both dolicho), vases, stone implements, mill-stones, etc. Such Ligurian objects, found everywhere in Northern Germany, the Rhine lands chiefly along the left bank of the Rhine between Basel and Mainz, and farther north in the Hesse, Wiesbaden, and in the Lahn valley. These Ligurians so far north are confirmed not only by geographical and archaeological data, but also by linguistic data, as pointed out by Prof. W. Deecke<sup>2</sup>.

The Ligurians may of course have reached the coast from Illiberis and Iberia; but the same element is the aboriginal element also at the "heel of the boot" of Italy throughout the whole of Italy and all the adjacent islands.

The name of "race des Ligures, ou, ce qui revient au même, au sens que les anthropologistes [français] ont accoutumés de donner à Broca à ce dernier terme" (*ib.*). The one reply to this statement, written from the same standpoint is that the true Ligurians were not but dolichocephalic.

<sup>1</sup> *Arii e Italici*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Corresbl. d. d. Ges. f. Anthrop.* Feb. 1898, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> This last statement I have to take on trust, not having referred to, vol. x. of the *Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Ethnologie und Elsass-Lothringens*.

is now firmly established, and not only Saggi, but several leading Italian authorities hold that the early inhabitants of the mainland and islands were Ligurians and Pelasgians, whose stock, as of the same stock, all of whom came from North Africa; and that, despite subsequent invasions and crossings, this aboriginal stock still persists, especially in the southern provinces and in the islands—Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Hence it is more reasonable to bring this aboriginal element straight to Africa by the stepping stones of Pantellaria, Malta, and Gozzo (the latter more extensive than at present, and still strewn with prehistoric remains comparable to those of both continents), than the roundabout route of Iberia and Southern Gaul<sup>1</sup>.

In Sicily, with which may practically be included the south of Italy, we have the conclusions of Signor G. Patroni

of thirty years of intelligent and patient labours<sup>2</sup>. Sicilian  
Origins—  
Sicani; Siculi.

Patroni traces the paleolithic man to the west coast of Sicily and of the caves near Syracuse

described by Von Adrian<sup>3</sup>. "We are forced to conclude that man came to Sicily from Africa at a time when the isthmus connect-

ing the island with that Continent still stood above sea-level, and that his appearance about the same time as the elephant,

and the mammoth are associated with human bones especially in the south, he followed the sea coasts, the shells of which offered him

his food<sup>4</sup>." He was followed by the Neolithic man, whose existence has been revealed by the researches of Signor Orsi at

Stentinello on the coast north of Syracuse.

It is also due the discovery of what he calls the "Æneolithic Epoch<sup>5</sup>," represented by the bronzes of the Girgenti

and Orsi assigns this culture to the *Siculi*, and divides it into two periods, while regarding the Neolithic men of Stentinello

as the true *Sicani*. But Patroni holds that the Æneolithic peoples are the true *Sicani*, and that the true

<sup>1</sup> The Iberians are actually planted on the North Atlantic coast of Spain by Mignot (*Revista de Ciencias Historicas*, I. v. 1887).

<sup>2</sup> *Revue de l'Anthropologie*, Primitive dans la Sicile Orientale, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1887, and 295 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue de l'Anthropologie*, Primitive dans la Sicile Orientale, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1887, and 295 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue de l'Anthropologie*, Primitive dans la Sicile Orientale, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1887, and 295 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 17.



Siculi were those that arrived from the mainland.<sup>1</sup> It seems no longer possible to distinguish between these two peoples, who stand out even in historic times, and can in no way be confused, although both (*Sicardi, Siculi*) are mentioned in the *Odyssey*. But all the evidence tends to show that the Siculi represent the oldest element which exists on Sicily in the Stone Age, while the Siculi were a branch of the Siculi in the Metal Age from Italy to the island, as depicted by the Sicani<sup>2</sup>, as related by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In fact this migration of the Siculi may be regarded as a historical event, which according to Thucydides took place 300 years before the Hellenes came to Sicily. It is this national name on the mainland, so that the island was called "Kingdom of the Two Sicilies" (the late Kingdom of Sicily) its justification in the earliest traditions of Sicily, where both races were merged in one, and the present population gradually constituted by further accessions of Etruscan, Ligurian, Greek, Roman, Vandal, Arab, Norman, and Spanish elements.

Very remarkable is the contrast presented by Sicily prevailing in this ethnical microcosm and that of the island inhabited since the Stone Ages by one of the most primitive groups in the world. From the standpoint of ethnology, in Dr R. Livi's *Antropologia Mitteleuropäica* would almost seem to be cast aside, as the great bulk of the natives having the shape of

<sup>1</sup> It may be mentioned that while Penka makes the Siculi of Upper Italy (*Zur Paläoethnologie Mittel- u. Südeuropas, in Mittheilungen der Ges.* 1897, p. 18), E. A. Freeman holds that they were not closely akin to the Romans, speaking "an undeveloped Latin which did not differ more widely from Latin than one dialect from another" (*The History of Sicily etc.*, I. p. 488). But Freeman's strong point, and for this assumption there is evidence. Besides names, such as Motyca, Acis, Hybla which are not Latin, only two Sicul words which are also not Latin: *costades*, a game reaping-hook.

<sup>2</sup> I. 22.

<sup>3</sup> VI. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Parte I. Dati Antropologici ed Etnologici*, Rome, 1898.

darkest eyes and hair, the longest heads, the swarziest complexion of all the Italian populations. "They consequently form a distinct variety amongst the Italian races, which is natural enough when we remember the seclusion in which this island has remained for so many ages<sup>1</sup>." They seem to have been preserved as if in some natural museum to show us what the Ligurian branch of the Mediterranean stock may have been in Neolithic times. Yet they were probably preceded by the microcephalous dwarfish race described by Sergi as one of the early Mediterranean races. Their presence in Sardinia has now been determined by Nicoforo and E. A. Onnis, who find that of about 130 skulls from old graves thirty have a capacity of only 1150 c.c. or under, while several living persons range in height from 4 ft. 2 in. to 4 ft. 12 in. Nicoforo agrees with Sergi in bringing this dwarfish race also from North Africa<sup>2</sup>.

Despite greater cranial variability<sup>3</sup>, similar phenomena are represented by the Corsicans who show "the same exaggerated breadth of face and narrowness of the forehead. The Cephalic index drops from 87 and above in the Alps to about 75 all along the line. Coincidentally the colour of hair and eyes becomes very dark, almost black. The figure is less amply proportioned, the features become light and rather agile. It is certain that the cephalic index at the same time falls to an exceedingly low level: fully below the average for Teutonic Europe," although "the races of Northern Africa, pure Mediterranean Europeans, are of the same size<sup>4</sup>."

In the Italian peninsula Sergi holds not only that the Ligurians were exclusively of Ligurian, *i.e.* Mediterranean stock, but that this stock still persists in the whole of the region south of the Alps, although here and there mixed with Aryan elements. He holds that river these elements increase gradually up to the Alps, and at present are dominant in the valley of the Danube. In this way he would explain the rising percentage of

<sup>1</sup> *Atti Soc. Rom. d' Antrop.* 1896, pp. 179 and 201.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Anthropology*, 1901, p. 188. Hence for these Italian Ligurians he claims the name of "Italici," which he refuses to extend to the Aryan intruders in the

<sup>3</sup> *ib.*

round-heads in that direction, the latter is stated, long-headed, the Aryans round-headed.

Similarly Dr Beddoe, commending the predominance of tall stature, round heads in North Italy, infers "that a type, the Mediterranean, does really predominate in a state of comparative purity in Southern Italy, in the north the broad-headed Alpine type almost everywhere more or less modified by other types—Germanic, Slavic, or of doubtful variations of stature and complexion may in part, attributed<sup>1</sup>."

Similar relations prevail in the Balkan Mediterranean stock is represented as substratum, the Aryan by the Slavic, the Hamitic race still persists along the shores of the Mediterranean from Spain (Iberians) and the islands (Ligurians) to Greece (Pelasgians) with these Pelasgians into Asia Minor. Most ranges according to Sergi westwards to the Alps, eastwards through central Europe to Scandinavia, and into Russia, everywhere forming the true aboriginal

peninsula. "A questi primi abitatori spetta legittimamente non a popolazioni successive [Aryan Umbrians], che i primi abitanti" (p. 60). The result is a little confusing, the accepted name of the Italian branch of the Aryan race commonly applied to the Aryans of this Italic group, *Italia* itself was undoubtedly indigenous (Ligurian) stock Aryans. It would perhaps be better to regard "Italian expression" applicable to all its inhabitants, whatever the

<sup>1</sup> *Science Progress*, July 1894. It will be noticed that by all, are differently interpreted by Beddoe and Sergi, the long-headed element in North Italy as the aboriginal (Ligurian) the later intrusion of round-headed Aryan Slavs, Teutons, while Beddoe seems to regard the broad-headed Alpine types as modified by intrusive long-headed types "Germanic of origin." Either view would no doubt account for the results, but Sergi's study of the prehistoric remains (see above) is the acceptance of his explanation. From the statistics on stature more than 5 ft. 4 in. results for the whole of Italy.

PLATE IX.



1. BOHEMIAN.  
(West Slav Type.)

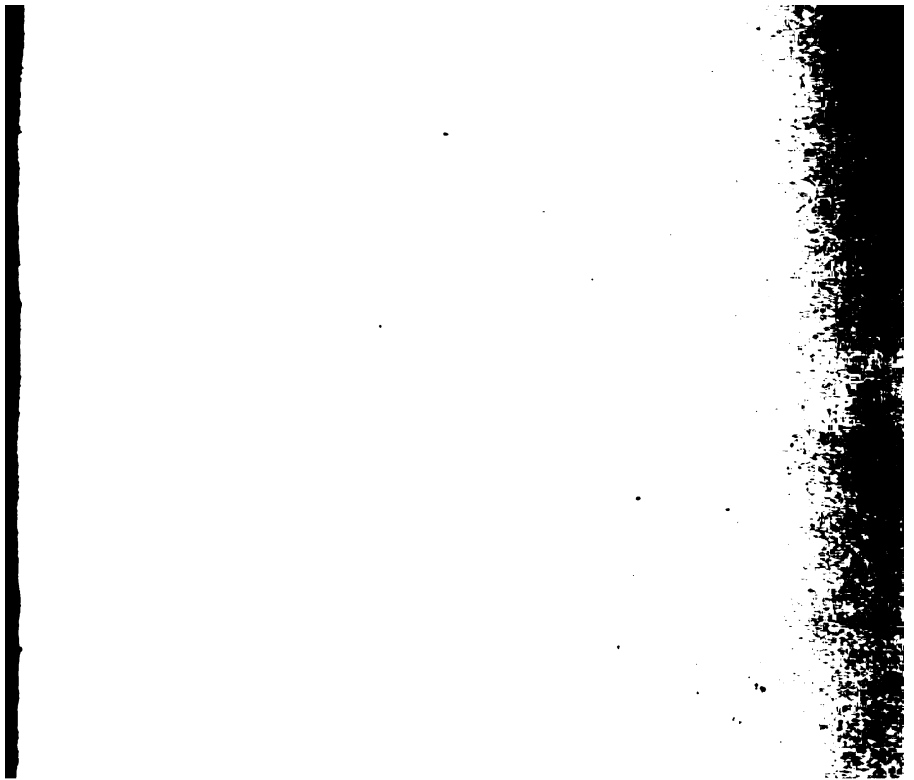


2. EGYPTIAN DANCING DERWISH.  
(Hamito-Semitic Type.)



3. EGYPTIAN BEDOUIN.  
(Arab Type.)

[face page 468]



element, and is consequently represented by the dolicho skulls from the British long barrows, from the German Reihengräber, and from the Kurgans of the Russian steppe. While this brilliant generalisation, based on solid anatomical studies, may be accepted without reserve for the Mediterranean and British lands<sup>1</sup>, it seems beset with grave, perhaps insurmountable, difficulties when applied to central and east Europe, as will be seen when we come to deal with Germanic and Slav origins.

Meanwhile, returning to the African home of these Hamites, we find them still forming not merely the substratum, but the great bulk of the inhabitants throughout all recorded time from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, and from the Mediterranean to Sudan, although since Muhammadan times largely intermingled with the kindred Semitic stock (mainly Arabs) in the north and west, and in the east (Abyssinia) with the same stock since prehistoric times. All are comprised by Sergi<sup>2</sup> in two main divisions:—

Range of the  
Hamites in  
Africa.

1. EASTERN HAMITES, answering to the *Ethiopic Branch* of some writers, of somewhat variable type, comprising the *Old and Modern Egyptians* now mixed with Semitic (Arab) elements; the *Nubians* (excluded by me for reasons stated at p. 74); the *Bejae*, the *Abyssinians*, collective name of all the peoples between Khor Barka and Shoa (with, in some places, a considerable infusion of Himyaritic or early Semitic blood from South Arabia); the *Gallas* (Gallas proper, Somals, and Afars or Danákils); the *Masai* and *Wakuma*.

2. NORTHERN HAMITES, answering to the *Berber (Western) Branch* of some writers, comprising the *Mediterranean Berbers* of Algeria, Tunia, and Tripoli; the *Atlantic Berbers (Shluks and others)* of Morocco; the *West Saharan Berbers* commonly called *Tuaregs*; the *Tibus* of the East Sahara; the *Fulaks*, dispersed

<sup>1</sup> Referring to one characteristic form of skull from Novilara, which he calls "Pelangic," Sergi says that its African origin "non è a mettersi in dubbio, dopo che ho scoperto le stesse forme nell' Africa orientale, e la cui diffusione è grande e antichissima, avendone trovato di tale tipo nella antica Troade a Troia, e nei tumuli neolitici della Gran Bretagna" (*Arii e Italici*, p. 121).

<sup>2</sup> See the already quoted monumental work, *Africa: Antropologia della* ... Turin, 1897.

amongst the Sudanese Negroes; the Hamites of the Islands.

Of the Eastern Hamites he said: "They do not form a homogeneous race, but a number of different peoples, living in separate areas, or dispersed amongst other peoples. They agree more in their outer characters, without constituting a race. The cranial forms are variable, though converging to be regarded as very old varieties of an archaic type. Features are also variable, converging and diverging: straight or arched (aquiloid) nose quite different; lips rather thick, but never everted as in the Negro; hair frizzled, not wavy; beard thin; skin very variable, brown, black-brown, ruddy black, chocolate, reddish or yellowish, these variations being due to the outward physical conditions."

In this assumption Sergi is supported by the identification of the western Berbers between the Senegal and Niger rivers.

Collignon and Deniker<sup>1</sup> restrict the term "Moors" as an ethnical name. The Moors range from the Atlantic coast to the grounds of the true Tuaregs<sup>2</sup> are the Trans-Saharan Moors, Senegal river, and farther north the Dwaish (Dwaish, Uled-Embark, and Uled-en-Nasir. From these Moors, who visited Paris in 1895, it appears not an Arabo-Berber cross, as commonly supposed, but Hamites, with a distinct Negro strain, showing frizzly hair, bronze colour, short broad nose, and their general appearance showing an astonishing resemblance to the Bejas, Afars, Somals, Abyssinians, and other Negroes. This is not due to direct descent, and it is more reasonable to suppose "that at the two extremities of the continent"

<sup>1</sup> *Les Maures du Sénégal*, in *L'Anthropologie* 1896, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the *Sanhaja-an Litham*, those who wear the litham, a head covering which is needed to protect them from the sand, but has now acquired a certain fashion, and is never worn by the "Moors." Cf. the totem, which is now often a god.

PLATE X.



1. TURCO, ALGERIA.  
(Hamitic Type.)



2. TURCO, ALGERIA.  
(Hamitic Type.)



3. WOMAN OF BISKRA.  
(Mediterranean Type.)

*To face page 470]*





causes have produced the same effects, and that from the infusion of a certain proportion of black blood in the Egyptian [eastern] and Berber branches of the Hamites, there have sprung closely analogous mixed groups<sup>1</sup>." From the true Negro they are also distinguished by their grave and dignified bearing, and still more by their far greater intelligence. One of the visitors to Paris taught himself enough French to expound such abstruse terms as *doctrine*, which was the *chemin droit* "right road," his hand pointing from earth to heaven, and *substance*, which was explained by a walking-stick "heavy, black, hard," the rest substance, thus plunging into the subtleties of the Schoolmen with their distinctions between *substantia* and *accidentalia*.

Both divisions of the Hamite, continues Sergi, agree substantially in their bony structure, and thus form a single anthropological group with variable skull—  
 pentagonoid, ovoid, ellipsoid, sphenoid, etc., as expressed in his new terminology—but constant, that is, each variety recurring in all the branches; face also variable (tetragonal, ellipsoid, etc.), but similarly identical in all the branches; profile non-prognathous; eyes dark, straight, not prominent; nose straight or arched; hair smooth, curly, long, black or chestnut; beard full, also scant; lips thin or slightly tumid, never protruding; skin of various brown shades; stature medium or tall.

General  
Hamitic Type.

Such is the great anthropological division, which was diffused continuously over a vast area in North Africa, Europe, and Asia; differing however with the different physical environments in its secondary characters, which appear not as individual variations, but as inherited varieties, persisting through all time, in fact behaving like the varieties of a well established zoological species.

Nothing is more astonishing than this strange persistence not merely of the Berber type, but of the Berber temperament and nationality since the Stone Ages, despite the successive invasions of foreign peoples during the historic period. First came the Phœnicians, founders of Carthage and Utica probably about 1500 B.C. The Greek occupation of Cyrenaica (628 B.C.)

<sup>1</sup> p. 269.

was followed by the advent of the Roman and the Carthaginian empire. The latter

Foreign  
Elements in  
Mauritania.

left distinct traces of their presence in the Aures highlanders still present

*Rumaniya*. These *Shawias* ("Pastors") are all claiming Roman descent, and even still observe many of the old Roman and Christian feasts, such as *Bu Jui*, i. e. *January* (New Year's Day); *Spring* (Easter); and many words also survive such as *urho* = hestus (evergreen oak); *milli* = miliarium (milestone), etc.

After the temporary Vandal occupation and the successive invasions of the 7th and later centuries, and especially those preceded by the kindred *Ruadites*, who had in part already reached Mauritania from Arabia. With the latter whom had also reached Tripolitana before the Moorish infiltration of Negroes from Sudan, and the recent Italian, and Maltese settlers, we have all the elements that make up the cosmopolitan population of Mauritania.

But amid them all the Berbers and the Arabs are the immensely predominant factors, still showing their common Hamito-Semitic origin in their minglings. The Arab remains about the same, a nomad herdsman, dwelling in tents, without house or land, a stock-breeder, but a bad husbandman, and that is his main pulsion. "The ploughshare and shame enter hand in hand in the family," says the national proverb. To find his flocks and herds he continues the destructive work of the Phoenician and Roman, who ages ago cleared vast wooded tracts for their fleets and commercial navies, and thus helped to desertify the North African climate.

The Berber on the contrary loves the sheltering shade of the forest; he is essentially a highlander who carefully tills the soil, and settles in permanent homes, and often develops various industries. Arab society is feudal and theocratic, and ruled by a despotic Sheikh, while the Berber with his *Jemaa*, or "council," and his *Kanun* or unwritten code, feels himself free, and it may well have been this democratic spirit, inherited from his European descendants, that enabled the western

European descendants, that enabled the western

the lead in the onward movement of humanity. The Arab again is a fanatic, ever to be feared, because he blindly obeys the will of Allah proclaimed by his prophets, marabouts, and mahdis<sup>1</sup>. But the Berber, a born sceptic, looks askance at theological dogmas; an unconscious philosopher, he is far less of a fatalist than his Semitic neighbour, who associates with Allah countless demons and jins in the government of the world.

In their physical characters the two races also present some striking contrasts, the Arab having the regular oval brain-cap and face of the true Semite, whereas the Berber head is more angular, less finely moulded, with more prominent cheek bones, shorter and less aquiline nose, which combined with a slight degree of sub-nasal prognathism, imparts to the features coarser and less harmonious outlines. He is at the same time distinctly taller and more muscular, with less uniformity in the colour of the eyes and the hair, as might be expected from the numerous elements entering into the constitution of the present Berber populations.

In the social conflict between the Arab and Berber races, the almost unique spectacle is presented of two nearly equal elements (same origin, same religion, same government, same or analogous tribal groupings, at about the same cultural development) refusing to amalgamate to any great extent, although living in the closest proximity for over a thousand years. In this struggle the Arab seems so far to have had the advantage. Instances of Berberised Arabs occur, but are extremely rare, whereas the Berbers have almost everywhere accepted the Koran, but whole tribes have remained unassimilated in speech, costume, and usages to the Semitic standard. It might therefore seem as if the Arab must ultimately prevail. But we are assured by the French observers that in Algeria and Tunisia appearances are fallacious, however the case may stand in Morocco and the Sahara. "The Arab," writes Le Gallot, to whom I am indebted for some of these details, "is seen in Mauritania, transported to a soil which does not suit him, so far from thriving tends to disappear, whereas

<sup>1</sup> The Kababish and Baggara tribes, chief mainstays of the late Sudanese empire, are to be of unsullied Arab descent with long pedigrees going back to the earliest times.

the Berber, especially under the influence of the Arabs, and more aggressive, and yearly increasing in numbers, he forms at least three-fifths of the population of Morocco. In Marocco the proportion is greater. "That is the case as of the past!"

This however would seem to apply only to the western part of their languages, for we are elsewhere told that the dialects are clinging steadily on the somewhat ruder Berber stock. Over the enormous space over which they are distributed for thousands of years that some of the groups have been in contact, these dialects show remarkably slight differences from the long extinct proto-Hamitic speech from which they have sprung. Whatever it be called—Kabyle, Zenaga, Shilha, or Shluh—the Berber language is still essentially the same. The likeness between the forms current in Marocco and the Sahara, and the remote Siwah Oasis on the eastern coast, is much closer, for instance, than between Norwegian and English, the sub-Aryan Teutonic group<sup>2</sup>.

But when we cross the conventional frontier between the contiguous Tuareg and Tibu domains, the divergence is so great that linguists are still doubtful whether the two languages are related, or motely or at all connected. My own impression is that the Tibu stands to Berber as Berber to Semitic on the one hand, and to Basque on the other—all *disjecta membra* of a primitive tongue, extinct for many thousands of years, and therefore less capable of reconstruction than the organic Hamitic tongue on which so much unprofitable labour has been expended.

The Tibus themselves, apparently direct descendants of the ancient Garamantes, have their primeval home in the Atlas range, *i.e.* the "Rocky Mountains," whence they have

<sup>1</sup> *Les Chaouias* etc., in *L'Anthropologie*, 1897, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> The words collected by Sir H. H. Johnston at Durai, in the Sudan, show a great resemblance with the language of the Saharan Tuaregs. A traveller of that place "admitted that his people could understand and be understood by those fierce nomads, who range between the mountains of Algeria and Tunis and the Sudan" (*Geogr. Jour.*, June, 1898).

There are two distinct sections, the northern *Tibus*, whom we call the *Tibustani*, a branch of the Garamantes known by Ptolemy somewhere between Tripolitana and Phœnacia (Libyan), and the Southern *Dass*, through whom the Tibus merge gradually in the negroid populations of central Sudan. This intermingling with the blacks dates from remote times, whence Ptolemy's remark that the Garamantes seemed rather more "Ethiopian" than Libyans<sup>1</sup>. But there can be no doubt that the full-blood Tibus, as represented by the northern section, are pure Hamites, and although the type of the men is somewhat coarser than that of their Tuareg neighbours, that of the women is almost the finest in Africa. "Their women are charming while still in the bloom of youth, unrivalled amongst their sisters of North Africa for their physical beauty, pliant and graceful figures<sup>2</sup>." It is interesting to notice amongst these somewhat secluded Saharan nomads the slow growth of culture, and the curious survival of usages which have their explanation in primitive social conditions. "The Tibu is always distrustful; hence, meeting a fellow-countryman in the desert, he is careful not to draw near without due precaution. At sight of each other both generally stop suddenly; then crouching and throwing the litham over the lower part of the face in Tuareg fashion, they grasp the inseparable spear in their right and the shangermangor, or bill-hook, in their left. After these preliminaries they begin to interchange compliments, inquiring after each other's health and family connections, receiving every answer with expressions of thanksgiving and cheerfulness. These formalities usually last some minutes<sup>3</sup>." Obviously all this means nothing more than a doffing of the hat or shaking hands amongst more advanced peoples; but it points to a time when every stranger was a *hostis*, who later became the *hospes* (host, guest).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Rock People*"; cf. *Kanem-bu* = "Kanem People," southernmost branch of the family on north side of Lake Chad.

<sup>2</sup> *ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν ἕβη μᾶλλον Αἰθιοπικῶν* (I. 8). I take ἕβη, which has caused some trouble to commentators, here to mean that, as you advance southwards from the Mediterranean seaboard, you find yourself on entering Garamantania already rather amongst Ethiopians than Libyans.

<sup>3</sup> *Herodotus*, *Mag.* ed. vol. XI. p. 429.

It will be noticed that the Nile valley, absolutely impassable, is completely separated from the section of the Hamites which ever, is afforded, both on the north, from the Mediterranean to the Nile Delta (Lower Egypt) through Darfur and Kordofan to the Nile, and down the main stream to Upper Egypt, and on the east coast the domain of the Hamites from the equator northwards to Egypt and the Nile.

It appears therefore that Egypt, occupied for years by an admittedly Hamitic people, either by the Western Hamites by the Mediterranean, or the Eastern Hamites down the Nile. But it is clear that the Hamites were specialised in the Nile valley, and spread thence over North Africa, in which case, so to say, have been reached at all, but should be the cradle of the race. The point is insoluble, however, is made to the evidence of the Stone Age, and we choose between such widely separated regions, Upper Egypt, and Mauritania, all of which have abundant proofs of the presence of man far earlier than estimated by some palethnologists at several thousand years. When the Nile flowed in a bed 400 feet higher than its present level it was inhabited by men who may be called primitive, for they were able to manufacture wonderful stone implements discovered by Burton, and others, to reproduce which would baffle the skill of rude tribes still living in Africa, Australia, and elsewhere. If it be asked, were these men Hamites? we can only say Hamites *im Werden*, Hamites in process of development. If the process, it must be inferred, going on simultaneously in the land, in Upper Egypt, and Mauritania, in fact, in the

<sup>1</sup> From the enormous sheets of tuffs near the Kharga Oasis, the geologist of G. Rohlfs's expedition in 1876, thinks that even at that time may have supported a rich vegetation in Quaternary times.

since pliocene man wandered from Indo-Malaysia to this region.

It might seem therefore that the question of Egyptian origins is settled by the mere statement of the case, and

there could be no hesitation in saying that the Egyptians Hamites were evolved on Egyptian soil, consequently the true autochthones in the Nile valley. Yet there is no

question more hotly discussed than this of Egyptian origins and culture, for the two seem inseparable. There are

essentially speaking two schools: the African, whose fundamental

ideas are above briefly set forth, and the Asiatic, which brings the Egyptians with all their works from the neighbouring con-

tinents. But, seeing that the Egyptians are now admitted to be Hamites, that there are no Hamites to speak of (let it be frankly

admitted) in Asia, and that they have for untold ages occupied many millions of square miles in Africa, the more

moderate members of the Asiatic school now allow that, not the Egyptians themselves, but their culture only came from western Asia (Anatolia).

If so, this culture would of course have its roots in the delta, which is first reached by the Isthmus of Suez from the east, and spread thence, say, from Memphis up the Nile to Upper Egypt, and that is the assumption. But at

the same time, the

the Kashite ghost should have been laid after Sir R. Burton wrote that the theory of Kashite immigration to account for the Caucasian type and the 'intermixture' in the races and languages of Egypt, was "one of the most absurd theories ever propounded by mortal man." The Egyptologist of the Asiatic school, who holds, despite Herodotus, that art had no infancy in Egypt, but a personal aversion to a prehistoric Stone Age (which he denies), begins by inventing a people settled somewhere near India.

They pass through the preliminary stages and reached the 'apogee of civilization,' this people emigrates bodily westward, leaving no trace of its existence at home, no signs of its exodus, no notice in history. It reaches the Nile, begins to making pyramids and other masterpieces of the highest art, and then it begins to decay and become Egyptian. Marvellous to relate, the 'theory' of sound and ripe scholars" (*Stones and Bones from Egypt*, in *Four. Anthropol. Inst.* Nov. 1878, p. 296). The case is per-

fectly analogous to that of the American "Asiatics," who in the same wild way brought a foreign culture to the New World, and bring everything bodily

to the New World, and bring everything bodily

to the New World, and bring everything bodily

to the New World, and bring everything bodily

to the New World, and bring everything bodily

to the New World, and bring everything bodily



that since there was no Delta, an area of formation, a kind of detour of the Nile water, inhabitable mainly by crabs, could become the seat of a culture which produced huge stone monuments, amongst others, and consequently needing solid foundations. It further appears that although Memphis is much older, in other words, that Egyptian Egypt, and spread not up but down the Nile, claims are again excluded, unless indeed a part of the land of Punt (Somaliland) declined to bring the Retu. But South Asia, so this will not help the "Asiatics" who got everything from Mesopotamia<sup>1</sup>.

In a question of origins going back to antiquity, almost the first consideration is that Dr Eberhard Fraas<sup>2</sup> has made a special study. If the engines were not, as at present, so closely bound to the sands, is evident, he says, from the fabulous stone industry during the Neolithic period. This is now a wilderness, where scarcely a few

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptians themselves had a tradition that when he found the Delta still under water. The sea reached the Fayyûm, and the whole valley, except the Thebais, was under water (Herod. II. 4). Thus late into historic times memories of the delta was of relatively recent formation, and that the Pyramid texts, later *Rotu, Romi* etc.) had already developed before the Lower Nile valley was inhabitable. Hence, at 20,000 years (Schweinfurth) or over 70,000, as others hold, the beginning of the Egyptian prehistoric period must date millenniums before the new era. "Ce que nous savons alors sillonné de rivières, atteste qu'il [the Delta] ne pouvait pas être constitué à l'époque quaternaire" (M. Zaborowski, 1896, p. 655).

<sup>2</sup> As shown by G. Bertin, "no Egyptian tradition, either on papyri, or preserved by classical writers, ever pointed to the country," and he refers to Dr S. Birch's remark at the Orientalists that "no evidence whatever supported the hypothesis of the Egyptians from Asia" (*Jour. Anthropol. Inst. Lond.* 1898, p. 100).

<sup>3</sup> *Corresp. Bl. d. d. Ges. f. Anthropol.* Feb. 1898, p. 100.

sustenance for themselves and their wretched flocks. A moister  
 environment have prevailed, with springs and running waters,  
 and the extensive terraces flanking the mouths of the mountain  
 gorges between Keneh and Koseir, the well rolled pebbles, the  
 15 or 16 feet thick of calc-sinter (incrustations of carbonate  
 of lime) in the now dry gorges of the Hamamat, undoubtedly  
 deposited by springs, all show the former abundance of moisture  
 in quite recent geological times. The same conclusion results  
 from a study of the coral barrier-reefs skirting the shores of the  
 Red Sea, with gaps at intervals opposite the wadi mouths, where  
 the fresh-water from the torrents prevented the polyps from build-  
 ing. We may therefore conclude that parts of the present wastes  
 were inhabitable, and this solves the question where that magni-  
 ficent Neolithic culture of the first dynasties originated, and whence  
 the early Pharaohs drew those countless hosts for which the narrow  
 valley could never have afforded sustenance. Thus also are  
 explained the numerous ancient settlements, the extensive quarries  
 and mining operations, whose débris amid the now waterless up-  
 lands seem such an inexplicable puzzle. The more moist and tem-  
 perate climate may be connected with the Ice Age farther north,  
 as already suggested by Lepsius, who thought that to the glacial  
 epoch of Europe corresponded a genial climate with a sufficient  
 rainfall in the now overheated southern zones, and that in such  
 an environment alone could be found the conditions needed for  
 the development of a cultured people.

In such a climate great progress was made, especially in the  
 Neolithic Age, which, as shown by M. J. de Morgan<sup>1</sup>,  
 has been of very long duration. It has yielded  
 a collection of every imaginary kind of implements  
 adapted to all the wants and usages of daily life.

New Stone  
 and Bronze  
 Ages in Upper  
 Egypt also  
 indigenous.

In Upper Egypt, this Age lingered on well into the Metal period, as  
 shown by a beautiful flint knife plated with gold on which are  
 engraved animal figures. The flints come not only from ordinary  
 workings but also from very old graves and dwellings, such as the  
 one at El-Amrah, four or five miles from Abydos. Here

<sup>1</sup> *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte: l'Âge de la Pierre et des Métaux.*

were found quantities of very much finer pottery, embellished with geometric designs, and even hieroglyphics; showing a slow transition from rudimentary to advanced. M. Morgan's view is that this was an indigenous race, later conquered by intruders who introduced metallurgy and the civilization of the Nile. The illustrations seem to show a double overlap of animal life amongst the intruders, and of animal life on the native pottery.

These first intruders M. Morgan brings from Asia or South China. But the argument is a fact, considering the discordant views now held of bronze, is for the present of no weight. Maspero, Zaborowski, Mariette, Petrie and other authorities now hold that the new coming historic metal period was ushered in, were of African origin. The earliest memories associated, not with Memphis, but with Abydos, Thoth and Osiris; and throughout the Old Empire all the domestic and other animals figured on the monuments were members of the African fauna. Such was the greyhound with straight ears like the *cabers* of Africa, a greyhound still surviving among the Saharan Tribes; in Egypt he was sacred to Anubis, whose priests wore heads of the greyhound type. Such were also the dogs of the Upper Nile wild breed, trained for the chase and used in prodigious numbers; the ox, ass, gazelle, sheep, and goose, all of true African species. Neither Asiatic and not African animals, came in at first, but not arrive till the New Empire, the latter appearing in the Ptolemaic period<sup>1</sup>. It is also noteworthy that of the El-Amrah measured by M. Fouquet all but one

<sup>1</sup> Dr W. Cunningham says "unknown in the earliest period of greatness" (*Western Civilisation*, etc., Cambridge University Press). But one might rather say in the very latest, for no reference is made to the camel in any extant documents much before the

of the type corresponding to Prichard's "Pelagic,"  
or Hamitic or Mediterranean.

Wilkes points out<sup>1</sup> that nobody has yet been able even  
to suggest any part of the world, or any people, who were in  
possession of these same elements of culture before the Egyptians;  
and he has already remarked<sup>2</sup> that there is absolutely no foundation  
for the view that the Retus arrived from Asia *via* the Isthmus of  
Suez. This was merely a reaction against those ancient and  
modern writers who traced Egyptian culture to Ethiopia, and the  
Egyptians to the Negroes. It was mainly based on the erroneous  
view that there was no white race except those of Asiatic origin  
(Semitic and Aryans). But we have now the Hamitic white race  
of African origin, located in Upper Egypt, home of Osiris<sup>3</sup>, land  
of the Retus, whose foundation is long prior to all history. This  
land was divided into a number of independent petty states,  
and was organized recalling that of the Berber tribes, and they  
were not welded into a compact political body by Menes, king  
of the Retus. By founding Memphis, and thus removing the centre  
of power for the first time to Lower Egypt, Menes merely shifted  
the advanced bulwark of a civilization, which may  
already have been threatened by predatory hordes from Asia, but  
in any case first taken root at some immensely remote epoch  
in Upper Egypt.

Of course there are Asiatic elements even in the early Egyptian  
art. Bronze art is very old, and two statuettes in this  
style are attributed to the 5th or 6th dynasty, while in a tomb  
dated earlier than the 4th Mariette found three wooden  
statuettes bas-reliefs presenting the type of the Semitic race.  
The 2d, 3d, and or 3rd dynasty date other statues, such as that of  
a young girl with ornaments in the Babylonian style. But  
the evidence already proves that, as implied in the legendary Osirian  
myth, Egypt had relations with Asia in the very earliest historic,  
pre-dynastic period.

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Acad. Nat. Sci. Philad.*, 1896, p. 634 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue Archéol.*, 1883, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue Archéol.*, 1883, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue Archéol.*, 1883, p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> *Revue Archéol.*, 1883, p. 100.

<sup>6</sup> *Revue Archéol.*, 1883, p. 100.

and probably even in prehistoric times. The pharaohs of the 3rd dynasty, warred with the Libyans, and left records of his exploits on the walls of his tombs. These events are quite recent compared with the Egyptian culture, which go back to an earlier historic period (Bunsen, Renan). Facts of an established social and political organisation are traced by Oppert back to 11,500 years B.C. - American plants were wheat, barley, sorghum, vetches, and most of which belong essentially to the African

Corresponding with this progress in agriculture in the arts, as revealed by the bas-reliefs and by Snefru on the rocks of the Wady Maghara, some 6000 years old, show a state of culture that under the New Empire, with thoroughly all the marks of a long previous existence. As a written form had been given to the Egyptian already been completely developed and diffused allied Libyan (Berber), and from the still more Semitic family. When we consider the amazing the Hamitic and Semitic sections of this a statement alone should satisfy the most immense antiquity of civilised man in the Nile are accumulating that this race was already with features of European type. At the nearly opposite Beni Suef, Petrie found in a statue of Prince Nenkheftka of the 5th dynasty a man of pleasing expression and "European features" also describes several royal persons from the tomb (1500 B.C.) as distinguished by luxuriant hair features "to a marked degree like those of the

Sergi tabulates eight primary varieties of Egyptian Type. skulls with several sub-varieties, all formidable (some have called it bewilderment), and all still persisting both in Egypt and

<sup>1</sup> *Deshasheh, 15th Mem. Egypt. Expl. Fund.*

<sup>2</sup> *Nature*, April 14, 1898, p. 566.

Eastern Hamites: "The persistence of the race is therefore shown in this historical and most ancient people, which has had so many and interminglings enough to infer a complete change in its physical characters and the effacement of its old ethnic elements."

Thanks to this amazing stability of the early types, Egypt is a region of quite exceptional interest to the anthropologist. Owing to the remarkable continuity of its <sup>Its persistence.</sup> now changeless climate, and of a historic record unbroken for over 7000 years, it affords a better illustration than most other lands of the still obscure principle of convergence in biological forms. That plants and animals should, under the environmental conditions, have undergone but slight change since Pharaonic days is perhaps no more than might be expected. That the *Retus* type itself should have emerged in its integrity after such secular interminglings of peoples—the problematical Hyksos and Hittites, Petrie's "New Race," blue-eyed Libyans, successive Ethiopic infiltrations, early and later Arabs and mixed Assyrian Semites, Persian, Greek, and Roman "Aryans," Scythians, Turks, Circassian Mamlûka, Albanians, Franks and others—is indeed a wonder perhaps best explained on the assumption that in certain cases environment is an all-potent crucible, in which foreign ingredients are fused in the general amalgam. It is not to be supposed, for instance, that the Moslem Arab conquerors have ever formed unions with the native Christian Kopts, direct descendants of the old Egyptians. Yet when the wooden statue of an official under Khephren (4200 B.C.) was brought to light, it was at once named the "village Sheikh," because of its striking resemblance to the then living local headman. "The Egyptians themselves have come down from the Old Empire through all the vicissitudes of conquests, mixtures of races, changes of religion and language, so little altered that the fellah of to-day is often the image of the Egyptians who built the

*etc.* p. 67.

It is also remarked that "the profile copied from a Theban mummy when it is compared with the features of a modern Luxor peasant, would almost pass for a family portrait" (*Diary of Cleo.* p. 48).

pyramids<sup>1</sup>." In most regions a gathering of foreign peoples results in conformity with the old; but in Egypt the foreign elements mingling, tend to conform, i.e. converge on the prototype. It is clear therefore that the Ramesseid outcome of their environment, and to that extent and not Kushite immigrants from Asia at the Stone Age. Nor is it likely that any fresh discovery made which will invalidate this conclusion.

Yet, except the priestly and military castes, who relied for support, the whole of the Egyptian Social Condition. whether nominally free or slave, led a life of incessant toil, relieved from

irregular visits of the taxgatherer, when there was weeping throughout the land. "Shall I tell thee how he endures misery? exposed to all the winds without any garment but a belt, and while the flowers [which is fixed] on the [completed] house of his reach, his two arms are worn out with work, and are placed higgledy-piggledy amongst his refuse. When his work is quite finished, if he has bread he returns home, but if he has been beaten unmercifully [during his absence] the maker moans ceaselessly, and he gnaws the leaven of his bread...subjects the loaves to the fire...while his head is in the flames<sup>2</sup>."

"The determination not to pay the taxes was proverbial from ancient times. Whoever refused to pay before he had received a merciless beating would be covered with reproaches by his family, and jeered at with his neighbours...When the tax fell due...for several days nothing to be heard but protestations, threats, and pain from the taxpayers, and piercing lamentations from the women and children. The performance over, calm was restored, and the good people, binding up their wounds

<sup>1</sup> Laing, *Human Origins*, p. 399.

<sup>2</sup> Sellier Papyrus, quoted by Maspero, p. 300.

of daily life until the next tangathering<sup>1</sup>. The bread, where referred to was usually in the form of small round or oblong loaves about half-an-inch thick, and was so coarse and gritty that in the long run it ruined the strongest teeth<sup>2</sup>. It is this dire misery which, combined with their unchangeable type, connects the pyramid-builders through the long ages with the modern fellahin, who have only now been relieved from hopeless oppression by British intervention in Egypt.

A brighter if ruder social state is presented by the kindred Eastern Hamites, who form a continuous chain of  
 Other  
 Eastern  
 Hamites—  
 Bejas—  
 Somals.  
 Dark-Caucasic peoples from the Mediterranean to the equator, and whose ethnical unity is now established by Sergi on anatomical grounds<sup>3</sup>. Beginning on Upper Egypt, and extending thence to the foot of the Abyssinian plateau, is the Beja section, whose chief divisions—Shabdoh, Hadendowa, Bishari, Beni-Amer—have from the earliest times occupied the whole region between the Nile and the Red Sea. Recent events have familiarised the English reader with many of their tribal names, and with some of their usages, notably their fondness for elaborate coiffures, which has earned for our late foes, now the friendly Hadendowas, the popular designation of "Fuzzy-Wuzzies." They never need have been foes, had our officials, at the time of the Mahdi's revolt, been able to understand that they were not "Arabs," but Hamites, whom a little diplomacy would have easily gained over to our side without any bloodshed<sup>4</sup>.

In peaceful times many hours are daily given up to the toilet, and in Suakin "hair-dressing plays such an important part that a whole street is devoted to this business. I saw some twelve shops which dealt exclusively in the egg-shaped balls of mutton-fat, the favourite hair ointment. Close by were, perhaps, as many stores dealing in various mineral powders in all colours of the rainbow,

<sup>1</sup> See Niebuhr, p. 314, where Am. Marcellinus is quoted: "Erubescit apud eos, quod non infatigando tributa plurimas in corpore vibices ostendat," XXII. ch. 22, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 320.

<sup>3</sup> *Africa, fascim.*

<sup>4</sup> See on this point my *Ethnology of Egyptian Sudan*, p. 10.



which are dusted over the greasy surface with the most effective. Here are also half-civilized hairdressers, where the mysteries of the hair are touched. The style differs, as a rule, but the Beja tribes or even of the Abyssinians. The wavy hair, essentially different from the Negro, is drawn out so as to completely cover the head, disposed in two main divisions by a horizontal line; the upper mass is raised to a top-knot, while the lower is in small tresses with their ends unravelled. The hair is first saturated with mutton-fat which causes it to curl, given to it by the deft hand of the artist.<sup>1</sup>

Through the Afars (Danakil) of the arid zone of Abyssinia and the sea, the Bejas are connected with the

Hamitic populations of the Somali coast. **Somal Genealogies.** For the term "Somal," which is of a course unknown to the natives, Major Maltzau

suggests an interesting and plausible explanation. The pitiable people, and milk their staple food, "the stranger would hear on visiting their kraals would hear *i.e.* "Go and bring milk." Strangers may have arisen from this circumstance, and other tribal names may be traced to more improbable sources.

The natives hold that two races inhabit the land of the true Somals, of whom there are two great divisions: (1) *Ishák*, both claiming descent from certain noble ancestors though no longer of Arab speech; (2) *Háwíra*, not counted by the others as true Somals, but only as a people also comprise two main branches, *Aysa* and *Galla*. The national genealogies collected by Major Abud and others, many of the mythical heroes are buried at or near the point they spread in all directions, the *Dáróds* pushing driving the Gallas beyond the Webbe Shebel, and raiding them as far as the Tana river. It should be

<sup>1</sup> Von Maltzau, quoted by Junker, *Travels*, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> *Genealogies of the Somal*, 1896.

These genealogical tables are far from complete, for they exclude most of the southern sections, notably the Rahanwin who have a wide range on both sides of the Jub.

In the statements made by the natives about true Somals and "pagans," race and religion are confused, and the distinction between Asha and Háwiya is merely one between Moslem and infidel. The latter are probably of much purer stock than the former, whose very genealogies testify to interminglings of the Moslem Arab intruders with the heathen aborigines.

Despite their dark colour Prof. C. Keller<sup>1</sup> has no difficulty in regarding the Somali as members of the "Caucasic Race." The Semitic type crops out decidedly in several groups, and they are generally speaking of fine physique, well grown, with proud bearing and often with classic profile, though the type is very variable owing to Arab and Negro grafts on the Hamitic stock. The hair is never woolly, but, like that of the Bejas, ringletty and less thick than the Abyssinian and Galla, sometimes even quite straight. The forehead is finely rounded and prominent, eye moderately large and rather deep-set, nose straight, but also high and aquiline, mouth regular, lips not too thick, head generally globose.

Great attention has been paid to all these Eastern Hamitic peoples by Ph. Paulitschke<sup>2</sup>, who regards the Gallas as both intellectually and morally superior to the Somals and Afars, the chief reason being that the baneful influences exercised by the Arabs and Abyssinians affect to a far greater extent the two latter than the former group. He credits these primitive peoples originally ("ursprünglich") with a monotheistic belief, or rather with "a monotheism disturbed by diverse superstitions." But this view, which rests on the assumption that the aborigines in question distinguish between a Supreme God and a large number of spirits under him, is unsupported by any solid proof. The characteristic feature in their religion is the predominance of animistic over spiritual mythological concepts. A great part is played by bodiless spirits; even their animal and tree worship has its roots in animism,

<sup>1</sup> *Beitr. z. Ethnographie in den Somaliländern*, "Globus," LXX., p. 33 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ethnographie Nord-Ost-Afrikas: Die geistige Kultur der Danakil, Galla u. Bejas*. Berlin, 1896, 2 vols.

while none of the Gallas or Somalis were able to form any notion of a Supreme deity.

But it is amongst the Abyssinians that the strangest interminglings of primitive and modern ideas. On a seething mass of African beliefs of prehistoric times affected by early Semitic ideas from the Himyarites from South Arabia, was superimposed an undeveloped form of Christianity brought by Frumentius in the fourth century, with results hardly called satisfactory. While the heterogeneous beliefs have been merged in a composite Abyssinian religion, discordant religious ideas have never yet been fused into a consistent uniform system. Hence "Abyssinian" is a sort of by-word even amongst the Eastern Churches. Social institutions are marked by elementary superstitions and paradoxical "shamanistic" practices, interspersed with sublime moral precepts. Many things came as a surprise to members of the Rennell Rodd Mission<sup>1</sup>, who could not understand such a strange mixture of savagery and hypocrisy in a Christian community which, for instance, accuses a man of death as wilful murder. The case is mentioned of a man falling from a tree on a friend below and killing him. "He was to perish at the hands of the bereaved family, in the same way as the corpse. But the family refused to sacrifice any member, so the culprit escaped." Dreams also have been used as in the days of the Pharaohs, for detecting criminals. A man sent for, and if his prayers and curses fail, a small boy is chosen and told to dream. "Whatever person he dreams of is taken as the criminal; no further proof is needed...If the boy dreams of the person whom the priest has determined to be a criminal, he is kept under drugs until he does what he dreams of him."

To outsiders society seems to be a strange jumble of despotic rule, which forbids the selling of a horse for less than under severe penalties, and a personal freedom of movement which allows the labourer to claim his wages after a week's work.

<sup>1</sup> Count Gleichen, *Rennell Rodd's Mission to Abyssinia*.

with decamp to spend them, returning next day or next month as the humour takes him. Yet somehow things hold together, and a few Semitic immigrants from South Arabia have for over 3000 years contrived to maintain some kind of control over the Hamitic aborigines who have always formed the bulk of the population in Abyssinia.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE CAUCASIC PEOPLES (continued)

**THE SEMITES**—Cradle, Origins, and Migrations—*The Assyrians; Amorites; Canaanites; Himyarites*—The Phoenician Alphabet—*Himyarites*—Migration—*The Amorites: Arameans, Syro-Chaldeans; Ansaricks; Maronites; Druzes*—*The Jews*—Origins—Dispersion—Diverse Physical Types—Present Range—**THE HITTITES**—Conflicting Theories—*The Arabs*—Race and Language—Semitic Monotheism—Its Evolution—**THE HITTITES**—A wide-spread pre-Hellenic People of the Bronze Ages—Knowledge of Letters—The Cretan and other Aegean Culture a Local Development—Its Age and Migration from Troy to Scandinavia and Britain.

THE Himyaritic immigrants, who thus still remained in a foreign land, have long ceased to exist as a distinct race in their own country, where they had nevertheles founded flourishing empires, centres of one of the great civilizations of which there is any record. Should this confirm the now generally received view that the Semites are fundamentally of one stock, a view based both on

The Semites  
—Cradle,  
Origins, and  
Migrations.

linguistic data, the cradle of the Semites can also probably be traced to South Asia, particularly to that south-western region which the ancients as Arabia Felix, *i.e.* the present-day Arabs. While Asia and Africa were still partly separated north by a broad marine inlet before the formation of the Suez delta, easy communication was afforded between the two continents farther south at the head of the Gulf of Aden, where they were almost contiguous. By this route the primitive Semites

populations may have moved either westwards into Africa, or, as would seem more probable, eastwards into Asia, where in the course of ages the Semitic type became specialised.

On this assumption South Arabia would necessarily be the first home of the Semites, who in later times spread thence north and east, and became further specialised as *Phoenicians* on the east coast of Arabia and the Divisions. neighbouring Bahrein Islands; as *Assyrians* in Mesopotamia; as *Arabs* on the Nejd steppe; as *Canaanites*, *Moabites* and others in and about Palestine; as *Amorites* (*Aramaans*, *Syrians*), possibly even *Hittites*, in Syria and Asia Minor.

Against this broad view of Semitic origins and early migrations there appear to be no serious objections of any kind, while the hypothesis would seem to harmonise well with all the known conditions. In the first place is to be considered the very narrow area occupied by the Semites, both absolutely and relatively to the domains of the other fundamental ethnical groups. While the Mongols are found in possession of the greater part of Asia, and the Hamites with the Mediterraneans are diffused over the whole of north Africa, south and west Europe since the Stone Age, the Semites, excluding later expansions—Himyarites to Abyssinia, Phoenicians to the shores of the Mediterranean, Modern Arabs to Africa, Irania, and Transoxiana—have always been confined to the south-west corner of Asia, comprising very little more than the Arabian Peninsula, Mesopotamia, Syria, and (scarcely) parts of Asia Minor. From this may be drawn two important inferences—first that, as suggested, the early Hamito-Semitic migrations were not from east to west, but from the larger area to the singularly contracted Asiatic area, and secondly that these migrations were comparatively late, not earlier at all events than the Neolithic period. At that time Asia was already well peopled, so that the proto-Semites could extend their range only to the westward, and as such the Assyrians seem to make their appearance amongst the Akkado-Sumerians of Mesopotamia, coming not from the north (the Kurdistan uplands), but from the south (Persian Gulf), as is now generally believed by the best

<sup>1</sup> See p. 275.

It is the same with the Phœnicians.

Phœnician  
Cradle and  
Migrations.

Theodore Bent and others have traced the Phœnician cradle to the Persian Gulf, whence they came in many times to the Mediterranean.

seafarers (Byblos, Tyre, Sidon), then as rulers of great empires (Leptis Magna, Carthage, Gadara). There are references to the Syrian coast, a cylinder of the Phœnicians and another of his son Dungi from Cyprus, and the Phœnicians, who had probably at that time been in the Mediterranean. Herodotus learnt from the Phœnicians that Melkart, the great god of Tyre, that this place was founded 2700 B.C., while Old Tyre on the mainland was the most ancient. Yet Tyre was still but an obscure settlement. Byblos, their oldest settlement, Sidon, and Beryta were flourishing seaports, referred to in a papyrus of Amenhotep III. Amongst the places captured by Thutmes III, the Phœnicians mentioned both Beryta and Akko (Acre).

Altogether Phœnician origins in their new homes on the seaboard cannot be carried back beyond about 2000 B.C., long they may have dwelt in their first homes on the coast of the Persian Gulf can only be conjectured. The extent of the burial grounds explored by Bent and others on the Islands. Obviously these remains date back into the third millennium and make it probable that the eastern Phœnicians played a chief part in the active trade carried on by the Phœnicians with Eridhu with Sinai, possibly even with the far East, many years before the new era.

Phœnician  
Alphabet.

Was the "Phœnician Alphabet" amongst the earliest introduced into Greece by these early Phœnicians? eastern wares? Before Mr Evans's discovery of a pre-Phœnician syllabary in Crete, it was generally held that Cadmus was accepted in its integrity, and must be regarded as substantially true. It is possible that this syllabary, as symbols, as has been suggested, may have been introduced by Phœnician traders in the Archipelago, simplified by the Phœnicians or Sidon, and then reintroduced into Hellas in the form in which it has since retained. But the suggestion, made in order to transfer the credit of this stupendous discovery to the Phœnicians, is not tenable.

the "Aryans," is not necessary, and cannot be proved. The syllabary stands apart, as an independent or separate development, while the eastern origin of the "Alphabet" is further attested by the forms, the order, and very names of the letters, the Greek *alpha, beta, gamma, delta*, etc. being the Semitic *aleph, bet; beth, house; gimel, camel; dalet, door*, names themselves suggestive of the ultimate pictorial or hieroglyphic origin of the system<sup>1</sup>. Early forms or prototypes of these letters have been sought, with but partial success, amongst the Egyptian hieroglyphs, the Babylonian cuneiforms, and the rock-inscriptions of the Hittites and Sabæans in South Arabia.

These rock-inscriptions, great numbers of which have been recovered in recent years by Halévy, Glaser and others, show that in very remote times South Arabia, presumable cradle of the Semitic race, "was a land of culture and literature, a seat of powerful kingdoms and wealthy commerce, which cannot fail to have exercised an influence upon the general history of the world."<sup>2</sup> Everything points to *Saba (Sabæa)*, i.e. Yemen, as the Sheba of Scripture, which, in the time of Solomon, had extensive trading relations with Tyre, probably also with India and the east coast of Africa from Abyssinia to Sofala Sabæans.

That the gold brought by the Tyrians and the Queen of Sheba came through Sofala from the neighbouring mines worked by the Sabæan Semites has been all but proved by the investigations of Bent amid the ruins of Zimbabwe and other parts of Manica and Matabilliland. Sabæa is shown by Assyrian inscriptions to have been a powerful state in the 8th century B.C., when it was conterminous northwards with the Ninevite empire under Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon III. Like the Egypt of Menes, it was formed by the fusion of several Himyarite principalities ruled by the so-called Makarib, "Blessed," or high-priest of Saba, who gave his name to the land, as Ashûr did to that of the kindred Assyrian Semites of Nineveh.

<sup>1</sup> See also, despite the great authority of Aug. Fick (*Die Griechischen Buchstaben*, 2nd ed. 1894), is a Phœnician name occurring in the form of *al-p*, with the sense of godlike, on a cuneiform tablet quoted by Sayce in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1894, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> See also, as quoted by S. Laing, to whom I am indebted for some of these data (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1894, p. 217).



But Saba itself was preceded by

*Minae*, i.e. of the *Minaean* dynasty, which almost died out till recently.

recently discovered inscriptions<sup>1</sup>. There is a long list of 33 Minaean kings, whose dominions covered the whole of Arabia as far as Syria and Egypt. There are references to Gaza and to Teima (the Teimānī route between Sinai and Damascus).

Other inscriptions copied by Seetzen in 1793 and together as Himyaritic<sup>2</sup>, proved to be in another dialect and in a script which is often disposed in a system parent of the system introduced in remote Arabia where it is still current. These Himyaritic inscriptions were found to comprise two distinct groups, an older and fuller and more archaic Semitic form, and a later one even this language is more primitive than those of Assyrian and Hebrew records. Now the history goes back with certainty to the time of Solomon and the kings of the preceding Minaean dynasty, Saywān, to a past probably coeval with that of the earliest Akkadian records. When we remember that the Semites looked to the Persian Gulf as their cradle, that they had been settled in the Bahrein islands for long ages before migration to the Mediterranean, and that Gomer, the Akkado-Sumerians received the germs of their culture traditionally come up from the sea, further research shows that South Arabia was the source whence the Chaldeans got their first knowledge of the arts and letters. In any case it may well have been the first home of the Semites. Everywhere alone we find Semites, and Semites only, from the

<sup>1</sup> See Fritz Hommel's *Süd-Arabische Chrestomathie*, Munich, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> From *Himyar*, land of the *Homerites*, i.e. the "Red Sea" (one time applied to the South Arabian populations, and extended to the neighbouring Erythrean ("Red") Sea. It is interesting to note that Egyptian artists also depicted the Retu men in red, but the word in contradistinction to the black Ethiopians; while the Punt, or Punt ("Red Land") on both sides of the Strait of Bab el Mandeb, is believed to be the ancestors of the Puni, or Phoenicians.

the particular language and character of the race must have somewhat developed in the growing civilization which preceded the ancient Minsean Empire, probably as the later Stone Age was passing into that of metal<sup>1</sup>."

It should be mentioned that the Minsean script, often described as a modified form of Phœnician, reveals on the contrary a writing system more primitive than the oldest extant Phœnician letters. It is on this ground that Sayce asks whether the Phœnician itself may not be derived from the Minsean (rather than from the Egyptian hieroglyphs) as often assumed but never proved, or from the Cretan syllabary, as above suggested. The Minsean language may be the most primitive member of the Semitic family, and Sayce shows that its characters afford a better explanation of the origin of the Phœnician letters than do the hieroglyphs. Thus the sign "ox," presents in Minsean the outlines of an ox's head, but bears no resemblance to any of the Egyptian symbols used for  $\alpha$ . Should this view be confirmed, Semitic origins must be set still farther back to give time for the slow evolution of the Minsean script from the assumed pictorial prototypes to the already highly conventionalised forms of the oldest known inscriptions.

It is noteworthy that the Amorites, unless they are to be identified with the Hittites, have always played a subordinate part amongst the Semitic peoples.

The  
Amorites.

Their territory was properly that part of Syria which lay north of what was afterwards Palestine, although the name was extended by the Babylonians to the whole of Canaan. At a very early date the Amorites had also, though apparently only as transient settlers, reached Babylonia, where they had a colony at Assur, and were able to hold high offices in the state (Pinches). When the Hebrews had migrated from this region ("Ur of Chaldeæ") to Canaan (South Syria), the two peoples were often at war, but were sometimes also allies, engaged in international courtesies and agreements," as in 1 Kings xx. 34, where we read that the kings of Israel and Syria severally "made streets" for their subjects in

<sup>1</sup> *Primitive Origins*, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> In reply to Mr Evans's suggested Cretan theory, Sayce declares his opinion to be "that the Phœnician alphabet came from Arabia" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Aug. 29, 1896, p. 149).

Damnacus and Samaria. From the latter

Syro-  
Chaldeans.

appear to have sprung from the  
and the Lake Urmia district  
represented by a few groups  
but wrongly called "Nestorians," being  
with a national rite<sup>1</sup>. They call themselves  
and still speak, besides Arabic, a  
dialect written in a modified form of the  
script<sup>2</sup>. Strange to say some of these  
tribal state<sup>3</sup>, unless we suppose that this is  
the influence of the surrounding Kurdish

In Syria the whole population has been

Later  
Syrians.

while the majority (Maronites and  
others) have long been Christian  
They possess a copious religious literature  
by the names of St Ephrem and John of Damascus  
by a valuable version of Scripture (the *Peshito*)  
some patristic writings still consulted by  
these writings are in the Aramaic, a distinct  
family, which appears to hold a position  
between the Assyrian of the cuneiform documents  
After the dispersion of the ten tribes and the  
a slightly modified form of Syriac, often called  
became the current speech of Palestine, where  
and the other closely related Canaanitish  
extinct as vernaculars for quite 2000 years.

<sup>1</sup> Max von Thielmann, *Journey in the Caucasus*,  
p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> M. Rubens, *Les Dialectes Neo-Araméens de Salamas*,  
Ignazio Guidi in *Zeitschr. d. Morgen. Ges.* XXXVI. p. 293

<sup>3</sup> Such are the *Kojamis* about the source of the *Tigris*  
*Tiaris* in the Salamas district (10,000) and the *Tibbis*  
(300).

<sup>4</sup> This version is not to be confused with the very old  
teach in a Hebrew-Aramaic dialect, written in the original  
which is jealously preserved at Nablús (Sichem) by a small  
community now dying out. They are an interesting link  
and Palestine before the Captivity, living under a  
whose subjects were reduced a few years ago to 133.

various ethnical groups, such as the *Dresses*, on the Lebanon mountains; also in the Hauran district, and the Ansarich of the mountain range named from Ansarich. These still linger on, either as survivals of the old pagan and Arabian times, or as Moslem sectaries with secret rites and observances surrounded by much mystery. Theodore Bent<sup>1</sup> extracts the Ansarich, whom he visited in the Farsus district, with the Ak-Ullah-hi of north Persia, and thinks their occult religion is practised by many other scattered groups in Asia Minor. Their reputed founder, Barba Nasere, made the Godhead of Ali the basis of the system, and they also admit a Trinity—the Ain-Min-Gin, or Ali the Father, Muhammad the Son, and Salman el-Djazi the Holy Ghost—which, with the use of wine in their secret rites, would seem to show that this cult is a graft of the Shiah Moslem sect on some early form of Christianity. The Ansarich sects are described as “very beautiful and impressive, and there are many curious points analogous to freemasonry in connection with the initiation of a new member.”

With the Hebrew or Israelitish inhabitants of south Syria (modern Palestine, “Land of Promise”) we are here concerned only in so far as they form a distinct branch of the Semitic family. The term ‘Jews,’ properly indicating the children of Judah, fourth son of Jacob, has long been applied generally to the whole people, who since the disappearance of the ten northern tribes have been mainly represented by the tribe of Judah, a remnant of Benjamin and a few Levites, *i.e.* the section of the nation which to the number of some 50,000 returned to south Palestine (kingdom of Judæa) after the Babylonian captivity. These were doubtless later joined by some of the dispersed northern tribes, who from Jacob’s alternative name were commonly called the ten tribes of Israel.” But all such Israelites had lost their separate nationality, and were consequently absorbed in the royal tribe of Judah. Since the suppression of the various revolts

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Anthropol. Inst.* June, 1890, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Old French Jews*, Lat. *Judæi*, *i.e.* Sons of Jehúdah (Judah). See *Jews*, in Casell’s *Storehouse of General Information*, 1893, from which I take many of the following particulars.

under the Empire, the Jews of various nationalities, and even before those conversions had been made in different parts of the world as far west as Tripolitana, and also in the East.

But most of the present communities are those of the great dispersion after the fall of the Temple, increased by considerable accessions of converts, the assumption that they have made for themselves is no longer tenable. In exile they have been regarded as a broken nation, and as such they have found favourable conditions to spread their teaching among their Christian slaves, but also amongst the Abyssinian Falashas, of lower culture than those of Muhammadan times many Arabs of Yemen (and others) had conformed, and some of their Jewish kings (Dhu Nowas, and others) are still remembered. In the 9th century all the Khazars—a renowned Turkic people of the Crimea, and the Caspian—accepted Judaism, and conformed to Russian orthodoxy. The Visigoths of the Spanish Jews (5th and 6th centuries) was distinguished by proselytising zeal, against which, as well as against Christian mixed marriages, numerous papal bulls were issued in medieval times.

To this process of miscegenation is attributed the diversity of physical features observed among the Jews of different countries, while the distinctive characteristics cropping out almost everywhere have been

Diverse Physical Types.

Sayce and others to primordial interminglings of the "Red People". Dr Dalby declares that there are Jews—brown, white, dark; Jews with black and white hair; tall, short; concluding that there is, therefore, no question of a Jewish race at all<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless

*are there*

<sup>1</sup> Felix von Luschan also finds that "of our modern Jews, the brachy, 11 have fair complexion, and not more than 5 have learned to be the real old Semitic type" (*Science*, 1904). He thinks that the majority of living Jews have the shape of the Hittite type, because "they are the descendants of an race that had only accepted Semitic writing and language in the 10th century".

*No information is available quite faulty as some present day knowledge*

large hooked nose, prominent watery eyes, thick lips, and almost everted under lip, rough frizzly lustreless hair, are sufficiently general to be regarded as racial traits.

The race is richly endowed with the most varied qualities, as shown by the whole tenour of their history. Originally pure nomads, they became excellent agriculturists after the settlement in Canaan, and since then they have given proof of the highest aptitude for science, letters, erudition of all kinds, finance, music, and diplomacy. The reputation of the medieval Arabs as restorers of learning is largely due to their wise tolerance of the enlightened Jewish communities in their midst, and on the other hand Spain and Portugal have never recovered from the national loss sustained by the expulsion of the Jews in the 14th and 15th centuries. In later years the persecutions, especially in Russia, have caused a Jewish exodus from the east of Europe, and by the aid of philanthropic capitalists flourishing agricultural settlements have been founded in Palestine and Argentina. From statistics taken in various places since 1880 the Jewish communities are at present estimated at about 6,500,000, of whom 5,500,000 are in Europe, 700,000 in Africa, 250,000 in Asia, the rest in America and Australasia.

Intimately associated with all these Aramaic and Canaanitic peoples were a mysterious people who have been identified with the *Hittites*<sup>1</sup> of Scripture, and to which this name has been extended by common consent. They are also identified with the *Kheta* of the Egyptian monuments, as well as with the *Khatti* of the Assyrian cuneiform texts. All these are, without any clear proof, assumed to be the same people, and to them are ascribed a considerable number of cylinders, and gems from time to time picked up at various points between the Middle Euphrates and the Mediterranean, and engraved in a kind of hieroglyphic or rather pictorial script.

As mentioned in Gen. xv. 9: "Zohar the Hittite."

This identification is based on "the casts of Hittite profiles made by the Egyptian artists. The profiles are peculiar, unlike those of the other peoples represented by the Egyptian artists, but they are identical with the profiles which occur among the Hittite hieroglyphs" (A. H. Sayce, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1894, p. 259).

Only 14% of the Jews have<sup>32-2</sup> seen  
so-called hook-nose. (Fischer  
1931.)

script, which has been variously interpreted by the  
or fancy of epigraphists. The "Hittite hieroglyphic  
texts" have not yet been interpreted, and are  
unexplained, until a clue is found in some other  
such as the Rosetta Stone, which connected the  
Egyptian hieroglyphs.

Meanwhile the Hittite language and people have been  
Semites, Pelasgians, "Turanians," or Hittites, or  
Sumerians, of all of which views one may say that  
Jensen that they "are without foundation, and are  
destitute of value".<sup>1</sup> Is the same to be said of the  
proposed, or rather revived by Jensen himself, the  
petent to decide, and can but say that his theory  
the Hittite language with the Armenian belongs to the  
family, has been favourably received, and that the  
the Hittite area, which has still to be defined, is  
element, which was in remote times Aryanised by  
European intruders speaking an archaic form of  
language.

This view agrees well with some of the facts which  
is independently supported by the results of the  
explorations in Senjirli, as well as by his theory of the  
fications of the Semitic type in western Asia, and the  
minglings of Amorites and Jews with Hittites.  
In North Syria, land of the Amorites, "nearly all the  
brachy, with indices near to 90; and these same  
we find everywhere in Western Asia; we find them  
prominent even with the modern Greeks, Armenians  
of Asia Minor, and especially the Armenians and

<sup>1</sup> Various papers in the *Zeitschrift of the German Oriental Society*, 1896, and *Hittiter und Armenier*, a scholarly work which appeared simultaneously with C. R. Conder's *The Hittites and their Language*. The last is singularly inconclusive, and seems to fall between two systems to compare the Hittite system "on the one hand with what is known of the Cypriote syllabary, including the Cypriote syllables, and the extra Hittite and Carian alphabets, which are generally admitted to be connected on the other by comparing the sounds and forms of the Hittite hieroglyphic emblems" (p. 215). Peiser's "Turanians" and Reinhold's "Hittites" are equally wide of the mark.

...the nearly complete uniformity of their types, for their dark complexion, for their extreme brachycephalism and for their large eyes. [The old brachy race {of Syria and Asia Minor}, which from the beginning was utterly distinct from any Semitic tribe, can only be identified with the Hittites—the same Hittites mentioned as a Syrian tribe in the Bible, which had been a strong and formidable enemy to Ramses II. [Kates], and were finally conquered by Assyrian kings in long wars, as we read in the Assyrian annals from the 9th to the 7th century B.C.]”

At Samjili, i.e. the Sammal mentioned in the Assyrian texts as a Hittite station in north Syria, were found numerous Hittite paintings with figures of strikingly Armenian type, so that “we cannot err if we consider the inhabitants of Sammal as the direct ancestors of the modern Armenians”<sup>2</sup>. But the presence of Semites in the same old royal city is shown by two inscriptions of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., both in characters closely resembling those of the famous Moabite inscription, and in a proto-Aramaic or proto-Hebrew language. Here we seem to find Semites and Armenians in actual contact, their fusion resulting in what Von Luschan and others would call Hittites.

In marked contrast to these mixed Semitic populations of western Asia stand out the Arabs of the Nejd The Arabs. who have to this day preserved their Semitic type and speech almost in their full integrity, and whose language it has been to absorb, or at least impose their language on all the other members of the Semitic family, the cosmopolitan Jews and the Himyaritic rulers of Abyssinia alone excepted. We have already seen how these fiery nomads, who in Muhammadan times have overrun north Africa, stand related to their remote Semitic kinsmen, the Berber aborigines of that region. But they have also ranged north to Mesopotamia and Syria, and the great cities of Bagdad, Damascus, and Aleppo have long been centres of their art and culture. Here again Von Luschan points out that of all the Semites the Bedouins alone form a homogeneous type, such as is represented on the earliest Egyptian monuments, and that the oldest Phœnician skulls “seem identical with old and

<sup>2</sup> *Jews and Hittites, Science*, Jan. 12, 1894.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



modern Bedonin skulls, or that modern Bedonins as pure descendants of the Bedonins have long narrow heads, dark complexion, straight nose, which is in every respect what we are accustomed to call a 'typical' Bedonin.

Elsewhere—Iberia, Sicily, Malta, India, Ceylon, Java, the Philippines, and the Malay Peninsula—the Arab invaders have failed to obliterate the speech or their racial individuality. In Spain (Portugal, Sicily) they have disappeared, leaving behind them beyond some slight linguistic monuments of their wonderful architecture, or stupendous mosques re-consecrated as Churches, in the eastern lands their influence is still felt. They profess Islám and use the Arabic script in writing Turki, or Malay languages, because some of these regions were swept by a tornado of rude Bedonins, else visited by peaceful traders and missionaries of the peninsula.

The monotheism proclaimed by these Semitic peoples, often spoken of as a special Semitic Monotheism. Semitic peoples, or at least almost all of them at such an early period in their history as to seem inseparable from their very being. Before the time of Allah or of Yahveh every land was a tutelary deity; the caves and rocks and the mountains were swarmed with "jins"; Assyrian and Phœnician lands with their Baals, and Molochs, and Astartes, and as thickly peopled as those of the Hellenes. Monotheism in this, as in all other natural systems of belief, the polytheistic concept was gradually evolved by a process of elimination. Nor was the process perfected by the Semitic peoples—Canaanites, Assyrians, Amorites, Phœnicians, Hebrews and the Arabs, the two more richly endow-

<sup>1</sup> *Science*, Jan. 12, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> The rude Semitic dialect still current in this island is fundamentally Phœnician (Carthaginian), later affected by Arabic influences. (M. Mizzi, *A Voice from Malta*, 1896, *passim*.)

of the Semitic family. Even here a reservation has to be made, for we now know that there was really but one evolution, that of Hebrew, the adoption of the idea embodied in Allah being historically traceable to the Jewish and Christian systems.

Should the Hittites prove to be a Semito-Armenian blend, in them will be found a direct transition between the eastern and western populations. On the Semitic side they range to the Persian Gulf and Irania, while the Armenian element connects them with the aborigines of Asia Minor—Cappadocians, Lycians, Carians, Leleges, perhaps Cilicians, and Phrygians. With these last we pass through the Propontis and the Propontis to the kindred Thracians, Præones, Illyri and other pre- or proto-Hellenic peoples, grouped by some authors collectively as "Pelasgians." Invented, as has been said, for the purpose of confounding future ethnologists, these Pelasgians certainly present an extremely difficult racial problem, the solution of which has hitherto resisted the combined attacks of ancient and modern students. When Dionysius tells us bluntly that they were Greeks<sup>1</sup>, we fancy the question is settled off-hand, and we find Herodotus describing them a few hundred years earlier as aliens, rude in speech and usages, distinctly not Greeks, and in his time here and there (Thrace, Hellespont) still speaking apparently non-Hellenic dialects<sup>2</sup>. Then Homer, centuries still earlier, with his epithet of *δαί*, occurring in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*<sup>3</sup>, exalts them almost above the rank of the Greeks themselves. But perhaps in these seeming inconsistencies we may have a key to the puzzle, one which will fit in both with Sergi's Mediterranean theory, and with the results of recent archaeological researches in the Ægean lands. The Mycæan culture revealed by Schliemann and others at Mycæ, Tiryns, Argos, Tiryns, by Mr A. J. Evans in Crete, and by Cesnola in Cyprus, be ascribed to a pre-Hellenic rather than to a proto-Hellenic people, then the classical references will apply to themselves, while this pre-Hellenic race will be readily

The Pelasgians.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἰστορίαι*, *lib. 1*, c. 1, § 1. τῶν Πελασγῶν γένος Ἑλληνικόν.

<sup>2</sup> *lib. 2*, c. 103, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* 10, 429; *Od.* 19, 177.

identified with the Pelasgians, who were  
Sergi.

It is, I suppose, universally admitted that the  
peopled before the arrival of the Hellenes  
to be taken as comprising all the Aryan  
speech. On their arrival the Hellenes found  
not only inhabited, but inhabited by a race  
civilized than themselves, that is to say  
Sergi's Pelasgian branch of the Mediterranean  
stock, whom the proto-Hellenes naturally

superiors, and whom their language  
rally called *ἑταίροι*.<sup>1</sup> During  
few centuries<sup>2</sup> these Pelasgians  
ized, all but a few scattered groups

behind in the general social progress are now  
barbarians, speaking barbaric tongues, and  
contemporary historians. Then these few  
but forgotten past are also merged in the  
can no longer be distinguished from other  
writers. Hence for Dionysius the Pelasgians

<sup>1</sup> "We recognize in the Pelasgi an ancient and distinct  
Hellenic, it is true, but distinguished from the Hellenes  
and social development of their age....Herodotus and other  
view when, reasoning back from the subsequent Tyranny  
the ancient Pelasgians a rude and worthless race, their  
their deities nameless. Numerous traditional accounts,  
fidelity, describe them as a brave, moral, and honourable  
a distinct stock and tribe, than a race united by a resemblance  
the forms of life" (W. Wachsmuth, *The Historical Antiquities*  
etc., Engl. ed. 1837, I. p. 39). Remarkable words to have  
the recent revelations of archaeology in Hellas.

<sup>2</sup> That the two cultures went on for a long time side by side  
the different social institutions and religious ideas prevailing  
of Hellas during the strictly historic period. Thus there is  
in Homer, who represents the Achaian (Hellenic) side, where  
as popularly understood, prevailed in Arcadia, Attica, and  
So with totemism, and the dark Poseidon of the Pelasgians  
eclipsed by the fair Apollo, Zeus, and other gods of the  
vast subject, which has yet been scarcely touched; its  
much in the obscure ethnical relations of prehistoric Greece.

which in a sense may be true enough. All the heterogeneous elements have been fused in a single Hellenic nationality, built upon a rough Pelagic substratum, and adorned with all the graces of Hellenic culture.

To show to make good this hypothesis, it is necessary to show, first, that the Pelasgians were not an obscure tribe, a small people confined to some remote corner of Hellas, but a widespread nation diffused over all the land; secondly, that this nation, as far as can now be determined, presented mental and other characters answering to those of Sergi's Mediterraneans, and also such as might be looked for in a race capable of developing the splendid Aegean culture of pre-Hellenic times.

On the first point it may suffice to say that the Pelasgians were everywhere<sup>1</sup>, so much so that the difficulty is to discover a district where their presence was unknown. They fill the background of Hellenic history, and even spread beyond the Hellenic

Pre-Hellenic  
of the  
Mykenian  
Age.

region, to such an extent that there seems little room for any other people between the Adriatic and the Hellespont. Prof. W. Ridgeway<sup>2</sup> has brought together a good many passages which clearly establish their universal range, as well as their occupation especially of those places where have been found objects of Mykenian and pre-Mykenian culture, such as engraved gems, pottery, implements, buildings, inscriptions in alphabetic and syllabic scripts. In Crete they had the "great city of Knossos" in Homer's time<sup>3</sup>; not only was Mykenian, but the whole of Peloponnesus took the name of Pelasgia; the kings of Tiryns were Pelasgians, and Aeschylus calls Argos a Pelasgian city; an old wall at Athens was attributed to them, and the people of Attica had from all time been Pelasgians<sup>4</sup>. Theopompus in Boeotia was founded by a colony from Pelasgia in Thessaly; Lesbos also was called Pelasgia, and Homer speaks of Pelasgians in the Troad. Their settlements are further

<sup>1</sup> *ἡ πᾶσι τῆς Ἑλλάδος γῆρας ἐπεσέλασε* (Strabo, v. 220). This might almost be translated, "they flooded the whole of Greece."

<sup>2</sup> *Quarterly Review*, July 13, 1895, p. 32; and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> *Opuscule*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. l. 3.*

tended to Egypt, to Rhodes, Cyprus, and elsewhere, and the latter was their ancient shrine—and lastly to Greece.

Moreover, the Pelasgians were not the only people to whom

**Ægean  
Culture.**

clement, who taught people to plow with the ox to the plough, and to sow, appear from these and other allusions.

memories of still earlier aborigines, among whom we may appear as a cultured people, introducing such new industries of the pre-Mykenian Age. This, however, based on no known data, is unnecessary, and it is reasonable to look on this culture as locally developed to a certain extent under eastern (Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian) influences. Here it is important to note that the Pelasgians were not only "with a knowledge of letters", and all this may be regarded as sufficient confirmation of our second postulate, that the new writing system be regarded as the highest achievement of the man, there need no longer be any hesitation to ascribe to the other arts and industries of the "Ægean school" the same origin. That the Hellenes were at first, and probably still were at their advent in Greece, an illiterate people, might also be deduced from the solitary reference in Homer to writing as a thing known more so since the writer is a Pelasgian king of Argos. This reference thus shows that the Pelasgians were a highly cultured people, who corresponded with each other in a script of the Ægean, apparently in a script now revealed by the present discovery.

<sup>1</sup> This idea of an independent evolution of western cultures is steadily gaining ground, and is strenuously advocated, among others, by M. Salomon Reinach, who has made a vigorous attack upon the "oriental mirage," i.e. the delusion which sees nothing but Asiatic influences everywhere. Sergi of course goes further, regarding the pre-Mykenian (Iberian, Ligurian, Pelasgian) cultures not only as locally independent both of Asiatics and of the rude Aryan hordes, but also as destroyers than civilizers. This is one of the fundamental principles of the whole of his *Art e Italici*, and some earlier writings.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, III. 20, 5.

<sup>3</sup> The famous *σηματα λυγρὰ* "fatal signs" of *Il. VI. 165* are also called *σημα κακόν*, "evil script," written in a "folding tablet" by the king of Argos, and addressed to his father-in-law, the king of Lydia, upon the destruction of the bearer, Bellerophon.

at Mr Evans's in Crete<sup>1</sup>. Here were found, not one, but two systems, a pictorial or hieroglyphic, quite independent of the Egyptian, and a linear or syllabic, the latter, it would seem, developed from the former, while both overlapped each other, and were in concurrent use. Although some of the pictographs resemble the Hittite symbols, they form as a whole an independent group possibly of Cretan origin, though possibly also belonging to an extensive hieroglyphic system spread over all the Ægean lands, including Asia Minor and Peloponnesus. Similarly the linear characters, assumed to be degraded Cretan pictographs, show analogies with the Cypriote, Lycian, and other syllabaries, so that we may here also have a syllabic system current in the same region in Mykenæan times, or even earlier. Was it in this script that King Proetus wrote his *σήμερα λυγρά*? If so, should the document be recovered (archæologists have accustomed us to such surprises) there are prospects that it would not long remain undeciphered. Dr M. Mack has already set to work with German patience on the syllabary with not unpromising results<sup>2</sup>, despite a somewhat doubtful initial assumption. Supposing that the script is in some archaic form of the Greek language, he takes a given symbol to have the sound of the first letter of the corresponding Greek word, on the principle of A for an Apple in children's pictorial alphabets. Thus the character representing an axe would have the phonetic value of A, this being the first letter of the Greek word ἄξον, an axe, and so on. Of course everything depends on the language, which, considering some ascertained dates such as that of Sargon I. (2300 B.C.), was more probably Pelagic or pre-Hellenic. So the matter stands at present.

It is agreed that the Ægean culture was antecedent to a knowledge of iron, and belonged in fact to the Bronze Age, with its roots buried deeply in the preceding Neolithic period. Mr Evans's view<sup>3</sup> is that the arts and industries were developed first in the Archipelago (Crete, Cyprus, etc.), and later on the Greek mainland (Mykenæ, Argos, etc.), and in Asia Minor (Lycia, the

<sup>1</sup> *Crete: Pictographs and Pre-Phœnician Script*, 1896; and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Brit. Assoc.*, LXXI. p. 74 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Paper read at the Meeting of the Brit. Assoc. Liverpool, 1896.

East) under eastern influences, but that the eastern models were not simply assimilated and still further improved, but that the Aegean centre, and not directly from the East, in the Bronze and later periods were introduced into the West.

Westward  
Spread of  
Aegean  
Culture.

Aegean is to be regarded as the bridge between East and West, between the bronzes of Ireland and Scandinavia and those of Egypt and Babylonia.

His conclusions being based, not only on his own excavations, but also on those of Schliemann, Tsountas and others (Troy), Tiryns, Mykenae, Argos, Cyprus, but also on the revelations of the Swiss lake-dwellings and the prehistoric north Italy, have a solid foundation in fact, and are generally accepted by archaeologists. The old views of the "Etruscan" or "Semitic" origin of the Western European cultures are falling into the background, and making way for the Aegean culture, as determined by the first prehistoric city of Troy, in Amorgos, under the volcanic hill of Thera, in the tombs of Mykenae and elsewhere.

The first period covers the wide domain comprising the Aegean land and Upper Italy, the Danube basin (especially the Balkan peninsula); it is continued throughout the whole of Asia Minor, and at last ends in Cyprus. In this period, in which Asia Minor appears as a part of Europe, the Aegean culture was evolved mainly along the sea-coasts, far from water." The assumption that navigation in the Mediterranean had its rise on the unsheltered Spanish coast, where we now know that the Phoenicians arrived in the late period, can no longer be maintained. The Aegean islands were the natural home of the earliest efforts of sea-faring, thus was here stimulated a higher degree of culture, which was not only on the whole of the European domain, but also on the earlier Egyptian and Asiatic fields themselves.

But the influences were mutual, as shown by the imitation of the Babylonian cylinders and other objects, especially by the spiral motive in ornamentation, which appears in the Amorgos (pre-Mykenae) period.

play so great a part in European art, while absent from the earliest productions of Asia Minor and the Danubian lands. This motive, however, is shown by Petrie to be ultimately of Egyptian origin, being met on the scarabs of the 4th dynasty. The great development of the spiral and of other foreign designs in Mykenean art can be explained only on the assumption of contact between Egypt and the Ægean about 1000 years earlier than had hitherto been supposed<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 20.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE CAUCASIC PEOPLES (continued)

**THE PEOPLES OF ARYAN SPEECH**—The "Proto-Aryans"—Linguistic Relations in Greece and Italy—Ethnicity in Germany—**TEUTONIC ORIGINS**—Areas of Specialization—*The New-Goths*—Later Migrations—Modification of the Teutonic Type—**DE LAPOUGE'S NEW DOCTRINE**—**THE KELTO-SLAVIC POSITION** defined—Aberrant *Tyroless* Type—*Rhotacism*—Etruscan Origins—*The Kelts*—Origins—*O-speaking* Type—*Kymry*—Past and Present Divisions—Migrations—*Picts*—Origins and Later Connections—*Picts* and *Saxons* in Britain—Prehistoric and Historic Races—Long-headed—*Angles* and *Saxons*—Formation of the English—Relations in Ireland—and Scotland—Present Connections—Peoples—The English Language—*The French*—Elements—Mental Traits—*The Spaniards and Portuguese* in Italy—*Ligurian, Illyrian, and Aryan Elements*—*Italians*—Art and Ethics—*The Rumanians*—Ethnicity—*The Hellenes*—Origins and Migrations—*The Etruscans, Aetolians; Dorians; Ionians*—The Hellenic Legend—**THE SLAVS**—Origins and Migrations—*Sarmatians, Wends, Chechks, and Poles*—The Southern Slavs—*Croats, Bosnians*—*The Albanians*—*The Russians*—Past Origins—*Alans and Ossets*—Aborigines of the Caucasus—Ethnic and Linguistic Relations—*Persians, Tajiks, Afghans*—Lowland and Hill Tajiks—The Galchic, *Uzbeks, Galcha* and *Tajik* Types—*Homo Europaeus* and *H. asiaticus*—**THE HINDUS**—Ethnic Relations in India—*Melanesian, Dravidian, and Aryan Elements*—*The Kols*—*The Dravidians, Kurumbas*—The Civilized Dravidian and Aryan Groups—**NEO-SANSKRITIC LANGUAGES**—The Hindu Castes—**THE MICRONESIANS**—*Micronesians*—*Eastern Polynesians*—Origins, Connections—Migrations.

IF the views of Mr Evans be accepted, there is a new theory that Bronze came in with the "Aryans," and from the standpoint that the revelation of an independent culture in touch with Babylonia and Egypt some four thousand years ago.

The new era is of such momentous import in determining the ethnical relations of the historical, *i.e.* the present European populations. Whether we call them Achæans or Hellenes, Umbrians or Itali, Sarmatians or Slavs, Teutons or Germans, Gauls, Britons or Kelts, Basques or Spaniards, all may now, roughly speaking, be regarded as originally North African Hamites, both of the long-headed and round-headed types, indigenous from remote times in that region. Europe would appear to have been reached by two routes, first in the Stone Ages, across the Mediterranean at several points, then round by Asia Minor and the Eurasian steppe, mainly in the early Metal Age, or in the period intermediate between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age, the *Mæolithic* period of Italian archæologists. Both routes were followed by both types, the rather short, dark long-heads, *i.e.* the "Mediterraneans" of Ripley and Sergi, becoming specialised along the northern shores of the Mediterranean, in West Europe, and the British Isles as Pelasgians, Ligurians, Iberians, Picts or Britons, while the dark or brown round-heads of medium height, the "Alpines" of Ripley and de Lapouge—were massed in the central uplands (Auvergne, Savoy, Switzerland, Tyrol).

It is doubtful whether the Mediterraneans spread in large numbers to North Europe (the North German lowlands and Scandinavia), which region would seem to have been for the most part occupied in Neolithic times by the tall blond long-heads—Ripley's Teutons, and the *Homo Europæus* of Linné and de Lapouge—who came from the Eurasian steppe. Then perhaps a little later the "Alpines" may have been reinforced by other roundheads from the Iranian and Armenian uplands, and at the same time spread over the East European plains.

Both prehistoric migrations would at least explain several striking facts in the constitution of the European peoples, as for instance, the absence everywhere of a clearly defined Mongol type, except such as can be traced to quite late Mongol intruders; the astonishing diffusion of the Alpine roundheads over the northern plains, that is, over well-nigh half of Europe, so that one might say this type should be called "Alpine," when it covers nearly 3,000,000 square miles of lowlands; the perhaps still more remarkable exclusion of the same Alpines or of any round-

heads from the British Islands still the same as recent, say, about 1500 B.C. at the earliest, of the dolicho and brachy types in Italy, the positions seem to be reversed; and the heads in Greece in Mykenian, i.e. Pelasgic, are the common assumption being that this was the long-headed Hellenes of Aryan speech. If the Mediterraneans be once admitted as the subjects specified lands, all will be simplified.

The general character of the Aryan migration

The "Proto-Aryans" of two types.

has not yet been considered. But it may be assumed that the Aryans, as a distinct race, were no time very numerous. Still, they were

cradle, which was presumably the Eurasian steppe. In their dispersions, they must have been a more or less homogeneous group with definite physical characters. They could not have been both round and long-headed, fair and dark, short, but, let us say, tall, fair long-heads, as all the evidence seems the more probable view. How then did the peoples of Aryan speech present both types, as for instance, in the round-headed Kelts and the long-headed Aryans?

Sergi solves the problem by assuming that the Aryan speech entering Europe from Asia in the Bronze Age was all round-headed, and moreover rude barbarians had nothing with them, except bronze, and their language was imposed on the Mediterraneans, or rather grafted on the Ligurians in Italy, and of the Pelasgians in Greece. They must have been of Hamitic type: "The language was transformed, but did not destroy those spoken in Italy<sup>1</sup>." There may be more truth in this than meets the surface, although the case is put in a way that is not accepted by philologists. To me it appears rather that

Linguistic Relations in Greece and Italy.

the Aryan tongues everywhere, so to say, took root in the soil, and effaced those previously in existence. In so doing became themselves something new, especially in their vocabulary and grammar.

<sup>1</sup> *Arii e Italici*, p. 176.

language was disturbed by the conflict, so that there were  
 many changes and reconstructions, as is plainly seen in the  
 Latin, (Etruscan, Umbrian, Oscan) verbal system. The organic  
 future is : disappears in many verbs, and is replaced by  
 a synthetic form, which in course of time again becomes  
 synthetic.

In this way the various members of the Aryan linguistic  
 family became specialised in their new homes, and it is reasonable  
 to suppose that such specialisation took place under local in-  
 fluences, Ligurian in Italy, Pelasgian in Greece, and so on. But  
 this is very different from saying that the Aryans, of Asiatic origin,  
 had on reaching Europe only one language divided into three  
 main branches, which are now well differentiated under the names  
 Celtic, Germanic, and Slav, just as they had only one funda-  
 mental physical type; also that the other so-called Aryan languages,  
 especially those of Greece and Italy, were never originally Aryan  
 ("non furono mai arie d'origine"), but became transformed to  
 other tongues, under the influence especially of the proto-Kelts  
 and the proto-Slavs, the two branches which invaded those regions.  
 The same phenomena, Sergi contends, must have taken place  
 among the long-headed people who first occupied North Europe.  
 They, also, came from Africa, are represented in the German  
 Reihengräber, and are wrongly supposed to be  
 Teutonic Aryans from Asia. But they are  
 Mediterraneans who, like the others in Italy,  
 Greece, and elsewhere, were Aryanised in speech,  
 and generally yielded to the sway and cultural influences of  
 the long-headed Aryans arriving much later from Asia.

Ethical  
 Relations in  
 North Ger-  
 many.

The extension of the Mediterranean stock to north Europe and  
 Scandinavia is based by Sergi on what he claims to be an absolute  
 identity in the forms of the crania from the Reihengräber with  
 those of Ligurian graves in Italy. But too much seems to be  
 made of the common characters of these dolicho skulls, the two  
 differing in most other respects quite different, the northerners

<sup>1</sup> See *La. habetti*, where the Umbrian still has *habiet* (R. S. Conway, *The*  
*Umbrian Tablets*, etc., Cambridge University Press, 1897, vol. 1. p. 428).

<sup>2</sup> See *Die Dolichocephalen*, pp. 166-7; *Ueber den sogenannten Reihengräbertypus*, p. 7.

## MAN: EAST ASIA

...allment gigantic blonds of subarctic type, and the southern dark, short and stocky, and proportioned but slender figures. Now it is possible that round-heads from Asia could have invaded Europe, and these tall blonds without close contact, and subsequent modifications of the type.

Some other solution must therefore be sought. The crux, and I think it will be found in the invasion of Europe in relatively late times, by the Aryans from the Eurasian steppe, and by short, dark-skinned Armenians from Armenia through Asia Minor, both being of the same type. The universality of this speech in Europe since that time is an immense factor in the problem, which can be solved only on the assumption that the Aryan language had already spread over the Eurasian steppe and the southern European uplands in remote times, prior to the late Aryan invasion of North, Central, and South Europe. Jensen's type (see above) was an early form of Armenian (Aryan) at present, and can be traced from Asia right through the central European Alps to the Alps and into north Africa where it occurs as far west to the Canary Islands. Thus E. Chenebault found in western Asia an Armenoid group of round-heads, distinct from the true long-headed Iranians, and the same type was found far west as Adalia and Lycia by von Luschan, who identified it as Armenian, and as the aboriginal element in the

<sup>1</sup> Includes the Kizilbashi, Metuali, Ansariéh, Bahá, and "autres familles encore moins connues," besides the Armenians, who are brachy with cephalic index 85 to 90 (*Recherches Anthropologiques Occidentales*, Lyons, 1895). Elsewhere (*Les Arméniens*, *d'Anthrop. de Lyon*, 1896) this observer, who has spent his life in the East (1890-94) describes the true Armenian type, figured on Egyptian reliefs, as hypsi-brachy with deep brown eyes and hair, long nose, and rounded at tip, and below mean height, from remote times, and with Semites, Kurds, proto-Georgians, and Cappadocian Armenians.

<sup>2</sup> See Fig. 94 in his *Reisen in Lykien*, Vienna, 1891, *Anthrop.* XIX. 1891. Hommel brings even blond Aryans into the East, identifying the Scythians with the Iranians, some of whom were found in Asia and Cappadocia, where the Hittites are located by many.

without going with Prof. Herve<sup>2</sup> to the Central Asian (Mongol) race, were therefore most probably derived the Asiatic round-heads of the brachy zone of East and Alpine Europe.

On the other hand the tall long-headed blonds (Ripley's *Teutons* and the typical "Aryans" of nearly all German anthropologists), must have followed a more northern route from the Eurasian steppes to the Baltic lands, where they are by many regarded as indigenous, that is, as having here been specialised in an environment favourable to the development of a florid complexion and robust physique. This suggestion, which is reasonable enough, in no way clashes with a Eurasiatic origin, if understood to mean, not that the *Teutons* sprang out of the soil in their present homes, but only that, since their advent in this region in Neolithic times, they have under new conditions acquired those physical characters by which they have been distinguished throughout the historic period.

Teutonic  
Origins.

In fact the earliest known historic records all point in this direction, that the Baltic lands (north Germany, Scandinavia, the present Finland and Baltic provinces) are, in the sense here suggested, the true home of the Teutonic race, a second area of differentiation and dispersion in later times over Europe and half the globe. Thus Gustav Kossinna<sup>3</sup> shows that south Scandinavia with Denmark, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania form the German cradle ("Urheimat") since the Neolithic Age. Their farther eastward spread in the Bronze period can have started only from Scandinavia, as direct trade-relations between south Sweden and the mouth of the Oder can be traced back to the beginning of the Metal period. Somewhat later two distinct trade-routes can be clearly followed through Bornholm (originally Burgund) and through Gotland, while tribal names such as Warines, Goths, Burgunds

Areas of  
Specialisation  
and Disper-  
sion.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal de l'Anthropologie*, 1898, p. 100. See also his influences in Asia Minor, and reference is made to the "blue-eyed" subjects of Metanni spoken of in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets (*Sitzungsberichte, Preuss. Acad. of Sc.* 1898, "Hethiter u. Skythen").

<sup>3</sup> In *Rev. de l'École d'Anthrop.*, July 1898, this ethnologist makes all the *Teutons* of direct Mongol lineage, entering Europe in the Neolithic Age with a distinct Ural-Altai type and culture.

<sup>4</sup> *Balticum. Forsch.* VII. 3 and 4, Strassburg, 1896.

common both to North Germanic and to the  
intimate association of all these languages.

At first no sharp parting line can be seen in the  
Teutonic linguistic family; but the Kelts and Gauls  
have divided the whole region into two distinct  
Sweden and north Germany—which is less  
marked, while the cleft between north and south  
also have grown wider by the spread of the  
in the La Tène period, say about 300 B.C., when  
now shifted to Jutland, whence the Cimbri, the  
Harudi, and Heruli streamed forth. That the  
law of sound-shifting need not in its first phase  
set back farther than about 400 B.C., although  
it some 600 years earlier.

In any case it is now certain that the great  
migration began some time before the new wave  
set south and west, others, and these perhaps  
south-east towards their original Eurasiatic sources  
may have been the *Thracians* and the kindred  
many believed to be of Germanic stock, but the  
Teutons left behind on their march to the north  
arrivals from the north, they do not say; nor  
sufficient data for a profitable discussion of the

We reach firmer ground with the *Bastarna*, who  
Teutonic people that come within  
The *Bastarna*. horizon. Already mentioned do  
as separating the Germani from

(Tyragetes) about the Dniester and Dnieper, they  
now be followed by authentic documents from  
Euxine. Fortwängler<sup>1</sup> shows that the earliest  
figures are those of the Adamklissi monument,  
commemorating the victory of Crassus over the  
and Thracians in 28 B.C. The Bastarna might  
Cimbri and Teutons through the Vistula valley  
Danube about 200 B.C. They had relations with  
and the successes of Mithridates over the Romans

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the Meeting of the Ger. Anthrop. Soc.

The account of their overthrow by Crassus in Dio Cassius is in striking accord with the scenes on the Adamkloos monument. Here they appear dressed only in a kind of trousers, with long pointed beards, and defiant but noble features. The same type recurs both on the column of Trajan, who engaged them as auxiliaries in his Dacian wars, and on the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, here however wearing a tunic, a sign perhaps of later Roman influences. And thus after 2000 years are answered Strabo's doubts by modern archæology.

Much later there followed along the same beaten track between the Baltic and Black Sea a section of the Goths, whom we find first settled in the Baltic lands in proximity to the Finns<sup>1</sup>. The exodus from this region can scarcely have taken place before the 2nd century of the new era, for they are still unknown to Strabo, while Tacitus locates them on the Baltic between the Elbe and the Vistula. Later Cassiodorus and others bring them from Scandinavia to the Vistula, and up that river to the Euxine and Lower Danube. Although often regarded as legendary, this migration is supported by archæological evidence. In 1837 a gold ring inscribed with the oldest runes was found at Petroassa in Wallachia, and in 1858 an iron spearhead with a Gothic name in the same script<sup>2</sup>, which dates from the first Iron Age, turned up near Kovel in Volhynia. The spear-head is identical with one found in 1865 at Münchenberg in Brandenburg, on which Wimmer remarks that "of 15 Runic inscriptions in Germany the two earliest occur on iron pikes. There is no doubt that the runes of the Kovel spearhead and of the ring came from Gothic tribes<sup>3</sup>." These Southern Goths, later called Mæso-Goths, because they settled in Mæsia (Bulgaria and Servia), had all the physical and even moral characters of the old Teutons, as seen in the Emperor Maximinus, born in Thrace of a Goth by an Alan woman—very tall, strong, handsome, with

The Mæso-Goths.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> These first runes, it should be noted, were not confined like the later runes to Scandinavia and Britain, but were current amongst the early Germanic peoples, though apparently nowhere in extensive use.

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoires runiques* in *Mém. Soc. R. Ant. du Nord*, 1893.



light hair and milk-white skin, and great mental energy.

We thus see that this movement from the Danube and Danube is not a primitive migration of Europe, and should lend no support to the theory which locates the Aryan cradle in that region. It is an event, which is in no way opposed to the theory of other Swedish palethnologists that the people originally migrated to Sweden from the Black Sea in the New Stone Age. Penka's objection that the Teutonic language could not contain such words as whale, seal, and lobster, is irrelevant. Such words were not brought from the Euxine, but were the result of normal developments during their long settlement of the Baltic and German Ocean.

Before their absorption in the surrounding populations the Meso-Goths were evangelized by their bishop Ulfilas ("Wolf"), whose fragments of Scripture, preserved in the *Codex Argenteus*, is the most precious monument of early Teutonic literature.

Without following the later migrations of Burgundians, Saxons, Angles, Franks, Vandals, Visigoths, and northern "barbarians," which are historic events, we indicate the results, so far as they have affected

characters of the present Germanic populations. In the examination made some years ago of school children<sup>2</sup>, it would appear that 75 per cent. of living Germans may be classed as blonds, 25 and 55 as mixed; and further that of the blonds 60 are centred in North, 33 in Central and 24 in the South. The brunettes increase, generally speaking, southwards, Bavaria showing only about 14 per cent. of blonds. The law holds good of the long-heads and the round-heads. To what cause is to be attributed this profound modification of the Teutonic type in the direction of the south?

<sup>1</sup> "Lactea cutis" (Sidonius Apollinaris).

<sup>2</sup> The results were tabulated by Virchow and may be found in German sources, in the *Times* of Sept. 21, 1886.

That the Teutons ranged in considerable numbers far beyond their northern seats is proved by the spread of the German language to the central highlands, and beyond them down the southern slopes, where a rude High German dialect lingered on the so-called "Seven Communes" of the Veronese district far into the nineteenth century. But after passing the Main, which appears to have long formed the ethnical divide for Central Europe, they entered the zone of the brown Alpine round-heads<sup>1</sup>, to whom they communicated their speech, but by whom they were largely modified in physical appearance. The process has for long ages been much the same everywhere—perennial streams of Teutonism setting steadily from the north, all successively submerged in the great ocean of dark round-headed humanity, which under many names has occupied the central uplands and eastern plains since the Neolithic Age, overflowing also in later times into the Balkan Peninsula.

This absorption of what is assumed to be the superior in the inferior type, may be due to the conditions of the general movement—warlike bands, accompanied by few women, appearing as conquerors in the midst of the Alpines and merging with them in the great mass of brachy populations. Or is the transformation to be explained by de Lapouge's new doctrine, which, whatever may be its ultimate fate, is at least entitled to a respectful hearing, and not to be dismissed, as Sergi and others dismiss it, as "fantastic"? Briefly put, the theory is that the long and the round cranial forms are not so much a question of race as of social conditions, and that, owing to the increasingly unfavourable nature of these conditions, there is a general tendency for the superior long-heads to be absorbed in the inferior round-heads<sup>2</sup>.

Thus is struck a deep pessimistic note, which under the cover

<sup>1</sup> See Ripley's Craniological chart in *Notes et Documents pour la construction d'une carte de l'Indice Céphalique en Europe*.

<sup>2</sup> The case is stated in uncompromising language by M. Alfred Fouillée: "Une autre loi, plus généralement admise, c'est que depuis les temps préhistoriques, les brachycéphales tendent à éliminer les dolichocéphales par l'invasion progressive des couches inférieures et l'absorption des aristocraties dans les démocraties, où elles viennent se noyer" (*Rev. des Deux Mondes*, March 15, 1895).

of science aims a deadly blow at the theory which contends that in France the rustic and dolichocephalic heads migrate from the rural districts to the towns, where they die out. For this purpose he gives a table showing a steady rise of the index from 71.4 in prehistoric times to 86.5 in 1880, and the dolichos gravitating chiefly to the large towns. This has also shown for Baden. Dr L. Laky says that in France is being depopulated, and, what is more, that the best section of the inhabitants that die are the most productive in eminent men in all departments while the ignorant and rude *peas* alone increase.

These views have met with favour even in Germany but are by no means universally accepted. They are cut from the whole theory by Prof. A. Moeschler's paper at the Toronto Meeting of the British Association on "The Causes of Brachycephaly," showing that the primitive skull is relatively long, and that there is a phylogenetic (racial) as well as ontogenetic (individual) brachycephaly, which is certainly correlated with, but produced by, cerebral activity and growth; that in development in the individual and the race the larger the brain grow the more rapidly and tend to fill up the skull<sup>2</sup>. The tendency would thus have prevailed in rustic and urban life, nor would the round be necessarily inferior to the long head. Some of de Lapouge's views are also traversed by Livi<sup>3</sup>, Deniker<sup>4</sup>, Sergi<sup>5</sup> and others.

<sup>1</sup> *Recherches Anthrop. sur le Problème de la Dépopulation et de la Démographie politique*, IX. p. 1002; X. p. 132 (1895-6).

<sup>2</sup> Livi's results for Italy (*Antropometria Militare*) differ from those of de Lapouge and Ammon for France and Baden, in that in the brachy districts the urban population is less brachy, while in the dolicho districts the towns are more brachy than the country.

<sup>4</sup> Dealing with some recent studies of the Lithuanian race, "Ainsi, donc, contrairement aux idées de MM. de Lapouge et de Moeschler, en Pologne, comme d'ailleurs en Italie, les classes les plus élevées de la population urbaine, sont plus brachy que les paysans" (*L'Anthropologie*, 1900, p. 100). Similar contradictions occur in connection with light and dark hair.

<sup>5</sup> "E qui non posso tralasciare di avvertire un errore che si è fatto."

...seems to have been built up on very weak

...whether be the cause, the fact must be accepted that  
 ... (the Teutons) becomes merged  
 ... in *Homo Alpinus*, whose names, as <sup>The Keltic-</sup>  
 ... are many. If, with Broca, we call him *Kelt*, <sup>Slavs.</sup>  
 ... *Kelt*, the expression need no longer lead to misunder-  
 ... as for us it now simply implies a great mass of Neo-  
 ... round-heads from Africa, later—probably in the Copper or  
 ... Bronze Age—reinforced by other round-heads of Aryan  
 ... from Asia, with whom they united and from whom they  
 ... their Keltic and Slavonic languages.

It is remarkable that in the Alpine region, especially Tyrol,  
 where the brachy element comes to a focus, there  
 is a peculiar form of round-head which has greatly <sup>Aberrant</sup>  
 puzzled de Lapouge, but may perhaps be accounted <sup>Tyrolean Type.</sup>  
 for on this hypothesis of two brachy types here fused in one. To  
 explain the exceedingly round Tyrolean head, which shows  
 affinities on the one hand with the Swiss, on the other with the  
 Elysiac and Albanian, that is, with the normal Alpine, a Mongol  
 ... has been suggested, but is rightly rejected by Franz  
 ... as inadmissible on many grounds<sup>1</sup>. De Ujfalvy<sup>2</sup>, a  
 follower of de Lapouge, looks on the hyperbrachy  
 Tyrolean as descendants of the ancient Rhætians or <sup>Rhætians</sup>  
 ... whom so many regard as the parent stock <sup>and Etruscans.</sup>  
 of the Etruscans.

But Montelius with most other modern ethnologists rejects the  
 land route from the north, and brings the Etruscans by the sea

...i quali vorrebbero ammettere una trasformazione del cranio da  
 brachicefalo in brachicefalo" (*Arti e Italici*, p. 155).

This specialist insists "dass von einer mongolischen Einwanderung in  
 Europa keine Rede mehr sein könne" (*Der europäische Mensch u. die Tyroler*,  
 ...). He is of course speaking of prehistoric times, not of the late (historical)  
 Mongol invasions.

Malgré les nombreuses invasions des populations germaniques, le  
 Tyrolien est resté, quant à sa conformation crânienne, le Rasène ou Rhétien  
 des temps antiques—hyperbrachycéphale" (*Les Aryens*, p. 7). The mean  
 index of the so-called Disentis type of Rhætian skulls is about 86 (His and  
 ... *Cranis Helvetica*, p. 29 and Plate K. 1).

route direct from the Aegean and Tyrrhenian seas to the Thessalian Pelasgians whom Herodotus locates in Campania, or the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians who came from Asia Minor to Etruria, and he is "quite ignorant of the logical facts in Central and North Italy, and of the tradition".<sup>1</sup> Of course, until the affinities of the language are determined, from which we are to judge of the Etruscan origins must remain chiefly an open question.

**Etruscan  
Origins.**

Even the help afforded by the Etruscan tombs is but slight. Round heads being here found in the Tyrrhenian region. Sergi, who also brings the Etruscans from the East, does this by supposing that, being Pelasgians, they were of the dolicho Mediterranean stock as the Italians (Etruscans) were, and differed only from the brachy Umbrians, and the latter from the Aryan, and the Mediterranean, the latter, whether native Ligurians or intruding Etruscans, being of the dolicho. "I can show," he says, "Etruscan crania, which differ from the Italian [Ligurian], from the oldest graves, and show heads from the Etruscan graves which differ from those still found in Aryan lands, whether Germanic."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Tyrrhenians in Greece and Italy, in Jour. Acad. Sci. Paris*, 1881, p. 258. In this splendidly illustrated paper the date of the immigration is fixed to the 11th century B.C. on the ground that the first Etruscan settlement is considered as beginning about 1050 B.C., presumably the date of the Etruscans in Italy (p. 259). But Sergi thinks they did not arrive till about the 8th century (*Arii e Italici*, p. 149).

<sup>2</sup> On the linguistic side of the question see especially *Die Etruskische Sprache*, *Altitalische Forschungen*, Vol. II. Leipzig, 1894. This paper is based on the famous inscription of Lemnos as pre-Hellenic, and as "Pelasgic," which he holds to have been closely related to Etruscan. In a recent paper, which he presumes to be a funeral epitaph, he refers to the 7th century B.C. and his essays at interpretation are qualified as "equally valuable, and equally less." Much use is made of the mummy swathing from Egypt, which Agram, which contains the longest extant Etruscan text. In the question *a priori* one might suppose Etruscan = Pelasgian, which is the question of the equation are unfortunately unknown quantities.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 151. By German he means the round-headed.

Whatever this may be, the peoples of Keltic speech can never be shown to be true Aryans of the Teutonic type, but only tribes most probably of the Alpine type The Kelts. advanced in speech in very remote times, and apparently before their appearance in Europe. This may almost be inferred from the consideration that, as far back as they can be traced, they are already found split into two linguistic sections, which, from the interchange of the letters P and Q in the two sister tongues, have been called by Prof. Rhys the P- and the Q-Kelts. Reference to the common Aryan speech shows that Q is original, *i.e.* the shift has been, not from P to Q, but from Q to P, so that the Q-speaking Kelts should so far be regarded as P and Q  
Kelts. the older branch. Both still survive in what has been called the "Keltic fringe," that is, the strips of territory on the skirts of the Teutonic and Neo-Latin domains in the extreme west—Brittany, Wales, parts of Ireland, the Scotch Highlands and the Isle of Man—where Keltic dialects are still spoken. In Welsh and Breton, also in Cornish, extinct before the close of the 17th century, *p*, often voiced to *b*, takes the place of *q*, normally changed to *c* = *k*, in Irish, Gaelic (Highland Scotch), and Manx'. Thus the Irish *mac*, son, answers to the Welsh *map*, *ap*, *p*, as in Ap-John, P-rice; *can*, head (as in Kinsale, "Old Head") = *pen*, *ben* (as in *Penryn* in Cornwall, *Penrhyn* in Wales, *Ben-Lomond* in Scotland). With this cue is partly revealed the vast domain formerly occupied on the mainland by peoples of Keltic speech, as seen in the Italian *A-pen-nines* (cf. *Pennine* chain in England), the *Penins* range in Portugal, etc.

It is noteworthy that this geographical terminology belongs strictly to the P branch, as if in the first migrations, apparently from Asia Minor through the Balkan Peninsula to and up the

which he regards as jointly constituting with the round-headed Slav and Keltic the true primitive stock of Aryan speech in Europe. It is all very confusing, and one finds the greatest difficulty in threading this maze of ethnological speculations created by the new theories of Sergi and de Lapouge superimposed on the old "orthodox Aryan views."

Manx, which is not a mere dialect of Irish, but a sister tongue, is credited with traces of the original Aryan *qu* = *kw*; but the point is doubtful, as the *qu* may be, not a survival, but a revival like the French *quoi* (H. Bradley).

Danube to the former Keltic lands of Gaul and Britain, the traces left by the arrival of the P's arriving later<sup>1</sup>. The phonetic changes are partly due to the tendency in the Q's group to lose the *p* in *Erin = Perin*, where the *p* seems preserved.

**Migrations.** the name of a district on the Danube.

**Q's to the Danube.** A district on the Danube, the *Gauls*, *Cæsar's Celtae* between the Gauls and the Celts who form the great bulk of the present Welsh population known from the surviving fragments of their language. P's, despite their name, which seems to contain a Gaelic Q's. But it would appear that *Gall* is of a Keltic root *gal*, "valour," occurring also in the Gauls who later, reversing the former movement, returned to Greece back to their original homes in Asia Minor, as honoured by a letter from St Paul. The name *Gall* is connected with the Irish *Gbidil*, *Gaoidhil*, *Gael*, the etymology of which is unknown<sup>2</sup>. Another difficulty is raised by *Cymru*, the national name of the Welsh or British Keltic island, which may be the same as that of the Teutonic *Cimbri*. But such shiftings of national names are not impossible, as we see with the Gallo-Romans, who now call their countrymen themselves *Français* from their conquerors the Gauls, though the *Cimbri* never conquered the British *Cymru* or *Com-brog*<sup>3</sup>, the people of the "marches," or borderlands.

<sup>1</sup> *Qu* of course occurs in place-names in Gallic territory, but it is absolutely proved that the Gaulish place-names with *qu* are not of Aryan their *qu* is etymologically equivalent to the Welsh *cu* (*Proc. Acad.* Jan. 9, 1892, p. 42).

<sup>2</sup> Birthplace of the Muses and Orpheus, quoted by *Proc. Acad. Keltoromanisches*, Halle, 1884. Keltic scholars, I believe, are not aware of a loss of *p* in Erin.

<sup>3</sup> It has been equated with Lat. *hædus*, while *Celtae*, the name of the Celts, is to the same root as Lat. *celsus*, and Lithuanian *keltas*, *kelnas*, etc. It is curious to note in this connection that the Keltic wanderings westward seem to have been long in close association with the Slavonians, as well as with other Slav peoples.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Allo-brogas*, where the Gaulish stem *brog*, Welsh *bro*, is preserved through the Old-Irish *mrug* to an original Keltic root *bro*.

to the remote times when they first reached Britain from Upper Gaul and there dwelt on the frontiers of their Pictish neighbours from Lower Gaul.

There is no longer much doubt as to the identity of these Picts with the Continental *Pictones*, *Pictavi*, whose name survives in *Poitou*, and its chief town *Poitiers*. The Picts.

The classical references show that in Roman times the Pictones spoke of Gaulish speech, but there is good reason to believe that their original language was Iberian, which, as above seen, was radically connected with the Berber (Hamitic) of North Africa. They may therefore be taken as Aryanised Mediterraneans, and the question will then arise, Were they Aryanised before or after the migration to Britain? If before, then the emigrants of Iberian speech must have been Aryanised in their new insular homes at an early date. It is remarkable that by the Irish the Picts were commonly called *Cruithne*, which answers etymologically to *Frydain* (*Ynys Frydain*) a Welsh name for the "Island of Britain". They were therefore, apparently, not distinguished by the Irish from the Kymry and other Britons, which could scarcely be the case had they, within the memory of man, spoken an Iberian or any other non-British tongue.

Thus may, perhaps, be explained the faint (if any) traces of Iberian speech in Britain, where the Picts were, at least at first, more closely connected with the Kymry than with the Scots, than the Gaels from Ireland<sup>1</sup>. Their association with these Scots,

<sup>1</sup> Lat. *marca*, Goth. *marka*, Eng. *mark*, as in *Denmark* and *Marcomanni*, the "Men of the Marches," i.e. the southern Germans dwelling about the Keltic highlands. The general equation is due to J. Kaspar Zeus, whose great work, *Grammatica Celtica*, 1853, introduced order into Keltic philology and etymology.

<sup>2</sup> This troublesome name, originally *Brettania*, is connected by Rhys with Welsh *brathyn*, "cloth," so that *Brettania*=the "cloth-clad," and is to be distinguished from *Frydyn*, the native name both for the Picts and for Scotland.

<sup>3</sup> That the Scots were Gaels might perhaps be questioned; but that they came over from the north of Ireland in comparatively recent times is beyond all doubt. In the very old, if not quite authentic, *Confessio* of St Patrick occurs the expression "una benedicta Scota," and Ireland itself was called *Scotia*, later *Scotia Major*, to distinguish it from *Scotia Minor*, i.e. North Britain, to which the name was extended after the Scots had reduced the Picts.



first as allies against the Romans and then as the dominant race in North Britain, came from the north. The fact that the bulk of Gaelic names in the Pictish Chronicle, and the place-names which so much has been built, is of Gaelic origin, and that the Pictish kings had Gaelic blood in their veins, are sufficient to find in the Pictish lists those Gaelic words which are the views of Mr Skene and others regarding the ethnical affinities of the Picts. In my opinion the Picts were not Aryanised either in Gaul or in Britain, but were Kymric Kelts, and this seems to be true of the whole of geographical nomenclature, where the voicing of consonants and phonetic changes, may perhaps be due to the influence of the Gauls. Thus of *aber* and the equivalent *inver*, a confluence of water or estuary, the former alone occurs in Wales and Ireland<sup>1</sup>, but both somewhat irregularly and sparingly in Scotland<sup>2</sup>, showing the presence and intermingling of Keltic elements, as might be expected. But in Spain we find (*Iberus, Ebro*), and no *inver*, from which, if the latter is allowed, it may be inferred that the Picts did not come from there at all, and were Aryanised by the British if the latter were in place after the migration from Gaul, and consequently that the Keltic language spoken by them was not Gaelic, but was modified phonetically in North Britain.

This view accords completely with the anthropological and archæological data supplied by such authorities as Huxley and Thurnam and Sir John Evans, and also with the ethnical relations in the British Isles, as set forth by Skene. Of these relations the most striking feature is the uniformity in the shape of the head, which is everywhere rather long, more oval than round, with a mean cephalic index of about 76°, the index falling below 76° or rising above 77° being more remarkable since Britain has been successively

Ethnic Relations in Britain.

<sup>1</sup> Isaac Taylor, *Names and their Histories*, 1896, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> C. Blackie, *A Dictionary of Place-Names*, 1887, p. 10. Blackie pointed out that *inver* is "found sometimes at the mouth of the same stream. Thus: *Abergeldie* and *Invergoldie*, *Abernyne* and *Invernyne*."

<sup>3</sup> *Popular Science Monthly*, Dec. 1897, p. 145 sq.

a great number of peoples—primitive man in the Old Stone Age; Picts and perhaps others associated with the dolmens and other Megalithic monuments, in the New Stone Age; tribes of Keltic speech, commonly called Kelts, in the Bronze period, possibly as early as 2000 B.C.; Belgæ or proto-Teutons somewhat later; Romans and their legionaries of diverse origins about the new æra; early and later Frisians, Saxons, Angles and others of Teutonic speech, say between 300 and 500 A.D.; Scandinavians, chiefly Danes and Norwegians, of kindred speech, 8th to 10th century; Normans, mainly Norsemen Romanised in speech, 11th century, with sporadic arrivals from the mainland down to the present time.

But the first two strata, *i.e.* the men of the Stone Ages, were both long-headed, the first exclusively so, the second in great majority, our Picts being now identified with the Iberians who, as shown by Sergi, were a branch of

Long-heads  
and Round-heads.

the long-headed Mediterraneans from Africa. The identity indeed is placed beyond reasonable doubt by the fact that these Neolithic Picts belonged all to the so-called long-barrow period, and that these long barrows, egg-shaped and often several hundred feet in length, have yielded the remains of a singularly uniform type, extremely dolicho (nearly all well under 80° and even as low as 70°), and at the same time of rather low stature (5 ft. 5 in.), thus corresponding exactly with Sergi's Mediterraneans<sup>1</sup>. The barrows, occurring chiefly in the south-west (Wilts, Gloucestershire, the Cotswold Hills, and farther north), are shown to be of the Neolithic Age by their contents—polished stone implements, pottery, but no bronze. It is further shown by Dr Garson that the men of this period were spread over the whole of Britain as far as the extreme north of Scotland and the Orkneys<sup>2</sup>.

They were succeeded in the Bronze Age by men of quite a

<sup>1</sup> See especially his *Ursprung u. Verbreitung des Mittelländischen Stammes*, Leipzig, p. 76: "Ich habe die Formen aus den britischen Hügeln [long barrows] mit alten und neuen mittelländischen verglichen, und habe die charakteristischen Formen Spaniens und Portugals gefunden, wie sie bei Mugem und in den Höhlen Italiens, Griechenlands, zu Hissarlik und in Ostafrika ausgegraben worden sind."

<sup>2</sup> *Nature*, Nov. 15 and 22, 1894; see also Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, 1880, Chap. IX. "Historical Evidence of Iberic and Celtic Races in Spain and Gaul," Fig. 112, p. 318.

different type, tall (5 ft. 2 in.) and with a long, narrow, pointed, and slightly vaulted skull; round-barrows, whence the dolichocephalic type was mainly confirmed this ethnic law; and the fact that the Neolithic race had disappeared by their successors. Some are, on the other hand, buried with them in the same barrows, and the fact that the Neolithic element survives to this day in the fact it would appear to have already largely disappeared before it was reinforced later by the dolichocephalic element before it was reinforced later by the dolichocephalic element. "This broad-headed invasion is the only case of a dolichocephalic element ever crossed the English Channel, and its influence was but transitory; the energy of the dolichocephalic element was dissipated; for at the opening of the historic period the sepulchral remains, the earlier [dolicho] type had already absorbed the new-comers."

Whence came these tall round-heads? Some would bring them from Scandinavia, where there is a somewhat puzzling brachy element both along the coast of Norway and in Denmark. But in the north have spoken some early Low German dialect, of which there are clear traces in the tribal and place names of the North Sea; that time Britain seems to have belonged entirely to the Keltic speech<sup>4</sup>, nor could there be any hesitation

<sup>1</sup> *Nature*, Nov. 15 and 22, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Ripley, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> T. V. Holmes describes them as "taller, stronger and more robust in appearance, with large frontal sinuses and supra-orbital ridges, large cheek bones and heavy jaws" (*Notes on the Evidence bearing on the Neolithic Period*, 1886), and he quotes Rolleston (*British Barrows*, p. 680): "The round-barrow period almost certainly presented much the same type of physical peculiarities as the modern Finn and Dane"; and that the Bronze people were men from what is now Denmark, and not Teutonic affinities" (p. 5). But we now know that the Finns west of the Gulf of Finland till quite late times (see p. 100). Still the question is beset with difficulties, and the British dolichocephalic element undoubtedly to resemble those of the Danish Neolithic Age, as do de Lapouge's *H. Alpinus*, and much more than those of the

<sup>4</sup> Even the intruding Belgæ, referred to by Caesar (*B.G.* vi. 21), originally of Teutonic speech, seem to have soon been Keltic.

associated with Broca's Kelts but for their stature. The explanation seems to be that the Bronze people were of Keltic speech, but came from the north of Gaul, where average height has always been somewhat higher than in the south.

At the passage of the Romans, who mingled little with the Gauls and left few traces of their presence in any one type of the British populations, a transformation was effected in these respects

Formation of the English Nation.

rival of the historical Teutonic tribes. The Ibero-Keltic element was perhaps nowhere effaced, but rather thinned out by prolonged wars of conquest and all their attendant evils. Numbers undoubtedly migrated beyond the seas, Kymry to Wales, and to Ireland those Gaels who had still lingered on in the west. The residue were now gradually merged with the Teutons in a common nationality of English speech, everywhere in the Keltic fringe, which then, and long after, still included Cornwall and Cumberland. The Teutonic element was strengthened by the arrival of the Scandinavians and Normans, each of the same physical type, after which no serious changes were made to this composite ethnical group, which has since ranged uninterruptedly from the Channel to the Baltic. Later the expansion was continued northwards to the Grampians, and westwards through Strathclyde to the Lake District, while now the spread of education and the development of industries are already threatening to absorb the last strongholds of Kymric and Gaelic speech in Wales, the Highlands, and

the Hebrides to its isolation in the extreme west, Ireland had been reached by some of the above described movements. It is doubtful whether Palaeolithic man ever reached this region, and but few

Ethnic Relations in Ireland.

traces of the round-heads ranged so far west during the Bronze Age. The prehistoric station explored by Mr F. J. Bigger at Ballynear near Roundstone, Connemara, yielded several stone implements, but neither worked flints nor metal-ware<sup>1</sup>, as if the

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. R. Ir. Acad.* 111. May 1896.

district had never been visited about 10,000 Brouze age. Nevertheless Mr W. L. Barry has shown a close resemblance—in fact identity—with some of the objects in Ireland with Palaeolithic flint implements (the Moustrier, Solutré, La Madeleine types) which would bridge over the gap between the two ages, and suggest tribes from the continent following the coast and moving northwards. These peoples may have carried with them some palaeolithic types, while at the same time they were under the influence of the Neolithic culture gradually spreading into the southern region. The astonishing development of the New Stone Age culture in the remote island on the confines of Europe is illustrated in Mr W. C. Borlase's sumptuous volumes, and is a wonder, and indeed would be inexplicable but for the immense duration of the New Stone Age in the island.

The Irish dolmen-builders were presumably of the same headed Iberian stock as those of Britain<sup>1</sup>, and they were followed by Kelts of the Gaelic branch, many of whom are thought to well have arrived before the close of the Neolithic Age. The Kymry there appear to be but slight if any intruders; in those prehistoric times the intruders have been supposed to be Continental and British Teutons; the former were the Danes who formed settlements at such seaports as Dublín, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, but were eventually all absorbed by the vigorous Gaelic aborigines<sup>2</sup>. And now all alike are

<sup>1</sup> *Survivals from the Palaeolithic Age among Irish Celts*, p. 10, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *The Dolmens of Ireland*, 3 vols., 1897.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 10-11.

<sup>4</sup> They need not, however, have come from Britain, as the Irish literature to direct immigration from Spain, probably the Basques, are too numerous to be disregarded. Thus, Geoffrey of Monmouth: "Basclensibus [to the Basques] incolenda datur" (*Hist. Regum Britannie*). Giraldu Cambrensis:—"De Gurguntio Brytonum Regis [of the Basclenses] in Hiberniam transmisit et eandem ipsis habere permisit." I am indebted to Mr Wentworth Webster for these references (*ibid.*, 19, 1895).

<sup>5</sup> Not, however, always without a struggle, as in Dublin, where their acceptance of Christianity the Danes refused to worship.

entirely absorbed by the British Teutons, that is to say, assimilated in speech to the English and Lowland Scotch inhabitants, who began to arrive late in the 12th century, and are now chiefly massed in Ulster, Leinster, and all the large towns. The rich and highly poetic Irish language, which has a copious mediæval literature deeply interesting to folklorists and even ethnologists, has not I believe been used for strictly literary purposes since the translations of Homer and of Moore's Melodies by the late Archbishop McHale of Tuam.

In Scotland few ethnical changes or displacements have occurred since the two great political settlements, first by the Scottish vanquishing of the Picts, and then by the English (Angle) occupation of the Euthians. The Grampians have during historic times formed the main ethnical divide between the two elements, and brooklets which can be taken at a leap are shown where the opposite banks have for hundreds of years been respectively held by formerly hostile, but now friendly communities of Gaelic and broad Scotch speech. Here the chief intruders have been Norwegians, whose descendants may still be recognised in Caithness, the Hebrides, and the Orkney and Shetland groups. Faint echoes of the old Norwens tongue are said still to linger amongst the sturdy Shetlanders, whose assimilation to the dominant race began only after their transfer from Norway to the Crown of Scotland.

Relations in  
Scotland.

We have now all the elements needed to unravel the ethnical tangle of the present inhabitants of the British Isles.

The astonishing prevalence everywhere of the moderately dolicho heads is at once explained by the absence of brachy immigrants except in the Bronze period, and these could do no more than raise the cephalic index from about 70 or 72 to the present mean of about 78. With the other perhaps less stable characters the case is not always quite

Present Con-  
stitution of  
the British  
Peoples.

the Irish. On appeal to Rome they received a bishop of their own race and a Cathedral, whence the curious fact that to this day Dublin is almost the only city in Christendom blessed with two mediæval Cathedrals, St Patrick's originally for the Irish and Christchurch for the Danes. These having both been "confiscated" at the Reformation, a third has had to be erected for the community that remained loyal to the old faith.

the simple. The brunettes, representing the Celtic element, certainly increase, as we should expect, from east to west, though even here there is a considerable variation on local causes, in the home shires about London, and almost everywhere a troublesome factor, especially what lawlessly over the land. The little pigmentation are perhaps more numerous than they ought to be, and are always in evidence where we should look for the opposite, especially the positions are reversed, the tall being in the west (Connaught and Munster), the less tall in the east (Ulster and Leinster), though the differences are not so marked in details on this and some other points, which, for the sake of technical, I must refer the reader to Ripley, and to the Reports of the Anthropometric Committees applied to these matters systematically by the British Association.

Strange to say, the element that appears to undergo the least change is the racial temperament. The Celtic is Kelt, mercurial, passionate, vehement, impulsive, more than sincere, voluble or eloquent, fanciful, if not quick-witted and brilliant rather than profound, easily but easily depressed, hence lacking steadfastness, and old *novarum rerum cupidissimus*. The Saxon, on the other hand, is a Saxon, stolid and solid, outwardly abrupt but inwardly true, haughty and even overbearing through an unconscious superiority, yet at heart sympathetic and always a ruler of men; seemingly dull or slow, yet preeminent in the field of philosophy and imagination (Newton, Shakespeare).

While the Saxon prefers duty to glory, both of which he is provided with some of those qualities which make for English personal valour as distinguished from courage in the spirit of daring enterprise and a love of adventure for its sake. Jointly they have struggled to the front, and have given our people some 12 million square miles of habitable territory.

<sup>1</sup> This quality is no monopoly of the Saxon, as has been shown by the Kelts, and especially the Irish and Scotch Gaels, prominent in the field as shown by the incidents recorded of Clontarf, Aughrim, Limerick, Fontenoy, and by such names as Sarsfield, Dundonald, Boscawen, and a hundred others.

where they already number, including other elements in process of assimilation to the dominant race, about 80 millions—in the United States, 5 in the Canadian Dominion, and 5 in Australia and South Africa. These with 40 millions in the home lands make collectively some 120 millions, enough perhaps to secure the future control of human destinies to a composite people who may now be defined with some approach to accuracy as Ibero-Kelto-Teutons of Teuton (English) speech. This English language need not detain us long. Its qualities, illustrated in the noblest of all literatures, are patent to the world, indeed have earned for it from Jacob Grimm the title of *Welt-Sprache*, the "World Speech." It belongs, it might be anticipated from the northern origin of the Teutonic element in Britain, to the Low German division of the Teutonic branch of the Aryan family. Despite extreme pressure from Norman French, continued for over 200 years (1066—1300), it has remained faithful to this connection in its inner structure, which reveals not a trace of Neo-Latin influences. The phonetic system has undergone profound changes, which can be only indirectly and to a small extent due to French action. What English owes to French and Latin is a very large number, many thousands, of words, some superadded to, some superseding their Saxon equivalents, but altogether immensely increasing its wealth of expression, while giving it a transitional position between the somewhat sharply contrasted Germanic and Romance worlds.

The English Language.

Amongst the Romance peoples, that is, the French, Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, Rumanians, many Swiss and Belgians, who were entirely assimilated in speech and largely in their civil institutions to their Roman masters, the paramount position, a sort of international hegemony, has been taken by the French nation since the decadence of Spain under the feeble successors of Philip II. The constituent elements of these Gallo-Romans, as they may be called, are much the same as those of the British peoples, but differ in their distribution and relative proportions. Thus the Iberians (Aquitani, Pictones, and later Vascones), who may be identified with the Neolithic long-heads, do not appear ever to have ranged much farther north than Brittany, and were Aryanised in pre-Roman times by the P-speaking

The French Nation.



Kelts everywhere north of the Caspian. They came again, who had advanced beyond the Rhine (Caesar says *antiquitus*) into the present Germany, and found to the northern provinces. Even the Franks and Burgundians) penetrated into the north and the present Burgundy in the 5th century. The Visigoths and a few others passed nothing beyond the Pyrenees.

Thus the greater part of the land, say from the basin to the Mediterranean, continued to be held by the Kelts of the Alpine type throughout all the centuries. In the southern provinces, and elsewhere in the Romanised long-headed Iberians and Ligurians, the preponderance of the Romanised Keltic masses, and the absorption of the Teutonic intruders, who were the Fleming section of the Belgae, completely antedated the Romans before the close of the 10th century. It is perhaps still more remarkable fact that the Normans who settled (912) under Rollo in Normandy were all Celts when a few generations later they followed their leader to the conquest of Saxon England. Thus the Celts and groups have proved to be the un-Romanised element in France and Kelts (Bretons), both of whom to this day live in isolated corners of the country. With the rest of France since the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, the language in its speech a certain homogeneous character, the language (*langue d'oïl*<sup>1</sup>) being current throughout the northern and central provinces, while it is steadily giving way to the southern form (*langue d'oc*<sup>1</sup>) still surviving in the south of Limousin and Provence.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the languages whose affirmatives were the Latin *oïl* (*oil*) and *oc* (*oc*), the former being more contracted, the latter as we see in the very names of the respective Northern and Southern *Trouvères* and *Troubadours*. It was customary in medieval languages in this way, Dante, for instance, calling Italian the "language of *yer*"; and, strange to say, the same usage is used by the Australian aborigines, who, however, use both the affirmative and negative particles, so that we have here *oo*- as well as *oo-oo*.

## THE CAUGASIC PEOPLES.

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...standing a more thorough fusion of such tenacious elements  
Normans, Bretons, Auvergnats, and Savoyards, we  
...yet speak of a common French type,  
...of a common nationality. Tall stature,  
...skulls, fair or lightbrown colour, grey or blue eyes, still pre-  
...as might be expected, in the north, these being traits common  
...to the prehistoric Belgæ, the Franks of the Merovingian  
...and Carolingian empires, and Rollo's Norsemen. With these  
...the southern peoples of short stature, olive-brown skin,  
...heads, dark brown or black eyes and hair. The tendency  
...towards uniformity has proceeded far more rapidly in the urban  
...than in the rural districts. Hence the citizens of Paris, Lyons,  
...Bordeaux, Marseilles and other large towns, present fewer and less  
...contrasts than the natives of the old historical provinces,  
...are still distinguished the loquacious and mendacious  
...Gascon, the pliant and versatile Basque, the slow and wary  
...Norman, the dreamy and fanatical Breton, the quick and enter-  
...prising Burgundian, and the bright, intelligent, more even-tempered  
...of Touraine, a typical Frenchman occupying the heart of  
...the land, and holding, as it were, the balance between all the  
...surrounding elements.

...Taken as a whole the modern Frenchman stands somewhat  
...intermediate between the southern and northern peoples, less  
...steadfast than the Teuton, more energetic than the Italian, less  
...personally independent than the Briton. The moral sentiment  
...is also defective, as seen in the love of show and glory, which  
...is certainly stronger than the sense of duty. On the other hand,  
...the artistic feeling is highly developed, while the purely intellectual  
...qualities are far above the average, as reflected in the scientific  
...and literary work of the nation, and in the cultivated language,  
...which within certain limits is almost an ideally perfect instrument  
...of human thought, although still suffering from the enfeebling  
...effects of the drawing-room and academical refinements of Bourbon  
...times. The French excel also in conversational powers, and in  
...matters pertaining to taste, etiquette, tact, and the social  
...sciences, where brilliancy and *esprit* find freer scope than  
...the more solid qualities of the reasoning faculty. It is note-  
...worthy that France has produced few leaders of thought except

Deserted and Fatal (and some of the most famous of religious polemics), whereas epigrams and letters of insinuations and correspondence, characteristic of the French mind, abound. With more outward political penetration, the French mind penetrates perhaps less deeply through the subtleties of the refinement of the English cultured classes. The substantial qualities of patience, reserve, and industry cannot be denied to the French peasant, who, as a counterpoise to the extravagance and frivolity of the bourgeoisie, hoarding their small savings, and by domestic industry, the sordid, they have made France one of the most powerful in the world, better able than most others to withstand catastrophes and rise buoyantly above apparent disasters. Thanks to these qualities, combined with a military spirit and love of conquest, the French have played a leading part in the world's history since the Renaissance, and become an almost necessary element in the progress of humanity. Yet the future would seem to hold little promise, although the present alarming arrest of the progress of the symptoms of decadence may not be due to the stagnation of the upper in the lower strata alluded to above, but to the far-reaching, and France would appear to have been outstripped in the race for the future political leadership amongst the cultured peoples of the globe.

In Spain and Portugal we have again the same elements, but also again in different proportions, and differently distributed, with other influences (the proto-Phoenicians and later Phoenicians, the Celts, the proto-Celts, the Romans, Visigoths, Vandals, and still later the Arabs. Here the Keltic-speaking round-heads of prehistoric times with the long-headed Mediterranean type of fusion known to the ancients, who labelled it "Mediterranean" as in Britain, the other intruders were mostly long-headed. The striking result that the Peninsula presents to-day is the same uniform cranial type as the British Isles, the mean (76 to 79) and the mean (78) of the cephalic index.

<sup>1</sup> See my article on the *Ethnology of France in Cambridge Transactions*, 1911, p. 359.

Spain to 80 only in the Basque Corner. In both regions the general rise from the original 70 or 72 is due to the same historical Roman intrusion, acting on the Ibero-Teutons in Britain, and on the Hamito-Semitic aborigines crossed by Teutons in Spain, and it is to be noticed that while the round-headed Romans play a very small part in the insular domain, they are extensively represented in the Peninsula, the reverse being the case with the Teutons. An equilibrium and surface uniformity are thus established, and Ripley is right in stating that "the average cephalic index of 78 occurs nowhere else so uniformly distributed in Europe" except in Norway, and that this uniformity "is the concomitant and index of two relatively pure, albeit widely different, ethnic types—Mediterranean in Spain, Teutonic in Norway".

In other respects the social, one might almost say the national, groups are both more numerous and perhaps even more sharply discriminated in the Peninsula than in France. Besides the Basques and Portuguese, the latter with a considerable strain of negro blood<sup>2</sup>, we have such very distinct populations as the haughty and punctilious Castilians, who under an outward show of pride and honour, are capable of much meanness; the sprightly and vainglorious Andalusians, who have been called the Gascons of Spain, yet of graceful address and seductive manners; the morose and impulsive Murcians, indolent because fatalists; the gay Valencians given to much dancing and revelry, but also to sudden fits of murderous rage, holding life so cheap that they will hire themselves out as assassins, and cut their bread with the blood-stained knife of their last victim; the dull and superstitious Aragonese, also given to bloodshed, and so obdurate that they are said to "drive

Provincial Groups.

<sup>1</sup> *Science Progress*, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> The Portuguese are much mixed with Negroes more particularly in the south and along the coast. The slave trade existed long before the Negroes of Guinea were exported to the plantations of America. Damilo de Goes estimated the number of blacks imported into Lisbon alone during the 16th century at 10,000 or 12,000 per annum. If contemporary eye-witnesses can be trusted, the number of blacks met with in the streets of Lisbon equalled that of the whites. Not a house but had its negro servants, and the wealthy owned entire gangs of them" (Reclus, I. p. 471).

nails in with their hands"; lastly the *Spithoi*—some, but brave, industrious, and generally the best element in this motley aggregate of nations. To the cold-blooded northerner the *Spithoi* are the same, and about as trustworthy as engaged. The had empire thrust upon them, but never entirely of the trust. Stripped of nearly all foreign aid, thrown back upon themselves, they must either do the business of life and devote their energies to their resourceful country, or else sever their ties with various ethnical groups are held loosely together.

In Italy the past and present relations, as shown

Ethnic Re-  
lations in  
Italy.

by Levi and Sergi, may be traced. After the first Stone Age, of which there are indications than might be expected.

was thickly settled by long-headed Mediterranean Africa in Neolithic times. These were later joined of like type from Greece, and by Illyrians of doubt the Balkan Peninsula. Indeed K. Penka<sup>1</sup>, who holds paradoxical theories, makes the Illyrians the first in Italy, as shown by the striking resemblance of the culture of Æmilia with that of the Venetian and dwellings. The recent finds in Bosnia also, besides proved (?) migration of the Siculi from Upper Italy, their Illyrian origin, all point in the same direction.

<sup>1</sup> *Zur Paläoethnologie Mittel- u. Südeuropas* in *Mitt. Wiss. Anst. Wien*, 1897, p. 18. It should here be noted that in his *History of the* (1896) Dr Kretschmer connects the inscriptions of the Venetians and of the Messapians in the south with the Illyrian language. He regards as Aryan intermediate between the Greek and the present Albanian being a surviving member of it. In the family Mr W. M. Lindsay would also include the "Old Sabellian" "believed to be the oldest inscriptions on Italian soil. The of the name *Apdatos* and the word *meitimon* with the Illyrian and *Meitima* is almost sufficient of itself to prove these to be Illyrian. Further the whole character of their language, with its Italic features, corresponds with what we know and what we know about the Illyrian family of languages" (*Academy*, Oct. 24, 1897) here opened up which is likely to lead to good results.

is differently interpreted by Sergi<sup>1</sup>, who holds that the whole land was occupied by the Mediterraneans, because we find even the Switzerland pile-dwellers of the same type<sup>2</sup>.

Thus came the peoples of Aryan speech, Kelts from the north-west and Slavs from the north-east, both round-heads, who raised the cephalic index in the north, where the brachy element, as already seen, still greatly predominates but diminishes steadily southwards<sup>3</sup>. They occupied the whole of Umbria, which at first stretched across the peninsula from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean; but was later encroached upon by the intruding Etruscans on the west side. Then also some of these Umbrians, migrating southwards to Latium beyond the Tiber, intermingled, says Sergi, with the Italic (Ligurian) aborigines, and became the founders of the Roman state. With the spread of the Roman arms the Latin language, which Sergi claims to be a kind of Aryanised Ligurian, but must be regarded as a true member of the Aryan family in the sense already explained (p. 513), was diffused throughout the whole of the peninsula and islands, sweeping away all traces not only of the original Ligurian and other Mediterranean tongues, but also of Etruscan and its own sister languages, such as Umbrian, Oscan, and Sabellian.

At the fall of the empire the land was overrun by Ostrogoths, Heruli, and other Teutons, none of whom formed permanent settlements except the Longobards, who gave their name to the present Lombardy, but were themselves rapidly assimilated in speech and general culture to the surrounding populations, whom we may now call Italians in the modern sense of the term.

When it is remembered that the Ægean culture had spread to Italy at an early date, that it was continued under Hellenic influences by Etruscans and Umbrians, that Greek arts and letters were planted on Italian soil (*Magna Græcia*) before the foundation of Rome, that all these

Arts and  
Ethics.

<sup>1</sup> *Arvi e Italic*, p. 158 sq.

<sup>2</sup> "Liguri e Pelasgi furono i primi abitatori d'Italia; e Liguri sembra siano stati quelli che occupavano la Valle del Po e costrussero le palafitte, e Liguri forse anche i costruttori delle palafitte svizzere: Mediterranei tutti" (*Ib.* p. 138).

<sup>3</sup> Ripley's chart shows a range of from 87 in Piedmont to 76 and 77 in Calabria, Puglia, and Sardinia, and 75 and under in Corsica (*The Races of Europe*, 1899).

civilisations converged in Rome itself, and throughout the West, that the traditions of these epochs never died out, acquired new life, and were thus perpetuated to the present day. It is the gifted Italian people that they have been more than any others under the unbroken sway of these influences. The results, owing to the nature of the influences, have not been entirely satisfactory, nor has contact been established between the ethical sense, and the religious sentiment. The discordance of the Renaissance Age, when the great revival of letters brought about, or at least was associated with, a degraded form of religion untouched with the revival of public morals. Hence pessimism, which has become a mental disease of our times, has sounded perhaps amongst the leaders of thought in Italy than elsewhere.

These "Latin Peoples," as they are called, speak languages of the Latin stock, and are to be found to the West. To the Italian, the Portuguese, with the less known and less known of Belgium and Romansch of Switzerland, Tyrol, and be associated the *Rumanian* current amongst the of so-called "Daco-Rumanians" in Moldavia and the modern kingdom of Rumania. The same name is also spoken by the *Tsintsars* or *Kutso-Vlachs* of the Pindus districts in the Balkan Peninsula, and the Rumanians who have in later times migrated. They form a compact and vigorous nationality, of descent from the Roman military colonists settled in the Lower Danube by Trajan after his conquest of Dacia (107 A.D.). But great difficulties attach to this theory, is rejected by many ethnologists, especially on the ground that after Trajan's time, Dacia was repeatedly swept by

<sup>1</sup> The true name of these southern or Macedo-Rumanians, as pointed out by Gustav Weigand (*Globus*, LXXI. p. 54), is *Arumani*, or "Romans." *Tsintsar*, *Kutso-Vlach*, etc. are mere nicknames, known to their Macedonian (Bulgar and Greek) neighbours. See Morfill in *Academy*, July 1, 1893.

besides the Finns, the Avars, Magyars and other rude Mongolo-Slavic hordes, besides many almost ruder Slavic peoples during the many centuries when the eastern populations were in a state of continual flux after the withdrawal of the Roman legionaries from the Lower Danube. Besides, it is shown by Roesler<sup>1</sup> and others that under Aurelian (257 A.D.) Trajan's colonists withdrew bodily southwards to and beyond the Hemus to the territory of the old Bessi (Thracians), *i.e.* the district still occupied by the Macedo-Rumanians. But in the 13th century, during the break-up of the Byzantine empire, most of these fugitives were again driven north to their former seats beyond the Danube, where they have ever since held their ground, and constituted themselves a distinct and far from feeble branch of the Neo-Latin community. The Pindus, therefore, rather than the Carpathians, is to be taken as the last area of dispersion of these valiant and intelligent descendants of the Daco-Romans. This seems the most rational solution of what A. D. Xenopol calls "an historic enigma," although he himself rejects Roesler's conclusions in favour of the old view so dear to the national vanity of the present Rumanian people<sup>2</sup>. The composite character of the Rumanian language—fundamentally Neo-Latin or rather early Italian, with strong Illyrian (Albanian) and Slav affinities—would almost imply that Dacia had never been Romanised under the empire, and that in fact this region was for the first time occupied by its present Romance speaking inhabitants in the 13th century<sup>3</sup>.

Dr. Sergi, who regards the proto-Aryans as round-headed barbarians of Keltic, Slav, and Teutonic speech, makes an exception in favour of the Hellenes. These also were Greece not as civilisers, but rather as destroyers of the flourishing Mykenæan culture developed here, as in Italy,

Ethnic Relations in Greece.

<sup>1</sup> *Romänische Studien*, Leipzig, 1871.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Roumains au Moyen Age*, *passim*. Hunfalvy, quoted by A. J. Patterson (*ibidem*, Sept. 7, 1895) also shows that "for a thousand years there is no authentic mention of a Latin or Romance speaking population north of the Danube."

<sup>3</sup> This view is held by Dr L. Réthy, also quoted by Patterson, and the term *Wallach* (*Wallach*, whence Wallachia) applied to the Rumanians by all their Slav and Greek neighbours points in the same direction.



by the Mediterranean aborigines. The Pelasgic traders become absorbed in the Pelasgic Mediterraneans, and what we call Hellenic is revived, and to some extent modified, by the Aryan element. Thus, even the Greek language itself is not as a typical member of the Aryan linguistic family speaking an Aryan, but rather a Mediterranean language locally developed under Aryan influences. I do not understand this part of Prof. Sergi's theory and I am wrong him. But to me he seems to completely ignore the branches of the Aryan linguistic tree, the Italian as if they had never existed, and to reconstitute the old Mediterranean tongues in Italy and Greece from elements drawn he does not say from what sources, it must be either Keltic, Slavic, or Teutonic, for there are no others<sup>1</sup>.

I do not read the facts in this way, but would regard the process, and regard the Greek language as locally developed, but modified by Pelasgic influences less extent than the sister tongue has been modified by Ligurian influences. Hence it is that Latin, Umbrian have diverged much farther than has classical Greek from their parent Aryan stem.

It may, on the other hand, be allowed that at the time the Hellenes were less civilised than the Pelasgians whom they imposed their Aryan speech upon, and when came they? By Pops's theory the Baltic lands would be the original home of the Germanic branch but of all the Aryans, the Hellenic is located in the Oder basin between the Elbe and the Oder. As the Doric, doubtless the last Greek irruption

<sup>1</sup> He says, for instance, "dass die wahren Ur-Arier von den Pelasgern, von Kelten, Slaven und Süddeutschen dargestellt werden; und dass die Ariern kein italisches und kein hellenisches Volk gab, wie von Aryan Linguisten angenommen wird...Die beiden grossen klassischen Sprachen, lateinische und die griechische, sind eine spätere Erscheinung, hervorgebracht durch das Auftreten des mittelländischen Elementes hervorgebracht" (*Der Mensch*, p. 18).

<sup>2</sup> *Mitt. Wiener Anthropol. Ges.* 1897, p. 18.

chronologically fixed at 1149 B.C.; the beginning of the Hellenic migrations may be dated back to the 13th century. When the Hellenes migrated from Central Europe to Greece, the period of the general ethnic dispersion was already closed, and the migratory period which next followed began with the Hellenes, and was continued by the Itali, Gauls, Germans, etc. The difficulties created by this view are insurmountable. Thus we should have to suppose that from this relatively contracted Aryan cradle countless tribes swarmed over Europe since the 13th century B.C., speaking profoundly different languages (Greek, Celtic, Latin, etc.), all differentiated since that time on the shores of the Baltic. The proto-Aryans with their already specialised tongues had reached the shores of the Mediterranean long before that time, and according to Maspero<sup>1</sup>, were known to the Egyptians of the 5th dynasty (3990—3804 B.C.) if not earlier. Allowing that these may have rather been pre-Hellenes (Pelasgians), we still know that the Achæans had traditionally arrived about 1250 B.C. and they were already speaking the language of Homer. As far as can be judged from their respective languages, a most valuable criterion in questions of origins, the proto-Hellenes were in closer contact with the proto-Iranians before the dispersion than with the European Aryans. Hence they probably reached the Balkan peninsula and Greece, not from North or Central Europe, but from the Iranian uplands through Asia Minor, where Hommel finds blond and blue-eyed Aryans referred to in the Tell el-Amarna tablets.

Indeed I think we may safely say that no Achæans, or any other proto-Hellenes, could have come from the Baltic lands. The farther back the migration is dated, the nearer will their speech approximate to the Aryan mother tongue, and consequently be the farther removed from the Teutonic, which nevertheless according to Müllenhoff was already highly specialised about 1000 B.C. Hence the Greek of that period must have differed profoundly from the Germanic. And even if we go further back in the migration period (13th century B.C. as is assumed), then the difference will still be great, the two branches having all along

<sup>1</sup> *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 391.

followed different and extremely divergent paths. Yet both are brought at or about the same time to the area, the district west of the Vistula, where they meet.

The difficulty is intensified when we take into account the Italic groups, also assumed to have been brought to the region and about the same time.

The Lithuanian Factor.

sure, the Lithuanian factor, although it has not been made, and which certainly

looked. But the archaic character of this language survives in two forms (Lithuanian proper and in the neighbouring districts, is distinctly of a particular type, has no particular bearing on the question at issue, nothing except that, owing to local conditions, a trace of Slavonic speech has persisted in the region, and almost expect to find it. I cannot see that it is due to on Aryan and still less on Hellenic origins, but is due to with Slav migrations, of which presently.

It is evident from the national traditions that the Aryans did not arrive *en bloc*, but rather at intervals in separate hostile bands bearing different names. But all these—Achæans, Danai, Argians, Dolopes, Myrmidons, and many others, some of which were also found in Asia—not in the Baltic lands—retained a strong sense of their origin. The sentiment, which may be called *national*, received ultimate expression when to all these was extended the collective name of Hellenes (Schlegel), that is, descendants of Deucalion's son Hellen, who, with Æolus and Dorus, and grandson Ion, were supposed to be progenitors of the Æolians, Dorians, and Ionians. The traditions are merely reminiscences of times when

<sup>1</sup> For instance, the two phonetic systems differed *totally*. The Teutonic had a well-developed scale of sound-shifting peculiar to itself, leaned on the contrary towards the Keltic P and Q with T and G, as we see in such variants as *réscapes, rloupes; rûs, kûs*, etc., where *r* and *g* represent an organic *g*. But the shift in Greek was very undeveloped, all the changes occurring even within the same word, so much by normal internal evolution, as by outward influence. For instance, with proto-Gaels and proto-Kymry in Asia Minor and the peninsula (see above).

groupings still prevailed, and it may be taken for granted that the three main branches of the Hellenic stock did not spring from a particular family that rose to power in comparatively recent times in the Thessalian district of Phthiotia. Whatever truth may lie behind the Hellenic legend, it is highly probable that, at the time when Hellen is said to have flourished (about 1500 B.C.), the Æolic-speaking communities of Thessaly, Arcadia, Bœotia, the closely-allied Dorians of Phocæa, Argos, and Laconia, and the Ionians of Attica, had already been clearly specialised, had in fact formed special groups before entering Greece. Later their dialects, after acquiring a certain polish The Greek Language. and leaving some imperishable records of the many-sided Greek genius, were gradually merged in the literary Neo-Ionic or Attic, which thus became the *κοινή διάλεκτος*, or current speech of the Greek world.

Admirable alike for its manifold aptitudes and surprising vitality, the language of Aeschylus, Thucydides, and the other great Athenians outlived all the vicissitudes of the Byzantine empire, during which it was for a time banished from southern Greece, and even still survives, although in a somewhat degraded form, in the Romaic or Neo-Hellenic tongue of modern Hellas. Romaic, a name which recalls a time when the Byzantines were known as "Romans" throughout the East, differs far less from the classical standard than do any of the Romance tongues from Latin. Since the restoration of Greek independence great efforts have been made to revive the old language in all its purity, and some modern writers now compose in a style differing little from that of the classic period.

Yet the Hellenic race itself has almost perished on the mainland. Traces of the old Greek type have been detected by Lepsius and others, especially amongst the women of Patras and Missolonghi. But within living memory Attica was still an Albanian land, and Fallmerayer has conclusively shown that the Peloponnese and adjacent districts had become thoroughly Slavonised during the 6th and 7th centuries<sup>1</sup>. "For many centuries," writes the careful Roesler, "the Greek peninsula served

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea*, Stuttgart 1830. See also G. Finlay's *Medieval Greece*, and the *Anthrop. Rev.* 1868, VI. p. 154.

as a colonial domain for the Slavs, receiving the overflow of their population from the Sarmatian lands. The language of the population betrayed in numerous geographical names, *Ascardia, Glycos, Trilithos* etc. Nevertheless, the sentiment of the Hellenic sentiment there has been maintained. The immigration from the Archipelago and Asia Minor, Armenian, Slav, Italian, Turkish, Rumanian, and others, which have in modern Greece already become almost completely Hellenised, at least in speech. Of the old language of the island appears to have survived in the Toscanic dialect of the island. The Greek language has, however, disappeared from Sicily, Italy, Sicily, Syria, and the greater part of Egypt, where it was long dominant.

To understand the appearance of SLAVS in Greece

**The Slavs.** we must go back to the Eurasian continent, the cradle of these multitudinous peoples.

Here they are generally identified with the ancient peoples already before the dawn of history were in possession of the Russian plains between the Scythians towards the west and the proto-Germanic tribes before their migration to the north. But even at that time, before the close of the Neolithic period, must have been interminglings, if not with the western, almost certainly with the eastern Scythians, which is the generally vague character of the references made by the writers both to the Sarmatians and the Scythians. The latter seem to be indistinguishable from savage Mongoloid peoples, while others are represented as semi-cultured peoples, and it is possible that of the Bronze period might have been round about the shores of the Euxine.

Owing to these early crossings André Lefèvre goes so far as to say that "there is no Slav race," but only nations of more or less pure types, more or less crossed, speaking the same language, who later received the name of Slavs from the prehistoric tribe of *Sarmatians*, and meaning

<sup>1</sup> *Romänische Studien.*

<sup>2</sup> *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 351 sq.

Both their language and mythologies, continued above, point to the vast region near Irania as the primeval home of the Slav, as of the Keltic and Germanic populations. The Sauromatæ or Sarmatæ of Herodotus<sup>2</sup>, who had given their name to the mass of Slav or Slavonised peoples, still dwelt north of the Caucasus and south of the *Budini* between the Caspian, the Black and Sea of Azov: "after crossing the Tanais (Don) we are no longer in Scythia; we begin to enter the lands of the Sauromatæ, who, starting from the angle of the *Fleets Mæotis* (Sea of Azov), occupy a space of 25 days' march, where are neither trees, fruit-trees, nor savages. Above the tract fallen to them the *Budini* occupy another district, which is overgrown with all kinds of trees<sup>3</sup>." Then Herodotus seems to identify these Sarmatians with the Scythians, whence all the subsequent doubts and confusion. Both spoke the same language, of which seven distinct dialects are mentioned, yet a number of personal names preserved by the Greeks have a certain Ionic look, so that these Scythian tongues seem to have been really Aryan, forming a transition between the Asiatic and the European branches of the family. It could scarcely be otherwise, for the Scythians, that is, the still generalised Teuto-Slav stock, had about 1000 years (probably we should now say 3000 or 4000) before the invasion of Darius been driven by the Massagetae from the Oxus basin, where some place the home of Aryan culture<sup>4</sup>. They claimed to be the youngest of nations, says

The Sarmatians.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sanskrit *śravas*, Gr. κλέος (root *kleu*, *eru*). By a sort of grim irony the word has come to mean "slave" in the West, owing to the multitudes of Slavs captured and enslaved during the medieval border warfare. But the term is by many referred to the root *slovo*, word, speech, implying a people of intelligible utterance, and this is supported by the form *Slovene* occurring in Nestor and still borne by a southern Slav group.

<sup>3</sup> IV. 21.

<sup>4</sup> These *Budini* are described as a large nation with "remarkably blue eyes and red hair," on which account Zaborowski thinks they may have been ancestors of the present Finns. But they may also very well have been belated proto-Germans left behind by the body of the nation *en route* for their new Baltic homes.

<sup>5</sup> See especially R. von Ihering, *The Evolution of the Aryans*, 1897, on this point.

Herodotus, and remembered their ancestors as having come from the Caspian, and down the great river valley.

Both Slav and Germanic tribes had penetrated up the Danube and the Volga, the former under the name of *Wends* (*Venedi*). They are supposed to have reached the Adriatic and the peninsula of Italy on one hand, and on the other the Baltic shores of the North Sea, thus enveloping and pressing westward their European forerunners. The movement was continued from time to time, when great overlappings took place, and the Slav tribes, some still known as *Wends*, others as *Chekhs*, ranged over central Europe to Pomerania, from the Upper Elbe to Suabia. Most of these have been Germanised, but a few of the *Polabs*<sup>1</sup> survive as *Wendians* in Saxon Lausatz, while the *Chekhs* and *Slavaks* have their ground in Bohemia and Moravia, as the *Poles* do in the Vistula valley, and the *Rusniaks* or *Ruthenians* are called "Little Russians," in the Carpathians, Galicia, and Poland.

It was from the Carpathian<sup>2</sup> lands that came the *Slavs* ("Southern Slavs") who, under the name of Sorbs (Serbs, Servians), moved westward beyond the Danube, and overran a great part of the Balkan peninsula and nearly the whole of Greece in the 7th centuries. They were the *Khorvats*<sup>3</sup> or *Khorvatsians* of the upland valleys of the Oder and Vistula, whom, after several wars, Heraclius invited to settle in the wasted provinces of the Danube, hoping, as Nadir Shah did later with the *Khorasan*, to make them a northern bulwark of the empire against the incursions of the Avars and other Mongole-Tatars. Thus was formed the first permanent settlement of the Slavs in Croatia, Istria, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and the Herzegovina.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Elbe Slaves, from *po=by*, near, and *Labe*, the name of the river (Pomeranians), "by the Sea"; Borussia, Porussia, Prussia, from *Prucsi*, a branch of the Lithuanians Germanised in the 12th century.

<sup>2</sup> *Carpath*, *Khrobat*, *Khorvat* are all the same word, *Carpath* being the name of the mountains, hence not strictly an ethnic term, although at present the *Croats* or *Croatians*, a considerable section of the Yugoslavians, live in the Danube.

in 680, under the five brothers Klukas, Lobol, Kosentses, Múkk, and Khrobat, with their sisters Tuga and Buga. These were followed by the kindred Srp (Sorb) tribes from the Elbe, who left their homes in Misnia and Lusatia, and received as their patrimony the whole region between Macedonia and Epirus, Dardania, Upper Moesia, the Dacia of Aurelian, and Illyria, *i.e.* Bosnia and Servia. The Lower Danube was at the same time occupied by the *Severenses*, "Seven Nations," also Slavs, who reached to the foot of the Hemus beyond the present Varna. Nothing could stem this great Slav inundation, which soon overflowed into Macedonia (Rumelia), Thessaly, and Peloponnesus, so that for a time nearly the whole of the Balkan lands, from the Danube to the Mediterranean, became a Slav domain—parts of Illyria and Epirus (Albania) with the Greek districts about Constantinople alone excepted.

Hellas, as above seen, has recovered itself, and the *Albanians*<sup>1</sup>, direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians, still hold their ground and keep alive the last echoes of the old Illyrian language, which was almost certainly a proto-Aryan form of speech probably intermediate, as above-mentioned, between the Italic and Hellenic branches. They even retain the old tribal system, so that there are not only two main sections, the northern *Ghegs* and the southern *Toshks*, but each section is divided into a number of minor groups<sup>2</sup>, such as the *Malliesors* (Klementi, Pulati, Hoti, etc.) and *Mirdites* (Dibri, Fandi, Matia, etc.) in the north, and the *Toxides* (whence *Toshk*) and the *Yapides* (*Lapides*) in the south. The southerners are mainly Orthodox Greeks, and in other respects half-Hellenized *Epirotes*, the northerners partly Moslem and partly Roman

<sup>1</sup> That is, "Highlanders" (root *alb, alp*, height, hill). From *Albanites* through the Byzantine *Arvanites* comes the Turkish *Arnaut*, while the national name *Shqipëtar* has precisely the same meaning (root *shqip, scop*, as in *εσφραδοσ, scopulus, cliff, crag*). Thus the very nomenclature shows Italo-Hellenic and even Keltic (*alb*) relations.

<sup>2</sup> There are about twenty of these *phis* or *phar* (phratries) amongst the *Ghegs*, and the practice of exogamous marriage still survives amongst the *Mirdites* south of the Drin, who, although Catholics, seek their wives amongst the surrounding hostile Turkish and Muhammadan *Gheg* populations.



Catholics of the Latin rite. From this group are the Albanians who, after the death (1478) of George Castriota (*Skanderbeg*, "Alexander the Great"), fled from Turkish oppression and formed numerous colonies in Calabria and Sicily, and still retain their traditions.

In their original homes, located by some between the Dnieper and the Dnieper, the Slavs have suffered from the fierce Mongolo-Turk invasions by which the eastern steppes were depopulated.

The Russians.

for over 1500 years after the building of the Great Wall in recent historic times displayed a prodigious power second only to that of the British peoples. The Little, and White Russians), whose political empire continuously from the Baltic to the Pacific, have thrown nearly all the Mongol elements in East Europe into compact settlements in Caucasia and West Asia, and thrown off numerous pioneer groups of colonists along the highways of trade and migration, and down the arteries between the Ob and the Amur estuary. They collectively over 100 millions, and as their 9 million square miles is more compact than that of the peoples, while they are themselves apparently not so some thoughtful observers have feared lest an "Asian Scare" may be followed by a very real "Pan-Asian Scare" may be followed by a very real "Pan-Asian terror" may come, but will subside, because, for economic reasons which cannot here be discussed, it is raised on a baseless fabric.

Nor need we be detained by the controversy between Sergi and Zaborowski regarding the historic spread of the Mediterranean type in Russia<sup>1</sup>. The skulls from several

Kurgans, identified by Sergi with his Mediterranean type, have not been sufficiently determined as to date or culture to decide the question, while their dolicho shape is closer to the Mediterraneans and to the proto-Aryans.

<sup>1</sup> *Bul. Soc. d'Anthrop.* VII. 1896.

European type<sup>1</sup>. To this stock the proto-Slavs are affiliated by Zaborowski and many others<sup>2</sup>, although the present Slavs are all distinctly round-headed. Ripley asks, almost in despair, what is to be done with the present Slav element, and decides to apply "the term *Homo Alpinus* to this broad-headed group wherever it occurs, whether on mountains or plains, in the west or in the east<sup>3</sup>."

We are beset by the same difficulties as we pass with the Ossets of the Caucasus into the Iranian and Indian domains of the proto-Aryan peoples. These Ossets, The Ossets. who are the only aborigines of Aryan speech in Caucasia, are by Zaborowski<sup>4</sup> identified with the Alans, who are already mentioned in the 1st century A.D. and were Scythians of Iranian speech, blonds, mixed with Medes, and perhaps descendants of the Massagets. We know from history that the Goths and Alans became closely united, and it may be from the Goths that the Osset descendants of the Alans (some still call themselves Alans) learned to brew beer. Elsewhere<sup>5</sup> Zaborowski represents the Ossets as of European origin, till lately for the most part blonds, though now showing many Scythian traits. But they are not physically Iranians "despite the Iranian and Asiatic origin of their language," as shown by Max Kowalewsky<sup>6</sup>. On the whole, therefore, the Ossets may be taken as originally blond Europeans, closely blended with Scythians, and later with the other modern Caucasus peoples, who are mostly brown brachys. But Ernest Chantre<sup>7</sup> allies these groups to their brown and brachy Tatar

<sup>1</sup> Hence Virchow (Meeting Ger. Anthropol. Soc. 1897) declared that the extent and duration of the Slav encroachments in German territory could not be determined by the old skulls, because it is impossible to say whether a given skull is Slav or not.

<sup>2</sup> Especially Lubor Niederle, for whom the proto-Slavs are unquestionably long-headed blonds like the Teutons, although he admits that round skulls occur even of old date, and practically gives up the attempt to account for the transition to the modern Slav. Have we here a physiological phenomenon on a very large scale, such as that indicated by Prof. Macalister?

<sup>3</sup> *The Racial Geography of Europe*, in *Popular Science Monthly*, June, 1897.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1896, p. 81 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop.* 1894, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> *Droit Coutumier Ossétien*, 1893.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted by Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens* etc. p. 11.

neighbours, and denies that the Caucasus was the home of Germanic immigrants into Casasia.

We have therefore in the Caucasus a very peculiar phenomenon—several distinct groups of aborigines, mainly of de Languedoc type, all except the Ossets speaking as a rule

The Caucasus  
Aborigines.

of non-Aryan stock-languages. Philologists have been at work in this linguistic wilderness, and the "Languages" of the early Arabo-Persian writers, thus reducing the number of independent groups, which are traceable to a single stem still differ so profoundly from other that they are practically so many stocks. The most distinct families the more important are:—the Georgian of the southern slopes, comprising the historical Georgian since the 5th century, the Mingrelian, Imeritian, Lazian and many others; the *Cherkess* (Circassian), the *Abkhaz*, the *Kabard* of the Western and Central Caucasus; the *Ossetian*, the *Lesghian*, the *Andi*, the *Udi*, the *Kubachi* and *Dzougeghian*, i.e. the Eastern Caucasus. Where did this babel come from? We know that 2500 years ago the Caucasus was much the same as at present, because the Georgian speaks scores of languages current in the port of Diospolis at that time. If therefore the aborigines are the "sweepings of the plains," they must have been swept up long before the present period. Did they bring their different languages with them? Were these specialised in their new upland homes? In consideration that an open environment makes for linguistic diversity, seems greatly to favour the latter assumption, which is further strengthened by the established fact that, although there are few traces of the Neolithic epoch, the Caucasus was somewhat thickly populated in the New Stone Age. These highlanders need not be regarded as sweepings, but rather as true aborigines, the descendants of the round-headed race of Alpine Caucasians who had spread from North Africa in Neolithic times into Europe and Western Asia. Bearing in mind the immensely long life of the New Stone Age, we see at once that this would be a fine time for the development of these non-Aryan agglutinative

of speech in a region so favourable to such specialisation as the Caucasus<sup>1</sup>.

Crossing into Irania we are at once confronted with totally different conditions. For the ethnologist this region comprises, besides the tableland between the Tigris and Indus, both slopes of the Hindu-Kush, and the Pamir, with the uplands bounded south and north by the upper courses of the Oxus and the Sir-darya. Overlooking later Mongolo-Turki encroachments, a general survey will, I think, show that from the earliest times the whole of this region has formed part of the Caucasian domain; that the bulk of the indigenous populations must have belonged to the dark, round-headed Alpine type; that these, still found in compact masses in many places, were apparently conquered, but certainly Aryanised in speech, in very remote prehistoric times by long-headed blond Aryans of the IRANIC and GALCHIC branches, who arrived in large numbers from the contiguous Eurasian steppe, mingled generally with the brachy aborigines, but also kept aloof in several districts, where they still survive with more or less modified proto-Aryan features. Thus we are at once struck by the remarkable fact that absolute uniformity of speech, always apart from late Mongol intrusions, has prevailed during the historic period throughout Irania, which has been in this respect as completely Aryanised as Europe itself; and further, that all current Aryan tongues, with perhaps one trifling exception<sup>2</sup>, are members either of the The  
Iranians.Iranic

<sup>1</sup> It should perhaps be stated that R. von Erckert (*Die Sprachen des Kaukasischen Stammes*, Vienna, 1895) claims to have reduced all the non-Aryan tongues of the Caucasus to one stock with 3 main divisions: Georgian; Chechens with Abkhasian; and Lesghian with Chechens. "Es ergiebt sich eine einheitliche Ursprung aller diesen Sprachen." But this does not help us much, because the divergences are so great as to leave the primordial unity little more than a hypothesis, possible in itself, but no longer capable of philological proof. Nobody can be convinced by the author's processes.

<sup>2</sup> The *Yagnobi* of the river of like name, an affluent of the Zerafshan; yet even this shows lexical affinities with Iranic, while its structure seems to connect it with Leitner's *Kajuna* and Biddulph's *Burish*, a non-Aryan tongue current in Gilghit, Yasin, Hunza and Nagar, whose inhabitants are regarded by Biddulph as descendants of the *Yué-chi*. The *Yagnobi* themselves, however, are distinctly Alpines, somewhat short, very hirsute and brown, with broad face, large head, and a Savoyard expression. They have the curious custom of never

of the Galchic branch of the family. But this is thus rather linguistic than ethnic terms, and the philologist always knows what is meant by it, while the anthropologist is unable to determine the conception of an Iranian, who may be either a round-headed Alpine. Here confusion is avoided by reserving the historic name of *PERSIANS* for the Persians, comprising all the Alpines under the also historic and well-known name of *TAJIKS*.

Khanikoff has shown that these Tajiks constitute an element in ancient Iran. They are found from the west, as well as to the east, both of dolicho type, the term *Tajiks*. But almost everywhere the sedentary and agricultural are called Tajiks, and are spoken of as *Farsians* or *sabdn*<sup>1</sup>, "of Persian speech," or else *Dikhds*<sup>2</sup>, that all being mainly husbandmen "of Persian race." They form endless tribal, or at least social, groups, somewhat aloof from their proto-Aryan conquerors. In the east especially, the ethnic fusion is far from complete, various sections of the community being still more distinct than fused in a single nationality. When tribal differences is added the tribal system still survives

amongst the intruding Afghans though it is how impossible it is yet to speak of a single nation, but only of heterogeneous masses loosely united by the paramount tribe—at present the *Durranis*.

The Tajiks are first mentioned by Herodotus, and are identified by Hammer and Khanikoff with the

cutting but always breaking their bread, the use of the knife for the price of flour.

<sup>1</sup> *Zabdn*, tongue, language.

<sup>2</sup> *Dih, deh*, village.

<sup>3</sup> H. Walter, *From Indus to Tigris*, p. 16. Of course this applies only to the Tajiks of the plateau (Persia, Afghanistan). Of the others he knew nothing; nor indeed is the distinction even yet clear to European ethnologists.

<sup>4</sup> III. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Even Ptolemy's *πάριχαί* appear to be the same people.

PLATE XI.



1. PERSIAN OF SHIRAZ.  
(Iranian Type.)



2. BALUCHI.  
(Lowland Tajik Type.)



3. KLING WOMAN.  
(Dravidian Type.)



4. IGORROTE, LUZON I.  
(Indonesian Type.)



now commonly divided into Lowland, and Highland or Hill Tajiks, of whom the former were always Parsiván, whereas the Hill Tajiks did not originally speak Persian at all, but, as many still do, an independent sister language called Galchic, current in the Pamir, Zerafshan and Sir-darya uplands, and holding a somewhat intermediate position between the Iranic and Indic branches.

This term Galcha, although new to science, has long been applied to the Aryans of the Pamir valleys, being identified with the *Calcienses populi* of the lay Jesuit Benedict Goetz, who crossed the Pamir in 1603, and describes them as "of light hair and beard like the Belgians." Meyendorff also calls those of Zerafshan "Eastern Persians, Galchi, Galchas." The word has been explained to mean "the hungry raven who has withdrawn to the mountains," probably in reference to those Lowland Tajiks who took refuge in the uplands from the predatory Turki hordes. But it is no doubt the Persian *galcha*, a peasant or clown, then a vagabond, etc., whence *galchagi*, rudeness.

As shown by J. Biddulph<sup>1</sup>, the tribes of Galchic speech range over both slopes of the Hindu-Kush, comprising the natives of Sarakol, Wakhan, Shignan, Munjan (with the Yidoks of the Upper Lud-kho or Chitral river), Sanglich, and Ishkashim. To these he is inclined to add the Pakhpus and the Shakshus of the Upper Yarkand-darya, as well as those of the Kocha valley, with whom must now also be included the Zerafshan Galchas (Maghians, Kshtuts, Falghars, Machas and Fans), but not the Yagnobis. All these form also one ethnic group of Alpine type, with whom on linguistic grounds Biddulph also includes two other groups, the Khos of Chitral with the Siah Posh of Kafiristan, and the Shfns (Dards), Górs, Chilási and other small tribes of the Upper Indus and side valleys, all these apparently being long-heads of the blond Aryan type. Keeping this distinction in view, Biddulph's valuable treatise on the Hindu-Kush populations may be followed with

for  $\tau$ , so that *ráouai* would be the nearest possible Greek transcription of *Tajik*. Major Raverty (*Kafiristan* and elsewhere) writes *Tajik*, which comes very near to *Da-shik*, the old sound of the Chinese *Tiao-chi* or *Ta-shik* given by Chang Kiao, who visited the West in 122 B.C. (Desguignes).

<sup>1</sup> *Tribes of the Hindoo-Koosh, passim.*



safety. He traces the Galcha idioms generally to the Avestan (East Persian, so-called "Zend Avesta"), the dialect being closely to Sanskrit, while Khowar, the speech of the Khoas (Khoas), is intermediate between Baktrian and Avestan. Differences prevail on these details, which will give much to philologists for some time to come.

Speaking generally, all the Galchas of the mountains (most of Biddulph's first group) are genetically connected with all the other Lowland and Highland types with whom should also probably be included

Galcha and  
Tajik Types.

Elphinstone's<sup>1</sup> southern Tajiks dwelling south of the Hindu Kush (Kohistani, Berrakis, Purmulu or Fermulu, Sirdehians, and others scattered over Afghanistan and northern India). Their type is pronouncedly Alpine, so much so that they are spoken of by French anthropologists as "those belated Aryans of Kohistan". De Ujfalvy, who has studied them, describes them as tall, brown or bronzed and even ruddy cheeks recalling the Englishman, black or chestnut, sometimes red and even light, smooth, wavy or curly hair, brown, ruddy or blond (he met two brothers near Peshawar with hair "blanc comme du lin"); brown, blue, or grey eyes, oblique, long, shapely nose slightly curved, thin, straight nose, face, stout, vigorous frame, and round heads with cephalic index high as 86.50. This description, which is confirmed by other and other recent observers, applies to the Darwasis, Badakhshi, and in fact all the groups, so that we have no doubt an eastern extension of the Alpine brachycephalic type from Armenia and the Bakhtiari uplands to the Central Asian lands. In this description we also see obvious traces of the type grafted on these pre-Aryan Neolithic Tajiks by the Aryan conquerors, just as the Kelts and other pre-Aryan heads were Aryanised farther west.

We can now, perhaps for the first time, grasp the Galchas as a whole, and realise the marvellous uniformity of the ethnological and linguistic relations of two great sections of mankind.

<sup>1</sup> *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, 1815.

<sup>2</sup> "Ces Savoyards attardés du Kohistan" (Ujfalvy, *Les Aryens*).

*Homo europæus* and *H. alpinus*, as they may now be called—who have been in the closest contact for thousands of years all along the borderlands from the heart of Asia to the shores of the Atlantic.

But the eventful drama is not yet closed. Arrested perhaps for a time by the barrier of the Hindu-Kush and Sulimán ranges, these wonderful proto-Aryan conquerors burst at last, probably through the Kabul river gorges, on to the plains of India, and thereby added another world to the Caucasian domain. Here they were brought face to face with new conditions, which gave rise to fresh changes and adaptations resulting in the present ethnical relations in the peninsula. There is good reason to think that in this region the leavening Aryan element never was numerous, while even on their first arrival the Aryan invaders found the land already somewhat thickly peopled by the aborigines.

Ethnic Re-  
lations in  
India.

These formed at least three, and most probably four distinct ethnical groups—a black substratum forming a section of the primitive Indo-Malaysian populations; tribes of Kolarian speech probably from the north-east, or from the Himalayan slopes; tribes of Dravidian speech almost certainly from the north-west through the Sulimán passes; lastly, Mongoloid peoples from the Tibetan plateau, all arriving apparently in the order named. Of the characteristic woolly hair, by which the first might best be recognised, few distinct traces have yet been detected; nor are the features anywhere sufficiently negroid to remove all doubts as to their presence<sup>1</sup>. Hence we may perhaps infer that little remains of this substratum except a general deepening of the colour of the skin, if it is to be traced to this source rather than to environmental influences.

The fourth or Mongoloid element has also mainly disappeared from India proper, and is found now only on the northern and north-eastern uplands near their original Tibetan homes, beyond

<sup>1</sup> Negroid or Negrito traits are however shown in the nose, mouth, and hair of the Paniyan woman figured in the Madras Govt. Museum Series, vol. II. No. 1, Madras, 1897, p. 25.

which they may have never ranged beyond the Ganges.

Even the KOLS or KOLARIS, who spread the plains of Bengal,

the hilly and jungly tracts between Upper Bengal and the Chota Nagpore plateau, and generally live about 18° N. lat. Their chief divisions are the Kharias, Korwas, Kurkuns, Mehtos, Mal-Pahars, each speaking a distinct dialect of the common language which seems to show affinities with the Khasi, and with the Mon of Pegu, as has been suggested by others<sup>1</sup>.

In features, says Dalton, the Kols show "I think in a great many families there is a component of Aryan blood. Many have high noses and young girls are at times met with who have delicate features, finely-chiselled straight noses, and good mouths and chins. The eyes, however, are seldom bright, and gazelle-like as those of pure Hindus. I have met strongly marked Mongolian features. They vary greatly, the copper tints being about the same [though the Mirzapur Kols are very dark]. Eyes and hair black, straight or wavy [as all over India]. The women are noticeable for their fine, erect carriage and stride."

All this, taken in connection with the affinities of some of the Nepalese idioms, points to a people, who arrived in remote times, intermingled with aborigines, and afterwards crossed with Aryans.

There remain the DRAVIDIANS, to whom the same may apply, with this difference, that both the black and

<sup>1</sup> The term *Kol*, which occurs as an element in a great number of names, and was first introduced by Campbell in a collective sense (1866), is of unknown origin, but probably connected with a root meaning "Man" (*Tribes and Castes*, III. p. 294).

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Caldwell, *The Languages of India*, 1875. At the time of his writing about 3 millions were returned as of Kolarian speech.

<sup>3</sup> Capt. Forbes, Paper read at the Asiat. Soc. Nov. 1877.

<sup>4</sup> *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 190.

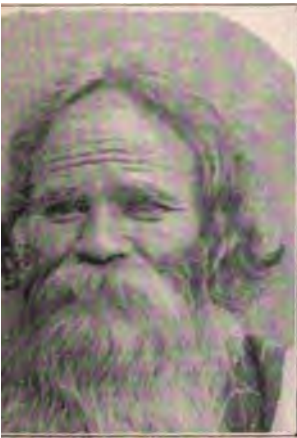
PLATE XII.



1. TODA MAN, S. INDIA.  
(Caucasic Type.)



2. TODA MAN, S. INDIA.  
(Caucasic Type.)



3. AINU, SAKHALIN I.  
(Caucasic Type.)



4. AINU, YEZO I.  
(Caucasic Type.)



traits are more effaced, and the Aryan more accentuated. But, as should be expected, there are many aberrant groups showing divergences in all directions, as amongst the *Kurumbas* and *Todas* of the Nilgiris, the former approximating to the Mongol, the latter to the Aryan standard. The Rev. W. Sikemeier, who has lived amongst them for years, writes to me that "many of the Kurumbas have decided Mongoloid face and stature, and appear to be the aborigines of that region<sup>1</sup>." My correspondent adds that much nonsense has been written about the Todas, who have become the trump card of popular ethnographers. "Being ransacked by European visitors they invent all kinds of traditions, which they found out their questioners liked to get, and for which they were paid." Still the type is remarkable and strikingly European, "well proportioned and stalwart, with straight nose, regular features and perfect teeth," the chief characteristic being the development of the hairy system, less however than amongst the Ainu, whom they so closely resemble<sup>2</sup>. From the illustrations given in Mr Thurston's valuable series one might be tempted to infer that a group of proto-Aryans had reached this extreme limit of their Asiatic domain and here for untold ages preserved their original type in almost unsullied purity.

The  
Dravidians.

The Dravidians occupy the greater part of the Dekkan, where they are constituted in a few great nations—Telugus (Telingas); Tamils (numbers of whom have crossed into Ceylon and occupied the northern and central parts of that island, working in the coffee districts), Kanarese, and the Malayalim of the west coast. These with some others were brought at an early date under Aryan (Hindu) influences, but have preserved their highly agglutinating Dravidian speech, which has no known affinities elsewhere, unless perhaps with the language of the Brahuis, who are regarded by many as belated Dravidians left behind in East Baluchistan.

But for this very old, but highly cultivated Dravidian language, which is still spoken by about 54 millions between the Ganges and Ceylon, it would no longer be possible to distinguish these southern Hindus from

Dravidian  
and Aryan  
Languages.

<sup>1</sup> *Letter*, June 18, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> *Edgar Thurston, Anthropology etc.*, Bul. 4, Madras, 1896, pp. 147-8.

these of Aryan speech who occupy all the plains together with the southern slopes of the Himalayas to the western Himalayas. Their main distinction is that many of them might be called typical Aryans, and others several sub-groups, amongst which are the Mohammedans half Moslem half Hindu, also of magnitude are the Gujaratis, Mahratis, Hindis, Bengalis, Assamese, and of Orissa, all speaking Neo-Sanskritic idioms, which constitute the Indic branch of the Aryan family. Hindi or Urdu, a simplified form of Hindi current especially in the Doab, or "Two waters," the region between the Ganges and Jumna above Allahabad, has become a sort of lingua franca, the chief medium of intercourse throughout the peninsula, understood by certainly over 100 millions, while all the varieties of Neo-Sanskritic speech numbered in 1896 were over 200 millions.

Perhaps the most surprising feature of these communities is the remarkable uniformity of their physical characters indicated especially by the prevailing dolicho shape of the head everywhere in the peninsula. Thus in Mr Risley's averages of cephalic indices for Bengal, Oudh, the United Provinces and the north generally, range from 71 to 75, rising of course much higher (84) on the Himalayan slopes, is, the Mongoloid Tibetan territory. In the extreme south Mr Thurston's averages are 72, 74, and 76 for the Mysore presidency.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to explain this phenomenon on the assumption that the proto-Dravidians were of brachycephalic stock, as the Kols almost certainly were, if not also the Andaman and Rajput intruders. These, one would suppose, would have sufficed to have swamped both the dolicho black aborigines and the comparatively recent Aryan invaders, or at least to have raised the indices everywhere above their actual low averages.

Are we driven to infer with de Lapouge that the feeble long-head is not so much a racial as a social question? If so, we should have to infer further that, while the inferior races are gaining on the superior long-heads in Europe, the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Crooke, I. p. CXXIX.

<sup>2</sup> Madras Govt. Mus. Series, *passim*.

process is going on in the Indian peninsula. Are the racial conditions of the two regions such as to warrant this conclusion? Surely not, so long as nearly 300 million natives are held in political subjection and administered by 200 or 300 thousand Europeans from a base 6000 or 7000 miles away. Ethnology is, like a two-edged sword, an extremely dangerous weapon to be introduced into the discussion of social questions, until the whole field is thoroughly surveyed and the broad results clearly coördinated.

Here we derive little help from the consideration of caste, whatever view be taken of the origin of this institution. The rather obvious theory that it was introduced by the handful of Aryan conquerors to prevent the submergence of the race in the great ocean of black or dark aborigines, is now rejected by Mr Nesfield<sup>1</sup> and others, who hold that its origin is occupational, a question rather of social pursuits becoming hereditary in family groups, rather than of race distinctions sanctioned by religion. They point out that the commentator's interpretation of the *Pancha Ksitaya*, "Five Classes," as *Brāhmanas* (priests), *Kshatriyas* (fighters), *Vaisya* (traders), *Sudra* (peasants and craftsmen of all kinds) and *Nishāda* (savages or outcasts) is recent, and conveys only the current sentiment of the age. It never had any substantial base, and even in the comparatively late Institutes of Manu "the rules of food, connubium and intercourse between the various castes are very different from what we find at present"; also that, far from being eternal and changeless, caste has been subject to endless modifications throughout the whole range of Hindu myth and history. Nor is it an institution peculiar to India, while even here the stereotyped four or five divisions neither accord with existing facts, nor correspond to so many distinct ethnical groups.

All this is perfectly true, and it is also true that for generations the recognised castes, say, social pursuits, have been in a state of constant flux, incessantly undergoing processes of segmentation, so that their number is at present past counting. Nevertheless, the system may have been, and probably was, first inspired by

The Hindu  
Castes.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Crooke, I. p. xx. sq.



racial motives, an instinctive sense of superiority expressed itself in an informal way by the Aryans, which were afterwards sanctioned by religion. This broke down or degenerated into the present state of outward pressure of imperious social necessities.

Beyond the mainland and Ceylon no Caucasians

The Oceanic  
Caucasians.

Aryan speech are known to have been spoken in lithic or prehistoric times. But since the Aryans followed the early migrations of the Indo-European race, here called **INDONESIANS**, into Malaysia, the Philippines, Formosa and the Japanese Archipelago, which they occupied in the New Stone Age. Here there is a break, for they are not again met till we reach the still more remote insular groups beyond Malacca.

Micronesians.

Micronesia the relations are extremely complex because, as it seems, this group had been occupied by the Melanesians from New Guinea at the arrival of the Indonesians, while after their arrival followed at intervals by Malays perhaps from the Philippines, Formosa, and still later by Japanese, if not also by the Aryans from the mainland. Hence the types are here as varied as anywhere which appears, going eastwards, to shade off from the dark of the Pelew and Caroline Islanders to the light of the Marshall and Gilbert groups, where we already touch the skirts of the true Indonesian domain.

A line drawn athwart the Pacific from New Zealand

Polynesians.

Fiji to Hawaii will roughly cut off this division from the rest of the Oceanic world, where the west is Melanesian, Papuan or mixed, while all to the east is *Maori*, some of the eastern *Fijians*, *Tongans*, *Samoans*, *Marquesans*, *Hawaiians* and *Easter Islanders*—one of the purest and most interesting section of the Caucasian division. Their claim to belong to this connection can now be seriously questioned, since, as now firmly established, they have been from the remotest times both a dolichocephalic and brachy section of the Caucasian division. To the east

belong to EASTERN POLYNESIANS, who are mostly long-heads<sup>1</sup> with remarkably regular features often of a distinctly European stamp, and other characters of a pronouncedly Caucasian type. The hair is mostly black and straight, but also wavy, though never frizzly or even kinky. The colour also is of a light brown compared to cinnamon or café-au-lait, and sometimes approaching an almost white shade, while the tall stature averaging 5 ft. 11 in. or 6 ft. slightly exceeds that of several European groups in Sweden, Norway, North Britain and Ireland.

But the language, it is objected, is not Aryan or European. No doubt this is so, but the Caucasian peoples of the New Stone Age spread over North Africa, Europe, and Asia, and most of them spoke non-Aryan idioms, as we see very well from the Hamito-Semitic and the allied Basque, besides those of the Caucasus, and Yagnobi, which in its remarkable survival may be called the "Basque of Central Asia." Malayo-Polynesian also, of which Eastern Polynesian is a very pure member, has its roots on the Asiatic mainland, whence it was diffused over the Oceanic world by our Indonesians in prehistoric times. The problems associated with this position are intricate, but have already been dealt with in the seventh chapter of this volume.

Migrating at an unknown date eastwards from Malaysia, the Indonesians appear to have first formed permanent settlements in Samoa, and more particularly in the island of *Savaii*, originally *Savaiki*, which name under divers forms and still more divers meanings accompanied all their subsequent migrations over the Pacific waters. Thus we have in Tahiti *Havaii*<sup>2</sup>, the "universe," and the old capital of Raiatea; in Rarotonga *Avaiiki*, "the land under the wind"; in New Zealand *Hawaiki*, "the land whence came the Maori"; in the Marquesas *Hawaiki*, "the lower regions of the dead," as in *to fenua Hawaiki*,

Migrations.

<sup>1</sup> I make this statement on the authority of Dr Hamy, who, against the current opinion, finds from fresh measurements that "dans l'est, dans le nord, et dans le sud ils présentent une dolichocéphalie fort prononcée" (Hawaii 75.5; Taiti 74.1; Maori 73.2), rising only in the west to 80 (*Les Races Malaises*, *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 137).

<sup>2</sup> *H* everywhere takes the place of *S*, which is preserved only in the Samoan mother-tongue; cf. Gr. *ἑπτά* with Lat. *septem*, Eng. *seven*.

"return to the land of thy forefathers" and human victims in human sacrifices were offered, and, lastly in *Hawaii*, the name of the chief deity of the group.

That such reminiscences should be preserved is characteristic of these Indonesians, whose memories are sometimes unexpectedly verified in surprising ways; they were gifted with very long memories. Their legends and even sublime cosmogonies would almost certainly accompany all their wanderings from their Central home through Malaysia to their present eastern homes. One of these cosmogonies starts with Chaos, Earth, and Night—not so much concrete as abstract entities. These purely subjective notions, these entities, which must have been preceded by more material beings and more tangible deities. In all the Polynesian legends of which there is great store, we find Heaven, Earth, and the After-World, recurring under diverse names and personified by language, embodied in animistic and metaphysical philosophies—echoes, as it were, of the Vedic hymns from isle to isle over the broad Pacific waters.

<sup>1</sup> *L'Anthropologie*, 1896, p. 542.

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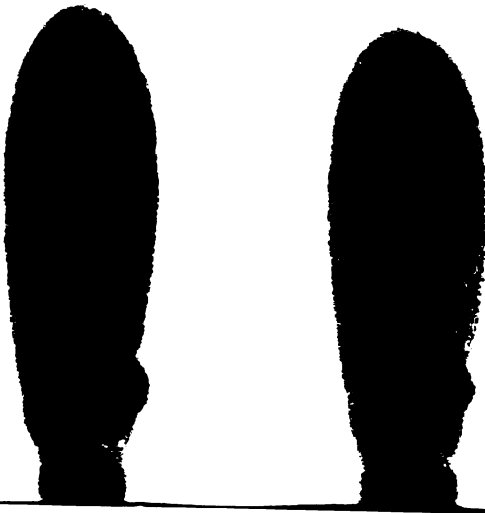




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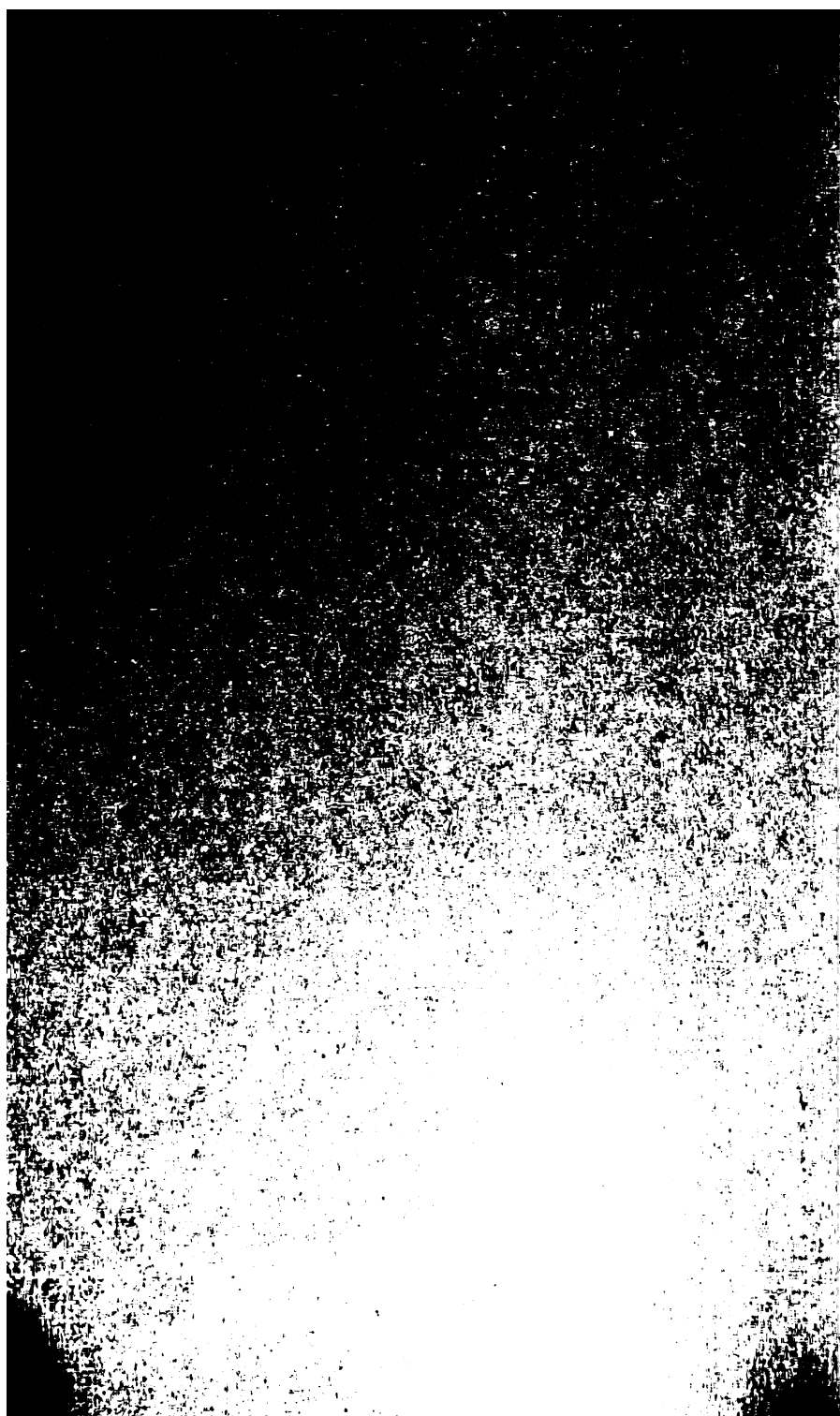
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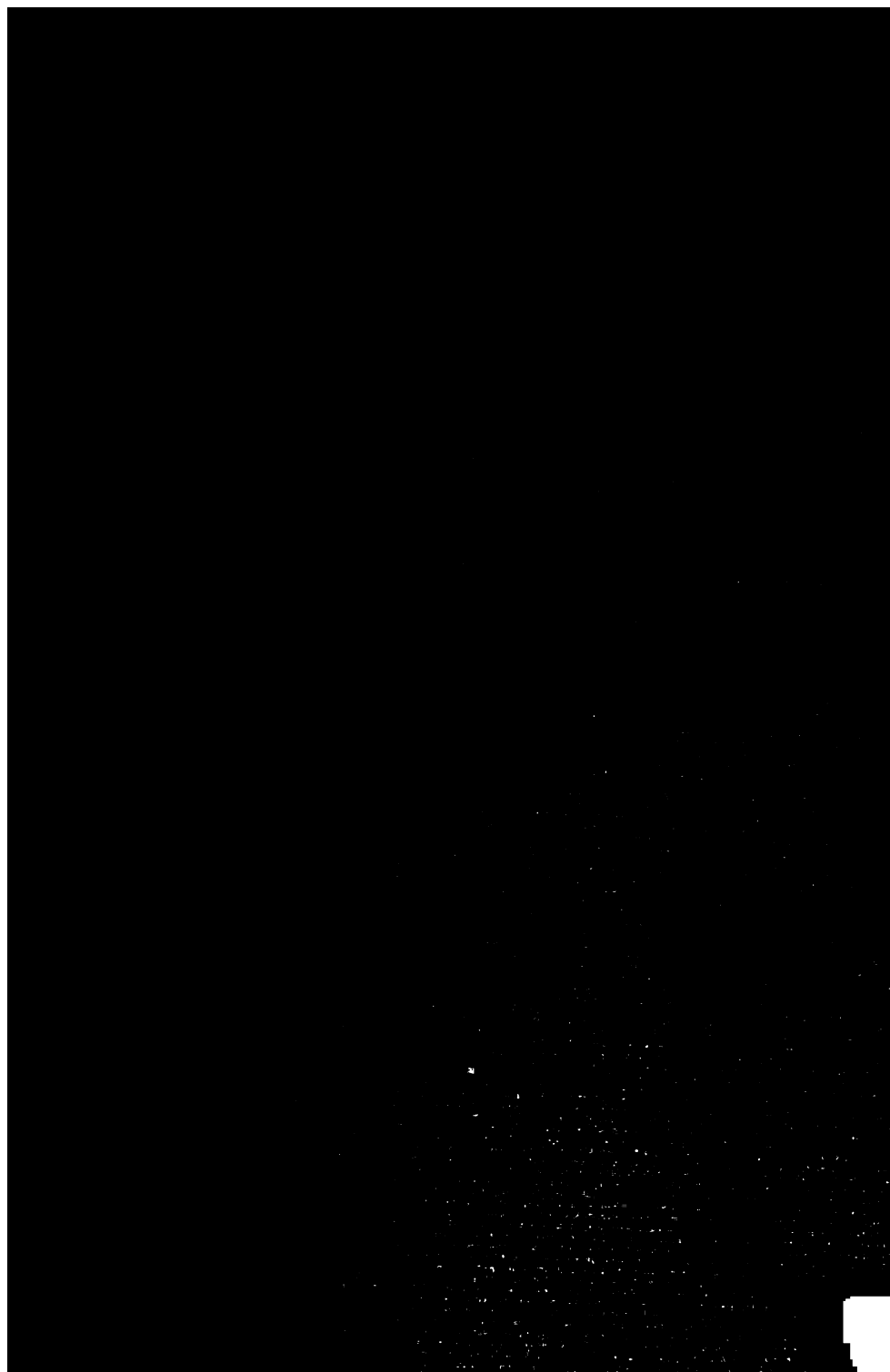




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昭和五十八年六月

山形の寓居にて

黒澤正男

として残ってしまったのです。

その後、この疑問に答えるには、まず私の受けた感動を一人でも多くの方々につたえ、その共感をえて、これをより真実なものとするのだと思ひあたりました。読書や人の話など、その受けとめ方は、人それぞれに異なるものであり、それだけに個人的な感動や感興だけでは、秩序だった理論的体系にはなりえないものだと思うからであります。

けれども、どうすればこのきわめて感情的・感覚的なやっかいなものを、正確に、また、誇張なしに伝えることができるかとなりますと、これもまた大変難しいことです。そこで、いっそのこと素材をそのまま提供しようと思ひついたのであります。

市場草創期を一区切りとして、その間に直接間接にかかわりを持った若干の人々―その一人一人について、言動を中心とするその生涯を、冗漫とならないようつとめて簡潔に、伝記風にまとめることを心がけました。ただ、そのデッサン力が誠に乏しいものですから、果して私のこうした意図が読者の方々に十分汲みとっていただけるかどうか甚だ心許ないことでした。

## あとがき

「証券人物百年史」などという大仰な題名を掲げて執筆するのは、私のもっとも苦手とするところであり、同時にあまりにも大きな重荷であります。私には、裾野の広い、また険しい山脈の踏破を目ざす冒険そのものであります。

大分前のことになりましたが、証券取引所に勤めておりましたころ、市場にかかわりを持った人々の伝記や資料を二、三拾い読みをしているうち、はなやかな外観からは見えなかつた市場の裏側をのぞき、そこに思いもかけぬ真摯な数々の人間像をみて、深い感動と感興に耽ったものです。

それは、たまたま、私が市場の真相を探しとめていたときでありました。遇然、手にした二、三の伝記を読んで受けた感動でありました。それくらい、これらの人々（伝記）が語りかけてくるものを確りと受けとめずには、すでに一世紀を超えた市場の歴史を繰ることのできないのではないかという疑問―不安といつてもいいもの―が私の心にひとつのしこり

だが、銀本位を維持していたアジア地域を有力な輸出先としていたわが国の実業界は、銀本位をよしとする意見がなお支配的であった。

二十六年、インドもついに金本位に移行したのをみた政府は、官民合同の貨幣制度調査会を設置してこの問題を審議した。二年近い歳月と大論争の末、二十八年十月提出された報告の結論は、金本位制への移行を支持する者が一五対六の少数意見であると答申した。官僚委員は総資本的立場から金本位を支持し、個別資本的立場の民間側委員はこれに反対していたのだった。

二十九年九月、ふたたび松方正義に組閣の命があり、蔵相も兼任することになった。松方は、三十年三月、天皇の裁可をえて金本位制を採択し、十月からこれを実施した。

天皇はこのとき、

「自分にはよく解らないが、あなたの事業でこれまで成功しなかったものがないから許す。しかし反対者もまた多いことだろうから、十分心してやりなさい」

とのお言葉があったそうである。



いう。

さて、松方の章を結ぶにあたり、彼がわが国の近代化史上、財政の父といわれるに値したもう一つの事績にふれねばならない。それは金本位制の確立である。

朝鮮の内乱に端を発し日清両国政府が対立し、二十七年八月、日本政府は宣戦を布告した。数か月の戦いで我軍は勝利をえ、二十八年四月、両国は講和条約を結んだ。

当時松方は、松方内閣を二十五年に挂冠していらしい自適の生活を送っていたが、二十八年三月突如広島大本営へ呼び出された。勅語を以て、

「財政をみよ」

との御説であった。異例の手続きにより蔵相に就任した松方は、清国から受領することになった二億両（三億六〇〇〇万円、当時の国民所得の四分の一相当）の賠償金を英貨に金により支払うよう確約させた。

そのころ、銀価は下落の一途を辿っている。すなわち、金対銀の比価は、明治四年、金一に対し、一五・五であったが、九年から十八年の間はこれが一八・〇前後、二十五年、六年には二四・〇―二六・〇となり、二十七年には三一・〇強、二十九年には三九・七〇へと惨落していた。

これにたいし欧米では、イギリスの一八一六年は論外としても、ドイツが一八七三年（明治六年）に金本位体制を採用すると、先進諸国はこぞってこれに追随していたのである。

この日本銀行は株式会社組織とされ、資本金一〇〇〇万円、政府はこれに半額出資、営業年限を三〇年とするなどがきめられ、初代総裁として、薩摩藩士、大蔵大丞の吉原重敏が選任され、理事には安田善次郎、三野村利助らが就任した。開業は十月であった。

ついで十六年五月、国立銀行条例が改正されて紙幣発行権が取り上げられ、その発行権は日本銀行の専権事項と定められた。そして、正貨準備高が紙幣流通額のなかばに達した十八年七月、日本銀行はじめて兌換銀行券の発行にふみきり、兌換は十九年一月一日から開始した。

銀貨との兌換であった。明治四年に金本位制が制定されたが、江戸時代から金銀複本位制であったことや、東洋の貿易市場が銀本位であったなどの事情から、この金本位制は有名無実のものであったためである。このため、この時点から三十年の金本位制確立までわが国は銀本位制を確認したことになった。しかしこれは松方の本意ではなかった。

だが紙幣消却の難事業は見事に達成され、十四年末銀貨一円にたいし紙幣一円六九銭であったものが、十八年末には完全に等価で通用するほど紙幣の健全な流通が回復されていた。

整理進行中、社会の疲弊混迷をみた田口卯吉は、批難攻撃を松方に集中したが、その成就を目のあたりにみた彼は、「誠に財政上の一大美事にして長く我国史乘（歴史）に光輝を存するもの」と激賞した。

洪澤栄一も、銀行の頭取らと連署して頌功表を松方に贈ってその功を讃えた。兌換制度の実施のとき、明治天皇は、松方をとくに御書院に召されてその労をねぎらい、お手づから正貨五〇〇〇円を賜ったと

日本鉄道は、資本金二〇〇〇万円であったが、その大半は華族の出資で、政府は年八分の配当を保証し、買取土地にたいする免税の特権も与えていた。東京青森間の鉄道の敷設をめざし、十四年十一月会社設立され、全線の開通をみたのは二十四年九月だった。

この不況下の株高は時代の象徴でもあった。その時代とは、資本主義社会の入口に立ったわが国が、特定の者に資本を集め、その反面では、貧困者として雇われて働くだけの多くの民衆を作るといふ、資本の原始蓄積の典型的な展開の時代であった。

## 十六 天皇のお言葉

紙幣整理に着手するに先立って、その先決条件として、松方は中央銀行を設立すべきだという構想を早くから抱いていた。それは彼がフランスに出張中に学びえたものだったが、その調査研究のため、とくに加藤清をフランスに滞在させてこれに当らせた。加藤は三年の歳月を費やし十三年にはその成果を報告している。

それはベルギーの国立銀行を範とするものに要約されていた。松方はこれにもとづき、十五年三月、中央銀行創立に関する建議を三條太政大臣に提出した。そして、これは元老院等において三か月の審議の末、同年六月、日本銀行条例として布告された。

八反ないし一町六反を所有する中堅自作農家であった——の数を一〇〇とすれば、二十二年にはこれが七〇に減っていた。この数年間に、中堅農家、豪農といわれた階層でも小作地を手放さざるをえなかったことを裏づけるものであった。

このことはまた、各地にあつて自由民権運動の先頭に立っていた指導的階層に、深刻な経済的圧力をかけていた。

各地にいろいろの騒乱が起つた。植木枝盛の酒屋会議(十五年四月)、福島事件(同十一月)、高田事件(十六年三月)につき、十七年には、群馬、加波山、秩父、飯田、名古屋の各地に事件が発生した。これらは上記の経済的背景に無縁なものではなかつた。

いずれも強力な官憲の力によつて弾圧され、これと軌を一にして、自由民権運動も急速に衰え、やがて表面から消えていった。

ただ、こうした不況の進行のなかにあつて、株式市況だけは活発な動きを示した。それは商業資本の一部が株式市場の投機に走つたものであつたが、十七年になつて日本鉄道株や東京海上火災保険、横浜正金銀行の株式が登場したためでもあつた。

東京株式取引所は、開業の十一年から十六年まで、売買は公債が中心であり、株式は取引所株と銀行株だけで、取引は隔日とされ、この六年間の株式の売買高(定期)は、年平均わずか六五〇〇株前後であつた。十七年にはそれが一挙に一〇万株に増えている。

清国は朝鮮にたいし宗主権を強要していたが、この事変を好機として強い干渉に乗り出した。日本には清国を相手として事を構える自信がなかった。

しかし軍部はこれを軍備拡張の絶好の口実として取り上げ、軍事費の増額を政府当局に迫った。松方はその調達のため、さらに膨大な資金の捻出を図らねばならない立場に立った。

彼の財政改革の方針を貫くかぎり、それは増税以外に手段がなかった。

酒、煙草にたいし増税を課し、新たに、醬油、菓子税を設け、また売薬印紙税や、米と株式の取引所の仲買人税も新設した。十六年には、酒、煙草は十三年にくらべ酒が二・五倍、煙草は七・四倍の増税であった。

直接税も大幅に引き上げられ、十三年対十六年の比では、国税二二%、府県税三四%、町村税一九%で、その平均は二四%の増税となった。

だが反面では米価は低落の一途を辿った。十三、四年、石一〇円台を示していたものが、十五年には、六円台に反落し、以後二十二年にいたるまで六円から四円台を低迷する惨落ぶりであった。

農民は疲弊し、中小企業者は破産に追い込まれ、下級士族層は急速に没落し、社会に不満と不安が渦をまいた。

不況は十七、八年に最高潮に達した。農民が最も大きな打撃を受けた。このころになると毎年全耕地の五%がその所有者を変えた。十四年の地租五円から一〇円未満の納税者——この人々は全国平均で田畑

を述べ、「いかなる混乱がおきてもけつして中途でやめることはできません」と言上し、御裁可を乞い、同時に不退転のご覚悟をも懇請した。松方は文字通り背水の陣を布いたのだった。

## 一五 不況下の株高

ところが、松方が決死の覚悟で紙幣整理に着手してまもない十五年（一八八二）七月、朝鮮に壬午の乱が勃発した。

地理的には近く、歴史的にも交流の深い朝鮮は、今日に劣らず当時の日本にとってきわめて重要な関りあいを持っていた。その朝鮮の動向は、清国とロシアという大国を背後にしているだけに、ただちに日本の存立に大きな影響を与えかねないものがあつた。

そのころ、日本は欧米からの輸入品を朝鮮に輸出し、朝鮮からは米や大豆を輸入していたが、商人のあるものは、資金の前貸を行なつてはその抵当とした土地・家・穀物等を不当に取り上げるといった悪徳商法をやり、朝鮮の人民に米の値上りや不当利益の強奪を重ねて、その生活を脅やかしていた。

このころ朝鮮では鎖国派と開国派が政争をくり返していたが、親日派でもあつた開国派が勢いをえて政權を握つたときであつた。給与の遅配に激発された軍隊が突如反乱を起し、王宮を襲い、ついで日本の公使館に火を放つたのである。これが壬午の乱であつた。

ヘルマン・ロエスレルで、井上の憲法起草には大きな役割を果たしていた。

政変後の政府の抱えた重大な課題は、外交上の不平等条約の改正と、内政面の、以上述べた憲法制定問題および財政の確立が緊急課題であった。

参議兼大蔵卿となった松方正義は、なかでも最も緊急重要な財政問題を一身に背負うことになった。

松方の、財政の健全化、国民経済の安定のための施策の基本方針は、不換紙幣の消却と兌換制度の確立を、当面する問題解決の最優先の対策としたことだった。大隈が、金銀貨と紙幣との不釣り合いをインフレの原因と考えたのにならぬ、松方は、生産力と貨幣発行量の不均衡こそ、インフレの最大要因だと看破していた。

生産に見合うまで多すぎる紙幣の量をへらさねばならない。そのためには、増税、行政諸経費の思い切った節減、官営中の不急、不能率な事業の処分（官営事業の払い下げ）などを断行しなければならぬ。さらには、不換紙幣と化している国立銀行の銀行券を押えるため、国立銀行の紙幣発行権を取りあげ、国立銀行の整理も不可避とならう。

しかしながら、これらの政策を断行すれば、はげしい不況と国民の不満が沸騰することは必定であった。だがこの荒療治を避けて通ることは、日本の独立も、産業の復興も、したがって国民生活の安定も、すべて諦めることであった。

松方は、政府部内はじめ、三條・岩倉の立ち会いをえて天皇にもとくに拝謁を願ひ出て、自分の方

## 一、貨幣制度は硬貨主義をとる

### 一、社会進歩の度に従い選挙権をひろげる

以上の党の政策は、イギリス風の政治論によって漸進主義を主張するものであり、自由党の社会正義や平等主義から取り残される富者や学者や老成者を糾合し、やがて時をえて自由党と合同し、全国民のための立憲政体を作ろうというのが結党のねらいであった。

もう一つは、同じ十五年の三月に作られた立憲帝政党であった。これは伊藤や井上馨、山田顯義ら参議の工作によって、福地源一郎(桜痴)、丸山作楽、水野寅次郎ら三人の幹部だけの、黨員は他にいない政党で、党の政策は「内閣の方針と、ことごとく同一である」という人を喰った綱領であり、世間では三人政党と笑った。三人は御用新聞の代表者で、完全な御用政党であった。しかし、一部の士族や官吏、神官、地方の大地主などがこれを支持した。

その政府の方針は、日本の現状では、政党主義の議會政治を目ざしても、小党分立となる傾向は避けられず、そのため政局不安に陥ることは必至である。この危険を回避するには、わが国と国情の似通うプロイセン方式を採用するのが最も良策である。すなわち、イギリスの「国王は君臨すれども統治せず」ではなく、国王が君臨し統治しているプロイセンをまねるべきであるというのが、岩倉、伊藤、井上毅ら政府の立役者の一致した方針であった。

「大日本帝国憲法」の草案起草者として知られる井上毅を援助したのは、政府の雇人、ドイツの公法学者



## 一四 背水の陣

大隈を追放した十四年の政変のあと、三つの政党が作られた。その一つは十四年十月、板垣が総理となつて土佐派が主導権を握つた自由党である。後藤象二郎、馬場辰猪、中江兆民、田口卯吉らが参加した。

一、自由をひろげ権利を守り幸福を増進させて社会を改良する

一、立憲政体を確立する

一、主義を共にするものと協力する

これが党の盟約であり、フランス風の急進論を掲げてその主張を權威づけようとし、現状に不満を持つ士族や貧農を味方にしようとした。

これにたいし、政府を追われた大隈は、十五年三月、立憲改進黨を組織した。河野敏鎌、前島密、矢野文雄、小野梓、犬養毅、沼間守一、尾崎行雄、島田三郎らがその中心であつた。

一、王室の繁栄を保ち、人民の幸福を完うする

一、内治の改良を主とし、国権の拡張に及ぼす

一、中央干渉の政略をはぶき、地方自治の基礎を立てる

一、外国にたいし、つとめて政略上の交渉を薄くし、通商関係を厚くする

は世論を沸騰させた。

自由民権派のみならず、福澤諭吉も先頭に立って、藩閥政治の腐敗を突いた。これら政府攻撃のすさまじさに政府内は分裂し孤立無援の窮地に立った。これについて政府内ではこれは大隈の陰謀とつわさするものもあった。大隈と福澤はかねて親交があり、大隈の背後には福澤あり、岩崎彌太郎ありといううわさである。

たまたまこの七月末から十月にかけて、天皇の北海道・東北巡幸が行われ、このとき松方は先発としてこの行にしたがい、大隈も供奉していた。

御巡幸の日程は予定通り終り東京へ御帰還となったのは十月十一日であった。東京は厳重な警戒体制が敷かれていた。千住駅に到着すると、大隈は出迎えの車で私邸まで送られた。その後すぐその場で、大隈の罷免、国会開設の大詔、開拓使官有物払下げ中止その他の件につき、天皇の御裁断を願ひ出た。

裁断は下り、その夜半、正確には十二日午前一時半ころ、大隈は伊藤・西郷従道両参議の訪問をうけ、結腹をさらされた。そして十二日、国会は明治二十三年に開設するという勅諭が発せられた。岩倉、伊藤、井上毅らの演出したクーデタであった。

その十日後の十月二十一日、十三年二月に政府内部の対立から廃止されていた参議の各省卿兼任制が復活し、松方正義は参議兼大藏卿に任命された。

て輸入を制するの目的を立てるべきである」とし、そのためには中央銀行を設立することだと訴えている。

さて、国会開設にたいする要望は、一部民衆の間には早くから高まり、このころになるとインフレや増税問題もこれにからみ、ますますその勢いを増し、とくにこれにたいする政府の弾圧的姿勢に反発して、各地では騒動化する情勢にあった。

これに頭を痛めた岩倉は、勅命をもって参議らに立憲制採用についての意見をもとめていた。各自から提出されたその回答はいずれも漸進を基調とする見解であった。

ところが十四年三月になって大隈から提出された意見は、十五年には憲法を作り、十六年に国会をひらき、イギリス風の政党内閣をつくるというきわめて急進的なものであった。大隈は、財政経済政策の打開のため、国会開設によって民権運動の矛先を転じ、藩閥政治の是正を必要とするという立場に切り替えようとはかったものであった。

伊藤はこれを知り激怒し、大隈との対立を決定的なものとした。実はこの立憲制問題に関しては、この正月に、大隈、伊藤、井上馨の三者が熱海で会談し、協調することを申し合せたばかりであった。しかしこのときは岩倉の調停で事を荒立てずすんだ。

七月、北海道開拓使官有物払い下げの件が、北海道開拓使長官黒田清隆から申請され、二日後には認可された。薩摩出身の黒田が同藩出の政商五代友厚らに払い下げようというのであった。果然この一件

### 一三 参議兼大藏卿に

天皇は、大隈の外債募集案を否決すると、その翌月、勤儉励行の勅諭を布告し、大隈も増税と経費節減によって紙幣償却をはかり通貨価値の安定をねらうという、自力によるインフレ抑制策を打ちだした。

さらに天皇は、九月になって伊藤博文を大隈とともに財政に参与させてこの危局を乗りきるように命じた。伊藤が政府手持ちの準備金を調べると、そのあまりの少なさに驚いたという。じじつ、当時の財政については、一〇人の参議のうち、大隈以外は伊藤はじめ誰一人その内幕を知らなかった。

増税は九月に布告した酒造税の増税を皮切りに断行され、十一月には、地租の増徴には限度があったため、地方税の改正を行ない、地租五分の一以内の付加税を三分の一以内と改め、これまで国庫から支出していた金額に相当する分を地方税でまかなうことにし、事実上の地租増税と同じ効果をあげた。

各地にこうした増税にたいする反対運動が起り、これらは自由民権運動をいっそう激しくする大きな原因となっていた。

しかし通貨の下落は収まらず、十四年一月にはその対前年同月比は七〇%の下落を示していた。

松方は、ふたたび、三条に「財政議」を呈し、伊藤には内務卿の辞任届を托して財政を批判し、自分の所信を述べた。

「方今の急務は貨幣運用の機軸を定め、正貨を蓄積して紙幣償還の元資を充実せしめ、物産を興隆し

金銀が少なすぎるのであって、通貨と商品の流通が円滑になればよいという考えにたった対策であった。

そこで大隈は、十三年五月になると、外債五〇〇〇万円を募集して、不換紙幣を整理しようと計画した。インフレはますます激しくなり、紙幣一円七九銭五厘が銀貨一円という下落ぶり。また、十年のころ一升五銭五厘の米が十三年には一〇銭四厘にはねあがっており、東京の娼妓の八割は農村出身の娘だったのに、最近では東京出身の娘が八割であると報ずる新聞もあった。

国民の不満が増大、議会開設への民権運動とともに激化し、深刻な社会危機が迫っていた。政府は、十三年四月、集会条例を布告して反政府的言論の弾圧に乗りだした。

大隈の外債募集の発案はこうした危機を前に提案されたものであったが、松方は、ただちにこれに反対し、三条太政大臣に財政に関する意見書を呈した。

一、通貨の下落は不換紙幣の増発によるものである故、正貨の収集策を講じ、紙幣償却を図ること

一、関税収入、貿易振興に努めること

一、米価の騰貴を抑え、米の輸出を禁止し、外米の輸入をはかること

一、生産力の増大を促進するため、官営事業を排し民営にきりかえること

大隈の外債募集にたいしては、政府部内を二分して賛否両論が対立し、ついに天皇の採決を仰ぐことになった。天皇は、前年七月来朝したアメリカ前大統領グラント將軍から外債の危険なことにつき忠告を受けていたので、これを否決した。

しかし、インフレだから各種の投機が横行するわけで、投機を押えてもインフレの根を断つことはできなかつた。大隈もそのことは承知していたが、牽制球のつもりだったろう。

そこで彼はつきに、

- 一、道路や港を整備して商品の流通を図り、
  - 一、海関税則を改正し、輸出を増し、輸入を減じ、
  - 一、政府手持ちの銀を売り、紙幣の価を安定させ、
  - 一、横浜正金銀行を設立（明治十三年二月開業）して民間に退蔵している金銀を流通面にさそい、
  - 一、官営工場を払い下げて政府の歳出を節約し、あわせて紙幣整理の財源を作る
- といった対策を考え、これを実行に移した。

十三年二月、参議の諸省卿兼任の制度が廃止され、大隈は大蔵卿を退き、大隈と同じく佐賀藩出身の佐野常民が大蔵卿に就いた。このとき、明治八年十一月から大蔵大輔の職にあつた松方は内務卿に榮進した。

慶応四年はじめ長崎においての出会いらしい大隈と松方は知己の間柄であつたが、能弁の大隈に一步遅れて中央政府に出仕した松方は、大蔵省に転出以後、大久保の後を継いだ大蔵卿大隈をよく補佐して倦むことはなかつたが、大隈の財政政策にたいしては批判的であつた。

大隈のインフレーション対策は、その根底において、インフレの原因を、紙幣が多過ぎるのではなく、

## 一二 大隈の財政政策

松方がフランスの博覧会に出張している間に、大久保利通が凶刃に倒れた。西郷、木戸すでに亡く、大久保も今や亡し。政局はとみに混乱の色を深めた。また西南戦争のために発行した多額の不換紙幣にたいする適切な収拾策をもとめあぐみ、経済界の前途も容易ならぬ不安が募っていた。

地租改正にたいする反対運動はなお繰り返されていたが、諸物価の上昇から、地租の額がすえおきとされていたため、地租の相対的な比価が下降傾向を辿っていたので、一時のはげしさを柔げるきざしがみえていた。

しかし歴大な不換紙幣や赤字公債の発行は、輸入の増大による正貨の流出と相まって、悪性インフレの増勢をいよいよ高めていたのである。

当時、財政は大隈重信が専断的に掌握していた。明治二年七月の官制改革で大蔵兼民部大輔に就任して以来、一時、大久保が大蔵卿となつた四年六月から六年十月までをのぞき、六年十月からは参議兼摂の大蔵卿として、十三年二月まで、国家財政運用の実権は大隈が握っていた。

西南戦争後のインフレーションの進行に当面した彼は、十二年二月、まずその対策の手始めに横浜の洋銀相場取引を禁止し、新たに横浜に洋銀取引所を設け、のち、東京および大阪の株式取引所にたいして、金銀貨幣の取引を許した。これは投機を取り締って金銀市価の均衡をはかろうとしたものだった。

一、輸入超過による正貨の流出

一、外国品にたいする需要の増加

一、メキシコ銀の流通と金本位の不徹底

一、不換紙幣の増加

一、巨額の外債償却と在外官吏留學生費

一、欧州における金価格の騰貴

などであると指摘した。そして、その対策として、(一)関稅權の回復、(二)徹底した節約、(三)正貨納稅、(四)不換紙幣の回収と準備金の増加、(五)外債償却方法の運用などをあげた。

もし、稅權の確立も稅則改正も外国との協議の上、條約改正の後でなければ駄目であるなら、「非常の節約」をもって、これに当るべきだと主張する。そしてその非常の節約というのは、外国品に代り國産品を使用すること、また、産業の振興、外人雇用の中止、外国品の輸入は生産手段とする機械類に限るべきこと、などを勵行することであると説いた。

明治十一年二月、フランス博覽會副總裁に任せられた松方は、パリに向つて船出した。パリ滞在中、松方はレオン・セー農相と大臣室で財政論を交すほど親しく交遊し、啓発された多くのものを得て十二年三月帰朝した。

「松方財政」展開の時機は、もうすぐそこに待っていたのである。



さて、松方正義は、明治七年一月、陸奥宗光の後を受けて租税頭に任命されていた、明治十年まで地租改正事業に心血を注いでいた。

しかし彼は、この間一方において、外国貿易における関税権の回復に関する建議を、再三再四、大蔵卿に提出していたのである。だが、征韓論事件につぐ佐賀の乱、台湾征討問題、さらに西南戦争の勃発と、相次ぐ政局の動揺のため、それらは顧みられなかった。というよりは、岩倉全権一行の欧米派遣も徒勞に帰し、いらいこの問題は政府部内でタブー視されていたといえるだろう。

そして地租改正の成果にのみ焦点が集められたのだが、松方はこれに挺身しながらも、財政問題は地租改正だけでは解決されないという考えを捨てきれなかった。

この関税権に関し、明治二十年、小野梓は、「条約改正論」のなかで、各国歳入中に占める関税の比率はイギリス二二・一、アメリカ五三・七、ドイツ五五・五%であるのに、わが国はわずか三・一%にすぎないとし、「是を以て我が日本政府の歳入は、常にこれを内国税に取り、不相応に内地の生業に課税せざるを得ず。為に絶大異常の影響を来して之を我が生産の上に及ぼし、大に其の繁殖の途を阻絶し、吾人をして日本を進めて富貴の一國となすの望を絶たしむるに至れり」と論じている。

松方の財政に関する基本的な政策は通貨問題にあった。つまり通貨の安定すなわち正貨の流通をはかることが第一義で、これを欠いては、税制の確立もおぼつかないとみていたのである。その正貨流通をはばむものは、

考案することを第一条件としていた。

政府は、条例で、一〇〇分の三の税率はいずれ一〇〇分の一にすると公約しながら、これを据置いたまま、明治八年三月、内務・大蔵両省の管轄下に地租改正事務局を設け、検地事業を開始した。事務局の総轄の権限は小さい松方に一任された。そして同時に検地作業は翌九年に完了することを布告した。検地は、申告すなわち合意方式はとらずに各府県ごとに、集権的官僚機構を通じて組織的にふりわけ方式がとられた。その実務に当ったのは村内の有力者であった。かれらはその間、自らを有利にすることを画策した。

また、廃藩置県によって、一県に数藩が併合され、あるいは一藩が数県に分割させられたことから、旧慣習が複雑に入りまじり、その収穫高を査定することも容易でなかった。

検地に着手することは豊臣・徳川の威光をもってしても最大の難事業とされたが、このたびもその進行とともに各地に農民一揆が持ち上った。政府はこれを官憲の力によって鎮圧していた。しかし十年一月、ついにその抗議に耐えかね、地租を一〇〇分の二・五に減額することを布告した。

「竹槍で一寸突き出す二分五厘」

これはそのころの社会風刺であった。

こうした地租改正事業の完了をみたのは、明治十四年（一八八一）のことであり、この地租は明治十七年の地租条例まで固定された。

しかしながら一方においてこの地租改正は、農村や農民に与えたその影響は測り知れないものがある。たしかに土地そのものにたいする全国的な平準化は実現されたが、農民にかかる負担はむしろそのきびしさを増した。利潤をえるための諸経費には農民の労費が算入されてはならず、入会地の共同利用が制限されたため、肥料、飼料、薪炭の自給は困難となった。そのため農民生活に商品がくいり、また上層農家への依存度を高める関りあいが大きくなった。

その上、定額、金納となったことは、農民の穀物販売さらに換金化を強制するものとなったために、急速に農民を商品経済に引き込むことになり、農民は市況や景気の影響を直接うけるようになった。そして、小作農や賃労働者へ転落するものを多くし、農民層のはげしい分解が進んでいった。こうして農村は、やがて勃興をみる資本主義経済社会への労働予備軍を提供する温床となった。

## 一一 ねらいは通貨対策

地租改正は、封建的桎梏から解放されるものと大きな期待をかけて新政府の農政を待ち望んだ全国の農民に、たちまち不安と失望と怒りを爆発させることになった。

当時、かさむ一方の財政支出にたいし、これをまかなう財源としては農租以外に見出せなかった政府は、地租改正にあたり、その税収が総額において、幕藩体制下の年貢収入を下まわることのないように

ということを計算して、その金額をその農地の値段とする。小作地では、地主のとる小作料から税金を引いたものを地主のもうけとして、同じような計算をする。

一例をあげると、水田一反の場合、

収穫、一石六斗(一石三斗)、四円八〇銭、

種粃肥糞代、七二銭、収穫の一五%

村費、四〇銭八厘、経費差引後すなわち四円八銭の一〇%

地租、一円二二銭四厘、査定地価の三%

純益、二円四四銭八厘、査定地価の六%

査定地価 四〇円八〇銭

これが地価のきめ方であった。そして、それまで農民にかけられてきた、各藩まちまちの二〇〇〇種におよぶ雑税は廃止された。また、検地にあたり所有者の不明なもの、あるいは農民たちが納税者となることをきらい、従来慣習的にかれらが共有してきた用益地の所有権を放棄した入会地、または個人所有の立証不可能な山林、原野などはすべて官有地とされた。

このように、地価の決定にあたり、資本的利子率をもって算出する考え方が用いられたことは、土地の私有権を認めたこととともに、わが国が資本主義経済社会へ大きく前進した一指標を示すものとして、その歴史的意義を深めるものであった。

松方が助左衛門を正義と改名したのはこの年からであった。

明治六年七月、地租改正条例が公布された。二年前に、松方から大久保大藏卿に進言された改正意見を全面的に容れたものであったが、この条例は租税の大綱にわたるものであった。

これまで、田畑の勝手作りや、田畑の自由な売買を許すとともに、さらに田畑（土地）の所有者に地券を交付してその私有権を認めるなどの画期的な改革が、すでに地租改正に備えて実施されていた。

条例の主な点をあげると、

- 一、課税の対象を、従来のように収穫物ではなく、その収穫をあげる土地とする
- 一、課税の算定は地価の一〇〇分の三とする
- 一、納税者は耕作者でなく土地の所有者とする
- 一、納税は物納を廃し金納とする

などであった。

課税対象を土地とし、その地価に一定の税率を課したことは、租税負担の全国的平準化をめざすと同時に、豊凶による増減を行わないことを付帯条件として、税収の安定をはかるものであった。そして、国家財政に予算制度を導入（明治六年実施）するための基礎固めとした。

なお地価の算定は、自作地では、その農地からとれる農作物の値段から、種子代・肥料代や税金を引いたものを農民のもうけとし、もしそれだけの金を利子として受けとるためには、元金がいくらいるか

地租改正条例の発布のあったのは、七月二十八日である。

この三か月後征韓論争から西郷・板垣らがいつせいに退陣。七年に入り、岩倉右大臣の傷害事件（一月）、江藤の佐賀の反乱（二月）、台湾遠征の閣議決定（二月）など紛争相次ぐ政情に辞意を固めた陸奥は七年一月に退官した。

同日、松方は租税頭に任命された。

## 一〇 資本主義経済社会への道標

はじめて天皇の地方巡幸のことが発表され、その第一回のコースとして、近畿、中国、九州地方に五月から七月にわたり行幸があった。明治五年（一八七二）のことである。

この年の九月には東京横浜間に鉄道が開通した。そして十一月に入ると、大陰太陽暦が廃されて太陽暦が採用され、この年の十二月三日をもって六年一月一日とすることが布告された。またこの月には、国立銀行条例が公布され、つづいて、徴兵令の詔書が発せられた。

古い殻を脱ぎ捨てて西欧の新しい着物に着換えようとする新政府の息づかいが聞こえそうである。

この年の正月、松方には大阪出張の命があり、九月にも京阪近畿諸県ならびに長崎へ出張している。いずれも地租改正に関する実地調査のためであった。

五、地価を決定する

六、地租を決定する

七、土地の所有者に地券を交付する

政府はこの提案を全面的に採用した。ただきわめて画期的な改革となるため、施行は段階的にすすめる方針をとった。

明治四年九月、田畑勝手作を許可

同五年二月、田畑永代売買の禁を解く

同五年七月、全国一般に地券交付

そして、六年七月には、天皇の勅語を添え、「地租改正条例」の發布をみたのである。

これに先立ち、明治三年六月、蘭学者であり、一時兵庫県知事ともなった神田孝平から「田租改正建議」の提案があつて、田租は金納とすべきことが主張されており、五年五月には陸奥宗光からも「田租改正建議」が提出されていた。その翌月、陸奥は租税頭に任命された。

ところが翌六年五月六日、井上大蔵大輔と渋澤大蔵少輔（五年発令）が連袂して辞表呈出するという事件が起つたため、参議の大隈が大蔵省事務総裁に就任した。岩倉全権とともに、条約改正のため欧米各国を歴訪していた大久保大蔵卿が、一行より一足先に帰国したのは二十日後の五月二十六日であつた。そして翌六月十七日に陸奥は大蔵少輔心得の辞令を受けた。

四年から数年後の十、十一年ころになっても、国庫歳入の八〇％強が地租収入であり、他は酒税が七％前後、海關税四％前後、その他一六％前後という財政であった。

その最も期待された年貢も、全国二百數十藩に分封され、四公六民、五公五民といったように徴収基準を異にし、他に二〇〇〇種におよぶ雑税が徴収されていたのである。廃藩置県によって全国が新政府の統轄下に入ったいま、これらをどのように調整し、体系化して、底をつく財政に用立てるかが、政府の緊急の課題であった。

また、すでに幕末ころから商品経済の急速な滲透により租税体系は破綻を示しており、その後の相次ぐ各地の百姓一揆などから税の減収が目立っていた。これらは廃藩置県を機会に改革を急がせた要因であるが、同時に、国民に国家統一の実証を示すことも、この改革にかけられた大きな使命の一つであったろう。

明治四年八月、租税権頭に任命された松方は、ただちに旧税制の調査、整理に着手していた。その結果にもとづき、彼はつぎの諸案を改革の要件とすることを大久保大藏卿に進言した。

- 一、土地の耕作は所有者の自由とする
- 二、土地の売買を自由にする
- 三、穀物の輸出を許可する
- 四、地引絵図を精細に調整する



## 九 地租改正を進言

幕末に攘夷運動があれほど激化した要因としては、自主権を持たぬ関税の取り決めや領事裁判権を認めさせられたこと、さらに外人居留地を設営させられるなど、いわば屈辱的不平等条約を強いられたことが大きい。その後、開港によって商品の生産・流通構造が急変し、また通貨体系が解体するなど、経済環境が攪乱されたことも大いにあずかっている。

その攘夷運動が急速に表面から消えたのは、欧米諸国の持つ軍事力や経済力あるいは社会文化的水準が、わが国に数倍するものであることを知ったからであった。

そして、ふたたび国を閉ざすことは不可能である以上、内に軍事力と経済力とを蓄えることが、維新政府の至上命題となったのである。「富国強兵」「殖産興業」はそのためのスローガンであった。

強く根を張る幕藩体制下の諸制度を一掃し、欧米諸国の力となっている技術・制度を、さらに、それらを生みだした学問・思想を、ともに摂取して国力の充実に役立てねばならなかった。

しかし、いずれにしろ、財源がなければ手も足もでないことである。

政府発足いらい不換紙幣や赤字公債の乱発、あるいは若干の外債などによって急場を凌いできたが、それにしても限度があり、しかもつぎからつぎと津波のように押寄せる出費は賄いきれるものではなかった。これらを賄う租税源としては農民からの年貢以外には見当らなかつた。廃藩置県を断行した明治

松方はそうしたつど、民衆の立場に立つて中央政府に向い、建議書を情力的に提出していた。つぎの通りである。

明治元年、「諸藩札兌換の議」

同二年、「金札通用の公布に関する建議」

同、「租税司、会計司の職掌に関する建議」

同、「版籍奉還に関する建議」

同三年、「府県政治の策問に対する答書」

同、「日田県民疾苦の状況及び租税徴集に関する建議」

彼のひたむきな努力は、ひとり日田県の治政に注がれていたのではなく、県政を通じてつねに新しい国づくりのための国家行政のあり方をもとめつつつけていたのだった。

そうした業績を高く評価し、人材に乏しかった新政府は、明治三年十月、松方を中央政府に召致して民部省出仕を命じ、民部大丞（現在の局長）に抜擢した。

そして、松方が主張してきた税制の統一事業に当らせた。ここに明治の財政改革が開始されたのである。

松方の日田県における治政は、明治三年十月、民部省への転出のため、わずか二年余であつたが、この間、この種の民生にのみ終始してゐたのではなかつた。

さらに重視すべきことは、民心を安んじ民富を増殖するための各種の殖産興業政策が展開されてゐたことである。

この産業政策を実施するにあたり、松方は、金融機関として生産会所を設置し、これに紙幣（不換紙幣）の発行業務と融資業務を担当させ、殖産興業の基幹の役割を演じさせた。

そして庁内に、在地の人材を採用して殖産課を新設し、地域に適した生産の奨励、指導に当らせた。こうして、水利、交通、港湾、植林等の公共事業を推進していった。

一、中断されていた開墾水利事業の再開

一、荒蕪地の開墾による新田開発、養蚕奨励

一、植林事業の振興

一、道路・橋梁の修理による交通網の整備

一、別府の築港

などである。

この間、松方は、私札（藩札）の流通や贖札の横行に悩まされ、また、税の不公平を訴える住民（民衆）の声に、しばしば同情を禁じえなかつた。

軍資金の早期調達と民心の安定、治安の回復が彼に課された当面の課題であつたにしろ、それ以上に、松方自身の判断により、みずから与えた重要な要素は、「天皇親政」の政治の根源にあるものをいちやく民衆に訴へることであつた。そこに立脚して民衆のための政治を貫くことであつた。

「松方」、聖徳實業が一方の専断によつて除去されるものとは松方も考へなかつた。医師や産婆にたいして聖徳實業的行為をきびしく禁じ、孤児、捨て子を捜査し妊婦を調べ、不幸な子らのためには養育館を建てて二三に收容した。明治二年六月のことである。

また、養育費を給する聖親親愛や貧しい妊婦には出産手当を支給するなどの途を講じ、側面からもこれを救済し、聖徳實業の方途を違つていた。

養育館には一時二、三〇〇人の聖児が收容される状況も現出した。松方は、長崎在勤時に、外人の家庭で母乳に代へて母乳で育兒していた婦人を思ひだし、数頭の乳牛と哺乳びんを長崎から取りよせて、聖児らに与へさせた。

こうした資金や諸経費はすべて高格な人々の協力によつて賄われた。また、名もない乳児には、松方は名づけ難となり、怪の字を与へた。

こうした勢力はだいに民衆の共感をえて、やがてこの地方から墮胎の悪習は跡を断つた。中央政府の民衆書はこれを知り、松方にたいし、学校設置ならびに墮胎禁習（たよ）に關する策問を行つたが、明治三年五月、これにたいする松方の答書は、ただちに人口政策の一環として採用された。

府にとっては相応の利息と期限を明示しての借入金である。決して強制しているのではなく、ただ誠心誠意御貴殿らの赤誠心によってこの急場を救って欲しいのである」

募金は順調にすすみ、着任後二、三か月で一〇万両を整えることができた。松方の誠実がかちえたものであった。

松方のこうした誠実な性情は、その施政にあたつて民情にも及んだ。その一例は墮胎を禁じたことである。当時この地方では、一家に二児が授かるとそれ以上は公然と墮胎もしくは封殺することを当然のこととして誰も怪しまなかつた。ただ、こうした風習はこの地方に限らず、江戸時代は全国各地にあつたことだが、政治はこれを放任してきたようだ。

## 八 「天皇親政」の行政

新しい赴任地に立つて時を移さず風習化していた墮胎問題の一端に取り組んだ松方の行政は、われわれが松方正義の人間像を構成する上でいろいろの示唆を与えるものだとおもう。

いうまでもなくこの行為は彼の倫理観を素直に表わしたものであり、同時にそれは、彼が着任して下僚に示した、「仁を以て施政の基本とし、導くに徳化を以てし、すべて事を処するに至誠を以て当るべし」と強調したその政治姿勢の実践であつた。

「朝廷の御用途甚だ困難にして軍用金に御差支の折柄、日田地方に於て正金借入方急速に取計うべし」  
彼は遣々この重大任務の方策を練りながら、心中、借金知事かと苦笑した。

一人の従者さえなくただひとり飄然と着任した新しい支配者に領民（県民）はすっかり警戒心をふきとられた感じであった。松方は、そうした土地の人々にたいし、支配者としてではなく、新しい国づくり、村づくりの第一歩をふみだしたばかりの、天皇親政の政府の一使者として、県民の協力を望むという姿勢をとった。

じじつ、松方の日田県知事の任命には、彼以外の県庁の職員任命は一人もなく、いっさいの裁量、すなわち職員の採用から任免権まで松方に一任されていたのだった。

彼は、役所に土地出身者を採用すると、治安の回復と民心の安定につとめ、役所前にはさっそく上書箱を設けて下情の通達をはかり、一方において県政公明、貸借信用確立、冗費節約の県治方針を布告し、つねに役所の内外の第一線で直接住民との応待に努めた。

この間彼は、赴任の最大かつ火急の課題であった軍用金の調達に着手していた。彼は、巨商たちを招いて、諄々と新政府の財源の乏しい実情を訴え、資金を供出してくれるよう懇請した。彼の誠実な人柄を知った巨商たちは、その申出を諒としその金額を割り振るよう申し入れた。松方は、これにこう答えた。

「これは従来の御用金ではなく、あくまで新政府を信用しての御貴殿らの政府への出資金である。政

後まもなく、中央政府は松方を日田県の知事に任命した。

各地に散在した幕府の直轄地を接収した新政府が、そこに新政府初の行政官を派遣するにあたって、その人選にはもつとも心を砕いたことは当然であつたろう。その一例をあげるとつぎのような任命がなされていた。

東京府知事・大木喬任、京都府知事・長谷信篤、大阪府知事・後藤象二郎、神奈川府知事・寺島宗則、長崎府知事・沢宜嘉、新潟府知事・西園寺公望、兵庫県知事・伊藤博文などである。

こうした人事をみても松方の日田県知事は異数の抜擢であつた。

日田地方は日田盆地と周辺の山地をふくみ、筑後川の上流三隈川に臨む水郷として、また日田杉の産地として聞こえ、長崎との交流も繁く、巨商の多い賑やかな土地柄であつた。一面幕府の直轄地として代官所もあり、九州の政治、経済、文教の一中心地でもあつた。幕末の儒者広瀬淡窓（一七八二—一八五六）の敬天修徳の学風を啓発した咸宜園に学んだ門人は四〇〇〇人を超えたといわれる。

住民も天領を誇り他藩の者への優越意識が強かつた。しかし幕末にはさすがに動搖の色が見え、日田県として新政府の行政施行前後になると、暴動化の風評が流れていた。

初代県知事として任命された松方にたいし、軍兵を従えて赴任するよう忠告する者もあつたほどである。しかし松方は一人の供も伴わず、慶応四年（明治元年）六月、新任地日田に向つて出発した。

彼の懐中には、新政府からの密命が深く藏かくされていた。

六十七歳から政局の第一線を退いた松方は、引き続き元老会議や御前會議に列席し国政の重大決議に参与し、また、明治三十六年から一〇年間日赤社長を勤め、大正六年から十一年まで内大臣に就任している。半世紀にわたったこうした勲功にたいし、明治三十九年には大勲位菊花大授章を、また大正十一年には公爵を贈られた。

しかし八十歳代を迎えると、肺炎や丹毒、心臓衰弱などを患らい幾度か危篤が伝えられ、大正十二年の関東大地震には重傷を受け、ついに大正十三年七月二日、九十一歳で逝去した。従一位を贈られ、国葬の礼を以て青山墓地に葬られた。

彼はある日明治天皇から、子供は何人かと御下間を受けたが、即答できなかつた。調べて御返答申し上げますと引き下つたという。彼は、明治三十六年六十九歳で六女の誕生をみており、実に一三男六女計一九人の子福者であつた。大人物の愉快な一側面というに足りよう。

## 七 金借り知事

九州鎮撫使兼長崎總督に沢宜嘉、井上聞多をその参謀として長崎に派遣し、長崎裁判所（県庁）もいちはやく設けられたが、土地の事情にくらかつた井上の行政は、ことごとくに長崎市民の反発を買つた。そこで沢は、すでに治安の実績をあげていた松方助左衛門を起用し、長崎裁判所の参謀としたが、その



同四年、民部省廃止、大蔵少丞に転任

同七年、租税頭に任ず

同十一年、フランス博覧会副總裁として渡仏

同十三年、内務卿となる(四十六歳)

熟年期 —

明治十四年、参議兼大蔵卿を拜命

同十八年、伊藤博文内閣成立、大蔵大臣に就任、以後、二十一年の黒田清隆内閣、二十二年の山県

有朋内閣に引き続き大蔵大臣をつとめる

同二十四年、總理大臣ならびに大蔵大臣として松方内閣を組閣、二十五年總辭職

同二十八年、伊藤内閣の大蔵大臣に就任

同二十九年、第二次松方内閣成立(蔵相兼任)、三十一年總辭職

同三十一年、總辭職後、山県内閣の大蔵大臣に就任

同三十三年、大蔵大臣を辞任(六十六歳)

幕府所領地を接収した新政府は、ただちにこれを九府二九県に行政区分し、これに少壮有為の下級武士出身の地方官を任命した。

福岡県に接する大分県の、西端に位置する日田地方は、当時、幕府の重要な天領（直轄地）であったが、新政府はこの地方を日田県とし、その知県事（明治二年七月の官制改革で県知事と改称する）に、松方助左衛門を抜擢した。松方にとって、この地方は、父方の系譜松田家にゆかりの地であった。この年（慶応四年）六月、松方は単身そこに赴任した。

一と月前に四男（正雄）が生まれ、松方はすでに四人の父で、三十四歳であった。

ちなみに、明治元年となったこの年に、これまで挙げた人々のなかから、若干の一人一人の年齢を数えてみると、

三井高福は六十歳で筆頭、三野村利左衛門四十七歳、西郷隆盛三十八歳、大久保利通三十八歳、三野彌太郎三十五歳、井上馨三十四歳、木戸孝允三十三歳、大倉喜八郎三十二歳、安田善次郎三十一歳、大隈重信三十一歳、渋澤栄一二十九歳、山縣有朋二十九歳、伊藤博文二十八歳、陸奥宗光二十七歳であった。

さて、松方の日田県知事就任から五〇数年にわたる大きな業績については後述するが、この五十年の半期以後の経歴を簡単に紹介しておこう。

明治三年、民部大丞として中央政府に任官

ことは、その旬日後に来着した九州鎮撫軍によって立証された。

## 六一九人の子福者

壮年期――

薩摩藩の御船奉行添役として、海軍に関する兵学を研究のため長崎に出張していた松方助左衛門は、慶応四年（明治元年）正月を迎え、京阪の地、鳥羽伏見において、すでに大政奉還を上奏した幕府側と朝廷側とが戦闘状態におちいったことを知った長崎住民の動搖に直面し、土佐藩の佐々木三四郎ら長崎駐在の各藩の出先機関の責任者とともに、ひたすらその治安に当たっていた。

そこへ一月末、新政府は九州鎮撫使兼長崎總督として、公卿の沢宜嘉を任じ、鎮撫軍の参謀には長州出身の井上聞多（馨）を任じて長崎に進駐させた。

沢宜嘉は、文久三年（一八六三）、攘夷親征の計画が、八月十八日の会津薩摩兩藩のクーデタによってつぶされ、尊攘急進派の公卿三条実美、東久世通禧ら七人が都落ちをしたが、そのときの一人であった。

二月に入り、長崎裁判所（県庁に当る）が設けられると、長崎ははやくも新政府の統轄下におかれた。

このとき沢は、松方や佐々木に新政府の御用掛を命じ、鎮撫使参謀とし、三月には長崎裁判所参謀としたが、四月には徴士として内国事務判事に任じ、長崎の復興に尽力させることとした。

なかつた。

おりから市中に大火があり（この時土佐の長崎商會も焼失）、市民の不安をいっせうかきたてた。

出入りの商人が松方を宿所に訪ねてきて、今夜にも暴動が持ち上るといって町中大変な騒ぎだと訴へ出た。松方は一笑して、いわく、

「方が一にもそんな事態が起つたら、この助左衛門の擧丸を二つに割ってお前さんにあげよう。だが何も起らなかつたときには、お前さんはわしの好物の上等のうな井を、このわしにくださいよ、どうだ」商人はようやく落ちつきをとりもどして引きあげていった。

十三日に鳥羽伏見の戦況が確報されると、長崎奉行所の河津伊豆守は大量の官金を持ち出し、フランスの軍艦に便乗して脱走を計った。幸いそれが松方や土佐の佐々木三四郎（高行）らに探知され、危うく官金だけは取り押えた。

長崎はこうして無警察状態になつたが、松方や佐々木らは、在留各藩代表者の連署をもつて諸外国領事にたいし、通商貿易はじめ内外諸般の事務はすべて旧来通り行うことを通達、一方市民にたいしては押収官金を困窮者に支給するなど、治安の確保につとめ、非常事態の收拾に万全の措置を講じていた。

このとき各藩の代表には副島種臣、大隈重信らの顔も見えた。

この長崎の治安に関する松方の機敏かつ適切な判断や措置が、新政府への転出に有力な因子となつた

だ。彼は海軍力の重要性を痛感し、これによって身を立てる決心であった。

この年、彼は幾度か藩命により長崎、鹿児島間を往来し、討幕の議にも列席しており、また軍艦、小銃等の購入にも当たっていた。

慶応三年は、六月に薩摩、土佐の盟約が結ばれ、九月には薩長の間にも密約が交わされ、十月四日には山内容堂が徳川慶喜に大政奉還を勧告、同十三日、慶喜は二条城において諸藩の重臣の前に大政奉還のことを明示、翌十四日薩長両藩に討幕の密勅、この同じ日將軍慶喜は大政奉還を上奏、十五日、朝議これを聴許、そして十二月九日には王政復古の大号令が渙発された。

幕府や雄藩の動向を軸に、佐幕派、尊王派の緊迫した対立が極度に高まっているなかで、貿易港長崎における助左衛門（金次郎、のちの正義）は、この年の十一月、独断専行で軍艦を買入れ、藩当局と意見の対立を起したが、かつてないこうした彼の行動からも、いかに彼も時局の推移に緊張していたかが察せられる。

当時、長崎には薩摩藩をはじめ、長州、土佐、安芸、筑後等一六藩の出先機関があり、また欧米各国の領事も駐在していた。

慶応三年も暮れて慶応四年（九月に明治と改元）正月を迎えたとき、鳥羽伏見の情報が数日遅れて長崎に伝わると、幕府側は反幕派の出先機関を襲撃するという噂が長崎市民の間に流れ、その動揺が時を追って大きくなった。仮に各藩合せても出先機関の兵力は、長崎奉行管轄下の兵力の前には物の数では

## 五 奉丸を賭ける

親戚の者の失態を救おうとして、父自らが背負った借財のために一家は破産し、その上、母も父も相次いで病死して金次郎少年はたちまち貧苦の境涯にただひとり残り残された。

十六歳となり藩に出仕するころには、彼はその悲境をひたすら文武の道への精進によってきりひらいていた。

当時、時代の風波を浴びて尊攘思想の洗礼を受けた一部の藩士らには、熱い青年の血をたぎらせて過激な行動に走るものもあつたが、彼はそうした時代の思潮に関心と理解を持ちながらも、あえてそれに雷同せず、藩の官吏としてみじんもうこさべんすることなく藩務に精励刻苦し、藩主の側近として仕えていたわけである。

こうした彼の青年期についてなおふれねばならないことは、彼の藩士としての最後の仕事となり、同時にそれが明治新政府への転出の機縁となつた長崎出張のことである。

それは、慶応二年（一八六六）、彼が三十二歳のときであつた。この年彼は郡奉行から御船奉行添役、ついで軍艦掛となり、十二月末に長崎出張を命ぜられたのであつた。彼はこれまで役職について一度も自ら請願することはなかつたが、この長崎への出張については彼の希望によつたものだといわれる。

翌慶応三年、幕府の旧海軍練習所に入り、海軍に関する兵学を研究、とくに測量術や算数に力を注い

ようとして、前者同様これも未然に押えられたのである。

安政六年（一八五九）、金次郎二十五歳のとき、大番頭座書役を七年間勤続の功勞として、藩主忠義から一三〇兩の苦勞銀を賜った。金次郎は、亡父が残した借財を完済するため、封も切らずにこれを債権者に厚く礼を述べて贈った。父の死後十三年目であった。

その翌年、万延元年、藩主忠義の参勤に隨行して江戸出府を命ぜられた。途中、桜田門外の事變が伝えられ、一行は出府を見合せて鹿児島に引き返した。この年十二月、金次郎は、藩士川上左太夫の長女満佐子（十六歳）と結婚した。

文久二年（一八六二）は、尊攘派が勢いをますなかで、島津久光が幕政改革に乗りだし京都江戸へ上った年だが、京都では寺田屋事件（四月）を起し、江戸からの帰途には生麦事件（八月）が持ち上った。このため久光の供奉を命ぜられた金次郎（一月に三之丞、六月に助左衛門と改名）は、急使として二度も鹿児島へ往復している。

生麦事件では、隊列が乱れ久光の駕籠脇から従者が離れるのをみた助左衛門は、ただ一人君側を離れず警護の任に當った。彼は久光にその沈着な態度を讃えられ、いらい久光の信任を一身に集めた。

に精進した。

夜の灯火も消えた金次郎は、友の家で灯を借りて勉強につとめ、八歳のとき作ってもらった袴を一〇年も着用していたという。

#### 青年期 —

十六歳、御勘定所出物問合方として出仕。いらい慶応三年（三十三歳）まで薩摩藩士として勤める。この間、日置流の弓術を学び、十八歳のとき免許皆伝を受く。示現流の剣道を修業、六十二歳のときは四段に昇格していた。

この示現流は、棒や刀剣にたのみず、常に一身を正しく保ち、人に無礼を加えず加えられず、胆力を磨くことが極意とされ、作法はすべて自ら悟るものとされた。学問もその修業の一つという流儀であった。

また、十五歳で漢籍の素読を受け、十六歳からは、経書、孫子を学んだ。十九歳のとき、金次郎は藩から禁じられている近思録の会読を友人らとひそかに行なっている。この書は尊攘思想を啓発する書であり、かつて、文化五年（一八〇八）にはこの学派の子弟一〇〇名余によって藩政改革が企てられた。「近思録崩れ」事件が持ち上り、また嘉永二年にも「高崎崩れ」事件が起った。後者は、奇彬を廃し久光を藩主にかつこうとする陰謀を察した近思録学派の高崎五郎右衛門らが、陰謀を排し藩政改革を断行し



五、老成期Ⅱ明治三十四年(一九〇一)―大正十三年(一九二四) 六十七歳から九十歳まで

この五期について、われわれの側からとくに「対話」を試みたいのは、松方の場合、壮年期と熟年期の三三年の期間であらう。

しかしその対話に入るに先立って、彼の年譜により、簡単に各期の彼の足跡を追ひ、九〇年の栄光に満ちた全人格の一端を偲ぼう。

#### 幼少期 —

病弱な金次郎少年は、九歳のとき天然痘を患らう。しかしそれが全快すると一変して強健な少年となり、以後病気を忘れた。

だが十歳のとき思いがけぬ不幸が一家を見舞った。それは、親族の一人が藩金を浪費し父正恭に借金を申し込んだ。親族一統の不名誉を案じ、正恭はこれを救ったが、この男はその後たびたび無心をつづけたすえ行方をくりましたのである。莫大な負債をつくりついにこの年、松方家は大きく傾いた。

不幸はこれだけではなかった。母はこれを苦に、翌年、金次郎十一歳のとき病歿、つづいて十三歳のときに父も病死した。松方家はたちまち貧困のどん底におちた。

金次郎は突然襲ったこの災厄と貧窮に齒をくいしばって耐えた。その上近隣の子らは彼を貧家の子とさげすんだ。これには金次郎は強く反抗心をかき立てられた。彼は父母の死を機会にいっそう文武の道

教育熱心な父母は、金次郎にたいしても早くから読書習字を学ばせることを怠らなかつた。しかしその師の家に通うには、昼なお暗い鬱蒼とした木立のなかの墓地を通わねばならなかつた。母は、この幼時のため夜もまだ明けぬうちに起きて師の家まで送り迎えることを日課とした。

また、学習のさい睡魔におそわれるのを防ぐため、踏台の上に坐らせた。小刀やきりで睡魔に向つては父母から授けられた体を傷つける不孝を犯すとの配慮からだつた。

父はこの病弱な子を眼科医にしようと考え近在の医者に頼んだ。これを知つた金次郎は母に懇請してようやくこれを中止することを許された。金次郎のちの松方正義は眼科医とはならずすんだ。

#### 四 忠勤をはげむ

天保六年から大正十三年（一九二四）にいたる松方正義の、九〇年というまさに一世紀近い長い生涯に対応するには、便宜上、つぎのように五期にわけて話をすすめるのがよいとおもふ。

- 一、幼少期Ⅱ天保六年（一八三五）～嘉永二年（一八四九）一歳から十五歳まで
- 二、青年期Ⅱ嘉永三年（一八五〇）～慶応三年（一八六七）十六歳から三十三歳まで
- 三、壮年期Ⅱ明治元年（一八六八）～明治十三年（一八八〇）三十四歳から四十六歳まで
- 四、熟年期Ⅱ明治十四年（一八八一）～明治三十三年（一九〇〇）四十七歳から六十六歳まで

天保六年（一八三五）二月二十五日、鹿兒島城下の下荒田の松方正恭の家では、八番目の出産で大騒ぎであった。この日は雛節句の祭であった。三男四女につぐ出産であったが、四女のうち三人はすでに他界していたので、正恭も産婦の妻袈裟もひたすら女兒の誕生を祈り、たまたま出産の日が雛祭の当日だったので、女兒出産を信じていた。

ところがそれがまた男であると知らされると袈裟は失心してしまった。正恭はその看護に我を忘れ、赤ん坊は部屋の片隅に置きざりにされていた。それと気がついたときは赤ん坊の体は冷えきっていた。

父正恭は松田家の出身。薩摩藩の献金郷士であった。青年のころ奄美大島との貿易で巨利をえたが、その間、西欧諸国はアジア各地に出没し、やがてかれらが日本にも接近する情勢を察知した彼は、これからは子弟を教育し人材をつくるべきだと考えた。

彼は意を決し、郷士の藩祿も返上して、鹿兒島城下に出、郷士松方家を継ぎ、同じく郷士山下角兵衛の長女袈裟を妻に迎えた。

袈裟は温厚で聡明な女であった。庄屋として信望の高かった祖父は、ことのほかこの孫娘を愛し女大学の調育を授けた。一面、彼女は貧しい人々には惜し気もなく金品を恵むなど慈愛も深かった。

さて、こうした父母の期待を尻目に男として出生したこの嬰兒は金次郎と名づけられ、温い加護のもとに育てられたが、どうしたことか体力がひ弱で、ぜんそくを病み、九歳ころまでは一日も投薬を欠かせなかった。性質も温和で臆病なたちだった。

富国強兵を政策の最高目標にかかげた。

そのための殖産興業政策の眼目は、各種の資本制産業の導入移植、育成にあった。それには資本蓄積による民間企業の興隆をみるまで、政府が率先、模範工場や官営事業を經營しなければならなかった。

それにもまして緊要なことは、通貨ならびに金融制度の確立であつたろう。公債の発行や、地租改正あるいは国立銀行制度などは、この緊急課題にこたえようとしたものであつた。

しかしながら、外国貿易により激発された経済の混乱や、幕藩体制の解体からたちまち膨大な失業者群と化した武士階級の、反政府的行動による社会不安は容易に収まらず、新政府の存立をおびやかした。

革命の仕上げ工作期ともいうべき状況下に立つて、施政者や指導者の誰もがその解決の方途を、武断的手段や政治的操作にもとめようとしたり、あるいは立憲政体の実現にかけようと狂奔していた。こうしたいわば政治的解決には目も向けず、その根源的打開策をひたすら産業経済策にもとめ、なかでも通貨金融諸制度の改革を成功に導き、困窮をきわめた財政を軌道に乗せ、やがて諸企業の勃興をもたらした者は、松方正義であつた。

わが国の近代化は、資本主義経済の形成とその発展によつて達成されたが、その基礎工作にまつわる諸設計は、幕末から大正の末年にいたる松方の九〇年の生涯をひもとくことによつて、克明にそれを見ることのできるだろう。

ほどの全国的商品市場の形成が熟していたことを知らされた。

しかしながら、幕末から維新をむかえ、近代化のスタートをきったわが国が、資本主義経済社会の実現をめざし、しかも「富国強兵」の悲願をこめて急速な発展をたどるには、なおさまざまな試練を受けねばならなかった。啓発された民意、蓄積された民富が先行条件だったからである。

なによりもさきに解決しなければならなかったことは、不換紙幣や赤字公債の濫発によって荒廃するにまかされた生産、流通機構を蘇生させることであつた。

松方が登場し、彼によって展開された財政政策はまさしくこれにこたえるものであつた。

時は人を生み、時代は人によって作られるのであろう。

### 三 病弱な子

海外との交渉を断ち、二百数十年のあいだ封建体制のもとで、住民の八〇％を農民とする経済社会をつくり、いわば平穩のうちに自給自足の生活を送つて来た日本の国。それが、一八五三年、強圧的な諸外国の貿易交渉に屈して門戸を開くと、国際事情にくらかつたため、きわめて不平等な条約を結ばされ、国の経済はたちまち攪乱されて、ついに幕藩体制も崩壊した。

幕府に代つた新政府は、この国内の社会混乱をさしずめ経済基盤をかためて、外国の侵略を防ぐため、

なわち一九世紀中期の五〇年間がその対象の時期となっている。

これらの人々との対話から、わが国の近代化を異常なまでに促進させた原動力であると、内外の識者が指摘している二、三の事実を、われわれは読みとることができるとおもふ。

三井高福をのぞけば、渋澤も岩崎も百姓の出であり、陸奥や安田は士族の出とはいいながら、陸奥は幼少のころ父や兄が藩から追放されて一家離散、零落の境遇にあつた。安田は父の代に、生計の一手段として士族の身分を買ったばかり、少年の彼は行商や筆耕によつて家計を手伝っている。

しかしかれらは武士階級同様、儒教の調育を受けていた。かれらのみが例外でなく、幕末から明治初期には男子の四〇―五〇%、女子の一五%が教育を受けており、藩校、寺小屋などの教育施設が全国に二万もあつたという。

こうした素養はやがて洋学への向学心に結びつき、文化的諸制度・技術を移植し、それらを日本の風土に馴化させる上に大きな力となつた。

また土佐藩の事例にみたように、幕府や薩摩等の雄藩も競つて先進国との接触を通じ、船舶、銃器等の輸入に努め、造船、製鉄等洋式工業生産を開始していた。ただこの場合はまだ幕藩体制の存続がその目的であつたが、こうした工業化はおのずから封建社会の枠を突き抜ける性格のものであつた。

さらにまた、三井の三〇〇年にわたる事業の発展の跡をたどるなかで、急速に高まりをみせた貨幣経済の浸透や、農業生産物の商品化、あるいは、主要道路網の整備等とあいまって、封建社会をきり崩す

い当時、しかも総合的諸証券法規も、正規の市場も用意されないうちに、大量の赤字公債の発行や複雑な株式会社制度を導入したことは無謀なことであった。

だが一面、わずかにしろ蓄えられた資本は一握りの商業資本家の懐ろにあり、それは伝承の家法を捨てきれぬ持主のため、新規の事業に投資されることをこぼみつづけていた。そこでこれを新しい生産活動に向けさせるには、政府が強制的にかれらに出資をもとめ、これに人材を配して緊急の事業経営にあたらせるより方法がなかった。

その手段として、合法的かつ軽捷な株式会社制度の導入が採用されたが、商業資本を産業資本に転化させる有力な方法として株式会社制度が用いられたことは注目すべきことであった。いらい近代的ビジネスの象徴として産業経済の発展にこれが大きな役割を演じてきたが、これはまたわが国の近代化過程にみられる大きな特徴のひとつともいわれる。

さて筆者は、こうして開始されたわが国の近代化の歩み、とくにこうした証券政策を出発点としたわが国の経済発展の過程を、そのなかにあつて無益、有害な存在とまで軽視されがちであつた証券市場に足場を据えて、ここから見て目にとまった人々（その小伝）と対話をしているつもりで、内（証券市場）をみ、外（近代化に向つて走りつづけた社会）をみようとしてペンをすすめてきたのである。

そして、これまで浅澤栄一、三井高福、安田善次郎、陸奥宗光、岩崎彌太郎など一二、三の人々との対話を試みた。そこでは、暮末のころ（一八三〇年代）から明治二十年前後（一八八〇年代）まで、す

ねばならない。

さて、資本主義経済社会にとってきわめて重要な役割を演ずる証券政策は、新政府の発足とほとんど同時に、新政府によって採用されていた。

それは、明治二年、通商司のもとに半官半民の通商会社と為替会社がつくられたが、その会社の組織が株式会社とされたこと。ただこれは制度的にはまだまだ不完全なものであった。

つぎは、廃藩置県を行うとき、各藩の債務を肩代りするため新・旧公債を発行し、六年には武士階級の転業資金として秩禄公債を、さらに十年には秩禄支給廃止のための金禄公債を発行。また七年には不換紙幣回収を目的とする金札引換公債といったように、政府は休む間もないように赤字公債の発行を行なっていたことである。

## 一 時は人を生む

明治のはじめ政府が採用した証券政策には、公債発行のほかに六年に開業した国立銀行の設立があげられる。さきの通商会社や為替会社の失敗の前例から、これを株式会社組織とするにあたり、慎重な検討をかさね模範的株式会社制度の導入を期した。それでもなお二、三の欠点がいま指摘されている。

封建社会がまだ根深く温存されており、新しい社会に向って啓発された民意も、蓄積された民富もな



にひきいれることに成功、その後朝廷は反幕派のとりでとなつたのである。

維新後の新政府は、薩長土三藩の出身者によつて構成され、独占的に政權を左右した。これにたいし、武士の特權や藩祿をうばわれた各藩の旧武士階級とくに下層武士たちや、地租改正あるいははげしいインフレーションにあえぐ農民らは、あるいは自由民権運動に、あるいは農民一揆に参加して、各地に反政府活動を展開した。

こうした情勢をみた新政府は、廃藩置県後の明治五年から十八年まで、実に十四年間にわたり前後六回、天皇に全国的な地方巡幸を願ひ、国民の信望を集約しようとしてつとめていた。

- 一、近畿、中国、九州（五年五月～七月）
- 二、東北（九年六月～七月）
- 三、北陸、東海道（十一年八月～十一月）
- 四、中央道（十三年六月～七月）
- 五、東北、北海道（十四年七月～十月）
- 六、山陽道（十八年七月～八月）

天皇の、この全国的な地方巡幸の完了と、たまたま軌を一にして、自由民権運動もしずまり、インフレーションもすでおさまつて通貨は安定し、生産の向上、諸企業の勃興などの動きがその緒につこうとする気配が生まれるのである。こうした動きについては、さらにくわしく松方財政の展開のなかでふれ

ではなかった。政治、経済、社会、文化のすべてにわたる、いわば民族の生存をかけた変革を実現しようとするものであった。

政治経済の諸制度、産業文化の技術・設備から社会の風習や食生活にいたるまで、「文明開化」を合言葉に、西風の文化形産を一挙にこの国土に移植しようといういきおいがあった。

それと、新政府の産出も多分にあつたが、林檎の侵食といふ危機意識の上で組立てられた革命であつた。そして、その危機意識のちのちまで尾をひいた。いまから見ると、明治初期のこの「文明開化」のまねまね、危機意識から生発した敵味方を教く怪毒的戦術であつたかと思われるほどだ。

そして、このような革命によつて政府当事者の意図したものとは、当時すでに欧米先進国がたどつていたきわめて侵略的性格の強い資本主義経済社会の現出を指向するものであつた。それは、一貫してすすめられた「富国強兵」政策が示している。

しかしながら、幕府にかつた新政府には国民から崇敬される天皇を後継とするほかは、財政的支柱も国民の支持もなかつた。

幕府が新興勢力、幾百年のあいだ民衆から遠ざけられてきた天皇が、幕末のころ、にわかには御光を浴びたのは、開国からの懸然とした政治危機に直面した幕府が、開国に關し天皇の承認をもつたことと、たことから生じたものであつた。

だが、これに關しては朝廷と幕府の間こそ、こが生じ、その間隙をついた反幕派は、朝廷を己が味方側

### 第三章 時は人を生む

——松方正義・財政金融の確立に成功——

#### 一 天皇の地方巡幸

わが国が近代化をすすめてからすでに一世紀がすぎた。そして、こんにちでは、わが国より一世紀もはやくからその近代化にふみだしていた欧米先進国に、経済的發展の点では肩をならべるまでに成長した。

わが国の近代化はまず幕藩体制をたおすことからはじめられた。そのきつかけとなったのは、ペリーの来航から幕府が開国にふみきった一八五三年（嘉永六年）の幕閣の決断であった。

いらい、これをめぐり、国内の政治、経済、社会の動揺がはげしく、ついに幕閣は大政奉還を決意（一八六七年＝慶応三年）した。これにかわって政局を担当した新政府は、それから四年後、鹿藩置県を断行し、三〇〇年の幕藩体制の歴史に終止符を打った。

しかしこの一九世紀のなかごろに起ったわが国の革命は、たんに政權の交替によって完了をみるもの

両社はついに合併されて資本金一〇〇万円の日本郵船の誕生となり、闘いは終った。

だが、岩崎彌太郎はその結末をみなかった。最後まで日本の将来を担う海運界の恒久平和実現を祈願しながら、政府にたいし、抜本的方策の樹立を要請する建白書を草し、十八年二月七日、満五十歳一か月の生涯を閉じたのである。

明治十三年、東京風帆船会社の発足によってその一弾が投ぜられた。それは三井物産の益田孝や洪澤栄一らの主導により、地方の荷主、問屋、船舶業者らを糾合して、三菱の独占を切り崩そうとするねらいを秘めたものだった。

相手は天下の金融を掌握する三井であり、三菱にとってもこの挑戦を黙視できなかつた。芽のうちに摘まねばならない。彌太郎は地方の間屋、船業者らの切り崩しをはかり、洪澤に的を絞ってその出鼻を挫く作戦を展開した。

その戦略の一つとして東京株式取引所の株式を密かに買い集めた。洪澤の従兄弟の洪澤喜作が当時取引所の頭取であった。そのころ、金銀貨取引が行なわれていたがそれが失敗し、取引所の株主の異動も多かつた。洪澤にたいする悪宣伝とともに、その虚をつく作戦であつた。

栄一は臨時株主總會を開いて喜作に辞任することを納得させ、三菱の攻略に対抗した。

日ごろ彌太郎は洪澤の合本思想にたいし、経営の独裁制を主張して譲らなかつた。東株買占めに見せた両者の闘いぶりにも、こうした二人の対立を象徴するものが窺えるのである。しかし東京風帆船の三菱撃退は斥けられた。

ところが翌十四年、北海道開拓使官有物払下げ事件に端を発した大隈失脚の政変は、一挙に三菱蒸気船会社を泥沼の政争の渦にまきこんだ。そして三菱撃破をもくろむ半官半民の共同運輸会社（東京風帆船ほか二社合併）が十五年に設立され、これと三菱との数年にわたる血みどろの激闘をへて、十八年九月、

出する端緒となった。

二、倉庫業の独立。

三、海損保険の必要を提唱したが却下されたので、船荷証券を発行す。明治十二年、東京海上保険会社設立には大株主として積極的に参加す。

四、品川築港に関する建議。

五、三菱製鉄所の設立(明治八年)、後年三菱重工業の傘下に入るが、三菱造船工業の濫觴としての意義をもつもの。

明治十年には、西南戦争にたいする功績で、民間最高の勲四等の叙勲があった。彌太郎はこれにこたえ、さきに政府から下付された汽船三〇隻にたいし、一二〇万円を五〇年賦で上納することを上申した。

ただこの戦争中、政府転覆を企画した林有造から船の提供を迫られたが、持論とする政治不介入を楯に拒絶した。しかし、「船は貸すことは出来ないが腕力で奪いとるなら致し方ない」と、暗に諒解を与えたという。幸い船は奪われなかったが、林が獄中の人となると、彌太郎はその間差入れを怠らなかつた。

彌太郎の自戒にもかかわらず、日本の四海を睥睨する一大海運会社に急速な発展成長をみた三菱汽船会社は、その営業活動において慢心の風潮の兆しが一部に発生しつつあったことを未然に防ぐことが出来なかつた。同時に独占にたいする批判も高まったのである。

約書であつた。その要旨は、

- 一、業務の運用は政府用務を最優先とする
- 二、会社の会計を検査し監督する
- 三、会社は海運以外の業務を行なわない
- 四、船員養成のため商船学校を設立する

といったものであり、その助成金として、年間二五万円を給付することも加えられていた。そして、一年間を試験期間として、その結果を考査し、以後一四年間、この命令書は政府の都合により変更されることなく、効力を保持するものであることが明示されていた。

この命令書の交付よりも三月ほど前に、日本国郵便蒸汽船会社は解散していたが、その船舶一八隻や、海運施設、倉庫、社員等は、このときから三菱に引継がれることになった。社員のなかには、後に川崎造船所を建設した川崎正藏も交っていた。

政府の絶大な信頼と支持をえて、日本の海運業を双肩に担った彌太郎は、その勢いをかけて外国船の日本近海における跳梁を撃退することにも成功した。

ついで、海運業に関連した多くの障害や弊風の改善、打破に着手していた。主なものを列挙するとつぎの通り、

- 一、荷為替金融を開始(明治九年)し、三菱為替店を設立(明治十三年)。これは後に銀行金融業へ進

は、遠征中に内国航路を中心に席卷されるという杞憂があつたからでもあつた。

台湾征討は幸いその目的を達成し、清国から五〇万円の賠償金と琉球のわが国への帰属を承認させて終結した。同時に大久保と大隈の政治的地位を確立した。三菱蒸気船会社（七年七月ころからこのような社名が文書に誌されている）は、莫大な利益と、戦中戦後を通じ十三隻の船舶を委託されそれを自由に使用する権限を確保した。それにもまして三菱会社のえた大きな収穫は、政府の中枢に三菱にたいする大きな信頼を植えたことと、征途により海運技術の進歩が齎らされたことである。

政府もこの事件を契機として海運政策に根本的な再検討が迫られた。明治八年五月、大久保は、駒込頭前島密や大隈らと協議の上、海運三策を政府に提示した。これは海運事業を、民間に一任する案、政府の保護管轄の下に民間会社を育成する案、官営とする案の三案をあげ、その何れを採るかを諮つたものであつた。

大久保らの計画通り第二案の保護育成案が採決され、大久保の推挙によって三菱蒸気船会社がその対象に選ばれ、明治八年九月、三菱会社にたいする第一命令書が交付された。

## 一 圖 關いは終つた

政府から三菱蒸気船会社に示された第一命令書は、政府と三菱会社に交わされる海運事業に關した契



田久則が、政府所有の數隻の汽船をもつて回漕取扱所を設けたのが初まりで、廃藩置県と同時にこれが半官半民の郵便蒸汽船会社として、政府の厚い保護を受け、内国航路に君臨する最大の船会社となった。

激烈な旅客や貨物の争奪戦が展開された。彌太郎は荷積問屋や各地の荷主の不平不満に応えることに懸命の努力を払い、船員、従業員にはきびしく規則を設けて荷主の信頼を獲得するよう奮励した。

一方、郵便蒸汽船側には幾つかの大きな欠陥があった。まず天下り人事で官僚的であったこと、船舶の多くが各藩から没収した旧式艦船で老朽化していたこと、また特權的に扱ってきた貢米輸送が、明治六年の地租改正で金納が認められたため激減したこと、さらに七年末に小野組が倒産したことから、会社の有力な出資先を失ったばかりでなく、小野組から受けていた四〇万円の融資の返還を政府から請求されるなど、内部的に窮地に立たされていたことなどであった。

明治七年二月、琉球島民の殺害から台湾征討の議が政府部門に起つた。半年前征韓論で大争議をみたばかりなのに、大久保や大隈は立場を約変して遠征を強引に決議した。しかしいざ出陣となつて、あてにした外国船による軍事輸送がアメリカ、イギリスの局外中立宣言により頓挫する破目に追い込まれた。だが先陣はすでに出港していた。

大久保はやむなく日本国郵便蒸汽船会社の動員を要請したが、同社の首脳はきわめて消極的であった。そこで大隈は岩崎の三菱商会を想起し、彌太郎を直接招いて打診した。これにたいし彌太郎は、国家有事にあたり私利を顧みず万難を排して引き受けることを即座に答えた。郵便蒸汽船会社首脳陣の躊躇

明治十年前後は鉄道は皆無にひとしい状態で、輸送はもっぱら海運に委ねられていたが、他面、みるべき産業もなく、したがって物産も人間の移動も少なかった。海運業に托されるものは米穀、木材はじめ農産工芸品等が主であった。しかしこれらの荷も、各地に荷積問屋があつて荷主の出荷はこれら問屋が一手に取り扱っていた。

大阪や東京には、九種の商品を扱う九店問屋、十三種の商品を扱う十三店問屋という大手の荷積問屋があつた。維新後は特権的な問屋制度は禁止されたが、組織をかえて、かれらは依然として独占的に振舞い、旧幕時代からの牢固とした慣習を維持し、倉庫保管、陸上運搬、海難補償等の負担は一方的に船会社に押しつけていた。

こうした事情から、各地の荷積問屋を味方とすることと運賃の引き下げに成功することが同業者との勝敗を決する鍵であつた。

商会の発足時は、藩士救済事業の意図もあり、藩士相互の組合的な性格もあり、帆船の購入や営業面でも何かと援護があつた。また当初の営業は商会の買付物資をさばくことに主力がおかれた。しかしそこにも限度があり、海運業として成長するには遅かれ早かれ同業者との競争は避けられなかつた。

その大敵の一番手は日本国郵便蒸汽船会社であつた。この会社は、三井の手代で通商司に出仕した吹

彌太郎もこの間、長崎いらいの体験から自分の特質を自覚し、吉田東洋らの思想を想い、時勢の進展を考え、敢然として実業に就くことに踏みきった。

新発足の三川商会にとつても彌太郎の去就は重大な関心事であった。彌太郎の対外的信望が商会の土台であった。彌太郎が戻ると配下は旦那と呼んでたちまち主従関係が作られていった。

明治六年三月、彌太郎は社名を、三菱商会と改めた。これは世間の人々から親まれてきた旧商会時代から掲げている船旗の旗印の三ツ菱をそのまま社名としたものだった。

これについて一説がある。旧商会の船旗を作るにあたり、彌太郎が、岩崎家の家紋三階菱を分解し、藩主山内家の三つ柏文に擬したもので、この船旗を用いるとき、板垣と相談の上決定したものだという。

三菱商会は、明治七年四月、本拠を東京に移し、日本橋南茅場町十八番地（現在中央区日本橋茅場町一丁目）に居を構えた。

土佐藩という強大な後楯を失った商会が、刀を捨てた男どもによつて、大海に乗り出していったのである。前途は多難であった。しかも先人にたいしまことに勝手、苛酷な話だが、先まわりして彼の天寿から数えると、このとき彌太郎に残されている歳月は、あとわずか一〇年しかなかったのである。

推測を述べている。

定期航路は採算が採れないこと。払い下げ価格の四万円は高額過ぎるので、暗に減額を期待したこと。さらに彼がかねて期待していた樟脳事業の許可を、四万円の負担引受けの条件としようとしていたことなどをあげている。

伺書は却下された。しかし、商会からその払い下げの請願があつた大阪藩邸蔵屋敷の件は認められ、藩内の樟樹伐採の独占権も与えられた。藩邸は当然政府の収納物件だったが、旧藩御用商人らの藩債にたいする担保物件となつていたからであつた。

けつきよく、土佐藩の莫大な外債の一部四万円を商会が背負いこむことになつたが、比較的有利な条件で九十九商会の払い下げが認められたのは、藩籍を失つた藩士らの生計の道を講じようとした、後藤、板垣、林の配慮によるものであつた。

商会は当時、川田小一郎、中川亀之助（森田普三）、石川七財らが主幹となつていたが、払い下げが決定して藩と完全に絶縁したのを機会に、明治五年一月、社名をこの三名の姓にあやかり、三川商会と改め、藩士多数の組合的な性格の商会が発足した。

ところで彌太郎自身は裸一貫の身の振り方について、一時商会から離れて考えていた。官につくか、商会に戻るか、それとも……。後藤や板垣や林らの意見も聞いた。林は、即座に実業をすすめ、それには豊太閤の雄略をもつて当り実業界の豪傑となれと激励した。後藤もこれに賛成した。

## 一二 旗印を社名に

鹿藩置県の詔勅は、彌太郎から、土佐藩の第三等官、少参事、二等士族上席という官位と、大阪藩邸ならびに九十九商会を采配する職権を一瞬に奪い、岩崎彌太郎を素裸の人間にして路上に放り出した。彼は三十八歳であつた。

藩は解体され、藩の資産、事業はすべて中央政府に移管されることになった。このとき土佐藩の鹿藩処理のため、中央政府から派遣された者は、土佐藩家老岩村英俊の次男、林有造であつた。

彼は、幕末に脱藩し板垣らと国事に奔走していたが、戊辰戦争には板垣のもとで参戦、その後、朝命を奉じてイギリスにわたり、帰国後、土佐藩の権大参事となつた。

林の処理に先立ち、彌太郎は私商社九十九商会の事業やそれに必要な資産、施設の払い下げを、後藤や板垣に頼みその諒解をえた。それは、藩邸や商会で彼の下に働いた藩士達のためであつた。

林の処理は私情を捨てて機敏にすめられた。商会にたいしても公私を明らかにし、貸与物件はすべて返還を要求した。蒸気船二隻の払い下げが商会から請願されると、彼は、土佐浦戸と神戸間に定期航路を就航させることを条件として、四万円の代価で払い下げること認めた。

これにたいして彌太郎は、二隻の汽船の返還について何書を出している。主業を海運業とする商会が汽船を返すということは納得しかねることである。これについて「岩崎彌太郎伝」は、つぎのような

一方、新政府は発足とともに商法司（後に通商司）を設置して、財政の運用を計り同時に民間の工業を振興させるため、各藩の商会所や蔵屋敷による商法を禁止していた。

こうした事情から、大阪商会の活動は内外両面から大きく制約されていた。谷干城はまもなく役職から排され官等は全員旧に復したが、新政府の政策は排撃できない。大阪商会は明治三年九月限りで藩の管轄から分離され、十月からは私商社に改組されて、九十九商会として再発足させられた。そしてこの時、九十九商会は藩船二艘を譲り受け、東京飛脚船、つまり汽船回漕業を開始したのだった。

その航路は東京・大阪間、神戸・高知間であった。その事業所として、同年十一月に日本橋茅場町に東京店をおき、神戸、高知にも事務所を設けた。そしてこの商会の事業として、外国商館との取引や他藩との交易、あるいは紀州炭坑の租借経営にも当った。

この商社は表向き民間経営の形をとったが、これは政府の禁止令や藩内保守派にたいする便宜的措置であり、内実は一朝有事に備え、土佐の海軍力としての含みを持たされたもので、後藤、板垣らの指揮下にあった。

彌太郎に前記の昇格の発令があったのは、この商社の改組の直前であった。彼はこれで大阪藩邸の最上席者となり、藩邸と九十九商会にわたるいっさいの采配が彼に委ねられた。

商会（外人相手の貿易）もその指揮下にあった。

ついでだが、大阪開港当時、河口運上所の税関事務は五代友厚や陸奥陽之助（宗光）が扱っていた。海援隊は長崎商会の閉鎖と同時に解散させられたのである。また、明治二年通商司が設置されると、大阪には井上馨と山口尚芳が派遣されてきた。

大阪で再度商会の任務についた彌太郎は、仕事に精が出ず、長崎残留中に芽生えた「一世をなす工夫」の実現に心を勞し、後藤にしばしば希望を訴えているが許されない。「彼を思いこれを案じ慨然として覺えず泣下す」とか、「千緒万總、心を勞し焦慮久うす」とか、当時の彼の日誌は語るのである。

しかし彼は、もはや野望は達せられないと知ると、商会への彼の忠勤ぶりはふたたび火を噴いたように活発となり、その活躍は一年数か月後の明治三年十月に、第三等官少参事、二等士族上席へまたまた異数の抜擢を受けたことでも知られる。第一等官や二等官は藩主山内家の一統か家老格で占められるものであり、また彌太郎が大阪商会に就任時は、まだ第六等官三等士族下席であったから、二年足らずの期間に三階級昇格したわけである。

新政府発足後、明治四年七月に廃藩置県となるまでは藩政がそのまま敷かれているが、土佐藩でも幕末いろいろの莫大な出費のため財政が極度に困窮していた。藩財政をあくかつた谷干城は、明治三年八月、板垣、後藤以下藩士族全員の二階級降等を断行したり、外国人との金銭取引を禁じたり、あるいは物産取引はいっさい商人に移譲するといった、思いきった緊縮政策をとった。

## 「一世をなす工夫」

慶応四年（明治元）四月、土佐藩の開成館長崎出張所（長崎商会）は閉鎖となり、貿易の場は大阪、兵庫に移ったが、岩崎彌太郎は残務整理のためそのまま長崎に在勤させられた。

このころ、山内容堂は新政府の内国事務総裁に、後藤象二郎、福岡孝弟は新政府の参与に、また板垣退助は戊辰戦争らしい、征討軍参謀兼藩兵総督を命ぜられ、四国、関東、東北へと軍を進めており、その配下には、片岡健吉、谷干城、彌太郎の従兄弟の岩崎秋冥（馬之助）らを含め、二七〇〇余名の土佐の藩兵が従軍した。

彌太郎の胸中にもさすがに新しい世界の曙光が見え、いまは外交舞台を京阪の地に奪われ消沈する南海の地に、ただひとり踏みとどまっている己が境涯を慨嘆したが、彼は後藤に書を送り、その胸中をつぎのように訴えている。

「いづれ遠からざるうちに脱兎の如く樊籠（鳥かご）を出て、我一世をなす工夫をこらしている」  
その節はよろしく頼むというのである。

残務整理が意外に手間どり、彼が長崎を出発して大阪に着いたのは、翌明治二年一月中旬である。二月に開成館大阪出張所（大阪商会）の事務を彌太郎が引継ぐことになった。当時新政府の参与となった後藤は大阪府知事に任命されていたので、土佐藩の蔵屋敷（大阪商人相手の土佐物産の卸売）も、大阪



崎着任の翌日、彼は思いもよらず新留守居役に昇格した辞令を、佐々木から受けた。これは上士末席の身分だとはいえ、隠忍の下士階級から脱し、ついに上士の階級に上りえたことは間違いない。

その年の九月に明治と改元された慶応四年の正月二日、鳥羽伏見に戦端が開かれた。その風評程度の情報が六日後に長崎にも伝わり、さらに五日後の正月十三日、徳川追討の朝命が下ったとの確報が届いた。

佐々木三四郎は、これを受けると、生前の坂本との密約もあったので、戦線援護のため藩船を上方に送ろうとしたが、商会の営業が優先すると主張する彌太郎はこれを拒んだ。この対立から、ついに彌太郎は辞職届を佐々木に出し、長崎を去った。二月二日のことであった。しかし、大阪に出て後藤に面談した彼は、すぐ長崎に戻った。長崎に再度帰任した彌太郎は商会の頭取の格は保ったが、いったん辞任しているのも、主任は同格の他の者に譲らざるをえなかった。

新政府は、兵庫、大阪を開港した。政治、外交、貿易の舞台は、そのため長崎や神奈川からおのずとこの新しい開港の地に移った。各藩はこぞって長崎から貿易の出先機関をこの地に移した。土佐藩も四月に入って、長崎商会の閉鎖にふみきり、前年から大阪兵庫に開設していた開成館出張所に、商業貿易の主力を移すことになった。

藩庁への抗議を叫ぶほどであった。こうしたことから、海援隊と長崎商会の間は、その後に感情的な対立を残した。

そこへまた、慶応三年九月、外人傷害事件が起つた。長崎商会の者が外人にからまれている遊女を救おうとして抜刀に及んだのである。佐々木の裁量で堂々と裁きを受け大事に至らなかつたが、主任の彌太郎は長崎奉行から掃国を命じられた。

後任人事が決定されず彌太郎の掃国が手間取つたが、本庁の指図で佐々木に後事が一任され、彌太郎は十月なかば長崎を発ち、京都滞在中の後藤を訪ねた。後藤は、かれらの画策した大政奉還が、慶喜の果斷な裁量によつて、一〇日ほど前に実現され、朝廷もこれを聴許したばかりであつたから、新しい局面を前に、昂然たる気分にはたつてゐるときであつた。

彌太郎は四日ばかりで京都を発ち大阪に向つた。彼は二〇日間ほど大阪で休養した。この間、高知に帰つた後藤は、土佐藩最高の執政となつてふたたび大阪藩邸に戻つた。その二、三日前、十一月十五日、坂本龍馬と中岡慎太郎が襲撃を受けて落命した。

この龍馬暗殺事件にもみられるように、大政奉還から十二月九日の王政復古の大号令が下されるまでの五〇余日は、朝暮両派による激烈な暗闘が、京阪の地でくりひろげられていたのである。

こうした情勢から、土佐藩も従来以上に長崎商会の活躍に期待がかけられ、後藤の掃国中に彌太郎の復掃が決定されたようである。後藤の掃阪と入れ替りに、その命を受けた彌太郎は長崎に帰つた。そして長

イギリス水兵殺害事件を究明するために、イギリス公使パークスが軍艦で土佐に渡り、後藤と会見する事態にまで立ち至ったことは、土佐藩にとっては極めて重大な事であった。藩内の保守派の重役達は、諸国の浪人まで加わっている坂本の海援隊も、後藤の大風呂敷で外国借財を増やす商会も、この際よろしく解散ないし縮小すべしといきまいた。

そのころ、容堂や後藤、福岡、坂本らは、国内の破滅的政局を円滑に打開するため、將軍慶喜に大政奉還の建白を上奏しようという運動をすすめている矢先であった。そうしたとき外国とくに勤王派の肩を持つイギリス公使と事を構えることはまことに好ましくないことであった。

さいわい後藤はパークスのほこさを、彼一流の弁舌でかわし、けっきょく、土佐藩もこの事件の解決のため、とくに長崎へ役人を派して探索に協力するということで合意に達した。いらいパークスと後藤とは、永遠の親交を誓うほどの間柄となった。

この会談の結果、大目付の佐々木三四郎（高行）が長崎に出張することになり、坂本も加えてその解決策を協議した。そしてついに、長崎奉行も、土佐藩はこの事件には関わりがないと断定し、ただ、事件の審議中、命を犯して無届出港した帆船の責を問ひ、関係者の謝罪をもとめた。

彌太郎はこれに服したが、海援隊関係者はこれに応ぜず、坂本もこの裁決には服し難いとして、土佐

事件直後、たまたま長崎に来航したイギリス公使パークスは、直接犯人の探索に当った。彼は、その現場で土佐藩の故郷のある提灯を目撃したという情報や、現場近くの飲み屋で海援隊員が酒を飲んでい たということ、さらに、事件後碇泊中の海援隊の帆船が出港し、続いて土佐の砲艦がこれを追うように港を離れたが、その帆船は翌日ふたたび帰港した。といった取沙汰が事件と結びつけて街に噂されていることから、土佐藩に強い嫌疑をかけた。

パークスは長崎奉行に嚴重な抗議を行うとともに、土佐藩の代表者との会談を申し込んだ。彌太郎がその申し込みに応ずることになった。彼は不確実な情報によって追及するパークスに激しく反撥し、一歩も譲らなかった。

長崎奉行は、帆船の出航を差し止め、彌太郎を介して隊員には禁足を命じた。ところが隊員はその帆船でその夜出港してしまい、無実を主張する土佐藩をいよいよ窮地に追い込み、海援隊関係者と彌太郎は、無届出航の責をきびしく糾弾された。

事件発生は慶応三年七月はじめのことだったが、犯人は容易に上らなかつた。パークスは直接幕府に抗議し、幕府はこれに応じ直ちに土佐にたいし早急に事件の処理方を通告した。それにもあきたらなかつたパークスは、自ら土佐に乗り込んで後藤と会見した。事件発生から一か月後のことである。

ただ安政条約は外国人日本人とも原則的に個人の自由な貿易を認めたが、実際は長崎奉行所の監視が厳しく、とくに軍需物資の購入については、「日本政府以外へ売ることは禁ずる」との条文があった。開港後幕府は奉行所の許可があれば諸藩も取引をすることを認め、ただし、その場合、外商とあらかじめ値段、支払条件を取決めの上、長崎奉行所に頼み出て許可をうることとしていた。

奉行所は、許可したものについては、その物品を外国商から買上げ、代金引換で買主に交付し、これにたいする税金を徴収した。しかし支払いが延びたり、為替相場の変動があったりして契約通りにいかぬ場合になると、奉行所や外国領事館が介入するため、しばしば外交問題が起った。

このように長崎貿易は複雑な事情がからみあつていたから、土佐藩の長崎商会の仕事は決して容易なものではなかつた。その上、彌太郎は万事が通訳つきの交渉であり、しかも土佐本庁からの資金も取引物資も杜絶えがちであつたにもかかわらず、藩はつぎつぎと軍需品の入手をきびしく請求してくるのだから、それを捌くのは並大抵の才覚ではできなかつたはずだ。

しかしこうした困難を乗り越えて、彌太郎は、いつか「高知藩を相手にするに非ず、岩崎にたいする信用により取引する」という一項が契約文に認められているほどになり、他藩の取引にも斡旋を依頼される立場にまで成長していた。

この間、長崎商会主任の彌太郎が国際事件に関わつたことは、一、二度にとどまらない。その一つにイギリス水兵殺害事件があつた。

## 九 イギリス水兵殺害事件

彌太郎の長崎在勤は、安政六年（一八五九）彼が二十六歳のときにつぐ二度目である。この度の慶応三年（一八六七）には彼も三十四歳となっていたが、長崎はいちだんと国際色を深めていた。

イギリス、アメリカ、フランス、オランダ等の外国船の来舶もいっそう繁くなり、居留地には、教会、領事館、外国商社、外商住宅、銀行、ホテル、病院、ビリヤード、喫茶店、理髪店、船舶修理工場、屠殺場等の設営がほとんど完成していた。

だが、当時の外商らは総じて、列国の東洋植民地政策に乗じた一攫千金の冒険商人であり、かれらが日本にもとめた最初の魅力は、日本との金銀比重の差による金買いであったといわれる。そして同時に、維新の革命に遭遇し武器の獲得に狂奔する朝暮各藩に渡りをつけ、軍需品を法外な値で売りつけた投機家であり、死の商人であったとも評される。

一方、当時の長崎の貿易額は全国の二五%にも達したが、その特殊性は、他の開港地と異り、西南諸藩とくに薩長土肥では、武器獲得市場の親を呈していたことであろう。そしてこれらの大藩はいずれも一、二艦から五、六艦の大船を持ち、江戸、大阪、横浜の間を往復しては各地で情報を入手し、欧米各国から来航する船便により欧米各国の事情を調べ世界の大勢把握に努めていたのである。そのため、各藩はこの地に出先機関を設けて役人を派遣し、あるいは、土地の商人を御用達に当てていた。

そして、藩長に一步先んじられてきた時局打開策にイニシアチブをとり、来たるべき新しい時代に藩の有利な転進をはかろうとするのが彼の魂胆であった。

さて、新設の開成館貨殖局の下役となった岩崎彌太郎は、一か月許りでこの任を投げ出し、さっさと井ノ口村に舞い戻って、百姓仕事や山仕事に精を出しはじめた。なぜそうしたのか、明らかでない。

ところがそれから一年ほどたった慶応三年三月、彼は、十七歳となった弟の彌之助を、藩校致道館に入学させるため高知に出た。そのとき、彼は吉田東洋の同門で、いまは時めく仕置役の福岡藤次(孝弟)に挨拶のため立ち寄り、したたか酩酊し溝に落ちて刀の鞘を割るほどの醜態を演じた。だが彌太郎はその席で福岡からだしぬけに、長崎まで同道するよう懇望され、否応なく、その翌朝、彌太郎は福岡とともに長崎へ出発した。

福岡は家老に繋る門閥で吉田門下の秀才であった。彼の長崎行は、坂本と中岡慎太郎の脱藩赦免状を携え、海援隊や陸援隊の結成に備え出向いたものであった。

慶応三年六月、後藤はいよいよ大政奉還運動に着手するため、坂本とともに上方に向って長崎港を発った。坂本龍馬の「船中八策」はこのときの船旅で作られたものであった。

後藤はこの出発に先立ち、長崎商会(開成館出張所)の後事を岩崎に托し、以後主任者として采配することを命じた。一下僚から赴任三か月で、彌太郎は異数の抜擢をみるようになったわけである。

乗り切るため、軍事力の増強をはかってその急場をしのがき、暗雲の前途に備えるよりほかに手立てはなかつた。

土佐藩では、慶応二年二月、開成館が設置され、高知城下に、物々の目を見張る宏大な建造物が建てられたが、あまりに豪華なその規模に、「阿呆館」とののしる人もあった。しかしこの開成館は、藩の軍備、財政を取り仕切ることから商業、後には藩内物産の統制、また紙幣の発行などの機能、権限を与えられ、財政運営の中核をなす強大な機関となった。前年十月にこの機関の設置が決定されたが、その奉行には、仕置役に昇進し、軍艦奉行を兼任していた後藤象二郎が任命された。

そして、前年八月に三郡奉行の下役に召出された彌太郎は、この開成館の開館直後、開成館貨殖局の下役となった。

開成館は土佐藩の富国強兵策を担う機関として、藩営で殖産興業を行うことを目的とした。

しかし後藤は、藩内物資の掌握運営のみでは満足せず、すすんで外国貿易により軍備の拡充を図ろうとし、長崎に開成館出張所を開設することにし、その年の七月、長崎に出た。

後藤にはさらに重要な課題があった。それは、藩外にあって、海援隊の結成や薩長連合の仲介役など、絶えず無尽の活躍をみせていた坂本龍馬と提携し、まず彼の幸いる海援隊を土佐の海軍勢力に編入する、また、もはやこの難局は公武合体などの姑息な手段では打開できぬと考え、大政奉還の建白運動を練ること、そのための坂本との会見の地を長崎にもとめたのである。



## 八 異教の拔擢

藩内の勤王党を一掃した土佐では、前藩主容堂を後楯として、吉田東洋門下がふたたび藩の要職を占めた。だが時局は、藩の内政に眼を注ぐだけでは、その安全はもはやはかれない情勢であつた。同時に、いずれの藩も財政が極度に悪化するなかで藩の自衛手段には手を焼いていたが、土佐もその例外ではなかつた。

その上、幕府の政治的支配力は日を追つて退潮しており、一方、慶応二年（一八六六）正月には薩長連合が突を結び、大きな反幕勢力となろうとしていた。

二百数十年にわたり、徳川幕府は、朝廷を民族の祖宗として政治の圏外におき、絶大な権力を幕府に集中して封建領主の領土的野心をおさえ、武士階級を上位とする土農工商の四民制度を確立して、経済の全国的交流を努めて遮断する政策を堅持してきた。そして外にたいしては排他的な鎖国政策を堅持し、内外とも戦乱の勃発を避けてきたのである。

しかし、ひとたび外に向つて扉が開かれると、外から吹き込む風は、これを防ごうとする尊王だ、攘夷だ、佐幕だと騒ぐ運動を尻目に、いや、むしろこれらを封建体制を突き崩す尖兵にする勢いで、吹き荒れはじめたのである。

幕府の強大な政治的支配力を傘として、家臣団や領民を掌握していた各藩は、こうした危険な事態を

文久三年四月、幕府参与を命ぜられ江戸在府中の前藩主山内容堂が帰国すると、容堂は藩内の尊攘派の動きを押えた。

そして、同年八月、京都で公武合体派のクーデタが成功し長州軍が撤退した報を受けると、藩当局は、九月二十一日、勤王党の領袖武市半平太の逮捕にふみきり、その他勤王党の主な者を投獄した。吉田派の復活の機会が作られ、翌元治元年には後藤象二郎はやくも大目付に抜擢された。

一方、勤王党の弾圧に激した清岡成章ら二三名の同志は、武市らの釈放を要求して、元治元年七月、安芸郡野根山に集結し反抗したが敗れ、九月、奈半利川原で斬首され、武市は翌慶応元年閏五月、獄中で切腹を命ぜられたのである。

この元治元年七月には、京都奪還を図った長州藩が、薩摩、会津、桑名ら諸藩の連合軍のために反撃され敗走する禁門の変が起った。これにたいし、朝廷は、皇居に向い発砲した長州藩の罪を重視し、幕府に長州藩追討の命令を下した。幕府は、中国、四国、九州の諸藩に出兵を命じた。このとき時を同じく、イギリス、アメリカ、フランス、オランダの四国連合艦隊も下関の攻撃を開始していたのである。長州藩は完全に敗れた。

このような動乱のなかで長州も薩摩も攘夷の不利を認識しはじめ、尊王攘夷から尊王開国へ眼をひらく。そして、洋式兵器、軍艦、外国技術の導入に狂奔するようになった。土佐藩でも藩の命運をかけ軍備増強政策を打ち出したが、これが百姓仕事に打込む彌太郎の運命を大きく変えるのである。

とするわが国が、その政治的動揺をもっとも激しくしていた時期であった。

尊攘派の志士らのテロ行為の続発や、開国による国内経済の混乱で困惑している幕府を無視し、尊攘派は朝廷を動かし攘夷親征を断行しようとするれば、幕府や雄藩の一部は、皇女の降嫁（文久二年二月）、將軍家茂の上洛（文久三年三月）などによって、朝幕一体となり、国運の打開をはかろうと努め、相互に鑢を削った。

文久三年三月、四月、孝明天皇は賀茂神社や石清水に攘夷を祈願され、幕府方もついに攘夷期限を五月十日とする旨の上奏に及んだ。これに呼応し、尊攘派の急先鋒であった長州藩は、この五月十日、下関においてアメリカ、フランス、オランダの艦船を砲撃し、七月には、薩摩藩も鹿兒島に來航したイギリス艦隊と交戦するにいたったのである。

そして、八月十三日には攘夷親征の詔勅が下った。ところがその五日後の八月十八日、ひそかに、攘夷急進派の一掃と公武合体派の勢力挽回のため、京都守護の任にあつた会津藩と、長州藩に反目していた薩摩藩によってクーデタ計画が練られていたが、この日の未明、急進派に一閃の反撃の余裕も与えず、そのクーデタが行なわれ、長州藩の京都撤退と三條実美、東久世通禧ら七公卿の都落ちとなり、京都は完全に公武合体派の掌中に帰した。

前にもふれたが、文久二年四月、参政吉田東洋横死後の土佐の藩政は、守旧派と尊攘派の連立によって行なわれていた。しかし中央政局の攘夷的傾向を反映し、尊攘派はその勢力を強めている。ところが、

## 七 百姓に打ち込む

彌太郎にとっては後味の悪い帰国だった。藩職に就くことは当分望めなかったもので、帰国して半年ばかりたった文久三年の春を迎えると、彼は、高知を引き払い井ノ口村に移った。そして、いらい三年ばかり家族とともに、彼はひたむきに農事に打ち込んでいる。

彼は、安芸川沿いの荒蕪地の開墾を願い出、元治元年（一八六四）春までの一年間に、新田一町歩をひらき、五反歩の棉作地も作りあげていた。

彼はまた、薪炭を作って売り出す計画から、香美郡の官有林の伐採を願い出ていたが、翌慶応元年（一八六五）八月にそれが許可された。

この八月には、前年の長女春路の誕生につづいて、長男久彌が生まれた。

その上、この月には思いもよらず三郡奉行の下役に召し出された。三郡奉行は高知周辺の三郡の民政を担当する行政官であった。

彼は、三つも重った慶事を祝い、その年の暮、近隣の恵まれぬ人々に米を贈ったという。彌太郎にとっては、家族とともに野良仕事に没頭したこの三年間は、その生涯を通じてもっとも楽しい日々であったに違いない。

だが、一八六〇年代の文政から慶応にわたるこの数年間は、封建社会末期から資本主義初期に移ろう

続けている。これは、単なるめぐりあわせであつたらうか。

もし、彼がこのとき下手人を追うような男であつたならば、彼の生涯はまったく別な人生行路を辿つていたことであらう。

事實はつぎのような経過であつた。

突然の藩命によつて、彼が藩主東上の列に加つたのは、一行が丸亀（香川県）に到着した七月二日のことである。隊伍はそれから下津井（岡山県）に上陸し、岡山、姫路、兵庫と進んだ。十日夜、兵庫から大阪までは自由行動という違しがあつたときくと、彌太郎は、一人で船を雇い大阪まで先行した。

ところがこの自由行動という違しは出ていなかったことが判明し、隊を離れた者は、隊規紊乱の廉で処罰があり、彌太郎には、十六日、国許への帰還命令が下された。これに先立ち、彌太郎は上層部の一、二の要人や武市ら知遇を得ている人々に陳情、釈明をもとめていたが、いづれも認められなかった。

やむなく彌太郎は帰国の途についたが、前記のように安芸浦に着いた日に、井上佐一郎が大阪で土佐勤王黨員らによつて殺されたのは事實である。彌太郎も勤王黨員から、東洋一味として警戒されていたことは間違ひなく、彌太郎自身は知らなかったが、そうした黨員がどんなはずみで彌太郎に危害を加えるか解らない情勢を察した要人や武市らが、事前に彌太郎を遠ざける配慮の帰還命令であつたともいわれる。母美和の長兄小野順吉は医者であつたが、勤王の思想の持主であり、武市とは水魚の交りがあつ

天を衝く勢いであった。

これを見た彌太郎は、このような志士らのなかから、東洋の下手人を探しだすことは不可能であり、いたずらに身を死の危険に晒らすのみだとさとり、いったん帰国しつぎの機会を待つことを井上に謀った。しかし井上の決意は固く、井上は単身でもこの死地に踏みとどまることを主張して譲らなかつた。

彌太郎はやむなく独り京阪の地を離れ、八月二日郷土安芸浦に帰着した。ちょうどこの日、井上佐一郎は大阪で岡田以藏らの手で殺された――。

以上のように、多くの伝記は、当時の彌太郎の動静を綴っている。

吉田東洋と彌太郎との出会いは、これまでもみってきたように短期間であつたが、彌太郎の東洋にたいする傾斜は思想的に深く、彼の生涯に大きな影をとどめていると思われる。しかしそのことと、彌太郎が下手人をもとめる探索者になるといふ筋書とは、おのずと別問題であり、相互に関るところではないといえよう。

しかしながら、これまでにみてきた青年彌太郎の行動から判断すると、東洋の死を悼む心情においては人後に落ちぬものであつたにしろ、復讐のために、身を死地にさらして、政争の渦に飛び込むほどの情熱を、当時の彼に見出すことができるかどうか、疑わしいのである。

血の気の多い土地柄のせいか、彼と同学の士や同年輩の青年たちの多くが、尊王だ、攘夷だといったから政争に捲き込まれていったなかで、彼、彌太郎が、多感な、秀れた才幹を、そうしたことから守り

の隊列に加わるよう、突如命令を受けたのであった。

## 六 土佐帰還の謎

文久二年（一八六二）六月、藩主豊範の参勤交代に彌太郎が参加していることについて、多くの「岩崎彌太郎伝」の作者は、恩師吉田東洋の復讐を果すためにこれに随行したのだと、つぎのように書いている。

吉田東洋が暗殺されると、土佐藩は、一転して頑迷固陋な守旧派と直情径行の尊攘派によって、藩政は占有され、東洋一派は根こそぎ一掃された。そして東洋暗殺の下手人にたいする詮索は、前藩主容堂の厳命にもかかわらず放任されていた。

東洋一門は、直接の下手人だけでも探しだし師の仇を討つためその機をねらっていたが、たまたま参勤交代に多くの勤王黨員が参加するという情報をつかむと、そこへ潜入して下手人の手掛りをもとめることに衆議が決まり、人選の結果、下横目（目付＝監察官）の井上佐一郎と、藩士に顔馴染の少ない彌太郎が選ばれた。

そこで、井上と彌太郎らは参勤交代の隊列に前後して、京阪の地に潜入したが、折から京阪の地はさきに述べたように、長州藩主が朝廷から賜った尊攘派の志士にたいする勅諭で、志士らの意気はまさに

和となった。幕府の大名にたいする大きな譲歩であった。

勅使や久光の江戸入りと入れ替るように長州藩主毛利敬親は、江戸を発して京都に上った。長州藩は、藩内の尊攘派に支配され、七月に京都入りした敬親は公武合体や航海遠略策を放棄して、条約を破り決戦覚悟の攘夷に藩の方針を変えていた。

そして、薩摩藩にならない、朝廷にたいし、安政いらいの国事犯をゆるし、刑死した者は礼をもって祭るといった勅諭を請うけた。これは京都の志士たちを奮起させた。その上、朝廷の依頼をうけて土佐藩主山内豊範も、参勤交代の途次、七月二十五日、京都に入った。その供奉の一行には、武市はじめ土佐勤王党員が多数参列していたことは、前に述べた。そして、このような動きは、長州の久坂、桂あるいは薩摩の志士榊山資之らと武市半平太との密約にもとづくものであったといわれる。

さて、長崎出張に失敗し、わずか一〇か月ばかりでせつかくえた藩職も免ぜられた岩崎彌太郎は、捲土重来の構えで、郷士の家格を回復したり、再度高知の姉婿吉村喜久次の家に寄寓して、参政吉田東洋に復職運動を続けながら待機していた。

その間、前にもふれたように、文久二年二月、彌太郎二十九歳のとき、高芝喜勢と結婚したが、その二た月後、東洋が暗殺されたのである。新婚のまどろみのなかで彌太郎は傷心の日々を送らねばならなかった。

そして、またその二た月後、六月のはじめ、彌太郎は、藩庁から、参勤交代のため出府する藩主豊範



○余名をひきいて鹿兒島を出発するにおよんで事態は急変した。

長州の策は朝廷の攘夷の意志をまげ、幕府の開国に積極的に賛同させるのにたいし、久光は朝廷の威光をもって幕政を改革し、文字通り公武の一和によって難局を切り抜け、幕藩体制を守ろうとする考えであった。

だが久光のこの東上をみた薩摩出身の尊攘派たちは、これを倒幕の兵にふりむけようとしてしきりに画策した。在京の志士も、これを伝え聞いた他藩の志士たちも、みなこれを倒幕の義挙と誤信してしまった。

これは久光にとって最も恐るべきことであつて、むしろ久光の真意はこれらの志士たちを鎮圧することであつた。同藩同士の血闘となつた文久二年四月二十三日の伏見寺田屋の騒動は、この誤解にもとづくものであつた。

久光は京に一月ほど滞在して朝廷から幕政改革の命を請うけ、その上、大原重徳を勅使として関東に派遣することもきまり、勅使と久光は六月に江戸に入った。

藩主でもない久光の幕政や幕政改革の勅使が江戸へ堂々と乗り込んだことは、開幕いらいの大事件であつたが、これにより一橋慶喜は將軍の後見職となり、越前福井藩主松平慶永（春嶽）は政事總裁職に任ぜられ、八月には京都守護職が新たに設けられて、会津藩主の松平容保がこれについた。またこの月には、参勤交代制は三年に一回、在京期間一〇〇日、妻子は藩に帰ることが許されるなど、大層と

いに見つめると、しよせん未だ封建体制内部の権力の争奪に終始していたのであり、封建制度の廃止が明らかに計画されるようになるのは、明治維新後のことであった。

## 五 激動の京都

万延元年（一八六〇）の桜田門や文久二年（一八六二）の坂下門の変で、幕閣の威信が大きく揺ぎはじめると、長州や薩摩が急速にその発言力を発揮しだした。これらの外様大名は、二百数十年の幕藩体制下にあつて、中央政局から閉め出されていた部外者に過ぎなかつた。

これらの藩は天保（一八三〇―四三）のころから藩財政の立直しにつとめ、軍事力の増強や人材の養成のため諸般の改革をすすめていたのである。

文久元年、長州藩では長井雅楽が藩主にたいし「航海遠略策」を献策していた。これは海軍を整備して世界に進出し、貿易はこちらから積極的に申し入れるほどにして、外夷の強迫を押し返す方策を講ずるよう、朝廷から幕府に命じさせようとするものであつた。

ところが幕主攘夷を固守する志士らはこの献策に大いに反撥し、同藩の久坂玄瑞、桂小五郎らは、長井の失脚を画策した。

しかし、文久二年三月、薩摩藩主茂久の父島津久光が、藩主茂久の参勤交代の名代として、兵士一〇

た。それに加え、十三代家定の將軍継嗣問題に関し、幕閣と水戸はじめ雄藩の意見が対立したが、これも井伊の独断によって、紀州藩主徳川慶福（家茂）に決定された。ここに尊王派、攘夷派を一挙に結集させ、朝廷とも対立して、幕府当局は、反幕の勢力の中に孤立化を深めていったわけである。

これにたいし井伊大老は、幕府の權威を強めるため、いわゆる安政の大獄を断行したが、それは一時的に反幕派の力をひそめさせたにとどまり、桜田門外の変にみるようなテロ化を惹起させた。

井伊の後の幕政を担った安藤信正は、この弾圧政策とテロの激化をしずめて政局を安定させることをねらい、朝廷と幕府の結束を固める公武合体政策の実現をはかろうとした。そしてその一策として、皇女和宮（孝明天皇御妹）の將軍家茂への御降嫁をすすめた。

これがまた志士らの反感を買い、文久二年（一八六二）正月坂下門外に襲撃されて、安藤は失脚する。しかしながら、この公武合体政策は、反幕閣的な動きをみせていた水戸はじめ薩長土ら雄藩の藩主の共感がえられ、これらの藩主による幕府ならびに幕藩体制の強化策として展開されてゆくのである。

だがこのことがまた新たな闘争の火の手につながった。各藩の武士の支配階級と下士階級の対立となつたのである。それは、過激な改革をおさえ封建体制の堅実な強化を望もうとするものと、改革の実現を急こうとするものとの対立となつた。そして、尊王攘夷運動は、これら下士階級を全国的に結集させ、倒幕運動に駆り立てていったのである。

こうして、万延、文久の交からは、いちだんと世情の混迷を深め動乱の渦を強めるが、この激動もしき

藩士も大名をうやまうことになるだろうという深慮があったようだ。

したがって、尊王は尊王、攘夷は攘夷そのものであってそれぞれ別個の運動であった。開國後に高まった尊王攘夷運動は、幕府に勅命を奉じて攘夷を実行させようとしたものである。幕府の態度に不満をもっていたが、攘夷ということが旧体制（鎖国）への復讐を目ざしたものがあったから、幕府体制にたいする根本的な批判ではなかった。

つまり、「尊王」と「攘夷」とは異質の政治思想ではあるが、ともに儒学の名分論を基にしているものであった。名分論は中国でも日本でも尊王論と攘夷論を主とした、すなわち藩閥の源流の大家が主張するものが尊王論であり、外にたいしては自國を尊ぶ外國を卑しめる論である。攘夷論は、これによって國の内外、上下を尊い卑しいという社会觀念の喪失を、これを恢復して封建制度を

ささえ、強化するための理論であった。しかしながら幕末になって、国内的に封建制度の矛盾が深刻となり、これを解決しようとする動きが現れた。この二つの理念は結合して現実的な政治論として改進黨の作用するものになった。この攘夷論にたいして、國防を強化しようとする海防論や、世界情勢の激変による鎖國の破綻を、

幕府当局は、内外のこうした状況のなかで存続にその進路を失った。藩閥の勢力を奪取する動きが、井伊大老の登場後は、外國の圧力がいっそう強まり、井伊はついに勅許を得た。幕府の権威は、

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吉田東洋の横死とともに、藩の要職を占めていた東洋門下は、いっせいに罷免され、彌太郎は、これで再度登用の手裏をまったく絶たれてしまった。

ところが六月はじめ、突然彌太郎は藩庁から緊急命令が伝えられた。藩主豊範の東上の隊列に参加すべしというものだった。東洋暗殺事件のため参勤交代の日程が遅れていた。供奉の隊列には武士以下多くの勤王党員も加わっていた。当時、東洋暗殺の刺客にたいする厳しい探索が藩内外で行われていると風評が高かった。彌太郎の突然の参加を知った勤王党は嚴重な警戒態勢を固めた。

#### 四 公武一和

ペリー来航から数年後の万延元年から文久元年（一八六〇—六二）ごろになると、貿易による経済上の影響がようやくあらわれ、とくにはげしい物価の上昇から、攘夷派は、開国はわが国の富を失わせるものだとして、その氣勢を強めていった。

尊王論は、江戸中期から国学や水戸学によって説かれてきたが、それは將軍が大名や藩士にたいして權威を失ってきたことを救うために、古代からつづいてきた皇室の神秘的な權威を持ちだし、それへの崇敬の念をかきたてることよって、当時の秩序（体制）を維持しようとした観があった。

水戸学を中心にあつた徳川斉昭や藤田東湖の胸には、將軍が天皇をうやまえば、大名もまた將軍を、

しかし、桜田門や坂下門の変で相ついで幕閣の要職にある者が過激分子によって倒されると、条約問題や將軍繼嗣問題で激しく幕府当局の専断を非難した水戸、越前、薩摩、土佐らの親藩や雄藩の藩主も、さすがに幕藩体制の危機を感じ、下層武士団の借越かつ過激な行動を苦々しげに批判していた。そしてこの險悪な体制の危機をのぞき、外敵を払うには、公武合体による挙国一致の実現をはかるより途なしという見解であった。

容堂も、その容堂の信任を一身にあつめる東洋も同じ立場であった。これにたいし、勤王党は、公武合体論は、各国から強要されて開国した幕府の責任回避策であり、現状打破を願う諸藩の革新派にたいする新たな弾圧政策の温床とするに外ならないとして、激しくこれを攻撃した。

そうした藩内の勤王党にたいして、東洋は、公武合体政策は一藩の動向にかかわる重大な問題であるから、他藩がどう出ようと輕率妄動すべきではない。また幕府が開国したことは、現今の世界情勢をみると止むをえぬことであつて、いったん条約を締結した以上は、これを破棄するは国家の威信を損うものである。

またいたずらに幕府に反抗を続けるのは、世界情勢を弁えぬ書生論であつて、決して尊王の道に通ずるものではないと厳しく論告していた。

こうして東洋は、藩内の保守派の重役からは過激主義者と批判され、勤王党からは、結局権力におもねる奸佞だと指弾されるにいたつたのである。

強かったが、東洋はこれをおさえた。

これにたいし、彌太郎は東洋にふたたび書を呈し、この度の一件は断然自分の不能の罪と裁断し、衆疑を払って頂きたいと願ひ、末尾に、しかしながら、今回の一失で自分を見捨てないでくれるようにと懇願していた。彌太郎は、けつきよく罷免され、村に帰った。

それから一年ばかり村にあった彌太郎は、文久元年（一八六一）、ふたたび高知城下に出て姉婿の吉村家に寄寓し、東洋に縋り復職の道をもとめつづけた。また、この年、彌太郎は郷士株の譲渡を受けて、郷士の家格を回復した。

翌文久二年、二十九歳となった彌太郎は、二月に高芝喜勢と結婚した。喜勢は十七歳であったが、父母には縁の薄い女であった。二歳のとき父に死別し、母はまもなく再婚したので、彼女は父の弟の許で成長した。この縁談は、母の再婚先の井ノ口村の郷士が媒酌人であった。

この同じ月に、世論を沸騰させた皇女和宮と將軍家茂の婚儀が行われた。そして、この公武合体問題に関連し、参政吉田東洋が同藩の勤王党の一味によって暗殺された。二た月後の四月八日の夜半のことである。

武市瑞山（半平太）を領袖とし、土佐の郷士や庄屋出身の二〇〇余名の青年たちが勤王党を結成したのは、前年の文久元年八月のことであった。安政の大獄で藩主客堂が隠居処分になったことが結成のきっかけであった。

らず、清国人は金銭以外目に一丁字もた  
るに足らず。所詮、長崎は蘭学生か医学生の地だが漢学生には無量の……

「い  
といった便りを郷里の知己に送っていた。

### 三 東洋暗殺

外国人との頻繁な接触が、ひとり同藩の警吏ばかりでなく、幕府方の長崎官憲も注目するところとなつたと知ると、彌太郎は、何一つ成果のあがらぬ任務にたいしても、また自らを持することにも自信を見失ってしまった。

まだ着任後五か月にも足らなかつたが、彼は意を決して、参政吉田東洋に解任請願状を発送すると、万延元年四月、藩命も待たずにさつさと帰国した。ところが藩庁の空気は意外に陰悪であることを知つた。

彼はにわかには狼狽した。土井村の金持ちは、彌太郎に用立てるのは大にやるも同然だとはねつけた。幸い安芸浦の酒造家が気前よくぼんと一〇〇両を出してくれたので、その方は清算ができた。藩庁では身勝手な行動を不届千万として、懲戒免職の意見が

「一世をなす工夫」



また風貌も言動も異様としか思われない各国人を見ると、彌太郎には、これからの任務をどのようにして達成すればよいか、その手掛りさえも掴めそうになかった。

彼はとりつく島もない異郷のなかで、作文や作詩あるいは唐宋八家文などの読書を、日々自らに課し、まるで漢学生のような生活を始めた。

一方、彌太郎は長崎在住の、漢学者、蘭法医、西洋流砲術家、唐通事（通訳官）、貿易商など、内外知名人に接触をもとめた。こうした接触からえた諸情報をまとめて藩に送っているが、それらは彼自身すら満足できるものではなかった。

しかも外国人との接触のために利用した丸山花街の遊興費は大きく、旅費は減るばかりだったが、彌太郎はこの花街の魅惑の虜となっていた。

「嗚呼甚しい哉、余の操の持するなき。白髪堂に在って久しく菝水の歡（貧しい暮らしのなかにも親を喜ばせる意）に違ふ。況んや今時の遊は國家の委任亦薄からず。飲酒喫肉のことは、上國家に負き、下慈親に恥づ。天地地祇あに汝を容れんや」

と自責している。またこの前後の日誌では、最近国許から密偵が長崎に潜入、長崎在留の土佐人の動靜を探っているらしく、小生らの遊興の事も聞取り候様子とおそれている。

ところが一方では、

れたが何ともいわず辛抱ばかりいたし候」

長崎への出張は、同行の下許武兵衛と二人であった。下許は上士の留守居組の家格で、安政四年には藩命で新聞港地函館の視察にも出張していた。とくに下許には長崎貿易の下調べが内命されており、彌太郎には、イギリス、アメリカ、ロシア、フランスの他、西洋および清国の制度・文物の調査ならびに東洋各地に進出している列国の動静を探るといふ大きな密命が与えられていた。

なお、この安政六年から翌万延元年（一八六〇）にかけては、攘夷運動もまた激しく、国論は二分して凄惨な闘争をくりひろげたが、長崎では国内の紛乱をよそに、ぞくぞく渡来する欧米人によって通商貿易が開始されていた。

二人が高知を出発したのは十月二十一日で、任地の長崎に入ったのは十二月六日であった。道中、彌太郎らは各藩の著名な儒者や、明倫館（萩）、弘道館（佐賀）、文武館（多久）など藩校を訪れ、あるいは同塾の知友を尋ねていた。

長崎は別世界であった。港内に浮ぶ異国の蒸汽船、大浦一帯に建築中の異人館、その対岸の鮑の浦には、安政四年いらい、幕府がオランダの技師を招いて煉瓦造の製鉄所を建造中であつた。この製鉄所は二年後の文久元年（一八六一）に竣工するが、ついに幕府によって操業されることなく、新政府にひきつがれ、長崎造船所として新政府の軍需工場となり、のち明治二十年六月、三菱に払い下げられ、三菱財閥の重要な工場となったものである。

もあるが、これも面白い一説だと思ふ。

ともかく、訴訟事件いろいろ、八方塞りの彌太郎は、幕末の先覚者に接し、ようやく新天地への希望が夏雲のように湧き上がってくるのだった。

## 二 志、長崎に消える

彌太郎が吉田東洋門下に入ったのは、幕府の攘夷派にたいする熾烈な弾圧が開始された安政五年の秋ごろだったが、翌六年の六月には、彌太郎は東洋の推挙で初めて藩職に就いた。それは郷廻りという郡奉行配下の警吏で、最下級の役職であった。

これは、その後、八月に正式に発令された長崎への出張のための工作であった。すなわち地下浪人では他出は許可されなかったからだだった。

初めて藩職をえた彌太郎は、時の展望台に立ったように、前途への、展望のきく地位に就いたことを喜んだ。しかし彼の家の家計は苦しく、七人家族に、手拭二本、木履二、三足、蓑笠はあれど傘はなしといった有様で、職をえても身仕度も整えられぬ赤貧ぶりであった。

美和の手記は、このときのことを、つぎのように写しとめている。

「彌太郎日頃の鬱憤にわかに爆発したか有金を集めて一度に傘十五本木履十五足を買ってき一同あき

開国後に高

幕藩体制に

藩士も大名をうやまうことになるだろうという深慮があったようだ。開国後に高

したがって、尊王は尊王、攘夷は攘夷そのものであってそれぞれ別個の運動であった。幕府の態度に不満

まった尊王攘夷運動は、幕府に勅命を奉じて攘夷を実行させようとしたものである。幕藩体制に

をもっていたが、攘夷ということが旧体制（鎖国）への復帰を目ざしたものであったから、幕藩体制に

たいする根本的な批判ではなかった。ともに儒学の名分論に基いて発生したもの

つまり、「尊王」と「攘夷」とは異質の政治思想ではあるが、ともに儒学の名分論に基いて発生したもの

であった。名分論は中国でも日本でも尊王論と攘夷論を生んだ。すなわち国内で君臣の大義を明らかに

するものが尊王論であり、外にたいしては自国を尊び外国を卑しんで近づけないのが攘夷論である。

これによって国の内外、上下を尊い卑しいという対立概念で秩序づけ、それによって封建社会体制を

強化するための理論であった。対外的に外国からの圧力が強ま

きた。幕府当局は、内外のこうした情況のなかで容易にその進路を決しかね、朝廷の採決を待とうとしたが、

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「一世をなす工夫」

吉田東洋の横死とともに、藩の要職を占めていた東洋門下は、いつせいに罷免され、彌太郎は、これで再度登用の手筈をまったく絶たれてしまった。

ところが六月はじめ、突然彌太郎は藩庁から緊急命令が伝えられた。藩主豊範の東上の隊列に参加すべしというものだった。東洋暗殺事件のため参勤交代の日程が遅れていた。供奉の隊列には武市以下多くの勤王黨員も加わっていた。当時、東洋暗殺の刺客にたいする厳しい探索が藩内外で行われていると風評が高かった。彌太郎の突然の参加を知った勤王党は嚴重な警戒態勢を固めた。

#### ■ 公武一和

ペリー来航から数年後の万延元年から文久元年（一八六〇―六一）ごろになると、貿易による経済上の影響がようやくあらわれ、とくにはげしい物価の上昇から、攘夷派は、開国はわが国の富を失わせるものだと、その氣勢を強めていった。

尊王論は、江戸中期から国学や水戸学によって説かれてきたが、それは將軍が大名や藩士にたいして權威を失ってきたことを救うために、古代からつづいてきた皇室の神秘的な權威を持ちだし、それへの崇敬の念をかきたてることによって、当時の秩序（体制）を維持しようとした観があった。

水戸学を中心にあつた徳川斉昭や藤田東湖の胸には、將軍が天皇をうやまえば、大名もまた將軍を、

しかし、桜田門や坂下門の変で相ついで幕閣の要職にある者が過激分子によって倒されると、

題や將軍権闘問題で激しく幕府当局の専断を非難した水戸、越前、薩摩、土佐らの親藩や雄藩の藩主も、

下層武士団の憎越かつ過激な行動を苦々しげに批判していた。そしてこ

ろに幕藩体制の危機を感じ、外敵を払うには、公武合体による挙国一致の実現をはかるより途なしと

の険悪な体制の危機をのぞき、外敵を払うには、公武合体による挙国一致の実現をはかるより途なしと

いう見解であった。

容堂も、その容堂の信任を一身にあつめる東洋も同じ立場であった。これにたいし、勤王党は、公武

合体論は、各国から強要されて開国した幕府の責任回避策であり、現状打破を願う諸藩の革新派にたい

する新たな弾圧政策の温床とするに外ならないとして、激しくこれを攻撃した。

そうした藩内の勤王党にたいして、東洋は、公武合体政策は一藩の動向にかかわる重大な問題である

から、他藩がどう出ようと輕拳妄動すべきではない。また幕府が開国したことは、現今の世界情勢をみ

ると止むをえぬことであつて、いったん条約を締結した以上は、これを破棄するは国家の威信を損うも

のである。

またいたずらに幕府に反抗を続けるのは、世界情勢を弁えぬ書生論であつて、決して尊王の道に通ず

るでもない」と厳しく論告していた。

この重役からは過激主義者と批判され、勤王党からは、結局権力におも

「一世をなす工夫」

強かったが、東洋はこれをおさえた。

これにたいし、彌太郎は東洋にふたたび書を呈し、この度の一件は断然自分の不能の罪と裁断し、衆疑を払って頂きたいと願ひ、末尾に、しかしながら、今回の一失で自分を見捨てないでくれるようにと懇願していた。彌太郎は、けつきよく罷免され、村に帰った。

それから一年ばかり村にあつた彌太郎は、文久元年（一八六一）、ふたたび高知城下に出て姉婿の吉村家に寄寓し、東洋に縫り復職の道をもとめつづけた。また、この年、彌太郎は郷士株の譲渡を受けて、郷士の家格を回復した。

翌文久二年、二十九歳となつた彌太郎は、二月に高芝喜勢と結婚した。喜勢は十七歳であつたが、父母には縁の薄い女であつた。二歳のとき父に死別し、母はまもなく再婚したので、彼女は父の弟の許で成長した。この縁談は、母の再婚先の井ノ口村の郷士が媒酌人であつた。

この同じ月に、世論を沸騰させた皇女和宮と將軍家茂の婚儀が行われた。そして、この公武合体問題に関連し、参政吉田東洋が同藩の勤王党の一味によって暗殺された。二た月後の四月八日の夜半のことである。

武市瑞山（半平太）を領袖とし、土佐の郷士や庄屋出身の二〇〇余名の青年たちが勤王党を結成したのは、前年の文久元年八月のことであつた。安政の大獄で藩主客堂が隠居処分になつたことが結成のきっかけであつた。

らず、清國人は金錢以外目に一丁字もない。通事達も知識のない者許りで、彼等は共に聖賢の道を談ずるに足らず。所詮、長崎は蘭学生か医学生の地だが漢学生には無益の土地で、自分は再び江戸に学びたい。

といった便りを郷里の知己に送っていた。

### 三 東洋暗殺

外国人との頻繁な接触が、ひとり同藩の書吏ばかりでなく、幕府方の長崎官憲も注目するところとなつたと知ると、彌太郎は、何一つ成果のあがらぬ任務にたいしても、また自らを持することにも自信を見失ってしまった。

まだ着任後五か月にも足らなかつたが、彼は意を決して、参政吉田東洋に解任請願状を発送すると、万延元年四月、壽命も待たずにさっさと帰国した。ところが藩庁の空気は意外に険悪であることを知つて、彼はにわかに狼狽した。

彼は官金のうち私用に使つた分の穴埋めのため、さっそく金策に走つたが、土井村の金持ちは、彌太郎に用立てるのは大にやるも同然だとはねつけた。幸い安芸浦の酒造家が気前よくぼんと一〇〇兩を出してくれたので、その方は清算ができた。藩庁では身勝手な行動を不届千万として、懲戒免職の意見が



また風貌も言動も異様としか思われない各国人を見ると、彌太郎には、これからの任務をどのようにして達成すればよいか、その手掛りさえも掴めそうになかった。

彼はとりつく島もない異郷のなかで、作文や作詩あるいは唐宋八家文などの読書を、日々自らに課し、まるで漢学生のような生活を始めた。

一方、彌太郎は長崎在住の、漢学者、蘭法医、西洋流砲術家、唐通事(通訳官)、貿易商など、内外知名人に接触をもとめた。こうした接触からえた諸情報をまとめて藩に送っているが、それらは彼自身すら満足できるものではなかった。

しかも外国人との接触のために利用した丸山花街の遊興費は大きく、旅費は減るばかりだったが、彌太郎はこの花街の魅惑の虜となっていた。

「嗚呼甚しい哉、余の操の持するなき。白髮堂に在って久しく菽水の飲(貧しい暮らし)のなかにも親を喜ばせる意)に違ふ。況んや今時の遊は国家の委任亦薄からず。飲酒喫肉のことは、上国家に負き、下慈親に恥づ。天地地祇あに汝を容れんや」

と自責している。またこの前後の日記では、最近国許から密偵が長崎に潜入、長崎在留の土佐人の動静を探っているらしく、小生らの遊興の事も聞取り候様子とおそれている。

ところが一方では、

「外国人の談舌(ががあがあいう噂)のような言葉)や、蟹行(蟹の這ったような横書の文字)は皆目録

れたが何ともいわず辛抱ばかりいたし候」

長崎への出張は、同行の下許武兵衛と二人であった。下許は上士の留守居組の家格で、安政四年には藩命で新開港地函館の視察にも出張していた。とくに下許には長崎貿易の下調べが内命されており、彌太郎には、イギリス、アメリカ、ロシア、フランスの他、西洋および清国の制度・文物の調査ならびに東洋各地に進出している列国の動静を探るといふ大きな密命が与えられていた。

なお、この安政六年から翌万延元年（一八六〇）にかけては、攘夷運動もまた激しく、国論は二分して凄惨な闘争をくりひろげたが、長崎では国内の紛乱をよそに、ぞくぞく渡来する欧米人によって通商貿易が開始されていた。

二人が高知を出発したのは十月二十一日で、任地の長崎に入ったのは十二月六日であった。道中、彌太郎らは各藩の著名な儒者や、明倫館（萩）、弘道館（佐賀）、文武館（多久）など藩校を訪れ、あるいは同塾の知友を尋ねていた。

長崎は別世界であった。港内に浮ぶ異国の蒸気船、大浦一帯に建築中の異人館、その対岸の鮑の浦には、安政四年いらい、幕府がオランダの技師を招いて煉瓦造の製鉄所を建造中であつた。この製鉄所は二年後の文久元年（一八六一）に竣工するが、ついに幕府によって操業されることなく、新政府に引きつがれ、長崎造船所として新政府の軍需工場となり、のち明治二十年六月、三菱に払い下げられ、三菱財閥の重要な工場となったものである。

もあるが、これも面白い一説だと思ふ。

ともかく、訴訟事件いらい、八方塞りの彌太郎は、幕末の先覚者に接し、ようやく新天地への希望が夏雲のように湧き上がってくるのだった。

## 二 志、長崎に消える

彌太郎が吉田東洋門下に入ったのは、幕府の攘夷派にたいする熾烈な弾圧が開始された安政五年の秋ごろだったが、翌六年の六月には、彌太郎は東洋の推挙で初めて藩職に就いた。それは郷廻りという郡奉行配下の警吏で、最下級の役職であった。

これは、その後、八月に正式に発令された長崎への出張のための工作であった。すなわち地下浪人では他出は許可されなかったからだった。

初めて藩職をえた彌太郎は、時の展望台に立ったように、前途への、展望のきく地位に就いたことを喜んだ。しかし彼の家の家計は苦しく、七人家族に、手拭二本、木履二、三足、蓑笠はあれど傘はなしといった有様で、職をえても身仕度も整えられぬ赤貧ぶりであった。

美和の手記は、このときのことを、つぎのように写しとめている。

「彌太郎日頃の鬱憤にわかに爆発したか有金を集めて一度に傘十五本木履十五足を買ってき一割あき

「無礼な、拙者の首を何とお心得なさる。主君に差上げた首に手を掛けらるるは、土佐守を辱めるとも同然でござるぞ」

と大喝すると、章を上げて嘉兵衛重光をしたたか打ち据えたのである。これをみた容堂は、さすがに立腹をあらわに、

「以ての外の所業」

と、東洋を激しく叱責して座を立つた。東洋のこの振舞いに、切腹せよと迫る重役もあつたが、けっきよ、容堂の裁定で、仕置役を免じ蟄居閉門となつた。

水戸の藤田東湖は、東洋を評していったという。

「東洋の眼中には殺気がある。彼が容堂公を輔佐するのは、恰も悍馬に鞭を加うるが如く、危険も亦甚し」

東洋の進歩的な政策にたいし藩内の保守派はこれに反発したが、彼は凡庸な意見には容赦なく辛辣な批判を加え妥協することがなかつたから、尊大傲岸な人物とみられ多くの敵をつくつていた。

東洋は少林塾と称した学舎で多くの子弟に接したが、彼の教えは、子弟を藩職に登用し、実務を通じて思想を理解させる方法であつた。

あるとき、東洋は塾生に貿易論という課題を与えた。後藤象二郎は彌太郎にその代筆をさせ、これを提出したのが東洋の眼にとまり、入門の機縁となつたという。彌太郎と東洋との出会いにはその他の説

嘉永六年には仕置役に拔擢された。家老の家柄から選出される奉行（執政）は藩内閣の首相にあたり、馬廻役（小姓組。将師の馬側に扈從する騎馬の平侍）の家柄から選ばれる仕置役は、閣員に相当するが実際の政務を担当し、奉行の決裁をえて実施するものであった。

なお、同じ馬廻役の家柄から選出される大目付（大監察）は、政務の監察、士民の賞罰を任務とし、政治の施行状況を検察するのが職務であった。以上の奉行（執政）、仕置役（參政）、大目付（大監察）の三役は、いずれも数名ずつ任用され、各役は合議制で役務を行うが、藩主の交替、あるいはときどきの政変によって交替があり、これにともなう藩の政策も変った。

東洋が失脚したのは、安政元年六月に、出府していた藩主山内容堂が、江戸鍛冶橋の土佐藩邸に親戚縁者数名を招いて酒宴を催した際、その席に陪席を仰せつかった東洋が、主客の一人松下嘉兵衛重光に暴力を振ったためだった。

この松下は、豊臣秀吉が日吉丸の時代に仕えた遠州の土豪松下嘉兵衛の子孫で、三〇〇〇石の旗本であった。山内氏二代藩主忠義の息女が嫁いだ家で、姻戚として重んぜられていた。

この松下嘉兵衛重光には、酔うと誰彼となく人の頭を叩く癖があった。当日も一杯機嫌になった松下は、傍らに侍っていた東洋の頭を撫でまわしながら、

「こ奴は、何の役にも立たぬ男じゃ」

と、戯れたのである。すると東洋は、さっと身をひき、

## 第二章 「一世をなす工夫」

——岩崎彌太郎・三ツ菱の船旗を翻えす——

### 一 新天地への希望

出獄後、居村追放、高知城下四か村の禁足処分を命ぜられ、神田村に身をひそめていた彌太郎は、八か月で追放赦免となり、その年の十二月、井ノ口村に戻った。

村に帰ると、彌太郎は、訴訟事件いらい放任されてきた小作関係の滞納の取立、小作の割振り、契約調印、田地質入問題の処理など、農事や家計にかかわる未解決事項をてきばきと片づけ、家業の挽回に努めた。

そして一通り処理事項を整理すると、彌太郎は、姉婿の吉村直茂の家に寄寓し、吉田東洋門下に入門するため、ふたたび高知城下に出た。

彌太郎が追放赦免となった安政四年十二月には、安政元年に失脚して家禄を召し上げられ、長浜村に蟄居中であった吉田東洋も赦免となり、安政五年一月、ふたたび仕置役（参政）に復帰し、藩政改革にその手腕を振り始めていたのである。

東洋は、博学明敏、識見は時流を抜き、二十七歳で船奉行に昇進し、ついで郡奉行から大目付をへて、

の体面上許されなかった。

ただ、岩崎本家は地下浪人の百姓とはいえ、これまでもみてきたように、その親戚一統には、藩士や、岡本寧浦の未亡人とき（美和の姉）のように元藩主の屋敷の侍女頭を勤めた者、あるいは庄屋、または藩内外に著名な儒者、医者などがあり、さらに知人、友人らは、彌太郎入牢らしい、いろいろ手を尽くして藩奉行所に彌太郎の赦免を働きかけていたのである。

年があけた安政四年（一八五七）一月二十日、彌太郎は一度の取調べもなく、七か月ぶりに出牢となり、身柄は父の家にお預けとなった。そして四月になると、居村追放ならびに高知城下四か村への禁足処分が新たに言渡された。彌太郎はそのため、高知の町はずれから一里ばかりの村に移り、さらにその後、そこからまた遠い神田村に移って自炊生活に入った。

こうした処分と同時に、島田便右衛門は庄屋を召上げられ、鉄吾も年寄役をはずされ、遅れて納所の寅之助は他村へ追放の処分を受け、喧嘩両成敗の判決をみたのである。だがこの時から岩崎三家は、本家、分家の縁を断ち、まったくの他人となった。

しかし、一方、夫は足腰も立たず病床に倒れ、頼みの息子彌太郎まで獄舎に繋れる破目となった美和の苦衷は一通りでなかった。その上、彌太郎の性向からやりくり算段を重ねながら、どうにか体面を繕ってきていた家計も、この度重なる災難に当面すると、その困窮ぶりがにわかには表面化した。

美和は同時にふりかかってきたこの悲運と貧困に必死に立ち向った。村人たちの白眼視を浴びながら、幼児を脅おそに入れて肩にかけ野良仕事に出た。夜は遅くまで綿を紡ぎ木綿糸をつくっては安芸町方面までこれを売りにいった。

かたわら、彼女は、氏神への日参、安田浦の神峰地藏院（四国第二十七番札所）への参詣、あるいは屋敷内に祖先の御霊を祀る神祠をつくって家のお祓はらいをするなど、異常と見えるほどの信仰生活に入っていた。

善奉行所側も、この事件を明白に裁きかねていたことは事実だった。彌太郎の申立てに十分の物的証拠がなく、日ごろ彌太郎の言動には直情径行の振舞いが多かったことや、事件発生らしい、縁戚の鉄吾、寅之助も庄屋の烏田の主張に同調しているなど、彌太郎の立場には不利な条件が重なった。

しかしまた、彌太郎の申立てを反証する物的証拠も不十分で、彌太郎の日常の言動だけを理由に、地下浪人の百姓の身分を心得ながら、庄屋を相手に訴願する美和や彌太郎の真剣な申し出まですべて否認することも、善奉行所にとっては苦しい立場であった。とはいえ、かりに庄屋に落度があったとしても、証拠不十分のまま、いわば酒席の喧嘩裁きに、庄屋が百姓に負かされたような裁定を下すことは、藩政



一職され、これに憤慨した落書のため、自らも捕われの身となった彌太郎は、ますます藩奉行所に向けて不信の念をかきたて、

「親の難に赴くのである。いかなる責苦にあうも俯仰天地に恥じぬ」

とすこぶる意気軒昂の様子で、暗い獄舎で与えられる物相飯モノアヒも悪びれずに平らげていた。

しかしその後何の取調べもなく日が経るにつれ、彌太郎の焦りの色は深まった。

「このまま獄舎に埋もれ朽ち果てては、自分の大望はどうなるのだ」

青年にとって希望は生命そのものであった。その希望が獄舎に故なく埋もれることには耐えられなかった。いまはたとえ一時訴訟に敗れても、一刻も早くこの牢を出て他日の大成を期したいという念に捉われはじめた。

彼は、差入弁当の箸に爪で文字を書いたり、餅の中に手紙を入れたりして獄外との連絡につとめた。

また、ある時は同囚の男が出獄するというので、小指を切った血で手紙を認めていると、突然獄吏が検問にまわってきたので、発見されたら舌を嚙もうと構えていたところ、獄吏は素知らぬ態で去っていった。

このように、家人との連絡に苦心しながら、

「一日も早く出獄できるよう、つてある有力筋へは進物を惜しまず運動してくれ」と訴えつづけた。

## 獄因二愛憎一決

と、密かに役所の壁に書きつけた。これを見た役人は、一度はこの落書を消して見のがしたが、彌太郎はふたたび落書したので、ついに奉行所を侮蔑する不所存者として、彌太郎を逮捕し、六月二十四日投獄した。

彌太郎の裁判には、調役の一人として、寧浦塾で彌太郎と机を並べた弘田久助という同輩が当たっていた。彌太郎は入牢直前に身の危険を察し、この弘田に、五〇〇〇余字に達する漢文の一書を送り、事件の概要や自分の主張を述べて友人の理解をもとめていた。

文中には、彌太郎と同年で、少年時代、馬之助や細川潤次郎とともに土佐の三神童といわれた間崎哲馬（滄浪）も心配してくれていると書かれてあった。間崎は寧浦塾の同窓で、安積良齋門下にも彌太郎より先に入門していた。彼は武市瑞山と行をともし、文久三年（一八六三）六月、切腹を命ぜられ三十歳で散華した勤王家である。

しかし、その弘田は、その後まもなく他へ転出させられ、彌太郎の期待は絶たれた。

## 一四 三家分断

父の受けた非道な仕打ちにたいする訴えは、黑白も明らかにされないまま、お上を煩わす不屈者と

から東方へ四里の田野浦にあった。だが、庄屋は藩命によって村落の差配にあたる者であり、これと抗争を起すことは絶対専制の封建社会の下では大事件であった。しかも、「百姓町人は争論訴訟を慎しむ」として一般民衆がみだりに訴訟におよぶことを禁じていた時代だった。

夜を日について江戸からはるばる馳せつけた彌太郎は、病床に苦悶する父や、非道な仕打ちに心を痛める母を前に、庄屋にたいする激怒を新たにして、掃国数日後、安政三年（一八五六）正月を迎え、奉行所の仕事始めの日を待つて、正式に、嫡子名義をもって奉行所に訴状を出した。

これにたいし、奉行所からはしばらく音沙汰がなかったが、三月に入ってようやく裁判が開かれた。調べにたいする彌次郎の申し立ては、被告島田便右衛門の巧妙な反論に抑えられ、その上、鉄吾、寅之助も被告の言い分を支持したため、奉行所は事実の審理を尽さずに、

「手前の前後も判らぬほどに大酒をくらい不確実なことを申立てて、みだりにお上を騒がすは不屈の至りである」

と、はねつけてしまった。彌次郎の、酔うと相手構わず悪口をいい喧嘩の種をまく日頃の酒癖の悪さや、同族の両分家の当主までが島田の立言を支持したのだから、彌次郎の立場はきわめて不利であった。

しかし、控えながらこの裁判を見守っていた彌太郎は、通り一遍の査問だけで、先入観だけに頼って判決を下す奉行所の態度に忿懣やる方なく、

官以二賄賂一成

かつて片輪になるほどたたきのめした上、野良犬でも捨てるように他人の家に放り込んでおいて、知らぬ顔をきめ込もうという傍若無人の非道ぶりには、さすが美和も我慢がならなかった。

そこには、陰惨な謀略の臭いすらあった。

夫の語るところでは、同席者は、島田のほかに草相撲の彦右衛門と島田の手の者二名であったという。

美和は、まず、夫に暴力を働いた直接の加害者を処分するよう島田に掛け合った。数日後、島田は、彌次郎の見舞いに来た。彌次郎がひどく酔ったので、彦右衛門に負け、自分も門外まで見送ったが、当方屋敷内で暴力沙汰が起った事実はないと、島田は強く否定した。そして、

「自分が意識不明となるまで酔いながら、暴力を受けたなどといったがかりをつけられるは甚だ迷惑千萬な話だ」

と居直り、美和の追及をかわすのである。

鉄吾も寅之助も、酒席のこととし内聞にすまずよう美和を説得しようとしてだけ骨折った。

彌次郎は、その後足腰も立たぬまま、病床で苦しみつづけた。

美和はついに意を決して奉行所に訴えて出た。しかし、そこでも、酒席の狼藉沙汰を持ちだし、お上を煩わすとは不届千万と叱られただけであった。美和は彌太郎に打明けるほか術を失った。

安芸郡は五藤氏の所領だが、民政は藩庁直属の郡奉行所の直轄事項であり、その奉行所は、井ノ口村

かと、島田に頭を下げる想いで、上気嫌な銀平に中座した詫びをいいながら、盃をすすめた。

まもなく玄關の方から人声が聞え、それが源次の声だと解った。いってみると、源次の息子が夫の正体ない体を背負っている。

「どうも容子がおかしいので…」

と源次は側から美和を見上げた。

その夜、寝かした彌次郎はそのまま意識を恢復しなかった。冷え切った体の温みも蘇らなかつた。美和は妹嬢のさきとともに一晩中その体をさすった。彌次郎が意識を取り戻したのは二十五日であつた。

彌次郎の言葉で、裸の体をみた美和は思わず目を掩つた。全身紫斑色となり隨所に傷跡があつた。

駆けつけてくれた医者は、ひどい打撲傷と焼酎による酒害であるといい、実はと、意外なことを美和に告げた。鉄吾や寅之助を伴つた島田がやってきて、大した傷ではないと彌次郎の家人に証言してくれると頼まれたというのである。

### 二三 官は賄賂を以て成る

すべて善意に解する性格の美和にさえも、この事件は何とも名状しがたい憤りを心に植えつけた。夫の酒癖が決してよくないことは承知していたものの、かりにも主客として招じておきながら、寄つてた

田に加担し、彌次郎の農民弁護の主張を抑える側にまわった。

また、この事件とは別に、灌漑用水のことで、島田は農民一七名と三年越の争いを続けていたが、彌次郎の仲介でそれがようやく解決をみたのである。

このことで、島田は酒席を設けて、彌次郎の労をねぎらいたいと、家人を彌次郎宅に走らせた。安政二年（一八五五）九月二十三日の朝だった。

この日、彌次郎宅では、知りあいの銀平が江戸へ上るといので、美和は、彌太郎への言付けや手紙などを托そうと思ひ、門出祝を兼ねて夕食を振舞ってお願ひしようと、朝からその準備に追われていた。そうした事情を話し、庄屋の招待を丁重に断った。

四時頃、隣家の寅之助がきて、料理作りを手伝っているところへ、また庄屋の誘いがあった。寅之助は、庄屋からの二度の懇請を無下に断つてはと、美和に応諾するようすすめた。美和はよきなく、できるだけ早く帰るよう注意し彌次郎を送り出した。

それからどの位時間がたったか、美和が所用で門外に出ると、田舎角力で力自慢の彦右衛門という男が、夫の彌次郎を肩に担いで近所の源次の家に入ってゆくのが目にとまった。たまたま鉄吾の妻も美和と出会い、これを見て、また酔い潰れたのかねと顔を見合わした。

美和はその言葉でふと浮んだ不安をかき消し、来客の銀平の待つ席へ戻った。座りながら夫を真直ぐに家へ運んでくれなかったのは、庄屋の島田がこちらの今夕の来客を承知の上での配慮の措置だったの

ところが、寅之助は長ずるにしたがい、鄙にはまれな美人と騒がれはじめた彌次郎の長女琴に想いをかけるようになったのである。

やがて求婚を申し出た寅之助にたいし、彌次郎は断つた。理由は琴はまだ年が若いというのだがそれは表向きのこと、彌次郎一家は最初からこの縁談には反対だった。

寅之助はもちろん諦めなかつた。彼は、庄屋の島田を介して、五年間琴には縁組をさせないという確約を、彌次郎に無理強いした。彌次郎一家は、ために琴の婚期を遅らせることになり、その非道な取り決めに泣かされた。

この両家は、このことだけでなく、用地の売却、質入などでも利害が相反することが起り、両家の関係が険悪となっていたのだった。

こうして、相互に隣りあう岩崎三家の陰鬱な葛藤は、じつに、天保二年（一八三一）の春、美和が彌次郎に嫁いだ前後から、久しく宿命的につづいていたのである。

江戸の彌太郎を呼び戻すほどの彌次郎重傷という事件に、直接間接かわりあることはほかにもあった。つぎの事件はもっと直接的な性格を帯びたものといえよう。

嘉永六年（一八五二）、彌次郎は農民十数人と語り、共同耕作の新田を開墾した。ところが遅れてこれに参加した庄屋の島田が、庄屋という特権を楯に勝手に勝手な振舞いをみせだしたので、農民と喧嘩となり、庄屋に乱暴を加えたという罪状で、農民三名が入牢となった。このとき、鉄吾や寅之助は、島

他の二人からみれば、年輩は子供ほど若かった。彌次郎に嫁いだころの美和は、この寅之助を「頭のよい子」として可愛がっていたものだった。

前にも書いたように、寅之助の父の彌助は、秋香村舎を開いている儒者であり、安積良斎からはわが国第一の文章家と認められ、美和には「聖人といわれた人」と讃えられる温厚な人物であった。しかし、その妻の竹は、何かにつけ本家の悪口雑言を言いふらす、彌助には似つかわぬ女であった。彌次郎とはとくに気が合わず衝突した。

そして、これが嵩じ、ついに彌次郎と悶着を起した末、庄屋島田の裁量で竹は離縁されることになった。しかし彌助は、ひとり妻を去らせるに忍びず、自らも家を出て、安芸の町方でささやかな所帯を持ち、妻と不遇を慰めあった。

## 一一一 父の大難

父と母から置きざりにされた彌平と寅之助の二人の少年を、美和はわが子のように慈しみ、少年たちもよく美和を慕った。

数年後、竹は許されて復縁し井ノ口村に戻った。がこの事件は、彌平や寅之助の小さな心の底に、彌次郎にたいする反感を植えつけてしまっていたようだ。



ろう。

この庄屋の島田と年寄役の岩崎鉄吾が取入米の蔵出しを采配し、納所の岩崎寅之助が年貢米の取立役で、この三名が井ノ口村の公事をとりしきっていた。こうした役職上かどうか、この三名の間はよく意が通じあったが、ひとり岩崎彌次郎だけは、このいずれともうまくそりがあわなかつた。

この三名が役職柄、ともすると村民と利害関係で対立しやすい立場にあつたのにたいし、正直一徹、政略的なかげひきや妥協などみじんもなく、正論一点張りで義侠心に富む彌次郎は、苛斂誅求に泣く農民の側に立って、是非を速断した。

弘化三年（一八四六）のこと、馬之助が藩から学才を賞められ扶持米を贈られることになる、鉄吾は庄屋の島田と謀り、村の年貢米からその扶持米四石八斗を専断で出庫したと、村人が騒いだことがあつた。このとき、彌次郎は持前の気性から、島田を盗人ときめつけ、鉄吾に対してもその非を責め立てた。いらい、島田は彌次郎にたいし意趣を含みはじめたと、美和はみていた。

岩崎の三家は、屋敷を連らねて隣合っていたが、たがいに息子自慢では譲らなかつた。酒癖のよくない本家の彌次郎は、よく鉄吾の家に怒鳴り込むことがあつたが、あるとき、そうした彌次郎の醜態をみかねた鉄吾が、庄屋に訴え出た。島田は、きびしく彌次郎を叱責し、素面の彌次郎に一言の弁明も認めなかつた。

彌次郎、鉄吾、寅之助は系譜上からみれば同列の従兄弟同士のような間柄であつたが、寅之助だけは、

藩の普請、出役、その他の経費として徴集されたのだから、農民の純益はけっきょく収穫の二〇％に過ぎなかった。その上、米以外の農作物にも雑税が課されていた。

そして、徳川末期には貨幣経済が農村へ滲透するとともに、藩財政を圧迫し、藩と農民との対立をいっそう激化させた。一揆を繰り返す農民と、下層武士の困窮とが、反体制運動の土壤となったとしても肯げぬことではない。

土佐もそうした時代の圏外ではなかった。領地は四国全土のなかばを占めたが、その八〇％は山地であった。

そうした中で、彌太郎の生地井ノ口村は、山麓に沿う小高い丘地に帯のように細長く点在した村落であった。こうした農村は、灌漑用水の奪い合いで村落間の争いが絶えず、とくに早魃の年などは血をみるような村民同士の喧嘩沙汰が繰り返された。

また、井ノ口村では、藩の末端の出先機関の役割を演ずる庄屋と農民との対立も深かった。嘉永、安政のころの井ノ口村の庄屋は、島田便右衛門という、他村から移住してきた人物であった。したがって村民とのふれあいも薄く人気もなかった。岩崎彌次郎にいわせると奸佞邪智にたけた人物だという。

その庄屋の役給は、米二七石余のほかに、年頭歳暮が一石余あり、あわせてざっと三〇石弱であった。当時岩崎家（本家）の田地は五〇〜六〇石ばかり、その他、畑地山林など、米換算で数十石であったというから、美和の手記の語るように、「我参りし時までは随分大家のしるしもあり候へども」であった

彌太郎はこの地震について詳細に報じた書状を郷里に送っているが、死人数まず二〇万余と認めてあり、末尾には、「馬之助来春帰国致し申様ニ申居候、私は先づ当分帰リ申間敷と存じ居候」と認めていた。ところがその書状が郷里に届けられたころ、十二月のはじめ、井ノ口村の銀平という見知りの者が江戸に着き、母美和の書状と、彌太郎の姉ことの夫吉村直茂からの急報を彌太郎の許に届けた。

その内容は、父が重傷で倒れたので、至急帰国せよということだった。彌太郎は、馬之助や塾生らに激励されて十二月十四日江戸を出立した。慥齋からの餞別と持合せの衣服を風呂敷に包んだものだけがたより。旅中、これらの衣服は旅費に代えられた。

母美和の手記は、「二十九日つごもりの晩おそく、思ひかけなき所へ彌太郎帰リ、その時は天を拝し地を拝する喜び云々」と家族一同狂喜して彼を迎えたことを記している。藩の早飛脚でも高知、江戸間は一四日を要していたが、彌太郎は一六日間で走り帰ったのである。

## 一一 悲しい縁者たち

徳川期の封建社会では、支配者であった士族階級の経済基盤を支えた農民の地位は、名目的には上位におかれたが、その実情は、生かさず殺さずの農民政策が示したように、まことに悲惨なものであった。

本田税率は六公四民とされ、六〇%が正租、四〇%が農民の所得ではあったが、その所得の半分は、

そして、馬之助は深く良斎の囑望を担っていたが、彌太郎もまもなく塾生仲間からあきれられるくらいに、ひたすら勉学に勵んだ。

当時、幕府は黒船来航らしい、泥縄式に江戸中心の防衛体制の整備に大意であった。品川砲台の構築、沿岸警備、武器彈薬の急造、洋式艦船の建造などを行う一方、全国寺院の梵鐘を集めて鑄造し、大砲小銃の製造に充てることを命じたり、また西洋學術の導入に狂奔するなど戦争さながらの状態だった。

このころまた、藤岡藤十郎と高藏という市井の無頼漢二人が、江戸城本丸の御金藏を破って四〇〇〇兩の大金を盗み出すという奇怪な事件が発生したり、とかく人心は極度に動揺していたのである。

そこへ、安政二年の大地震が起った。十月二日、夜十時三十分で、翌朝まで三〇余度の余震が続いたといわれる。

その日は、朝からときどき細雨が降り、夜になると雨のため天色は朦朧としていた。

江戸城はじめ大名屋敷、一般町民の家屋の倒壊数を知らず、圧死者だけで数千名に上った。水戸藩の藤田東湖も、小石川水道町の藩邸で母を救おうとした時、天井梁が落下し惨死した。享年五十歳。

このとき、彌太郎は塾舎にあってこの震災に遭遇したが、前年伏見の地震で慥斎からたしなめられた経験から、彼は奥の間にあって師良斎の安否を確めるほどの沈静な行動ができたのである。幸い良斎は無事であった。良斎は彌太郎に、預っていた親戚の狂人の保護を頼んだ。彌太郎は、すぐ麻縄でその狂人を縛りあげかついで避難先に届けると、ふたたび引き返して重傷の塾生も救い出した。

遠く東都にあつて新たに年を遡ふ

深く慚づ未だ祖生の鞭を着けざるを

屠蘇酔ひ覚めて眠り就りがたく

独り寒灯に対して転た悽然

「祖生の鞭を着けざるを」とは、見るべき仕事もなしていないという意味である。江戸へ到着してまだ四〇日足らずではあつたが、郷閩を発してすでに一〇〇日、二十二歳の齡を数えることになつた彌太郎にとつて、馬之助の抜群の進学ぶりや、家郷にあつて自分の勉学に異常な期待を寄せている両親を思うと、入門の許可が判明せぬことは、他人の想像以上に彌太郎青年の胸中を苦しめていたのであろう。

「独り寒灯に対して転た悽然」という句にその悶悶の情がよく読みとれるのであるが、彌太郎を江戸まで伴つてきた慥齋にとつても心の痛む問題であつた。慥齋は八方手を尽して、上司に彌太郎への特別の配慮を願ひ出していた。

正月のなかばになつてようやくその許可が下りた。

長齋塾は駿河台淡路坂にあつて、塾舎からは富士や筑波山が眺められ、見山樓と名づけられていた。

すでにここの塾生であつた馬之助は、彌太郎の入門をわが事のように喜び、嘉永三年いらい五年ぶりに再会できた二人の友情は、たちまちその空白を埋め、とくに金のない二人は衣食も分けあつて勉学に励み、塾生たちも羨む親密さを取り戻していた。

星巖との一夕の対面の感化というのではなからうが、時世にたいする敏感な反応がすでに彌太郎青年にも見られたのだ。

江戸に着き、二〇日ばかり過ぎたある日、儲齋は彌太郎をともない昌平齋に佐藤一齋を訪ねた。一齋は他出中だったが、ちょうどその日は暮の煤払いの日で、塾生総がかりで大掃除をやっていた。土佐出身の郷土清岡道之助もその塾生らの一人であった。煤取節句と呼ばれたこの日の来客は、胴上げをするという風習があつたので、彌太郎はさっそく塾生に取り巻かれ、胴上げの歓迎を受ける破目となつた。彌太郎はひさかたぶりに青年たちの活気に満ちた肌の熱さを味わって喜こんだ。

この清岡は、安芸郡田野浦の出だが、これから一〇年後、元治元年（一八六四）七月、高知藩庁の勤王党にたいする弾圧を弾劾し、同士二二人とともに、安芸郡野根山に集結し氣勢を挙げたが事敗れ、奈半利河原において斬られた土佐勤王派の先駆者の一人であつた。

## 一〇 大震災

安政二年（一八五五）という新しい年を迎えたが、良齋塾への彌太郎の入門の許可はおりなかつた。土佐藩では、従者の身分にある者は、藩外の他門に学ぶことを禁ずる掟があつたためだつた。

元旦を迎えた彌太郎は、その焦慮をつぎの詩に托し自らを慰めている。

京都では彌太郎は梁川星巖に紹介された。星巖はペリー来航らしい、攘夷論や海防論を唱えていたが、とくにその勤王思想は、諸藩の志士に大きな感化をあたえていた。星巖は、安政五年九月四日、七十歳で歿したが、いわゆる安政の大獄といわれた尊攘派にたいする苛烈な弾圧には、星巖死後にもかかわらず、その妻の紅蘭女子が投獄されるほど、幕府の彼にたいする追及はきびしかったのである。

彌太郎は初対面であったが、この星巖から深い感銘を受けたようだ。

この年十一月四日大地震が起った。京都伏見の宿舎にあった彌太郎の周章狼狽ぶりは大変なもので、火鉢をひっくり返すやら茶碗をけとばすやら、慥齋は地震よりも彌太郎のうろたえ方に驚ろき、あとでこれをたしなめた。

奥ノ宮慥齋の一行が江戸に到着したのは十一月二十三日であった。土佐の井ノ口村を出発してから五七日ぶりの入府であった。

江戸に入り、芝の愛宕山に上ったときの彌太郎の様子を、「瞠目して歎嗟休まず」と慥齋の日記は述べている。またある日、慥齋と二人で万世橋ぎわの筋違御門を通りかかった彌太郎は、ふと立ち止まると、

「先生、徳川の天下もはや末でございますな」

と大声で語りかけた。慥齋はあわててこれを制したが、彌太郎は声を落して、

「だが、先生ごらんなさい。警護の侍があんな老朽の腰抜けだけでは、メリケンに侮られても仕方ござりますまい。」

員、安積良齋の私塾に入門することであった。

安積良齋は、岩代国郡山（福島県）の出身で安藤重信が本名。家代々、安積国造神社の祠官で、二本松の八幡宮の祠官も兼ねた。出身地が江戸の東北、即ち丑寅（良）の方角であることから良齋と称したという。

若くして江戸に出て、佐藤一齋、林述齋に学び、天保七年（一八三六）、丹羽氏を藩主とする二本松藩の藩校教授を命ぜられる。嘉永三年（一八五〇）、幕府直轄の最高学府、幕府文教政策の淵藪でもあった昌平黉の儒員に任ぜられた。これは学者にとって最高の荣誉であった。

良齋は佐藤一齋と並称され、とくに文章の淳雅優麗はわが国随一といわれ、その名声はきわめて高かった。渡辺舉山、高野長英ら洋学者とも親交があったという。

私塾をひらき青年を指導し、土佐では、吉田東洋、岡本寧浦、奥ノ宮慥齋等は師弟の礼をとり、間崎滄浪（哲馬）、松岡毅軒、岩崎秋溟（馬之助）、清岡道之助（成章）ら多数の青年が入門していた。

さて、江戸への道中は、彌太郎にとって、両親への気遣いを別にすれば、他はまことに快適な旅であった。また慥齋の彌太郎への配慮もなみなぬものがあつた。

途々、慥齋は、知人、友人あるいは土地の名士を訪ね、いちいち彌太郎をかれらに引き合わせ、ときにはかれらの蔵書を借用して彌太郎に読書もすすめている。また慥齋は友人のように彌太郎と詩論をたたかかせて興じた。



ため、奥ノ宮は王陽明を唱導することをはばからなかった。奥ノ宮は慥齋と号し、岡本寧浦とは師友の間柄であった。

彌太郎の懇請を慥齋は快諾し、諸事滞りなくすすめてくれた。もつとも困難視された彌太郎の両親も承諾した。そして両親は彌太郎の江戸遊学のための資金を、先祖伝来の山林の一部を売り払って作ってくれた。藩への手続きは、彌太郎が往復三〇数里の道のりをわずか二日間で駆け通し、処理した。

慥齋一家は、九月二十五日高知を発し、二十七日には彌太郎宅に一泊した。

井ノ口村から見ると、そそり立つような急峰がある。妙見山という。その頂上近くに神社があった。

彌太郎は、出立の前日、その社前に立ち、扉に、

「天下の事業はこの手腕にあり。吾れ志を得ずんば再びこの山に登らず」と大書した幟を献上してぬかずいた。

九月二十八日、郷党多数の見送りを受け、奥ノ宮忠次郎の従者として、彌太郎は、二百数十里の江戸への旅の第一歩を踏み出した。

## 九 肩上げの歓迎

半面では同時に誰よりも相手の才能を認め、信じあっていたのだ。激動する時代を反映してか、静かに悲しみいたむ

その秋、彌太郎は師を喪った。だが、彼の周囲は、

氣配すら見せなかった。彌太郎の体中の火は変わらず燃えつづける。十一月に家定と改名すると、安政と改

元された。嘉永七年は、十月に、徳川家祥が十三代將軍の座に就いたが、胸のふさぐ思いで太平洋の波濤を見おろしていた彌太郎の耳に、

この年の九月、井ノ口村にあつて、一家をあげて出府するということである。

思わず小躍りするような話が伝わってきた。一家をあげて出府するということである。高知城近くにあつた奥ノ宮の家に

それは、知合いの藩士奥ノ宮忠次郎が江戸詰を命ぜられ、耳にするなり、地下浪人の身分では、藩士の従

彌太郎は願つてもえられぬこの機会を逃さなかつた。地下浪人の身分では、藩士の従

駆けつけて、せひに従者として江戸に連れていつて欲しいと懇願した。地下浪人の身分では、藩士の従

者となるといった方法しか、他国へ転出する手段がなかつた。知

奥ノ宮のにわか津の江戸行は、十三代藩主豊熙トヨキの未亡人知鏡院チカミの催す御仏事に勤めるためであつた。知

鏡院は薩摩藩主島津シマヅの息女候姫で、斉彬の妹である。土佐では王学オウガク（王陽明）の

奥ノ宮忠次郎は文化八年（一八一）七月生れ。佐藤一斎に陽明学を学び、寧浦はそのた

先駆者の一人であつたが、ただこの藩では程朱の学が尊ばれ、陽明学は禁じられていた。しかし幕末のころはこの禁制も緩和された

## 八 あこがれの江戸へ

天下騒乱の端緒となった黒船接岸の年は、南国土佐の青年たちの動静の上からも、やがて捲き起る激動の兆をみることができよう。

漁夫の倅中浜万次郎は幕臣となつて江戸に上つたが、この年の三月には、十九歳の郷土坂本龍馬も、江戸へ向け出発し、北辰一刀流の千葉門下（周作の弟貞吉の道場）に入った。

そしてこれと入替るように、文武修業を終えた鷹徒組の佐々木高行も二十四歳の青年となつて帰国し、同じく鏡新明智流の桃井春藏に学んだ郷士の武市半平太も江戸から土佐に帰つてきた。二十五歳となつていた。

こうした青年たちの動静をききながら、それらにもまして彌太郎の心をひいたのは、ひさかたぶりに寄せられた江戸の馬之助からの便りであつた。それは、師寧浦の死の三か月ほど前のことだつたが、また机を並べて学ぼうという彼の友情が彌太郎の心を激しく打つたのである。

かれらが幼少のころから続いている父親同士の反目も、向学心に燃えつづけてきた青年の友情を害うまでには、この時点ではまだなつていなかった。むしろ青年たちの間では、宿命的な父親同士の反目、本家分家の離反を悲しいものと感じ、二人の友情によつて和合を計ろうとする気持を、相互の胸底に秘めていたのではなからうか。二人は成熟するにつれ、学業の面ではライバル意識を持つようになつたが、

伴が一躍御普請役格の旗本に取り立てられ、外国奉行に配属されて、黒船との交渉に参加しているという話である。

天保十二年（一八四一）正月、土佐国幡多郡中ノ浜の漁夫の伴万次郎が出漁中、台風のために遭難し、南洋の無人島島島に漂着後、アメリカの捕鯨船ジョン・ホーランド号に救助され、以後、ジョン・マンと呼ばれながら、ハワイ、アメリカなどで、英語、航海、測量などを学んだ。

一〇年後の嘉永四年（一八五二）帰国の途につき琉球に上陸した。これを伝え聞いた鹿児島藩主島津斉彰は、彼を召喚して親しく海外事情を訊ねた。出国者は帰国は許されぬ筈であったが、島津藩主のとりなしで、とくに幕府からも許され、翌五年故郷に帰った。彼の異常な体験知識は、さっそく、吉田東洋らに高く評価され、吉田は、万国地図をひろげて万次郎の話にきき入ったが、傍らには十五歳の、東洋の甥後藤象二郎も目を輝かしていたという。

万次郎はこの年土佐藩士に抜擢された。そして翌六年には幕臣として迎えられ、万延元年（一八六〇）には、幕府遣米使節団の通訳として咸臨丸で再渡米する。維新後は開成学校の教授（明治二年）も勤めた。文政十年（一八二七）生れ、明治三十一年（一八九八）死去。

嘉永六年という年は、師事浦を失った彌太郎にとっても、わが国にとっても、転機となった年であった。

正弘は、国書を諸大名に示して意見をもとめた。

彦根藩主井伊直弼や佐倉藩主堀田正睦らは貿易論を唱えたが、大勢は水戸藩主徳川斉昭に代表された鎖国攘夷論であった。

「開国がやむをえないにしても、あまり寛大な態度を示しては幕府の威信が失われるし、武士の風気がゆるむ。士民が反乱をおこす恐れもあるから、一応は戦いの覚悟をもって臨む必要がある」という意見であった。

幕府もこれに賛同し、国内にたいしては攘夷の決意を示しながら、外国にたいしては、その態度に應じ、やむをえなければ和親を許すという方針をとった。

このとき阿部正弘が諸大名に諮問したのは、一説には、彼がドイツ連邦組織を日本の政治改革の参考にしようという新しい考えを持っていたからであるといわれる。いずれにせよ、これによって幕府の独裁制は崩れ、雄藩の合議制への道が開かれるようになったことは、幕府の政治体制にとって大きな変革であった。

土佐においては、十五代藩主山内豊信（容堂）は、まだ二十七歳であったが、幕府のこの諮問に答え、幕府は外国の非道の要求は断然しりぞけ、海防の強化をはかるべきであるという意見を上申ししていた。

嘉永六年（一八五三）といえば、黒船の来航により、家光將軍治下の寛永十二年（一六三五）くらい、二〇〇年余にわたり堅持してきた幕府の鎖国政策を放棄させられるという大事件が持ち上つた年である。この年六月、アメリカ東インド艦隊司令官マシュー・カールブレイス・ペリーは、日本との国交開始の使命をおびる遣日特派大使として、琉球の那覇、小笠原をへて、旗艦サスケハナ号以下四隻の軍艦をひきい浦賀に来航し、久里浜で大統領フィルモアの国書を、幕府全権、浦賀奉行戸田氏栄と井戸弘道に手交した。

ペリー（一七九四―一八五八）は、一八〇九年海軍に入り、一八四七年にはアメリカとメキシコの戦争（一八四六―四八）に参加、五二年、すなわち日本へ来航する前年に東インド艦隊司令官に任命された。五四年、再度来日し神奈川条約を締結後、琉球、香港をへて五五年に帰国。この間、琉球、小笠原の占有を提案したが、本国政府はこれを拒否している。

ついで嘉永六年七月には、ロシアの極東艦隊が長崎に上陸した。極東艦隊司令官ヴァシーリエウイッチ・プチャーチン（一八〇三―八三）のひきいる艦隊であったが、おりからクリミア戦争（一八五三―五六、トルコ、ロシアの戦い）の悪化のためまもなく退去、その後五八年まで数度来日し、日露和親条約（一八五四）、日露修好通商条約（一八五八）などの締結に当つた。プチャーチンは後に文相や帝國参事院議員となり、伯爵を授けられた。

こうした重大事件に当面した幕府は、前例を破つて事態の顛末を朝廷に報告するとともに、老中阿部

ると「さいわい藩庁からのお許しがえられず」立消えとなり、美和をもほっとさせた。

しかしながら、師寧浦の葬いをすました彌太郎は、学業なかばにしてふたたびむなしい井ノ口村に立ち戻らなければならなかった。

これまでに幾度も彌太郎は江戸への遊学を両親に頼ったが、そのつど母は即答を拒んでいた。天保らしい連年の飢饉に見舞われ、全国各地が深刻な不況にあえいでいるときでもあった。

まえにもふれたように、安芸郡井ノ口村の岩崎といえ、地下浪人の百姓とはいえ、本家と分家二軒が居を構え、しかも二分家とも、一は村の年寄役（鉄吾）、一は村の納所（寅之助）という重要な公役を勤め、本家も庄屋につぐ声望があった。

美和の手記は、「私参りし時までは、小作にも出した田地あり、随分大家のしるしもあり候へども」と認めており、彌太郎の少年期ころまでは、井ノ口では上農の部に属していたものとみられる。

だが、美和にとり、両分家との争いがたえず、しばしば起る村内の紛争にも、正論一点張りで押し通す夫彌次郎だけを頼りに、しだいに先細りの見える本家の体面を守ることは心許なく、何かと統領の彌太郎が相談相手とされたので、これを遠くに手放すは忍びない想いであった。

## 七 転機の年

ここでの彌太郎の日課は、日中は悠々遊びまわり、塾生の日課であった行灯の掃除なども、徒らに夕刻になって点火のさいの油煙をさつとふきとって終るといった具合。勉強は深夜行灯の下で独り読書

するというやり方だった。それは、彌太郎の父彌次郎と馬之助の父鉄吾の

しかし、彌太郎の高知城下の勉強も水続きしなかった。それは、彌太郎を井ノ口村に呼び戻しているの

いさかい、つまり本家と分家との争いのつど、まだ十五、六歳の彌太郎を井ノ口村に呼び戻したからだった。そのため彌

太郎は、つまずきながら、學問の修業にもとるとして彌太郎の塾への出入を禁じたからだった。そのため彌

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然と発する。酒の楽しみは正に「ここだ」

## 六 むなしい学才

軍浦は朱塗りの酒樽の方に顔を向けながら話をつづけた。

「だが山陽は都に住むから灘の生一本も飲みつづけられようが、わしは田舎の土佐の貧乏学者、高価な美酒を取りよせて飲むことのできる身分ではない。だからわしは薄酒で満足しているのじゃ。しかもいかに文名高く美酒を痛飲できても、山陽の如く酒で身を滅しては何もならぬ。故にわしは紅友で満足し、幾久しく薄酒と交友をつづけたい、まア、こういうわけだ」

そういつて、軍浦は壘を掌でたたいた。見ると彼の坐っている近くの壘は、破れた蓮のようにささくれ立っている。軍浦は講義に熱が入ると、爪で壘をむしる癖があった。

そして講義が終ると塾生といっしょに、樽を抜いて盃をまわしながら詩文に興ずるのである。誠にその天真、無碍の性行は、美和の兄の医者小野順吉とともに土佐の双璧であつたろう。学問以外はいっさい関りを持たない。後に登場する昌平費（江戸。幕府直轄の最高学府）の儒員、安積良斎は、この軍浦を評し山崎闇斎に比肩する南国最大の学者だと賞していた。

また、この文澤の子の高橋勝右衛門は、後藤象二郎の片腕といわれた人物で、後に彌太郎と重大な関りを持つ土佐藩の長崎商会の開設に當った。

ついでにこのような血縁的なつながりをみると、この高橋勝右衛門は、高知小高坂村の庄屋栗尾大作の妹を妻に迎えているが、彌次郎の妹婿は、この栗尾大作に嫁しているのである。

さて、美和の実家の長兄小野順吉は、慶応元年（一八六五）一月、六十一歳で歿した。この兄の死を追うように、次兄の篤治も、四十八歳の若さでこの年に死んだ。美和の手記によると、「田野浦の宮地と申す医に入門す」とあり、医者であった。彼は長崎で蘭法医術も学んでおり、とくに坂本龍馬と親交があった。

以上のように、母方の承諾を一瞥しただけで、ここにも、彌太郎少年を学問の道に志向させたものが、その血のなかに秘められていたように思われる。

話をふたたび高知城下に戻そう。彌太郎が入門した紅友舎の講義室を覗いてみると、朱塗りの酒樽が置いてある。これについて、洗い晒しの紺の綿服で酒焼けた大兵肥満の巨軀を包んだ儒者の寧浦は語ってくれた、

「紅友とは薄い酒ということだよ。薄酒は最も自分の分に適っているのだ。清冽醇美な酒は伊丹、池田の田ノ菱、岳雪が天下最上だろう。頼山陽はこれを好み、飲みつつ、史を繙き、国々の興亡の跡を訊ね、憎むべき奸雄や忠勇義烈の士が出ると、或は嘆息し或は悲憤慷慨する。その泣き笑いは酒と共に自

そのため、美和はこの年、高知の五藤氏に奉公に出た。そして十六歳のとき、また母俊をも失った。

長兄の順吉は、医を緒方洪庵の門に学び、文は頼山陽に学んだ学識の徒であった。しかし生涯独身で通し、酒を愛し、世事にはいつさい無頓着な人物で、極貧にありながら薬代などはけつして請求しなかつたという。きわめて磊落飄逸の性格の持主であつたようだ。

あるとき、ひさかたぶりに師の頼山陽を訪ねようとして乗船したところ、途中で大しげにあい、土産に持参した鯉節をかじりながら、飢をしのぎ、辛うじて上陸したが、そのかじりかけの鯉節をそのまま土産として山陽に呈したなどの話が残っている。

性来まことに天真爛漫であり、奇行にも富んでいたようだ。しかしながら、勤王の思想の持主でもあり、土佐勤王党の指導者として、武市半平太とは水魚の交りがあつた。

半平太が画いた順吉の肖像画は、大兵肥満で、大擧丸の持主で横歩きしたといわれるその巨漢ぶりを彷彿させる。

順吉と親交のあつた者に高橋文澤という者がいた。彼の妻は彌太郎の父彌次郎の四つ上の姉久美である。この文澤と久美夫妻のはからいで、美和は彌次郎に嫁いだ。美和が十八歳となった天保二年（一八一）四月のことだつた。

なお、この久美は、文澤の死後、近村の竹崎貞齋に再嫁したが、貞齋の死後は実家に戻り、彌太郎の

格な実践をもって社会風教の大本としていたが、紅友舎は何よりも師弟の情愛を重んじた。

## 五 母方の系譜

土佐最高の藩校である教授館から、分家の馬之助につづいて、学業試問に合格し名譽の賞を受けた彌太郎は、いよいよ向学心に燃え、さらに教授館の図書閲覧の許しをえて、高知城下へ――

そこには、母の姉ときの嫁入先があつた。ときの夫、岡本寧浦は著名な儒者であり、紅友舎という私塾を開いていた。十五歳の彌太郎は、ここの塾生として止宿し、寧浦の薫陶を受けながら、教授館の図書閲覧に精を出すことになつたのである。

さて、彌太郎の人間形成に大きな影響があつたと思われる、もう一つの血統について、ここで少しふれておこう。

母の実家である小野家が安芸浦西の浜に移り住んだのは、母美和の祖父小野作吾の代だといわれる。やはり地下浪人であつた。

その子つまり美和の父小野慶藏は医者であつた。慶藏には二男二女があり、美和はその末子であつた。美和は文化十一年（一八一四）七月二十日の生れで、三輪とも美輪とも書いた。慶藏は、美和が十四歳となつた文政十年（一八二七）に歿した。



しかし、彌太郎にも文章の語る内面の世界が少しずつのぞかれるときがきていた。彼は、論語や孟子の経書は苦手であったが、史書や詩文を好み、三國志の英雄豪傑を愛した。

土佐藩には、八代の藩主豊敷が宝暦十年（一七六〇）に設立した教授館があった。これは、文久二年（一八六二）に、吉田東洋の献策によって設けられた致道館の創設まで続いた土佐藩の最高の学府であった。天保、弘化のころの藩主、十三代豊熙は、藩中の学才ある子弟にたいし賞を与えて激励していた。

馬之助十二歳のとき、弘化二年（一八四五）十月、この教授館から呼び出しを受け、学業試問を命ぜられ、翌三年二月、見事これに合格して受賞した。このとき、土佐の三神童と噂された他の二人、細川潤次郎（後年文学博士、男爵）と間崎哲馬（維新烈士）もこの名誉を担った。

この馬之助の受賞が彌太郎にどれほど大きな刺戟となったか、同時に、どれほど馬之助にたいするライバル意識を高めたものであったか、容易に想像されよう。

伝記によると、十四、五歳のころ、彌太郎は変人だといわれた時期があったそうだ。彼の家の裏手に、足摺岬から室戸岬にわたる太平洋の波濤を望ませる小高い場所があり、その松の根に終日読書にふける彌太郎の姿があった。雨の日にも傘をさして立つ彌太郎の読書姿が見られ、晴れたある日は、太平洋をにらみながら朝から晩まで、木が生えたように立つ彌太郎を、村人たちはなかなかなば不安な心でみていたのである。

弘化四年四月、馬之助受賞の翌春、彌太郎にたいして、藩校教授館から学業試問に出向の呼び出しが

岩崎家の宿命を背負う二頭の競争馬のように、周囲から絶えず無言の叱咤を浴びながら、追い抜き追いつき走らねばならぬ運命に、馬之助、彌太郎の少年が立たされていたのである。

#### 四 高知城下へ

彌太郎が土居村の米山の許を離れ、南隣の彌助（岨山）お爺さんの秋香村舎で学習するようになったのは、十一歳の夏からである。馬之助も同じくこの村舎で勉強することになった。

この二人の親戚の孫たちを評し、彌助は、「馬之助は温順な子だが、彌太郎はどうも乱暴者だな」と語った。

彌太郎は字がまずかった。

「俺は出世したら能書家を備って字を書かせる。ソロバンも上手な者を備うさ。諸芸に達しようと枝葉末節のことに身を入れるなんぞ、その外に能のない者のすることだ」

また彌太郎は、友人と議論をして旗色が悪くなると、

「燕雀いずくんぞ鴻鵠の志を知らんや」

と言ひ捨ててさっさと席を立てていくといった態度である。

習い覚えの文章をとっさに用いて相手の意表をつき、敏捷に立ちまわる才があった。

な性格だった。人を容れる雅量には乏しく、酒好きで酔うと大言壮語して憎い。一旦腹を曲義侠心に富み、損得を離れて人のために尽くし、小作人の困窮には取立も督促もしないが、土地の言葉でいわゆる「いげるともうどうしようもない、あたりかまわず怒鳴り散らす頑固一徹ぶり、土地の言葉でいわゆる「い

ごつそう」な人物であったようだ。

「彌次郎さんと申す人は」と美和の手記は自分の夫について綴る、「幼い時から学問を仕込み、日々出十分読め、何事もよく相判り候へ共、田舎に暮し候事にて、時々学者仲間へ付合い候へども、暖

逢う者は皆文盲の者許りにて、自然心開けず、平常短気を発する人ゆえ、間違ひの言葉もあり」と、暖逢う者は皆文盲の者許りにて、自然心開けず、平常短気を発する人ゆえ、間違ひの言葉もあり」と、暖

かい心遣いで評している。

彌次郎のこうした性質や心にわだかまる不平が、分家との和合にいつしかひびをいれ、相争うというほどではなかったにしろ、ささいなことにも知らずに競争心をかき立てるような傾向を生んでいたようだった。

そしてその競争心には、同族をあげて地下浪人という階層からの脱出への願望が同時に秘められていたのではなかったろうか。だが、微賤の社会の子弟の出世の道は、学問によって学者となるか僧侶への

道を選ぶほかはない。

こうしたとき、本家と分家に期せずして秀才に恵まれていそうな少年が、奇しき啓示のように、時と所を同じくして生誕したことは、偶然というにはあまりにも出来過ぎた話であった。



の家の南隣に秋香村會をひらき子弟の訓育に努めていたが、そのかたわら農耕にも励んでいた。

彼は作時には事実を記して、日常の事柄をありのまま詠むべきであると主張し、古人の模倣や形式主義を排したりアリズムの先駆者でもあった。彌太郎は、十一歳の夏からこの峴山について教育されるが、馬之助も、ともに峴山を師とするのである。峴山は、安政四年（一八五七）五月、七十三歳で歿した。

この彌三郎、彌助兄弟の父、六代目岩崎彌次右衛門は、武芸に長じ剣術の達人といわれた人。あるとき高知から来た剣客と試合となり、これを打ち負かしたことはよかつたが、その後で、文芸について論戦を挑まれて恥をかき、いらい、文武両道に通ずることを心掛け、彌三郎、彌助の二人の息子にもこれをもとめていた。その薰陶から彌三郎は小栗流武芸の達人となり、彌助は前述のような学芸を身につけて、兄弟二分して父の念願を実現したわけである。しかしこの彌次右衛門の代に、岩崎家は、郷士から地下浪人となったことは前に述べた。

さて、この彌助（峴山）の次男寅之助は、納所（貢米取立役）を勤めていた。

このように、分家は両家とも役職を持ったが、本家の彌次郎には何もなかつた。彌次郎は不平を内蔵させていた。ただ当時の社会は、分家の冠婚葬祭、田地売買、小作の割振といったことがらは、すべて本家の当主の承認を要するという大家族主義的の制度であつたので、分家側からは、きわめて独善的ではしばし当を得ぬ判断を下す彌次郎に不満が多かつた。

ると村人たちを驚かす、鱧鬼大将。あるとき木を盗む者があるという注進に、さっそく俺が連れてやると出かけてみると、それは貧しい身寄りのない老婆であった。鱧鬼大将の彌太郎はたくさんの薪を背負って、その老婆の家に運んでいった。

### 三二頭の競争馬

「彌太郎には詩才があり、馬之助は読書力に優れている」

師の小牧米山は、二人の血族の少年をこらみていた。馬之助は、彌太郎の家の隣に住む分家の岩崎鉄吾の長男で、名は維謙、字は君義といった。後年、秋浜と号した儒者で、明治政府にも出仕した。

馬之助は、天保五年（一八三四）十一月二十九日生れであり、彌太郎とはわずか一二日しか違わぬ同年輩であった。

この分家は、岩崎家中興の初代彌兵衛の弟彌平から続いている分家で、馬之助の父鉄吾は村の年寄を勤めていた。岩崎家には、もう一軒の分家があった。同じ井ノ口に住む岩崎彌助が分家していたのである。

彌助は、名は泰助、岨山と号した儒者であり、江戸の安積良高は、岨山をわが国第一の文章家と称揚していたという。温厚な人柄で、「人に聖人といわれた人」だと美和の手記は認めている。彼は、彌太郎

「そんな錢、持っていないじゃないか」

直方は虚をつかれたので提案を変えた。

「それじゃ紙十帖やろう」

「駄目だ」彌太郎はまたすげなく断った。

直方は、諦めずにすぐ条件を変えた。

「紙一帖、これなら持っている、どうだ」

彌太郎は何も答えなかった。そして話題をいつものいたずら話や女の子の話などに移しながら歩いていった。二人はふと土蔵の前に立っているのに気づいた。二人はその前に腰をおろした。土蔵の壁に二人の影法師がくつきりと写っているのを、彌太郎は目ざとく確めていた。ひょいと立ち上った彌太郎はすばやく駆けよってその壁に写っている直方の頭の影をかかえるように両手でつつむと、

「さあ掴まえたぞ、直方、お前の頭をつかまえた」

直方はすっかり忘れていたのである。彌太郎は紙一帖をまんまとせしめることができた。

こうした彌太郎少年のいたずらや、その行動が敏捷で頭の回転の早い点を評して、

「彌太郎は機智もあるが、実際のな考え方を持つ少年だ」

と、師の小牧米山は賞めていた。

南瓜をえぐってその穴に蠟燭をともし、それを子供らに持たせ夜の暗道をかけさせながら、鬼火が走

格な実践をもつて社会風教の大本としていたが、紅友舎は何よりも師弟の情愛を重んじた。

## 五 母方の系譜

土佐最高の藩校である教授館から、分家の馬之助につづいて、学業試問に合格し名譽の賞を受けた彌太郎は、いよいよ向学心に燃え、さらに教授館の図書閲覧の許しをえて、高知城下へ――

そこには、母の柿ときの嫁入先があつた。ときの夫、岡本寧浦は著名な儒者であり、紅友舎という私塾を開いていた。十五歳の彌太郎は、ここの塾生として止宿し、寧浦の薫陶を受けながら、教授館の図書閲覧に精を出すことになつたのである。

さて、彌太郎の人間形成に大きな影響があつたと思われる、もう一つの血統について、ここで少しふれておこう。

母の実家である小野家が安芸浦西の浜に移り住んだのは、母美和の祖父小野作吾の代だといわれる。やはり地下浪人であつた。

その子つまり美和の父小野慶藏は医者であつた。慶藏には二男二女があり、美和はその末子であつた。美和は文化十一年（一八一四）七月二十日の生れで、三輪とも美輪とも書いた。慶藏は、美和が十四歳となつた文政十年（一八二七）に歿した。

あり、彌太郎も合格して受賞し、六月には金一封を拝領した。馬之助には一步遅れたが追いついたのである。彌太郎の向学心はこれを機に火のように燃えてゆく。

嘉永元年（一八四八）、十五歳の年を迎えた彌太郎は、さらに進学の意志をかため、教授館の図書の間を藩庁に願ひ出た。地下浪人の件では教授館へ入学することはできなかった。願ひが聞き届けられると、その春、彌太郎は大きな希望を負って高知城下に急いだ。さいわい城下には、岡本寧浦という儒者に嫁いでいる叔母が待つていてくれた。この叔母は、母の姉でとき（時）といった。彌太郎はここに止宿することになった。

叔母の夫の寧浦は、城下で紅友舎という私塾を開いていた。彼は安芸郡の乗光寺という浄土真宗西派の末寺に生れた。僧徒修業中、故あつて本山に召されて、「信と行と、何れを重しとするか」と訊問され、彼は應ずることなく「行を重んずる」と答えたところ、これがひどく本山の勘気にふれ幽閉された。

寧浦はいらい仏道の修業を断念し、還俗して岡本退蔵と名乗り儒学に専念した。二十四歳であつた。彼は頼山陽や大塩平八郎らとも交つた。備前池田侯が彼の学才を認め召そうとしたのを知つた十二代土佐藩主豊資は、寧浦を召喚し教授館教官下僚に採用したのは、天保九年（一八三八）、寧浦四十五歳のときであつた。

その後、江戸結となつたが、昌平黉の佐藤一斎や安積良斎らと師友の交りを結ぶ。帰国後、城下で紅友舎を開いたのである。当時土佐の儒学は、野中兼山、山崎闇斎いらいの伝統を墨守し、儒教道徳の嚴

しかし、彌太郎にも文章の語る内面の世界が少しずつのぞかれるときがきていた。彼は、論語や孟子の経書は苦手であったが、史書や詩文を好み、三國志の英雄豪傑を愛した。

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弘化四年四月、馬之助受賞の翌春、彌太郎にたいして、藩校教授館から学業試問に向向の呼び出しが

岩崎家の宿命を背負う二頭の競争馬のように、周囲から絶えず無言の叱咤を浴びながら、追い抜き追いつき走らねばならぬ運命に、馬之助、彌太郎の少年が立たされていたのである。

#### 四 高知城下へ

彌太郎が土居村の米山の許を離れ、南隣の彌助（岨山）お爺さんの秋香村舎で学習するようになったのは、十一歳の夏からである。馬之助も同じくこの村舎で勉強することになった。

この二人の親戚の孫たちを評し、彌助は、「馬之助は温順な子だが、彌太郎はどうも乱暴者だな」と語った。

彌太郎は字がまずかった。

「俺は出世したら能書家を備って字を書かせる。ソロバンも上手な者を備うさ。諸芸に達しようと枝葉末節のことに身を入れるなんぞ、その外に能のない者のすることだ」

また彌太郎は、友人と議論をして旗色が悪くなると、

「燕雀いずくんぞ鴻鵠の志を知らんや」

と言ひ捨ててさっさと席を立っていくといった態度である。

な性格だった。人を容れる雅量には乏しく、酒好きで酔うと大言壮語して他人を誹謗するといった半面、義侠心に富み、損得を離れて人のために尽くし、小作人の困窮には取立も督促もしないが、一旦臍を曲げるともうどうしようもない、あたりかまわず怒鳴り散らす頑固一徹ぶり、土地の言葉でいわゆる「いごっそう」な人物であったようだ。

「彌次郎さんと申す人は」と美和の手記は自分の夫について綴る、「幼い時から学問を仕込み、読物は十分読め、何事もよく相判り候へ共、田舎に暮し候事にて、時々学者仲間へ付合い候へども、日々出逢う者は皆文盲の者許りにて、自然心開けず、平常短気を発する人ゆえ、間違いの言葉もあり」と、暖かい心遣いで評している。

彌次郎のこうした性質や心にわだかまる不平が、分家との和合にいつしかひびをいれ、相争うというほどではなかったにしろ、ささいなことにも知らずに競争心をかき立てるような傾向を生んでいたようだった。

そしてその競争心には、同族をあげて地下浪人という階層からの脱出への願望が同時に秘められていたのではなかったろうか。だが、微賤の社会の子弟の出世の道は、学問によって学者となるか僧侶への道を選ぶほかにない。

こうしたとき、本家と分家に期せずして学才に恵まれていそうな少年が、奇しき啓示のように、時と所を同じくして生誕したことは、偶然というにはあまりにも出来過ぎた話であった。



の家の南隣に秋香村舎をひらき子弟の調育に努めていたが、そのかたわら農耕にも励んでいた。

彼は作詩には事実を記して、日常の事柄をありのまま詠むべきであると主張し、古人の模倣や形式主義を排したりアリズムの先駆者でもあった。彌太郎は、十一歳の夏からこの岬山について教育されるが、馬之助も、ともに岬山を師とするのである。岬山は、安政四年（一八五七）五月、七十三歳で歿した。

この彌三郎、彌助兄弟の父、六代目岩崎彌次右衛門は、武芸に長じ剣術の達人といわれた人。あるとき高知から来た剣客と試合となり、これを打ち負かしたことはよかつたが、その後で、文芸について論戦を挑まれて恥をかき、いらい、文武両道に通ずることを心掛け、彌三郎、彌助の二人の息子にもこれをもとめていた。その薫陶から彌三郎は小栗流武芸の達人となり、彌助は前述のような学芸を身につけて、兄弟二分して父の念願を実現したわけである。しかしこの彌次右衛門の代に、岩崎家は、郷土から地下浪人となったことは前に述べた。

さて、この彌助（岬山）の次男寅之助は、納所（貢米取立役）を勤めていた。

このように、分家は両家とも役職を持ったが、本家の彌次郎には何もなかつた。彌次郎は不平を内蔵させていた。ただ当時の社会は、分家の冠婚葬祭、田地売買、小作の割振といったことから、すべて本家の当主の承認を要するという大家族主義的の制度であつたので、分家側からは、きわめて独善的ではしばし当を得ぬ判断を下す彌次郎に不満が多かつた。

ると村人たちを驚かす、餓鬼大将。あるとき木を盗む者があるという注進に、さっそく俺が揃えてやると出かけてみると、それは貧しい身寄りのない老婆であった。餓鬼大将の彌太郎はたくさん薪を背負って、その老婆の家に運んでいった。

### 三二頭の競争馬

「彌太郎には詩才があり、馬之助は読書力に優れている」

師の小牧米山は、二人の血族の少年をこらみていた。馬之助は、彌太郎の家の隣に住む分家の岩崎鉄吾の長男で、名は維憐いけん、字は君義といった。後年、秋溟と号した儒者で、明治政府にも出仕した。

馬之助は、天保五年（一八三四）十一月二十九日生れであり、彌太郎とはわずか一二日しか違わぬ同年輩であった。

この分家は、岩崎家中興の初代彌兵衛の弟彌平から続いている分家で、馬之助の父鉄吾は村の年寄を勤めていた。岩崎家には、もう一軒の分家があった。同じ井ノ口に住む岩崎彌助が分家していたのである。

彌助は、名は泰助、岨山と号した儒者であり、江戸の安積良齋あせきりょうさいは、岨山をわが国第一の文章家と称揚していたという。温厚な人柄で、「人に聖人といわれた人」だと美和の手記は認めている。彼は、彌太郎

「そんな錢、持っていないじゃないか」

直方は虚をつかれたので提案を変えた。

「それじゃ紙十帖やろう」

「駄目だ」彌太郎はまたすげなく断つた。

直方は、諦めずにすぐ条件を変えた。

「紙一帖、これなら持っている、どうだ」

彌太郎は何も答えなかった。そして話題をいつものいたずら話や女の子の話などに移しながら歩いていった。二人はふと土蔵の前に立っているのに気づいた。二人はその前に腰をおろした。土蔵の壁に二人の影法師がくつきりと写っているのを、彌太郎は目ざとく確めていた。ひよいと立ち上った彌太郎はすばやく駆けよってその壁に写っている直方の頭の影をかかえるように両手でつつむと、

「さあ掴まえたぞ、直方、お前の頭をつかまえた」

直方はすっかり忘れていたのである。彌太郎は紙一帖をまんまとせしめることができた。

こうした彌太郎少年のいたずらや、その行動が敏捷で頭の回転の早い点を評して、

「彌太郎は機智もあるが、実際の考え方を持つ少年だ」

と、師の小牧米山は賞めていた。

たようだ。ときには、子供らをたんぼに走らせ、田植に精を出す娘らをからかうといったいたずらもや  
った。

「知ってるゾ、梅ヤが誰かと晩にお宮に入ったの知ってるゾ、そしたらお腹が大きくなった、梅ヤの  
お腹大きいゾ」

小さな口をそろえて囁ささしたてる子供の群に泥が飛んできた。しかし子供らは逃げまわりながら勢いず  
く。娘たちはこの子らをそそのかしている餓鬼大将をとりおさえようと彌太郎の家におしかけた。これ  
を物陰からのぞいていた彌太郎は、さつと家の中に入ったと思うとまもなく袴着の姿に変わっていた。そ  
して、娘たちの前に立ち、

「拙者はこれから藩庁（高知）のお呼び出しで出かけるところだが、御用ならまたの日にかがおう」  
ませた大人の口真似で一同を見まわす。娘たちもこれには掌に握っていた泥を投げつけるわけにもい  
かず、笑いながらの退散である。

またこんな話もある。

ある日、彌太郎が米山の次男の直方と二人で道を歩いていると、直方は、だしぬけに、

「どうだ彌太郎、お前に銭百貫やろう、ただし俺の頭の影を踏むか、搦えたらな…」

むきになって彌太郎が自分の影法師を追いかけろ負けん気の姿を、直方はからかってみようと思いつ  
いたのだった。ところが彌太郎はこれに応じようとしない。そして興もなげにいった、

## 二 餓鬼大将

母美和の手記によると、彌太郎は、痢が強く夜昼となく泣き通した赤ん坊であつた。七歳になると、祖父の彌三郎（中興岩崎家七代、嘉永二年一八四九年八月、六十七歳で歿す）から初めて手習いを受けたが覚えが悪く、母は実家の兄（小野家）にも頼んでみたが、ここでもよくならない。

そこで九歳になったとき、隣村の土居村の小牧修平（米山）について習わした。米山は兄の天山とともに、土佐藩の家老五藤氏の設けた塾の教授役であつた。五藤氏は、彌太郎の生地安芸郡を知行地とし、土居村に居館を持っていたが、郡内の子弟のため兼塾館を建て儒学を教え、児童のため素読所も設けていた。天山、米山兄弟は実学に力をそそぎ産業の振興に尽した儒者であつた。

ある日、母が彌太郎を高知の城下に連れていったときのことだつた。母に手をひかれて歩いてきた彌太郎がふと立ち止まり、母の手を放して前方をさしながら、母を見上げた。

「漆を喰うってどういふこと？」

彌太郎のさした方の家の前に、「漆喰仕成所」の看板があつたのである。母美和は、この小さな彌太郎の問いによほど心を打たれたのであろう、彼女は、わが子の文字にたいする知識を初めて知つた母の喜びを味つたのであつた。十歳ころの逸話である。

か五〇年にしてその生涯を閉じた。

岩崎彌太郎は、天保五年十二月十一日（一八三五年一月九日）、南国土佐は高知に近い安芸川上流の僻村・井ノ口村（現在高知県安芸市井ノ口）に住む百姓岩崎彌次郎の長男として生まれる。

名は敏、字（別名）を好古といい、通称彌太郎と呼ばれた。論語の「信じて古を好み、敏にして之を求む」から採ったものではないかと、彼の伝記はいう。このことから察せられるように、彼の家は百姓ではあつたが、たんなる百姓ではなく地下浪人といわれたものであつた。

岩崎家の遠祖は、甲斐源氏の武田氏の流れを汲むといわれる。三代將軍家光の時代から五代將軍綱吉の時代にわたり、七十七歳の生涯を生きた岩崎彌兵衛が、岩崎家中興の祖とされ、彌太郎の父彌次郎は、その八代目であつた。

文政十三年（十二月）に天保と改元、一八三〇年十一月に歿した六代目彌次右衛門のとき、寛政七年（一七九五）三月のことだったが、四代目の岩崎伝次右衛門の妹婿にあたる中村作左衛門に、郷士（半士半農）の職を譲り、地下浪人となつていたのである。天明（一七八一―一八八）から続いた飢饉に因るものであつた。

当時、藩士の身分を失い、郷士となつて、四〇年以上の経歴を持つものは、その郷士を譲つて百姓となつても、地下浪人と呼ばれ、苗字帯刀を許されていた。しかし、郷村にあつては、庄屋の下風に立ち、その下知を受けねばならなかつたという。

あの狂瀾怒濤の時代に、徳川家をほとんど無疵の状態のまま、政治の舞台から引退させるといふ大役を果した勝海舟は、まだ四十歳なかばであったが、明治新政府には出仕せず、明治三十二年（一八九九）一月、七十七歳で世を去るまで、自らその才を封じて、身を巷の一隅に還塞せしめ、その半生を洒落な姿で送っていたのである。

前記の人々の享年と、海舟の引退の年齢が訳もなく対比されるが、興味が湧く。

しかし、福澤諭吉は海舟のこの態度を嗤い、その「瘠我慢の説」のなかで、幕府倒壊の責すら負わず、骨身を惜しむもののようにきびしく批難している。さむらいは勝敗を度外視しても、戦うべき筋のある戦いはいさぎよく戦うべきなのに、海舟はみすみす戦わずに江戸城を明け渡したと責める諭吉の論法では、海舟の、三十二年間にわたって自らに課した還塞の意義は割り切れなかったことだろうか。

勝海舟は、人間ほんらいの姿を、「時代」の産物としてとらえ、福澤諭吉は、「時代」を超えたところで人間の実体を掴まえようとしていたように思われる。

いずれにしても、「あの時代」は、惜し気もなく青年の情熱をむさぼったのであった。「時代」それ自身が、老廃することをいとうあまり、情容教もなく、むしろ狂気のように、ひたすら新鮮に若やく天地を求めていた感がある。

彼——岩崎彌太郎も、こうした「青年の時代」の一人であった。

# 第一章 「青年の時代」

——学問の世界にひかれた岩崎彌太郎の半生——

## 一 狂瀾怒濤と青年

時代はまさに青年が思うさま驥足を展ばした時代であった。

大塩平八郎 天保八年（一八三七）三月、自殺（四十六歳）

渡辺崋山 天保十二年（一八四一）十月、自殺（四十九歳）

吉田松陰 安政六年（一八五九）十月、処刑（三十歳）

井伊直弼 万延元年（一八六〇）三月、暗殺（四十五歳）

坂本龍馬 慶応三年（一八六七）十一月、暗殺（三十三歳）

木戸孝允 明治十年（一八七七）五月、病死（四十三歳）

西郷隆盛 明治十年（一八七七）九月、自刃（四十八歳）

大久保利通 明治十一年（一八七八）五月、暗殺（四十七歳）

これらの人々は、みなその青春の活力を時務にそそぎ、いずれも三十代、四十代でその生涯を閉じている。



C

第四部 総括篇 「天皇の世紀」



しかしこの間、藤田組内部では事業継承をめぐり、傳三郎と二人の甥の間に深い対立が生れていた。それは二十九年三月の藤田鹿太郎の死について、三十八年三月に久原庄三郎が隠居したため、それぞれの嫡子小太郎、房之助が取締に就任して、藤田組が三兄弟の会社から叔父、甥の会社となったところから表面化したものであった。

傳三郎が家憲制定にあたり、藤田組の継承者を自分の嫡子およびその相続人と主張したのにたいし、二人の甥が強く反発したのが、対立の原因であった。井上馨らが仲介に入り、傳三郎家が継承することになり、その代償として、二人の甥には持分に応じた分与金(一人四七〇万円)を二〇年年賦で支払うとの兼定で解決した。

その後房之助は明治三十八年十二月、藤田組から独立して、久原鉱業所日立鉱山を経営し、後年の久原財閥の第一歩をふみだした。小坂鉱山はその後曲折を経て第二次大戦後同和鉱業となり、藤田農場も農地改革から藤田観光となり今日を迎えている。

の含有の少ない貧鉱でも採算はとれるようになり、明治二十年代までは、非鉄金属のうち銅に次ぐ生産額を占め、二十七、八年ころまでは全盛であった。

ところが、二十六年ころから、海外銀相場下落を反映して価格の低落がはげしく、その結果、わが国でも金本位制採用の気運を促していたが、ついに日清戦争の償金をもとにして、明治三十年三月、政府は金本位制を実施したのである。このため、わが国の非鉄金属鉱業の生産は、従来の銀銅中心から金銅中心に移ってゆく。

そしてまたこの三十年は、日清戦争後の企業ブームもすぎ去り反動恐慌に見舞われる気配を色濃くし、ようとしているときであった。

こうした情勢の中に立たされた藤田組首脳は、井上馨を介して多額の融資を受けていた毛利家の要請もあり、小坂鉱山の閉鎖を決意し、その事後処理に、取締久原庄三郎の四男房之助を起用することになった。

だが、房之助はその命を受け入れず、小坂の再建をはかった。彼は精錬が困難なため放置されている黒鉱を、精錬法の刷新によって打開しようとした。そのため、東京帝大出身の若い技術者竹内維彦や、後年日立製作所の創立者となった小平浪平らを招いてその実現にあたらせたのである。

明治三十五年、房之助の再建計画は自焙精錬の成功によって開花し、閉山寸前の小坂鉱山は、銅山と

が大倉組と共同で設立した内外用達会社および日本土木会社にその業務を譲渡した。

また二十四年には生糸販売業からも手をひき、もっぱら鉱山業と、二十二年に起業認可を受けた岡山

栗兎島湾の干拓を行って展開した藤田農場の経営に集中した。

この間、藤田組は、その資本金を、十八年には二〇万円、二十二年には五〇万円、二十六年には六〇

万円と増加していった。この二十六年はわが国ではじめて商法が施行された年であり、藤田組はこの年と

三兄弟の合名会社に改組し、本格的に鉱山事業と取組むのである。

藤田傳三郎は、こうしたかたわら、十八年には五代友厚の死のあとを受けて大阪商法会議所の会頭と

なり、大阪株式取引所の支配権も握り、急速に大阪財界に指導的地位を築いていたのであり、プールの

条例の公布には、率先してその実現のため大阪取引所の設立に活躍したことは前にも触れた。

さて、小坂鉱山の経営にあたり、藤田は、明治十三年からの市ノ川アンチモニー鉱山の経営の経験は

生かして、その払い下げと同時に規則、事務章程の大改正を行って対処した。

当時の小坂は土鉱を精錬の対象とする銀山であった。しかし土鉱は、鉱床上部に存するだけで量は

期待できず、はやくも三十一年には掘りつくされる状態であった。

しかも銀価は明治二十年代を通じて一貫して下落傾向を示していた。わが国で、日本銀行が兌換銀行

券を最初に発行したのは明治十九年の当初からで、このときは銀本位が確定されたから、銀鉱経営への

期待が大きかったろう。また、わが国では金銀の産出量は少なかったが、銀は精錬法の改良によって銀

明治政府が行なった官業払い下げは、従来、政府と政商との取引といった面だけが強調されがちだが、ねらいはむしろ事業の完全な継承が重視されており、そのため、払い下げ事業にたいする十分な経験の有無が重要な民間払い下げの条件とされていたことを見のがしてはならないのである。つまり捨て値同然で官営事業を払い下げられて財閥的な成長をみたのではなく、継承後の経営努力が事業の大成を実現したと理解すべきだろう。

明治十七年に藤田組が小坂鉱山を払い下げたときの小坂鉱山は、それまですでに五四万七五〇〇円の官費が投下されていたが、その財産評価額は一九万二〇〇〇円とふまれていた。これにたいし藤田組は二七万三六五九円（生産設備二〇万円、半製品代七万三六五九円）の払下価格で応じている。ただし支払いは一六か年月賦であった。

こうした払い下げ条件は確かに有利なものであったが、その後の経営は決して容易なものではなく、後には同族間の対立も生ずることになるのである。

##### (5) 久原房之助の独立

この小坂鉱山の払い下げをみるまでの藤田組は、その事業の主力は前にも述べたように、陸軍用建業と土木事業であった。

これは鉱物独占と外国資本排除を表明したものであろう。しかし民間は完全に鉱山事業への進出を拒否されたのではなく、借(坑)区税と坑物税を支払って「稼行」する形式がとられた。

しかも注目すべきことは、官鉱がほぼ一〇か所とどめられ、他は民間資本の競合による採掘の促進がはかられたことである。ただこれは、借区獲得をめぐる競合であり、借区料滞納による借区取消にあらう者も出て、けつきよくは有力者へ集中する結果となった。

住友の別子銅山、五代友厚の半田銀山、古河市兵衛の足尾銅山、岩崎彌太郎の吉岡銅山、三井の神岡銀山などが、こうしてかれらの「稼行」するところとなった。そして官鉱一〇鉱と並行して開鉱されていた。

ただし官鉱は良鉱中の良鉱で、明治七年から十四年までの合計で、全国産出量の過半数を占めており、そのなかでも、佐渡、生野、三池、阿仁は、その利益がつねに一位から四位を保っていたので、十七年七月に鉱山払い下げが決定されたにもかかわらず、政府は引続き官営を続行することを宣言している。

そして阿仁銅山だけは収支が償わず、十八年三月、古河市兵衛に払い下げられ、その他の三池炭坑については、軍事予算が拡大されてきた情勢を背景に、しだいに他に優越してきた三井、三井にたいし、競争入札で、最後まで手放さなかった三池炭坑(明治二十一年八月)は、三井側の影武者として入札に参加した佐々木八郎に落札。また、佐渡金山と生野銀山は、二十九年九月に三井に、ついに払い下げられるのである。



し、形になったという。

ここで少し維新当時の政府の鉱山政策をふりかえってみよう。

明治新政府は、明治元年二月、大阪の旧幕府の銅座を接收し銅会所とした。七月これは鉱山局となり、これが鉱山行政の第一歩となったが、やがて明治三年十月工部省が新設されると、その鉱山掛に発展した。

この工部省は、百工勸奨を司り、それまで民部省所管であった鉱山、製鉄、造船、鉄道、灯台、電信などのほか、機械製作、化学工場、工部大学校などを管轄して、官営事業の中心となった。その後、官営事業が払い下げられることになり、それが、鉄道、電信などは残してその払い下げが一段落をみると、太政官制度から内閣制に変わった明治十八年十二月、この工部省も廃止された。

この鉱山行政は、はじめ開発よりも全国の銅および金銀の買収が中心で、政府は、佐渡、生野の二つの幕府直轄の金銀山や南部藩の小坂銀山を官収していたが、それ以外の鉱山は、明治二年二月に「開坑規則」を設けて、民間による開発を許していた。

廃藩置県後、政府は、明治六年七月に「日本坑法」を發布した。この月には地租改正条例も布告されている。この「坑法」で、政府は、

「およそ日本国中で発見する鉱物はすべて日本政府の所有であり、独り日本政府のみこれを採用するの分義あり」と宣言している。

就任するなど、住友家以外の実業界でも活躍した。

ところで、さきの関西貿易商会だが、開拓使官有物払い下げ事件で出鼻をくじかれ、そのまま解散となったが、中野橋一は、二年後の十六年に理由不明の自殺をとげていた。

ただこの十四年に藤田傳三郎商社は、資本金六万円（傳三郎三万円、慶太郎、庄三郎各一万五〇〇〇円出資）の組合組織に改組し、商号も藤田組と改めた。

社主は傳三郎で、慶太郎、庄三郎は取締に就任。それぞれの嫡子以外の者はその地位を相続できないこと、商社の損益は各自の出資に応じて処理することなどを定めた。

これからこの藤田はいよいよ財閥的な発展の歩みをはじめるのである。

#### (4) 鉱山業に乗り出す

明治十七年九月、藤田組は小坂鉱山の払い下げを、取締役の久原庄三郎名義で出願して認可された。

小坂鉱山は、秋田県鹿角郡小坂町にある鉱山で、文久元年（一八六一）に発見され、慶応二年（一八六六）から南部藩主がこれを経営していたが、明治維新で中断され、明治三年になって政府がこれを再興した。

その後、明治十年、ふたたび南部氏がこれを借りて経営に当たったが、経営不振のため、明治十七年に

た。

十一歳のとき、叔父治右衛門に連れられて住友別子銅山勘定場に給仕として奉公した。向学心が強くこのときから四書を学んだ。動続一七年の後に妻帯したが、まもなく主人住友吉次郎の推薦で別家広瀬儀右衛門の夫婦養子に迎えられた。

三十九歳となった慶応元年（一八六五）には、別子銅山の総支配人に昇進した。

その後、鳥羽伏見の戦いとき、官軍の土佐藩の川田小一郎は別子銅山を幕府直営事業と考えて差押え、新居浜の銅山分店の米倉に封印をした。幸平は川田の陣営に出かけて銅山開坑らしいの事歴を述べ、その経営が住友一家の事業であることを辛うじて認めさせた。

また、維新期の住友家の窮迫は、三井家同様尋常ではなかったため、別子銅山を一〇万両で手放そうという話が起こり、その決定寸前に幸平の強い反対で中止させたこともあった。

彼は外人技師の雇入れや海外留學生の派遣により新技術を導入し、生産の増大をはかる一方、多角経営の促進や経営の近代化につとめ、維新以後の住友の再建、事業の拡張に大きく貢献した。

しかし、その独裁的経営にたいし、一部理事から、公私混交と徹底的な弾劾をうけ、ついに明治二十七年、住友家の総理格から退陣したのである。

彼が八十六歳の生涯を終えたのは大正三年であった。その間彼は、五代友厚らとともに大阪株式取引所や大阪商法会議所の創立（いずれも明治十一年）に尽力し、また明治十七年には大阪商船会社の頭取に

大隈追放は、北海道開拓使官有物払下げ問題や、憲法問題、国会開設問題などを背景とした政府部内の派閥争いであった。

この開拓使官有物払下げ事件には藤田傳三郎も間接的ながら一枚加わっていたといえよう。この事件の経緯を要約すると、維新後、政府は北海道の開拓に一四〇〇万円を投じたが、十年計画の満期にあたって、開拓使長官、薩摩出身の黒田清隆は、これを三八万円余で、同郷の五代友厚らの関西貿易商會に無利息三〇か年賦で払い下げようと、政府はいったんこれを許可した。

ところがこれにたいし、参議の大隈重信とも親交のある民間の自由民権派から激しい攻撃が起り、伊藤博文ら政府首脳は払い下げを取消すと同時に、自由民権派を孤立させ弾圧すべく、大隈ら政府部内の反対派を罷免したのである。

さらに政府は、このとき勅諭をだして明治二十三年に国会を開くことを宣言した。

明治政府は維新らしい最大の危機に立っていた。それは政治面だけでなく、財政的にも経済政策の上からも一步よみちがえれば倒壊するといった岐路にあったといわれる。

関西貿易商會というのは、五代の働きかけで、廣瀬宰平、藤田傳三郎、中野梧一らの参画によって、この年創立された会社である。

廣瀬宰平は、文政十一年(一八二八)、近江国野洲郡八夫村(滋賀県)の医師北脇理三郎の次男に生れ

る。これは傳三郎が御用商人として成功する大きな発端となった。

それから各鎮台に納入する関係から彼の事業は軍隊の必要物資を扱う用達業となり、さらに土木業へと手を広げた。こうして、短期間のうちにその規模がひろがり、全国枢要の地に大小数十か所の支店、出張所をおくまでに成長していった。

井上の先収会社と深く結びつきを持ったのも七年から九年にかけてのことであり、九年にはその事業の一部を引き継ぎ、中野梧一を経営に参加させて商社を作ったのである。

### (3) 廣瀬宰平のこと

藤田鹿太郎、久原庄三郎とともに傳三郎が明治九年に藤田傳三郎商社を発足させたとき、この藤田三兄弟は井上馨との間に、つぎのような条文にはじまる全十六条の約定書を交していた。

「藤田傳三郎今般一家之法則、本業目的を達成する為、井上馨之差図を屹度可相守候事」

この約定書は、事業経営はもとより、三兄弟の家産管理および日常生活全般にいたるまで井上の強い干渉をうたったものであった。

さて、東京にふたたび警視庁が設置されたのは明治十四年の一月のことであった。このときからその長官を今日のように警視總監とよび、また内務大臣の直轄となった。

この年はいわゆる「十四年の政変」が持ち上った年である。

この事件は、ドイツ滞在中の井上馨がドイツで贖札をつくり、藤田にこれを送って使わせたいという疑いから発したものであった。

おもうにこの事件は、藤田組が井上馨をはじめ長州派政府要人と密接な関係にあつて、政商的色彩が濃かつたことや、薩長との派閥対立ともからんで、商人藤田をおとしければ、井上の政治的生命も絶つことができると考えられるほど、二人の関係が深かつたことを浮彫りにした事件でもあつた。

ただ、この事件で、中野梧一が山口県令在任中、井上馨の先取会社にたいし、地租米を安く売却した事実が明るみに出たため、のち明治二十七年五月に開かれた第六帝国議会で、第二次伊藤内閣の内務大臣であつた井上の攻撃材料として持ち出され、大紛議をまき起している。

ともあれ、この贖札事件をふまえて藤田傳三郎をもう一度出発点からふり返ってみると、商人の子ではあつたが奇兵隊隊員となつた彼は、維新を迎えると、尊敬する木戸孝允の、

「有為の人物は、須らく富国強兵のため、商工業の発展を願ひ国富の増進に力を尽すべきである」という言葉を信奉してふたたび商人になることを決意したのがその振出しであつた。

そして、藤田は、長州藩陸軍局の廃止で不要となつた武器類の払い下げを受けると、明治二年にこれを大阪に搬送してまず大きな利益をあげた。

そこへ当時兵部大丞であつた同郷の山田顕義から、富国強兵のためだ、軍靴製造をやれとすすめられ、これも、皮革取り扱いがいわれもなく賤業視されていたこともあえて無視して、決然と引き受けたのであ

長に就任した。

同年八月、この暹卒は兵部省から司法省の警保寮の所管となった。

その後川路は警察制度の視察のため欧州に渡る。明治六年十一月に内務省が新設されたとき、司法、警察の分立のため、警保寮はこの新設の内務省管轄下におかれた。これは、欧州視察から帰国した川路の建言によったものであった。

さらに、征韓論分裂後の政情不安に備え、明治七年一月、川路の建議で東京警視庁が設置され、その長官に大警視の川路が任命されたが、このときから暹卒は巡查と改称された。

その後政府は、明治十年一月、警視庁を廃して、内務省に警視局をおき、その下に東京警視本署を設けて府下の警察業務を統治した。

ところがこの年の二月に西南戦争が起ると、川路は、陸軍少将として、巡查によって編成された別動第三旅団を率いて参戦している。

このように川路利良は警察制度の創設者として尽力しているが、大久保利通の腹心でもあった。

その大久保は十一年に暗殺され、川路は十二年にその生涯を閉じた。

さて、藤田、中野らの贖札事件の究明にあたったが、その証拠はなく、この兩名は事件とは無関係と判明して釈放された。そのため川路は欧州出張、安藤は免官となった。明治十五年になって別人がこの事件で逮捕された。

十一年には、中野は、五代友厚や廣瀬幸平らとともに大阪商法會議所を設立し副会頭に就任する。その翌年、この藤田、中野に大事件が起った。

## ② 贖札事件

その大事件というのは、藤田組贖札事件のことである。

明治十一年十二月に、京都、大阪その他の各地から納租中に贖札が発見され、その偽造の嫌疑が、藤田組元手代の木村真三郎の言から、藤田組にかかった。時の大警視川路利良は、さっそく中警視の安藤則命に命じて内偵に着手し、ついに翌十二年九月、藤田傳三郎、中野梧一の両名を検挙し、東京に護送して取調べを開始した。

少し余談にわたるが、維新当初の首都の警備は各藩兵がこれにあたり、その管轄は兵部省であった。明治四年、東京府は取締組を設けて三〇〇〇名の組子をつのり、帯刀を廃して三尺棒を持たせ、府内の巡邏にあたらせたが、このときこれら組子を邏卒と呼んだ。また、募集者中の二〇〇〇名が鹿児島県出身者で占めた。

川路利良は薩摩藩出身、天保七年（一八三六）生れ。戊辰戦争に参加する。明治五年五月、東京府は取締組制度を改め、取締組を邏卒と称し、邏卒総長以下の官等を定めたが、このとき川路はこの邏卒総



に井上が元老院議員として官界に復帰すると、この先収会社は三井組國産方に合併吸収されて三井物産会社となった。

このとき藤田傳三郎は、長兄の藤田麿太郎と次兄の久原庄三郎の二人の兄とともに藤田傳三郎商社を創立した。これに、前山口県令の中野梧一も参加し、さきの先収会社の事業のうち陸軍省御用と、防長協同会社の物産取扱いを継承した。

ところがそのあくる年西南戦争が勃発したため、その軍需品調達に当った藤田傳三郎商社は一挙に巨利を手にする事になった。

この中野梧一は江戸の出身。天保十三年の生れで、傳三郎より一歳下で齋藤辰吉という幕臣であった。戊辰戦争で徳川方で従軍したが捕えられ、釈放後中野梧一と改名した。

その後大蔵省に出仕するようになり、大蔵少輔であった井上馨の知遇をえて、明治四年に山口県参事に転出した。翌年には権令となり、全国に先がけて山口県で地租改正を行うなどの実績をあげ、八年には県令に昇進した。

この間、木戸孝允や井上馨らと授産局（のちの士族授産所）、防長協同会社を設立するなどのほか、地租の米納を井上の先収会社に斡旋させたり、士族対策にも大いに尽力したが、八年末退官し、大阪へ移り、藤田傳三郎商社に参画して、活躍した。

ていたのである。

既存の取引所側の不安は増すばかりであり、その上、新条例のきわめて革新的、非現実的な制度がしだいに明るみにでるにしたがい、反対派の結束が高まっていった。

さて、大阪の財界を糾合して、新条例にもとづく大阪取引所を設立した代表発起人は、藤田傳三郎であつた。

傳三郎は長州（山口県）萩の酒造業を営む豪商の家に、天保十二年（一八四一）六月生れた。幼名を六太郎あるいは六三郎と呼び、十六歳で分家し、醤油業をはじめている。

それから数年後の文久三年（一八六三）、高杉晋作らが奇兵隊を編成したとき、傳三郎もこれに投じ討幕運動に加つてゐた。しかし維新政府が発足すると彼はふたたび商人に復帰し、明治二年には大阪に出て軍靴製造をはじめた。

それからまた数年後、明治六年、井上馨が大蔵省を退官して作った先収会社に転じた。

この先収会社は、井上の出身地である山口県をはじめ各地の貢米を買いつけ、横浜の外国商館の手を通じて海外に輸出し、また生糸や茶も輸出して、武器、羅紗、米、肥料、古銅などを輸入する貿易商社であり、当時、地租改正による地租の金納化という転換期であつただけにその米の取引による利益は大きかつた。

井上が社長、益田孝が副社長で、岡田平蔵や木村正幹らとともに藤田もこれに参加したが、明治九年

東京取引所	八月一日
名古屋取引所	八月二日
神戸取引所	八月二日
新潟取引所	八月二日
金沢取引所	八月二日
佐賀取引所	八月三日
大阪取引所	八月四日
大津取引所	八月四日

これは、当時政府がひたすら旧条例を廃棄させるため、既存の取引所をこのブールス条例に更改させる手段として、このような奇異な特例措置にでたものであった。

このブールス条例で政府がもつとも強く改革を望んだことは、株式会社組織を会員組織に改めようとしたことと、実物取引本位にしようとしたことで、重点はむしろ後者にあつたといわれる。

ところが政府は、細則の多くを取引所規約で規定するとしながら、その規約の標準とすべき政府原案をなかなか公表せず、それが発表されたのは、その年もおし追つた十二月のことであつた。

こうした推移のうちに、東京、大阪、名古屋など主要都市の財界人は、相ついで構想不明のままの新

十六年に東株の肝煎を辞任した朝吹がふたたび実業界に復帰したのは二十四年である。わが国最初の資本主義的容儀に見舞われ、危機に瀕した鐘淵紡績に専務として乗り込み、武藤山治や和田豊治と共に社運の挽回を謀り、見事にわが国の大紡績資本の基礎を築いた。かれらはいずれも慶応義塾出身であり、そのかれらを起用した者は、福澤の甥に当る中上川彦次郎であった。中上川も三井の大改革者の一人であった。

朝吹は三十五年には三井家總事業の参事に任じ三井財閥の躍進に貢献した。しかし、四十四年、いっさいの職を捨て、以後、大正七年六十九歳の生涯を閉ずるまで、趣味三昧の余生を送った。

## 二 新大株の発起人・藤田傳三郎

### (1) 井上馨との出会い

政府の理想をかかげたドイツ法規による取引所法として、明治二十年五月、旧法を全面的に改正した「取引所条例」いわゆる「ブルス条例」を發布すると、政府は、二十年九月一日から施行と定めながら、つぎのように、八月中にはやくも九か所の取引所に設立特許状を与えていた。

高岡取引所 七月十八日

で、威勢よく歓迎に奔走しておつたが、福澤先生はそれを見て、朝吹さん、どうしても借衣をして来た  
としか見えませんね」と一言皮肉を浴せると英二君冷水三斗の思いに、ヒドク閉口したそうである」。

ここで伝記を中断して、つぎに伝記が述べていることを摘記すると、このころから三菱対渋澤、三  
井の暗闘が開始されたが、岩崎は朝吹の活躍ぶりに、新たに福澤系の援兵を得たと喜び、岩崎は憤し  
気もなく朝吹に交際費をあたえて公私いたるところで外交手腕を発揮させた。

「この暗闘が最も露骨になったのは取引所の争奪戦である」と伝記はつづける、「渋澤氏の第一銀行に  
預金している取引所を占領して、渋澤氏の糧道を断つてやろうという作戦から、大岩崎が英二君に旨を  
含めて株の買収を始めた。いよいよ明日が総会という前の晩までに半数株を手に入れたが、今一票なけ  
れば過半数にならぬ。それは根岸に居る或未亡人の処にあるといふので、彼は深夜未亡人を訪ねてこれ  
を手に入れたが、その安心感も、得意の情も容姿には聊かも出さずに総会に臨んだ。何も知らぬ福地氏  
が議長席に就き議事を進め、急投票の際、腕くも惜敗の結果となつたので、悲喜地を換えた。この時は  
大岩崎も日頃の鬱憤を晴らした思いで英二君を賞めた」。

前にも述べたように、朝吹英二は、十三年九月、東京株式取引所の肝煎となり、新たに頭取となつた  
井岡盛良を補佐することになった。そのころ彼は、十三年七月に創立した三菱の貿易商会の取締役にも  
就任していたが、その業績が不振のため三菱を退陣し、十五年の立憲改進黨の結成には、矢野文雄、大

とであつた。明治五年にこの塾を卒業した彼は塾の出版部の主任となる。当時、塾の運営はすべて門下生の結社の協力によつて維持されていたのである。いわゆるユニバルのわが国における嚆矢となつた観がある。

朝吹が実業界に入りその才幹を遺憾なく發揮する機縁となつたのは、彼が三菱に入り、岩崎彌太郎に認められたからである。その当時のことを、ある伝記はつぎのように伝える。

「当時英二君は、三十一、二歳で才氣煥発火花の散るような勢で切り回したから、爛眼な大岩崎(彌太郎のこと)の前に囊中の鏢は、見る見る顛脱したものだ。そこでただに御得意の折衝のみならず、高等政策の枢機にも参して、政府の大官や公共向に対し三菱を代表する外務大臣格の役目で奔走するようになった」

朝吹が三菱商会に入ったのは明治十一年のことで、彼はたちまち支配人に拔擢されたが、これを伝記が伝えているのであろう。

「大岩崎は今の子爵渋澤栄一氏の人物に見る所あり、之を自家薬籠中のものとしようと、百方苦心して、懐柔策を執つたにも拘らず、岩崎の独裁にたいする、渋澤の衆力協調(渋澤の合本思想)とでもいう、主張の相違から、渋澤氏はあくまで独立の地盤に拠つて動かかなかつた。それから三井には益田孝氏あり、福地源一郎氏は又更に別方面に立ち、何れも大した勢であつた。現に明治十二年、米国の前大統領グラント將軍が来た時に、朝野の歓迎は非常なもので、(中略)英二君も黒縮緬紋付羽織に仙台平の袴

出かけ、蘭学が少しも通用せぬことを知ってから翻然として英学への転向を志したのだという。

その師をもとめたがえられなかったので、福澤は独学で英学に努め、幕府使節らの欧米渡航には同行を懇請して海外に渡り、万延元年（一八六〇）の日米修好通商条約の批准交換の遣米特使となった新見豊前守に随行したのを皮切りに、慶応三年まで、欧米へ三回も出かけていた。そしてこの間に彼が持ち帰った多くの英書が、近代日本の文化的向上にいか大きく貢献したかは測り知れない。

(2) 三菱で発芽、三井で開花

福澤諭吉は、慶応三年（一八六七）、幕府の勘定吟味役小野友五郎とともに幕府の軍艦購入の要務を帯びて渡米する。その帰国後まもなく、前項で触れた江戸の中津藩の中屋敷にあった蘭学塾――すでに蘭学は福澤の意見で廃され英学を教えていた――が芝に移転されることになった。慶応四年春、これが竣工すると、福澤はこれを年号にちなみ慶応義塾と改称した。現在の三田にこれが移ったのは、明治四年三月で、その敷地は旧島原藩邸の跡であった。

これに先立ち、福澤は新政府から出仕の要請があったが、彼はこれを受けず、民間にあって、新時代の人材養成と人民の啓蒙に専念した。

朝吹英二が福澤に従い大阪から江戸に出て慶応義塾に入門したのは、慶応義塾が三田に移る前年のこ

そして、井岡盛良が十三年九月、東京株式取引所頭取に就任するまでの足取りは皆目解らず、十四年一月、わずか半期の任期で取引所を去ってからの消息も、筆者には掴めない。

さて、井岡とともに、十三年九月、東京株式取引所の肝煎に選出された一人、朝吹英二にすこしふれよう。

朝吹英二は、嘉永二年（一八四九）二月、豊前（大分県）に生まれ、幼名を万吉といった。村上結南について漢学を学び、のち豊後日田（大分県）の咸宜園でさらに修学。

二十歳、明治二年のことだが大阪に出た。あくる年、この大阪で、たまたま来阪中の福澤諭吉の目にとまり、向学心の強い朝吹は、福澤に従って東京に出て、慶応義塾に学ぶことになった。

福澤は豊前中津藩（大分県）の藩士の子として、天保五年（一八三四）十二月、大阪堂島中津藩の産屋敷で生まれた。二歳のとき父に死別したが、父も兄も相当の学者であり、徹緯には不相応の遺書があつた。ペリー来航の翌年、安政元年福澤が二十歳のとき、砲術修業を目的に、兄のすすめにしたがい長崎に出て、ここで蘭学を修めると、彼はひそかに江戸に向つたが、途中大阪産屋敷に在勤中の兄と路かい、同地の緒方洪庵の門下に入った。

安政五年、江戸中津藩邸の招きで築地鉄砲洲の中屋敷に蘭学塾を開く。ある日福澤は横濱にいそいそと



翌明治元年二月、三職八局の制が敷かれ、そのなかに外国事務局が設けられると、井関はその判事に任命されたが、そのとき同時に就任した者は伊藤博文、五代友厚、寺島宗則ほか二名おり、一月ほど遅れて大隈重信、後藤象二郎、小松帯刀、大木喬任が任命された。

この後まもなく同年閏四月、前文にいわゆる五か条の誓文を掲げた政体の綱領十か条および官職官等などの規定を発表した。この政体書にもとづく太政官制で、井関は、井上馨の後任として外国官判事に再任。

翌明治二年七月には、太政官制がまた改正され、太政官の下に、民部、大蔵、兵部、刑部、宮内、外務等の省が設けられるようになった。この改革にあたり、外国官は外務省となり、井関は町田久成、勝海舟とともに外務大丞に任命。ただ勝はすぐこれを拝辞したため丸山作樂があらためて任命された。このときの外務卿は沢宣嘉、外務大輔は寺島宗則であった。

しかし井関は同年十一月九日に退任している。これは、他の文献とつきあわせると、異動のためであったと推測される。すなわち明治三年ころ神奈川県知事として井関盛良が登場しているからである。

ここでの井関神奈川県知事は大変な文化人で、わが国最初の日刊新聞の発案者となる。彼は、長崎で日本では初めて活字を作った本木昌造に相談したところ、本木はさっそく社員の陽其二に活字と活版機械を持たせて東上させた。この陽は横浜本町に社屋を構え、自ら編集長となって「横浜毎日新聞」を発

## 第三章 実業家の肝煎・発起人

——朝吹英二・藤田傳三郎——

### 一 東株買占めに奔走した朝吹英二

#### (1) 福澤諭吉の目にとまる

浪澤喜作に代り、十三年九月、東京株式取引所の頭取に選任されたのは井岡盛良であった。筆者は彼に関する資料を漁ったのだが見当らないので、一、二の文献から拾った断片的な資料を左に掲げるとどめる。

慶応三年十二月九日、王政復古の大号令を発した明治新政府は、このとき總裁（一名、有栖川宮織仁）副總裁（二名、三條実美、岩倉具視）、議定—立法機関（皇族、公卿、諸侯）および参与（公卿、諸侯、各藩藩士からの徴士）の三職の官制を設けた。

この参与のなかに井岡盛良の名を見出すことができる。この参与に列した者は一〇〇名を若干超えるが、西郷、大久保、後藤、福岡、由利、西園寺、井上、五代、伊藤、小松、木戸、副島、大隈、横井（小楠）、大木など著名の士が名をつらわっている。

三月末で、国庫負担の軽減のため地方税に切り替えられるので、府としてはあくまで士族授産金として、別途にその運用を考えたいと相談があった。

そこで卯吉は、この資金をもって南島商會を設立し南洋開拓を試みようとした。これを知った世間の人々は、私腹を肥やそうとするものとしてたちまち卯吉に罵々たる罵詈雑言を浴せた。しかし卯吉はこれに屈せず、二十三年春、小汽船を買入れ南洋渡航を自ら決行し、暮には、南方の政治・経済・貿易・気象・民俗等きわめて詳細な事情を調査して帰国、各方面を大いに啓発したばかりでなく、資金は一文も減らすことなく返却したのである。

また三十一年、伊藤内閣は日清戦後の財政危機を訴え増税を断行しようとしたが、地租増徴に反対する地主層が谷干城らを後楯として反対した。このとき田口は、八〇%の不在地主の現状で地租増税は当然のことと、谷とはげしい論戦を闘わしている。

さらに卯吉は、日露の風雲急を告げた三十六年ころ主戦論を主張して尾行つきの生活を送っていた。彼は三十三年、北清事変の直後現地に渡り、アジアにたいする西欧諸国の、侵略的ならずかずの暴行を視察しており、卯吉にとっては主戦論はたんなる感情論ではなかったといえよう。

卯吉は取引所在任中も雑誌の発行はもとより、著作活動をつづけていた。「時勢論」や「支那開化小史」は十六年に着手、十七年には「大日本人名辞書」の執筆をはじめ、**「小史」**は二十一年、「辞書」は十九年に完結をみた。

また、十八年に両毛鉄道敷設計画を立案し、二十三年これが開通するとその社長に就任した。さらに十九年には秋田県花岡金山の試掘を行い、二十一年これが中断されると、彼は応募した株主の損失を防ぐためその株式を買取ったが、その借財は生涯彼を苦しめた。

こうしたことにもまして取引所在任中に、卯吉を襲った傷手は、十八年四月の妻千代（二十三歳）、同じく十二月の祖母可都（七十五歳）の死について、十九年八月の柿鑑子の死であった。

この悲しみのなかで、株主との対立から、頭取の小松彰とともに取引所を任期なかばで退任したのは、柿他界後二た月目の十九年十月十七日であった。

取引所退任後の活動は、彼の生涯の仕事とした雑誌の発行や著作活動は変らなかつたが、政治的な行動が目立っている。

それは、十三年（二十六歳）から二十五年十月までは東京府会議員に、また、二十七年（四十歳）から、三十八年（五十一歳）四月十三日の病死まで、衆議院議員に選出されていた事情からであつたらう。最後に卯吉のその政治的一面をみよう。

二十二年末、彼は東京府知事から、士族授産金として四万五〇〇〇円ほど保管してあるが、これは来年

したという。

沼間は、いろいろ、憲法制定や国会開設を当面の課題として、関東を中心に民権運動を展開しやがて全国に及んだ。

彼はきつすいの江戸っ子で、一面野武士の風格もあつた。また彼は人民と自分とを区別し、自分は人民をひきいて立つ責任のあることを自覚し、それを己の責として自らに課していた。

沼間がかつて自由党の創設に尽したが、明治十五年四月、河野敏鎌らが大隈を立て改進黨を結成したとき、彼はこれに加盟した。十七年、自由党の解党につづいて、大隈や河野は改進黨も解党しようとしたが、沼間はこれに反対して党を守つた。

二十三年、第一回帝国議会の開設を目前にして、沼間守一は、四十八歳で歿した。田口卯吉はこの旧友の早世を悼み、

「沼間一生のあいだ自己の経歴を語らざりき。けだしその志老いざりしなり」と惜しんでいる。

十六年一月、田口卯吉の東株肝煎就任と入れ替るよ様に、朝吹英二は取引所を去つた。

卯吉は、この就任によって財界への活動分野をひろげた。また、彼の家計もこれによって幾分ゆとりが出たのであろう。あるとき、いとこに、「珍らしく万金を手にした」と、冗談をいったりしている。

沼間、二十七歳の初春の歌である。その後彼は、板垣や谷に招かれて訓練師範として土佐藩邸に月給一〇〇円で雇われた。

明治五年、井上馨の推薦で大蔵省租税寮七等に出仕。しかし物議ばかりかものですので司法省に転じ、そのまま一年あまりフランス法調査団の一行に加わり渡欧。このときの主任が司法大丞の河野敏鎌で、河野と沼間との関係はこのときから始まった。

六年九月帰国後、井上馨の疑獄事件の審理に当った河野が元老院に飛ばされたのを怒った沼間は辞職したが、八年七月、河野のあっせんで、元老院大書記官となる。そして九月には酒田のワツパ事件にその敏腕を発揮する。

沼間はこのころ、彼の主催する「喋鳴社」を結成し、東京の進歩的知識人を集めていたが、そこには河野敏鎌、島田三郎、金子堅太郎、波多野伝三郎などとともに田口卯吉も名を連らねていた。

#### (6) 主戦論

沼間守一は、政府の言論にたいする弾圧がしだいにきびしくなるのをみて、十二年八月、ふたたび官職を擲って自由の身となった。そして十月には機関紙「喋鳴雑誌」を創刊し、さらに十一月、横浜毎日新聞社を買いとり、「東京横浜毎日新聞」と改め、その社長に収まった。

自らも新聞経営に当たっていた福地源一郎(桜痴)は、これを知り、「一敵国が現出した」と側近にもら

こうしてみると、卯吉の取引所肝煎就任は彼の希望ではなく、渋澤らの懇望によって実現をみたものように推測される。当時の株式市場は松方デフレ政策の浸透で閑古鳥の鳴くようなさびれ方であった。

さて、前章ですでに登場していた人物だが、岩崎小二郎は肥前（長崎県）大村藩士。幕末には勤王論を唱え、渡辺昇らと維新の運動に参加。維新後、民部省に出仕し、明治三年十一月、黒田清隆に随行しヨーロッパに渡り、帰国後大藏省に転じ、銀行局長に栄進後は、秋田、滋賀、大分の諸県知事を歴任し、貴族院議員にも選ばれた。明治二十八年六月二十二日歿。従四位、勲四等を贈られた。

沼間守一は幕臣であった。安政から万延、文久にかけて二十歳前後の彼は、長崎から横浜へと英学や兵術を学び歩き、慶応元年、二十三歳のとき、幕府の陸軍伝習所で最新のフランス式訓練、いわゆるナポレオン兵法を学んだ。

戊辰戦争には榎本武揚と同様、江戸を脱して、宇都宮近辺の平原で官軍の土佐藩兵と激しく戦い、板垣退助、片岡健吉、谷干城らの肝を冷やした。さらに彼は会津に入り軍事顧問の待遇を受けて官軍を苦しめたが、味方の兵士からは訓練があまりにも厳しかったのでうらみを買ったという。

明治元年十二月、庄内で捕えられ、護送されて二年の元日に江戸に入った。

ああたった六十余州か今朝の春

そして、井関盛良が十三年九月、東京株式取引所頭取に就任するまでの足取りは皆目解らず、十四年一月、わずか半期の任期で取引所を去ってからの消息も、筆者には掴めない。

さて、井関とともに、十三年九月、東京株式取引所の肝煎に選出された一人、朝吹英二にすこしふれよう。

朝吹英二は、嘉永二年（一八四九）二月、豊前（大分県）に生まれ、幼名を万吉といった。村上姑南について漢学を学び、のち豊後日田（大分県）の咸宜園でさらに修学。

二十歳、明治二年のことだが大阪に出た。あくる年、この大阪で、たまたま来阪中の福澤諭吉の目にとまり、向学心の強い朝吹は、福澤に従って東京に出て、慶応義塾に学ぶことになった。

福澤は豊前中津藩（大分県）の藩士の子として、天保五年（一八三四）十二月、大阪堂島中津藩の蔵屋敷で生まれた。二歳のとき父に死別したが、父も兄も相当の学者であり、微禄には不相応の蔵書があった。ペリー来航の翌年、安政元年福澤が二十歳のとき、砲術修業を目的に、兄のすすめにしたがい長崎に出て、ここで蘭学を修めると、彼はひそかに江戸に向ったが、途中大阪蔵屋敷に在勤中の兄と語らい、同地の緒方洪庵の門下に入った。

安政五年、江戸中津藩邸の招きで築地鉄砲洲の中屋敷に蘭学塾を開く。ある日福澤は横浜にひとり



翌明治元年二月、三職八局の制が敷かれ、そのなかに外国事務局が設けられると、井関はその判事に任命されたが、そのとき同時に就任した者は伊藤博文、五代友厚、寺島宗則ほか二名おり、一月ほど遅れて大隈重信、後藤象二郎、小松帯刀、大木喬任が任命された。

この後まもなく同年閏四月、前文にいわゆる五か条の誓文を掲げた政体の綱領十か条および官職官等などの規定を発表した。この政体書にもとづく太政官制で、井関は、井上馨の後任として外国官判事に再任。

翌明治二年七月には、太政官制がまた改正され、太政官の下に、民部、大蔵、兵部、刑部、宮内、外務等の省が設けられるようになった。この改革にあたり、外国官は外務省となり、井関は町田久成、勝海舟とともに外務大丞に任命。ただ勝はすぐこれを拝辞したため丸山作樂があらためて任命された。このときの外務卿は沢宣嘉、外務大輔は寺島宗則であった。

しかし井関は同年十一月九日に退任している。これは、他の文献とつきあわせてみると、異動のためであったと推測される。すなわち明治三年ころ神奈川県知事として井関盛良が登場しているからである。

ここでの井関神奈川県知事は大変な文化人で、わが国最初の日刊新聞の発案者となる。彼は、長崎で日本では初めて活字を作った本木昌造に相談したところ、本木はさっそく社員の陽其二に活字と活版機械を持たせて東上させた。この陽は横浜本町に社屋を構え、自ら編集長となつて、「横浜毎日新聞」を発行した。明治三年十二月のことであった。後に、沼間守一や島田三郎がこれを買いつつ活躍した。

### 第三章 実業家の肝煎・発起人

——朝吹英二・藤田傳三郎——

#### 一 東株買占めに奔走した朝吹英二

##### (1) 福澤諭吉の目にとまる

波澤喜作に代り、十三年九月、東京株式取引所の頭取に選任されたのは井関盛良もりよしであつた。筆者は彼に関する資料を漁つたのだが見当らないので、一、二の文献から拾つた断片的な資料を左に掲げるとどめる。

慶応三年十二月九日、王政復古の大号令を発した明治新政府は、このとき總裁（一名、有栖川宮職仁）副總裁（二名、三條実美、岩倉具視）、議定——立法機関（皇族、公卿、諸侯）および参与（公卿、諸侯、各藩藩士からの徴士）の三職の官制を設けた。

この参与のなかに井関盛良の名を見出すことができる。この参与に列した者は一〇〇名を若干超えるが、西郷、大久保、後藤、福岡、由利、西園寺、井上、五代、伊藤、小松、木戸、副島、大隈、横井（小楠）、大木など著名の士が名をつらねている。

三月末で、国庫負担の軽減のため地方税に切り替えられるので、府としてはあくまで士族授産金として、別途にその運用を考えたいと相談があった。

そこで卯吉は、この資金をもって南島商會を設立し南洋開拓を試みようとした。これを知った世間の人々は、私腹を肥やそうとするものとしてたちまち卯吉に罵々たる罵詈雑言を浴せた。しかし卯吉はこれに屈せず、二十三年春、小汽船を買入れ南洋渡航を自ら決行し、暮には、南方の政治・経済・貿易・気象・民俗等きわめて詳細な事情を調査して帰国、各方面を大いに啓発したばかりでなく、資金は一文も減らすことなく返却したのである。

また三十一年、伊藤内閣は日清戦後の財政危機を訴え増税を断行しようとしたが、地租増徴に反対する地主層が谷干城らを後楯として反対した。このとき田口は、八〇%の不在地主の現状で地租増税は当然のことと、谷とはげしい論戦を闘わしている。

さらに卯吉は、日露の風雲急を告げた三十六年ころ主戦論を主張して尾行つきの生活を送っていた。彼は三十三年、北清事変の直後現地に渡り、アジアにたいする西欧諸国の、侵略的なかすかずの暴行を視察しており、卯吉にとっては主戦論はたんなる感情論ではなかったといえよう。

卯吉は取引所在任中も雑誌の発行はもとより、著作活動をつづけていた。「時勢論」や「支那開化小史」は十六年に着手、十七年には「大日本人名辞書」の執筆がはじまり、「小史」は二十一年、「辞書」は十九年に完結をみた。

また、十八年に両毛鉄道敷設計画を立案し、二十三年これが開通するとその社長に就任した。さらに十九年には秋田県花岡金山の試掘を行い、二十一年これが中断されると、彼は応募した株主の損失を防ぐためその株式を買取ったが、その借財は生涯彼を苦しめた。

こうしたことにもまして取引所在任中に、卯吉を襲った傷手は、十八年四月の妻千代（二十三歳）、同じく十二月の祖母可都（七十五歳）の死について、十九年八月の姉鑑子の死であった。

この悲しみのなかで、株主との対立から、頭取の小松彰とともに取引所を任期なかばで退任したのは、姉他界後二た月目の十九年十月十七日であった。

取引所退任後の活動は、彼の生涯の仕事とした雑誌の発行や著作活動は変らなかつたが、政治的な行動が目立っている。

それは、十三年（二十六歳）から二十五年十月までは東京府会議員に、また、二十七年（四十歳）から、三十八年（五十一歳）四月十三日の病死まで、衆議院議員に選出されていた事情からであつたらう。最後に卯吉のその政治的一面をみよう。

二十二年末、彼は東京府知事から、士族授産金として四万五〇〇〇円ほど保管してあるが、これは来年

したという。

沼間は、いろいろ、憲法制定や国会開設を当面の課題として、関東を中心に民権運動を展開しやがて全国に及んだ。

彼はきつすいの江戸っ子で、一面野武士の風格もあつた。また彼は人民と自分とを区別し、自分は人民をひきいて立つ責任のあることを自覚し、それを己の責として自らに課していた。

沼間がかつて自由党の創設に尽したが、明治十五年四月、河野敏鎌らが大隈を立て改進黨を結成したとき、彼はこれに加盟した。十七年、自由党の解党につづいて、大隈や河野は改進黨も解党しようとしたが、沼間はこちらに反対して党を守つた。

二十三年、第一回帝國議会の開設を目前にして、沼間守一は、四十八歳で歿した。田口卯吉はこの旧友の早世を悼み、

「沼間一生のあいだ自己の経歴を語らざりき。けだしその志老いざりしなり」と情しんでいる。

十六年一月、田口卯吉の東株肝煎就任と入れ替るように、朝吹英二は取引所を去つた。

卯吉は、この就任によって財界への活動分野をひろげた。また、彼の家計もこれによって幾分ゆとり

沼間、二十七歳の初春の歌である。その後彼は、板垣や谷に招かれて訓練師範として土佐藩邸に月給一〇〇円で雇われた。

明治五年、井上馨の推薦で大蔵省租税寮七等に出仕。しかし物議ばかりかますので司法省に転じ、そのまま一年あまりフランス法調査団の一行に加わり渡欧。このときの主任が司法大丞の河野敏兼で、河野と沼間との関係はこのときから始まった。

六年九月帰国後、井上馨の疑獄事件の審理に当った河野が元老院に飛ばされたのを怒った沼間は辞職したが、八年七月、河野のあつせんで、元老院大書記官となる。そして九月には酒田のワッパ事件にその敏腕を発揮する。

沼間はこのころ、彼の主催する「哩鳴社」を結成し、東京の進歩的知識人を集めていたが、そこには河野敏兼、島田三郎、金子堅太郎、波多野伝三郎などとともに田口卯吉も名を連ねていた。

#### (6) 主戦論

沼間守一は、政府の言論にたいする弾圧がしだいにきびしくなるのをみて、十二年八月、ふたたび官職を郷って自由の身となった。そして十月には機關紙「哩鳴雜誌」を創刊し、さらに十一月、横浜毎日新聞社を買いとり、「東京横浜毎日新聞」と改め、その社長に取まった。

自らも新聞経営に當っていた福地源一郎(桜痴)は、これを知り、「一敵国が現出した」と驚いたもの

こうしてみると、卯吉の取引所肝煎就任は彼の希望ではなく、渋澤らの懸望によって実現をみたものように推測される。当時の株式市場は松方デフレ政策の浸透で閑古鳥の鳴くようなさびれ方であった。

さて、前章ですでに登場していた人物だが、岩崎小二郎は肥前（長崎県）大村藩士。幕末には勤王論を唱え、渡辺昇らと維新の運動に参加。維新後、民部省に出仕し、明治三年十一月、黒田清隆に随行しヨーロッパに渡り、帰国後大蔵省に転じ、銀行局長に栄進後は、秋田、滋賀、大分の諸県知事を歴任し、貴族院議員にも選ばれた。明治二十八年六月二十二日歿。従四位、勲四等を贈られた。

沼間守一は幕臣であった。安政から万延、文久にかけて二十歳前後の彼は、長崎から横浜へと英学や兵術を学び歩き、慶応元年、二十三歳のとき、幕府の陸軍伝習所で最新のフランス式訓練、いわゆるナポレオン兵法を学んだ。

戊辰戦争には榎本武揚と同様、江戸を脱して、宇都宮近辺の平原で官軍の土佐藩兵と激しく戦い、板垣退助、片岡健吉、谷干城らの肝を冷やした。さらに彼は会津に入り軍事顧問の待遇を受けて官軍を苦しめたが、味方の兵士からは訓練があまりにも厳しかったのでうらみを買ったという。

明治元年十二月、庄内で捕えられ、護送されて二年の元日に江戸に入った。

ああたった六十余州か今朝の春

この年の一月には、渋澤栄一、益田孝、小室信夫、渋澤喜作らが発起人となった共同運輸が営業を開始し、岩崎彌太郎の三菱汽船会社と最後の決戦を挑んでいる。共同運輸は、十三年に発足した東京風帆船会社や越中風帆船会社、北海道運輸会社が合併し、資本金は六〇〇万円、うち二六〇万円は政府もこれに投資するという障立て、いわば背水の陣でこの決戦に臨んだのである。

また、さきには、十三年八月のことだが、渋澤喜作頭取以下、取引所肝煎総退陣という苦い水を吞まされた想いもあった。

翻って卯吉の当時の身边をみると、「東京経済雑誌」はすでに週刊となつて一年有余、その評価もいよいよ高まっていた。

それよりも大きく田口一家を安堵させたことは、前の年十五年に木村熊二が十三年ぶりにアメリカから帰国したことであつた。木村はさっそく新政府から仕官をもとめられたが、彼はこれをことわり、神学博士にふさわしく、ヘボンの明治学院に奉職し、白金教会を設立して活躍した。

また妻の鑑子は、十八年八月、巢鴨に明治女学校を建てて女子の教育に献身することになったが、翌十九年八月、流行したコレラに感染して病没した。享年三十九歳。夫の熊二は、妻の没後、信州小諸に移り、島崎藤村、丸山晩霞など後進の文芸の士を率いて、小諸義塾を興して地方の教育に貢献した。

いささか先廻りをしてしまったが、卯吉は、十五年十月には「日本開化小史」も完成していた。また、十三年いらい卯吉は牛込区選出の府会議員も勤めていたのである。



このとき卯吉は一年を経過してさらに補助を続けていた扶善会の援助を辞退した。

それは、近代化への第一歩をふみだしたばかりの日本経済界に唯一の指導機関たる役割を果たすため、自由民主の主張を唱え、保護貿易主義と政府の独占主義的事業を批判、特に政府の三菱保護を攻撃、さらに自由主義的立場を貫いて、条約改正、藩閥政府批判、対外政策にも独自の論調を展開していたから、しばしば筆禍事件を起し、罰金刑や重禁錮刑に処せられるありさまであつたので、扶善会への迷惑を思い、また自説をまげることのないよう配慮したものであつた。

十四年七月には週刊紙となつた。明治三十八年四月の死にいたるまで、一千二百数十号にわたり、卯吉は健筆をここに振つた。この雑誌も、大正十二年（一九二三）九月、関東大震災のため、第八五巻二一三八号で廃刊となつた。

#### (5) 東株肝煎に就任

田口卯吉が東京株式取引所の肝煎に就任したのは、明治十六年の一月のことである。

この就任には、さきに、「東京経済雑誌」の発行を実現させた前大蔵省銀行局長の岩崎小二郎の推薦があり、また就任のために必要な一定の資格、すなわち三〇株以上の東株の株主となる条件を充すため、友人の沼間守一が、十四年から再任されていた取引所頭取の小松彰とはかり、他よりの融資をもつてこれをととのえたという。

いた。

これは卯吉にとって渡りに舟の思いだったろうが、卯吉にはまだその準備もなく、仕事も多忙であったので、すぐこれに応ずることはためらわれた。

しかし洗澤と岩崎の熱意は強かった。洗澤は振善会に卯吉を伴ってゆき、新しい経済雑誌の発行計画を会員に訴え、その賛同をえた。さらに洗澤は、その発行資金として、毎月一〇〇円の補助金を向う一か年間続けることを、振善会に約束させ、その上、編集のための事務所として、さしあたり第一銀行の三階を無償で貸与することを提案した。

この振善会は、明治十年七月に洗澤の提案で組織された銀行業者の連合体で、のち十三年九月に東京銀行集会所に改組された。

こうした洗澤らの熱意に、卯吉のためらいも消え、卯吉は一大決意をもってこの新事業に取り組むことになった。翌十二年一月にははやくもその第一号が創刊された。月刊紙「東京経済雑誌」の誕生であった。

卯吉は、かつてシャンドに向ってきつた啖呵を思い、創刊号を手にして、この雑誌に全力を傾注することを秘かに誓った。姉籠子もそうした卯吉の心を汲んでいた。彼女は進んで雑誌社の会計と発送の仕事を担当した。他の二、三名の編集事務者も薄給に満足し、卯吉自身は無給でこれに当った。

「東京経済雑誌」の発行は順調に進み、十二年八月には半月刊となり、十三年六月には旬刊とした。

卯吉がまだ紙幣寮に勤めていたときのことだが、彼はイギリス人シャンドと親交を持った。シャンドは、はじめマーカンティル・バンク横浜の会計係として駐日し、のち大蔵省の雇外人として財政金融面で働いたが、卯吉は、彼を通じてヨーロッパの経済学説や経済事情に関する知識の吸収に努めていた。

ある日、シャンドの机の上にイギリスの経済雑誌「エコノミスト」がおかれていたのを見た卯吉は、思わず、「日本でもこの種の経済誌を出さねばならない」と言った。

この独り言のような卯吉の言葉をきいたシャンドは、

「おそらく日本の現在の経済事情ではこの種のものはまだまだできないことだろう」

と、卯吉の言葉を打ち消すように答えたのである。その言葉が強く卯吉の心に響いたらしく、反発するのように、

「いや、私はきつと日本でもこうした経済雑誌を発行してお目にかかけましょう」

と、卯吉は気負って、シャンドの眼をみた。

そのとき卯吉には雑誌を発行するなどの計画も資金のあてもなく、事実、公務や著作や投稿に追われていたときであったから余裕もなかった。

ところが、卯吉に十一年十月末日付を以て依頼免官の発令が出たころ、大蔵省銀行局長の岩崎小二郎

と、第一国立銀行頭取の洗澤栄一は、それまでに発行していた「銀行雑誌」と「理財新報」とを合併して、一大経済雑誌の発行を計画し、その編集、発行のいっさいの采配を田口卯吉に委嘱する相談と

代は十四歳であった。二年後、長男文太が生まれた。

さて、新政府ははじめ自由放任をもって言論の自由を認めていたが、八年になると、「新聞紙条例」や「讒謔律」を制定し、言論取締りに乗り出した。そして藩閥的色彩を濃くするとともに、政府は武力を用いあるいは言論をもって反対分子を弾圧する姿勢を強めた。

官吏である卯吉の立場はしだいに彼の言論の自由を失いつつあった。投稿先の新聞社の主筆等の責任者が官意に捕えられるなどの事件がしばしば起った。

卯吉はついに大蔵省官吏の辞任を決意し、文筆一本の生活に入った。長男文太の生れた十一年のことであった。

#### (4) 「東京経済雑誌」の発刊

明治十一年十月、大蔵省を退官した田口卯吉は、その名著「自由貿易日本経済論」も「日本開化小史」も評判こそ高かったが、当時慶応義塾を擁して盛んに啓蒙的著作を発表していた福澤諭吉ほど売れなかったから、卯吉は生活の糧を求めねばならなかった。

さいわい、元老院から「大英商業史」の翻訳の依頼があったので、政客でもあり、ジャーナリストでもあった沼間守一らの協力をえて、さっそくこれにとりかかり、ほかにもいろいろの翻訳の仕事を精力的にこなし、かなりの収入をえることができた。

の新しい社会を、経済面からいかに正しく建設するかという課題に答えようとするものであった。これはまた、わが国の経済学に最初の体系を与えたものと評価され、この著によって「日本のアダム・スミス」の名を与えられる榮譽を担った。

この本は、十一年一月に、木村熊二の兄桜井熊一（勉）が仲介した陸奥宗光の口添をえて出資者が出、これらの人々の協力によって出版された。

明治八ころからは、島田三郎の関係する「横浜毎日新聞」、あるいは「郵便報知新聞」等への投書も盛んに行うようになった。それらの投書はペンネームなども用いられていたが、政府の政策にたいする批判が多かった。

十年九月からは、和綴六冊からなる「日本開化小史」の出版が開始され、十五年十月に完成した。

これは、わが国における最初の文明史の名に値するものであった。視野も広く、視点も高い立場に立ち、独創的で、明治の新しい社会の建設の方向を示唆する国民的史観のあり方を示した文明史であった。

この二冊の公刊によって、卯吉は、学者として、文筆家としての盛名を一躍高めた。

鑑子は、その間にあつて、卯吉のために、その研究を助成するため文献の渉獵をつづけていた。これは容易な仕事ではなかったが、鑑子は非凡な力をそこにも発揮した。

明治十年、紙幣案が廃止され、卯吉は大蔵省御用掛となり、判任官心得となつていた。

この前年、卯吉は、乙骨太郎乙の媒酌で、専匠山岡義方の長女千代と結婚した。卯吉が二十二歳、千

隣近所の人々は、靈子のこうした夜も日もないような姿を狂女だとみていた。しかし、沼津兵学校  
の建設に当った勝海舟だけは、彼女のひたむきな心を察して、ときおり、金を送ってはその生活を援助  
していたのである。

東京に出た卯吉は、医学の勉強を続けていたが、五年十月、大蔵省が翻訳局を設けたさい、医学の修  
業を断念して志願し、大蔵省翻訳局上等生徒を仰付けられた。ここで彼はもっぱら経済学と開化史の研  
究に取りこんだ。食費ならびに毎月六円の湯浴代が官給された。彼はそのなから月々三円を割いて静  
岡の家族に送った。

この翻訳局は浜町三丁目にあった。ここでまた島田三郎と同席したが、島田は途中で退学し、横浜毎  
日新聞社の記者となった。また、この翻訳局の頭取は尺振八、教頭は乙骨太郎乙で、英語の教師はG・  
フェスフィールドであった。卯吉はここに寄宿していた。

尺も乙骨も旧幕臣であった。二人とも新政府に出仕することをいさぎよしとはしなかったが、官費で  
貧しい青年たちを教育することが自由に許されたので、節を屈して役職についたものであった。

明治七年、卯吉はここを卒業すると、紙幣寮十一等出仕となった。三〇円の月給が支給されたが、こ  
れは当時としてはかなりの大金であったので、卯吉はさっそく、六月に静岡の祖母、母、姉、甥祐吉の  
全家族を東京に呼びよせ同居した。卯吉は二十歳であった。

彼はこのころから、十一年に完結した「自由貿易日本経済論」の研究に着手しており、これは維新後

らの扶持や給金もついていた。

このころ、卯吉の英学もかなりすすみ、藩主家達の英語の手ほどきの相手を勤めたといわれる。

明治四年十二月、卯吉が十七歳のとき、藩命によって、病院生徒の資格のまま、医学研究のため東京修業が命ぜられた。

この年には、乙骨の実弟上田綱二の義妹上田悌子（上田敏の叔母）も、わが国最初の女子学生洋行（一行五名）に加わり渡米した。

### (3) 筆一管の身に

田口のこの上京は、藩立静岡病院の院長林研海が東京に転勤となったため、生徒の田口卯吉も静岡病院の資格のまま医学研究の目的で、明治四年十二月、命を受けて上京することになったものである。

姉の靈子は、前年、夫の木村熊二をアメリカへ送り、いままた弟を送り出すことになった。家族をかかえて苦勞が増すばかりだった。

彼女は、昼は畑仕事、賃縫い、あるいは古衣の縫直しをしては、露店でこれを売るといった重労働をつづけたが、そうした仕事のなかで寸暇を見出しては、英語の本を独習し、子供の祐吉にそれを教えて



の安否を訊ねながら、町子と卯吉の将来について相談した。その結果、静岡藩に出仕させることとなり乙骨は自家に預つて、卯吉を当分世話することにした。

これにしたがい、卯吉は明治二年五月、静岡藩の徳川家に復職し、生育方頭取支配御雇を命ぜられた。乙骨は、卯吉を自宅から沼津小学校に通わせ、まもなく沼津兵学校に入れた。その間、卯吉は乙骨から英学も学んだ。小学校や兵学校の同級生のなかに島田三郎が席を並べた。

卯吉がこの沼津在学中、祖母、母、姉、甥の家族は、静岡に移り住んでいた。その近隣に外山正一家が住んでいた。正一の父はよくこの田口の家族を訪ね親交を深めていた。乙骨と外山正一は親友であった。正一はこのころイギリスから帰朝し、静岡藩校の教官をしていた。こうした関係から卯吉も正一としだいに交りを深め、後年には親友といった間柄となった。

さて、卯吉は在学中軍医となることを志し(島田は軍人を志望した)、翌三年十二月には、静岡病院で医学修業の命を受けた。そのとき乙骨には静岡藩校教官の下命があった。前に述べたように、外山正一が新政府からアメリカ公使館書記官としてアメリカに赴任することを命ぜられたため、その後任として乙骨の藩校転勤が決定したのである。

この外山の渡米にあたり、官憲の追及をのがれて一時静岡の家族の許に身を潜めていた木村熊二も偽名を用いてアメリカに渡った。しかしその空隙を埋めるように、卯吉が乙骨とともに静岡勤務となって移り住み、母や姉らと同居するようになったことは、鑑子の心を温めたであろう。それに卯吉には藩か



るようになった。

それは、このたびの熊二の出征が、すでに大政奉還後のことであつたから、勝ちいくさの官軍の前には、いわば不逞の賊徒に組することとなり、おのずと機密的行動を強いられていたからであつた。

卯吉は、十一月に幕府の徒士を返上した。姉の鏡子が母の町子と一緒に行商をしながら暮らしを立てているときであつた。たまたま乙骨が卯吉のために横浜に住む飯岡金次郎を紹介してくれた。飯岡はもと幕臣であつたが、いまは商人となり、開化料理の牛鍋店を開くかたわら、小間物屋や露店の骨董商など手広くやっていた。

卯吉はここに寄食し、牛鍋屋の手伝をしたり、露店の店番をしたりした。そのなかで暇を見出し、卯吉は徒士時代に幕臣の小林弥三郎について学習した英語の勉強を続けていた。アメリカの宣教師タムソンや外国商館が格好の彼の学習の場であつた。このころ卯吉は、乙骨とともに彼の生涯の恩師となつた尺振八と出会う。尺は、当時イギリス公使パークスの通弁として本牧に住んでいた。

これよりさき、徳川家達(田安龜之助)は、慶応四年(明治元年)五月、駿府七〇万石に封ぜられ、八月、藩主として、慶喜とともに赴任していた。このとき、旧幕臣であつた乙骨太郎乙は、無禄でこれに御供することを決意し、沼津に下つた。そしてこの年の十月に開校された藩立沼津兵学校(明治四年十一月、新政府の兵学寮所属となる)の教官となつた。

そのため熊二は明治三年十一月、友人の英学者外山正一とともに、偽名を用いて、静岡藩のはからいで渡米する。そして、明治十五年に三十八歳で帰国するまで十三年間、アメリカでキリスト教を学んでいた。

外山はこのとき新政府に出仕しており、駐米公使館書記官として赴任したのである。彼はすでにイギリスにも留学していたが、後年、東京帝国大学総長、第三次伊藤内閣の文部大臣等を歴任する。

さて、幕末から維新にかけて卯吉の周辺は、支柱とした木村熊二一家の思いがけぬ破綻から、その困窮はいよいよ倍加されていった。

## (2) 医学志望

話は少しあと戻りするが、新婚そうそうの幕臣だった木村熊二は、さいわい数か月で軍務をいったん解かれて帰宅した。そして下谷生駒前にふたたび家庭を営むことができた。近所に幕府の儒官で英学者でもある乙骨太郎乙が住んでいて、一齋のひ孫にあたる鑑子ら夫婦になにかと親切にしてくれた。

鑑子はその年の暮、実家の家族（祖母可都、母町子、弟卯吉）をそこへ迎え入れた。翌慶応四年（明治元年）正月のはじめ、鑑子は出産した。長男祐吉の誕生であった。

しかし喜びも束の間、鳥羽伏見において戊辰戦争の火蓋が切られると、熊二はふたたび軍務を帯びて京浜間を奔走するようになり、そのため鑑子は祖母や母とともに、横浜在程ヶ谷の某家に仮住居す

八四二)からは幕府の儒官として半生を送った。立場上、表面は朱子学を奉じたが、陽明学の影響を強く受けた儒者であった。

一齋の門人には、安積良齋、渡辺華山、佐久間象山、中村正直、横井小楠などがいた。河田迪齋も門人の一人であった。一齋の末娘横子はこの河田に嫁していたが、父を失った鑑子や卯吉を懸命に庇護した。そして慶応二年(一八六六)の暮、十九歳となった鑑子は、幕臣で、やはり一齋門下の木村熊二に嫁いだ。

この年、卯吉は十二歳で元服していた。そして四書五経の素読吟味を受けた上、徒士見習として西丸および本丸に勤番した。亡兄の跡目相続を許されたのである。出仕したとはいえ、まだわずか十二歳の少年、一家はもとより、自らをも養うに足らず、鑑子夫妻は、河田横子に代って、卯吉ら一家を引きとり養護することになる。

この慶応二年は第二次の長州征伐が開始(六月)された年であったが、八月に十四代將軍家茂が死去したため中断され、十二月に、徳川慶喜が十五代將軍職につく。この月、孝明天皇が急死され、翌三年一月、睦仁親王(明治天皇)が踐祚された。このような事態のなかで、幕府方は幕閣の改革を断行し軍備の強化をはかり、一方、倒幕勢力はいちだんとその結束を固めようと暗躍していたのであった。

こうした情勢は、幕臣の木村熊二の新婚生活をもゆるがし、同居わずか五か月で、熊二を戦乱のなか

府の儒官佐藤一斎（一七七一—一八五九）の長男であったが、故あって田口家の養子となった。そして妻可都（別名鉄）との間に一女町子をもうけた。

慎左衛門は、目白九番組に所属した徳川家の徒士であり、山路彌左衛門（明治の評論家山路愛山の祖父）の配下で、幕府天文方を勤めた。

町子は、十四歳のとき、井上貫流左衛門の大男耕三（一八一九—一八五二）を迎えて婿とした。二人の間に、三男一女が生まれたが、耕三は、嘉永四年（一八五二）、三十三歳で病没、町子は二十四歳であった。二人の子はすでに夭折していたが、四歳となった雪子とその下の男の子（後、十二歳でこれも夭折）が残され、四十一歳の母可都を抱え、貧はいよいよ加ってきた。

こうした事情から、町子は、二十六歳の西山徑郎を入籍に迎えて再婚した。この西山家は、大久保彦左衛門の末裔といわれる家柄であった。

この徑郎と町子の間に生れたのが卯吉であった。しかし、この徑郎も、安政六年（一八五九）三月、三十五歳で早世した。三月前の九月に、卯吉の曾祖父に当たる佐藤一斎も、八十八歳の高齡で世を去ったばかりであった。

このとき、母町子は三十二歳、祖母可都は四十九歳、姉雪子は十二歳、この翌年に亡くなった町子の先夫の三男）は十一歳、卯吉は五歳であった。

佐藤一斎は、美濃岩村藩（岐阜県）の藩士。林述斎に学び、後に林家の塾長となり、天保十一年（一

富座、菊村座、市村座、千歳座と結束してこれに対抗、団十郎以下主力俳優の出演を拒んだ。そこで井上馨の仲介でようやくケリがつくという一幕もあった。

また、時代錯誤や虚構を排し史実の考証のもとに正確な史劇、いわゆる活きた歴史劇の創作に目をとめたことも桜痴の功の一つとして忘れられない。三十九年一月彼は病死した。

## 二 「東京経済雑誌」発行の田口卯吉

### (1) 出生とその周辺

田口卯吉は、貧困と悲運のなかで出生した。しかしその周辺には、曾祖父にあたる佐藤一斎をはじめ、学才に恵まれた人物や、義姉（卯吉より七歳年長）の蠶子のような優れた才能と献身的な深い愛情を持つ縁者たちが多く、卯吉はそうした人々の援護をうけながら成長した。

彼は、安政二年（一八五五）四月二十九日、江戸の目白台徒士屋敷（日本女子大学寄宿舍所在地）に誕生、卯年卯月に当たったので卯吉と命名された。

母の町子は、十三歳のとき父横左衛門を失った。天保十一年（一八四〇）のときであるが、このころ

十四年の政変で、板垣が自由党、大隈が立憲改進黨を結党したとき、これらの革新党に対立する政府与党として、十五年三月、立憲帝政黨が結党を声明した。そしてこの黨員は幹部三名だけであったことから、世間はこれを三人政黨と呼んで笑った。その三人とは、福地源一郎ほか二人の御用新聞の代表者であった。この結党は、伊藤や井上らの工作によるものであったが、この茶番劇のような事件にも、当時、新聞記者福地源一郎の人氣がいかに大きいものであったかが知られる。このころまでが当時彼が日本新聞界の第一人者として自他ともに認めた時期だったろう。

しかしながら、新聞記者としての福地の名声も、当時半官報的存在であった「東京日々新聞」が、明治十六年七月に政府の「官報」第一号の発刊によって打撃を受け衰運に向ったのを機に急速に傾き、二十一年には福地はついに「東京日々新聞」を退いた。

晩年、彼は、東京市選出の衆議院議員（明治三十七年）として政界に進出したが、すでに昔日のおもかげはみられなかった。

そのような後半生を叱咤しつづけたのは、文学演劇にかけた彼の情熱であり、桜痴と号してのペン活動であった。

明治二十二年、福地は理想の国劇殿堂の建設を企て、九代目市川団十郎らと提携して、金融業千葉勝五郎の出資で、東京築地に歌舞伎座を建設したことは、彼の大きな功績の一つであった。ところが当時劇場経営は芝居役者の独占であったから、素人の桜痴などの出現は大きな反発を買い、守田勘弥らは新

福地はここで新聞にはじめて「社説」欄をもうけ、彼の政治批判を存分に書きまくった。いわゆる自外視察によって先進国の現状を知った彼にとって、自認する野党の活動にも筆鋒を緩めなかった。いわゆる自しかし彼のこうした姿勢は、時代の旗手として活躍する人々から見れば、保守反動の手先。当然とばかり御用新聞記者というレッテルを貼られてしまふ。が、彼は自ら御用新聞を自認の上での論陣を張っていた。

明治十年の西南戦争には、福地は従軍記者として活躍し、その健筆は紙価を高めたばかりでなく、京都で賜を賜わり、天皇の御前で地図を開いて戦況をつぶさに言上する光栄に浴した。その後まもなく、彼は渋澤栄一との知己の関係から、東京株式取引所の創立にあたり、京関係文献の翻訳や諸資料の提供などで、渋澤のよき相談相手となり、推されて、十一年五月、取引所発足から、渋澤喜作が辞任した十三年八月まで、取引所の肝煎を勤めた。

この間彼は、十一年に東京商法会議所の副会長や、同年八月には東京府会議員や同議長を勤めていた。また十二年八月には前アメリカ大統領グラント將軍の来朝を迎え、東京府の歓迎委員長となり、その接待

や記者として縦横の活躍をみせていた。ただ、この府会議員の際吉原遊郭取贖事件に際して、その接待





二度の渡欧で、民衆の啓発を急務と感じた彼は、慶応三年（一八六七）六月、下谷二長町に、英仏語の私塾をひらいた。

ところがこの年十月、彼は大阪開港の要務を帯びて下阪することになった。そして、この地で翌年正月に鳥羽伏見の戦乱に遭遇する。官軍はこの戦勝に乘じ、江戸に向って進軍、関東一円に戦線が展開された。これを見た福地に、長崎やヨーロッパ各国の文化のなかで、とくに彼の強い関心をひいていた新聞の発行を思いたたせるきっかけとなった。彼にとってこの戦火は、彼が長いあいだ胸中にあたためていた構想―政治社会をリードする世論をつくりだす新聞発行―へ進む火種だったようである。

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福地源一郎が戊辰戦争のさなか、慶応四年四月東京で発行したのは「江湖新聞」という、内外雑報や時事評論を載せた、絵入り、総仮名づきの木版刷り、半紙四つ折、一〇頁ほどの、小冊子形体の新聞であった。

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すぐ退任したため、小林猶右衛門が再任され、また、十六年の改選期には、田口卯吉が新たに肝煎に就任していた。その翌月朝吹英二が辞任し、その後任として中島行孝が選任された。

こうした肝煎のなから異色の人物を拾うと、小室信夫、福地源一郎、井関盛良、朝吹英二、田口卯吉らであろう。では、かれらについてその人物像をスケッチしてみよう。

天保十年（一八三九）、徳島藩士として生まれた小室信夫は、幼名を利喜藏または信太夫と称した。幕末には志士となり尊攘運動に参加し、あるとき同志とともに、京都の等持院にあった足利氏累代の木像を斬ってこれを野ざらしにし、これに小室の書いた斬奸状を釘づけにして氣勢をあげた。

このため幕吏の追及を受け小室は遁れて藩邸にひそんだが、同志の一人が捕えられたため、彼は自首しついに投獄された。しかし維新となって釈放されると明治元年、徴士に選抜されて権弁事に任ぜられ、上野岩鼻県（現群馬県の一部）の権知事に転じ、三年には広島藩（現広島県）大参事に転任、五年少議官に任ぜられ、欧米視察のため外遊、帰国後左院三等議官を拝命したが、まもなく官界を退いた。

この間、明治七年一月には、征韓論で下野した副島種臣、後藤象二郎、板垣退助、江藤新平、由利公正らとともに、小室もその愛国公党の結成に参加し、「民撰議院設立建白書」に署名し、左院に提出した。

また、翌八年二月には、大久保、木戸、板垣らのいわゆる「大阪会議」の実現には、井上らとともにその実現に一役を買って活躍した一人であった。

## 第二章 ジャーナリスト・学者の肝煎

——福地源一郎・田口卯吉——

### 一 草分けの新聞記者・福地源一郎（桜痴）

#### (1) 火種

前章でふれたように、頭取の渋澤喜作をはじめ、取引所開設いらい肝煎を勤めてきた福地源一郎（桜痴）や小林猶右衛門、ならびに十二年七月に退任した小室信夫に代った栗原必ら全役員が突然総退陣すると、東株の株主総会は、十三年九月、新たに井関盛良、朝吹英二、諸葛信澄を選出し、やや遅れてこの三名の推挙で松林義規、松隈謙吾らが総会の承認をえて肝煎に就任した。

渋澤らの辞意表明の一と月前、小松彰はすでに退任していたが、この退任にも岩崎らの策動があったらしい。

井関盛良の頭取就任は半期だけで、十四年一月の改選で小松彰がふたたび頭取に就任すると、以後十九年十月まで六期連続重任した。そして六期なかばで退任し河野敏謙に代ったのである。

この間、肝煎の多くは再選されていたが、十四年一月、小松頭取のもとに副頭取となった井関盛良が

ウニヴェルシタス（ラテン語、英訳のユニオン、同盟、組合）といわれたのである。このウニヴェルシタスという概念には学問という意味はまったくない。大学とは学問の自由を守るために学者や学生が団結する組織にはかならない。

河野や森の国家主義的な教育行政に関する主張には、明治政府の一貫した国家至上主義が窺われる。さて、文部卿から農商務卿に転じた河野は、数か月でその任を退いた。十四年の政変にあい、十月、大隈とともに追放されたからであった。

そして、十五年三月、立憲改進黨が結成されると、河野はその副総理に納り、党勢の拡張に努めた。しかし十七年十二月、大隈と共に脱党届を出し、党と袂を分かった。それは表面、黨員名簿の廃止に関し黨員との意見が対立したことを理由としたものであったが、実情は、この年の十月に解党した自由党の事情と大きく変わるものではないと考えられる。

すなわち、このころ民権運動や野党にたいする政府の弾圧が烈しく、言論活動の自由も制圧され、さらに松方のきびしい金融引締政策から党財政も困難の度を加え、そのうえ党内の統制にも自信を欠くようになったということである。

それから二年後、十九年十月、河野敏鐵は東京株式取引所の頭取に就任した。世の意表をついた人事であった。この人事の経緯は筆者にも解らない。

教育令ノ改正案ヲ進奏スル所以ナリ」

五年の学制発布は実学主義、立身出世主義、四民平等主義に立つものであったが、河野のこの建議書は、教育にたいする国家の干渉政策の一步前進を示すものであった。

余談にわたるが、明治十九年、初代文部大臣となった森有礼は、学校令を發布して国民教育制度を確立し、これ以後の教育の土台をかためた。彼は二十二年に暗殺されたが、彼の教育行政に関する最後の演説となったものをみよう。

「抑も政府が文部省を設立して学制の責に任せしめ、しかのみならず、国库の資力を藉りて諸学校を維持するもの、ひつきよう、国家の為なりとせば、学制の目的も亦専ら国家の為ということに帰せざるべからず。例せば帝国大学に於て教務を挙ぐる、學術の為と国家の為とに關することあらば、国家のことを最先にし、最も重んぜざるべからざるが如し。夫れ然り、諸学校を通じ学制上に於ては、生徒其人の爲にするに非ずして、国家の爲にすることを始終記憶せざるべからず。この事は最重要なる点として嚴重に体認を要す」

また余談となるが、世界最古の大学は北イタリアに一一一九年創設されたボローニヤ大学であるといわれる。ボローニヤは自立の中都市であった。この大学は学生の組合が主体であり、その後バリに創られたバリ大学も教員の市民的組合がその母体であったという。

大学はその成立において学校が大学と呼ばれるのではなく、その学校で結ばれた教授や学生の組合が

(2) 意表つく取引所への登場

河野は、その後明治八年四月、権大判事から、陸奥宗光らとともに、新たに設置された元老院の議員を命ぜられ、同年十一月同幹事となった。十一年六月、法制局副長官を兼任のまま元老院副議長に選出される。

ついで、参議の各省長官（卿）兼摂の制が廃された十三年二月には文部卿に就任する。このとき彼は、教育令改正建議書を提出して（十三年十二月）、学校設置の義務制を強化した。

新政府は明治五年八月学制を制定し、中央集権的、画一主義的な義務教育の徹底をはかったが、それは地方の財政事情にはそわぬものがあつた。それで明治十二年九月、画一主義をやめ、学校の設置を地方の裁量に委せることにした。その結果、教育軽視の風が生じていた。河野はその改正建議書の中でつぎのように述べている。

「其政体ノ如何ニ関セズ、苟モ文明ヲ以テ称セラルル国ニシテ、普通教育ノ干涉ヲ以テ政府ノ務トセザルハナシ。是レ豈ニ普通教育ハ其国運ニ関スル最大ナルガ故ニアラズヤ。我国ノ如キ、学制ヲ施シテヨリ纔ニ数年、未ダ其効績ヲ見ザルニ於テハ、深ク怪ムニ足ラズ。但其施行ノ間ニ当リ、僅々ノ弊ヲ見ルガ爲メニ、其精神ヲ挫キ、又皮相論者ノ説ニ謬ラレテ、此主義ヲ揉ムルニ至リテハ、何レノ日ニカ此

初代農商務卿に就任した河野敏雄は、土佐藩の出身である。

弘化元年（一八四四）十月二十日、高知に生れ、幼名萬寿彌、土佐藩士河野通好の長男であった。安政六年（一八五九）三月、江戸に出て安井忠軒の門にて三年間修業して帰郷すると、坂本龍馬や武市半平太らと交わり、勤王の士として京阪や江戸にて国事に奔走していたが、文久二年（一八六二）、藩論は佐幕に傾き、彼は反対党のために投獄されてしまう。

六年間獄窓にあつた彼が出獄したときは、幕府は大政を奉還し、すでに新政府が発足していた。

大阪府知事に任官していた後藤象二郎を訪ねた河野は、後藤から集議院副議長江藤新平への紹介状と金五〇円をもらい、江藤新平を頼つて上京した。

明治二年、江藤の推挙で新政府に出仕、その後、四年、参議兼刑部卿となつた江藤新平のもとで刑部省に転じ、栄進の道を歩み始める。

だが、征韓論に敗れ西郷らと下野し佐賀に帰つた江藤は、七年二月、反乱を起し敗れて高知に逃げ込んだが捕えられ、奇しくもその裁判官となつた河野から峻烈きわまる裁きを受ける。被告席の江藤はついに裁判席の河野をにらみつけ、「この恩知らず奴」と罵声を投げつけた。河野はこれに屈せず当時すでに禁ぜられたさらし首の処刑を下した。これは、反政府活動にたいする大久保の苛烈な作戦であつたが、のちの大久保暗殺事件に繋つた。



日本石油	二一・五	一五
九州鉄道	二一・六	七五〇

このなかで、セメント製造は小野田セメントの前身、東京綿商社は鐘淵紡績の前身、もちろんこのほかにも多くの会社が設立され、明治二十一年にはその数二六〇〇社に達し、工場数二〇〇〇、工場労働者数は一二万三、〇〇〇を超えていた。

このような情勢にあった明治二十年五月、政府は、従来の米商会所や株式取引所の条例を廃して、すべての取引所を一本化して統轄する条例を新たに制定し公布した。これによって政府は取引所行政の大改革を断行しようとしたのであった。

この条例は、いわゆる「プールの条例」とよばれたものであった。これをみると、市場関係者はもとより、世論もその賛否をめぐり大きく沸騰し、いらい数年にわたり取引所問題は紛糾をつづけた。

明治十四年四月、新たに農商務省が設置され、初代の農商務卿に河野敏謙が任命された。

この農商務省の新設は、参議の大隈、伊藤の意見によったもので、大蔵省の商務局、内務省の駅遞、山林、博物（生物、鉱物、地質等）の各局、工部省の工作技術の諸務を各省から分離して、これらを統合し総括する行政庁としたものであった。

このとき、従来大蔵省の管轄下におかれた取引所行政も、この農商務省に移された。

江湖新聞は、幕末から維新にかけて、戦報を報ずる記事が数見されるように、  
日誌」や「行在所日誌」によって新政府側から常に皇軍有利と発表されているのに対抗し、江戸で、徳

川方の肩を持ち、上野の彰義隊の戦いを報じたりしていた。

出獄後、福地は静岡藩の学校御用掛となったが、十二月にはこれを辞して江戸湯島天神下で共憤義塾をひらきふたたび英仏語を教えていた。

明治三年になり、貨幣制度の確立を急いだ政府は、十月に伊藤博文をアメリカに派遣してその調査に当らせたが、このとき福地は伊藤の随行を命ぜられて渡米し、翌四年帰国した。ところがこの年の十一月、岩倉具視を全権とする政府首脳ら四〇数名が二年にわたる日程で欧米に出張することになり、福地は一等書記官としてまたまたこれに随行することになった。

このとき福地は同志に「帰国したらまた新聞を出すから」といって七〇〇〇円という大金を渡していったという。

渡航の任務が一通り終わったのをみた福地は、明治六年現地バリで一行と別れて、ひとり、ギリシャ、トルコ、エジプトの各地を歴訪して帰国した。そして、政治に志し、一時月給二五〇円の高給で大蔵省に席をおいたが、藩閥政治のいがみあいに愛想がつき、いくばくもなく官界を飛びだすと、かねて考えていた通りペンによる民衆の指導に専念することを決意し、かつての同志条野伝平らの日報社が発行していた「東京日々新聞」の主筆となった。「東京日々新聞」は、彼の渡欧中の明治五年二月に創刊されていた

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その後、彼は東京株式取引所の創立にあたり肝煎に選出され一期を勤めたが、二期なかばで退任し、日本鉄道会社の建設を提唱し、また十五年には品川弥二郎とともに共同運輸会社の設立に尽力し、三菱との激闘のち日本郵船の誕生の端緒をつくった。

明治二十四年貴族院議員に勅選され、明治三十一年六月、六十歳で歿した。

福地源一郎の肝煎就任は、彼の生涯にとってもっとも光輝を放っている時期だった。

彼は天保十二年（一八四一）三月長崎に生れた。幼名を八十吉といった。

十五歳のとき、長崎オランダ通詞の名村八右衛門についてオランダ語を学び、一時この名村家の養子となったこともあったといわれる。安政四年、彼が十七歳のとき、オランダ稽古通詞となったが、翌年には江戸に上り、外国奉行水野痴雲、森山爲吉郎、矢田堀景蔵らの庇護を受けながら勉学に努めた。

安政六年、開港（横浜）後は外国方に奉職し、通弁や翻訳に従事していたが、文久元年（一八六一）十二月には、幕府使節竹内野守保徳ら一行にしたがい、安政五年の仮条約の開港を延期させるため、フランス・イギリス・オランダ・ロシア・ポルトガル等のヨーロッパ各国に派遣された。このときに、通詞として随行を命ぜられた者には福地のほかに福澤諭吉もいた。

帰国後元治元年（一八六四）には、福地は外国奉行支配調役並格、通弁御用頭取となった。そして翌慶応元年にはふたたび柴田日向守の渡欧に随行した。

すぐ退任したため、小林猶右衛門が再任され、また、十六年の改選期には、田口卯吉が新たに肝煎に就任していた。その翌月朝吹英二が辞任し、その後任として中島行孝が選任された。

こうした肝煎のなから異色の人物を拾うと、小室信夫、福地源一郎、井関盛良、朝吹英二、田口卯吉らであろう。では、かれらについてその人物像をスケッチしてみよう。

天保十年（一八三九）、徳島藩士として生まれた小室信夫は、幼名を利喜藏または信太夫と称した。幕末には志士となり尊攘運動に参加し、あるとき同志とともに、京都の等持院にあつた足利氏累代の木像を斬つてこれを野ざらしにし、これに小室の書いた斬奸状を釘づけにして氣勢をあげた。

このため幕吏の追及を受け小室は遁れて藩邸にひそんだが、同志の一人が捕えられたため、彼は自首しついに投獄された。しかし維新となつて釈放されると明治元年、徴士に選抜されて権弁事に任ぜられ、上野岩鼻県（現群馬県の一部）の権知事に転じ、三年には広島藩（現広島県）大参事に転任、五年少議官に任ぜられ、欧米視察のため外遊、帰国後左院三等議官を拝命したが、まもなく官界を退いた。

この間、明治七年一月には、征韓論で下野した副島種臣、後藤象二郎、板垣退助、江藤新平、由利公正らとともに、小室もその愛国公党の結成に参加し、「民撰議院設立建白書」に署名し、左院に提出した。

また、翌八年二月には、大久保、木戸、板垣らのいわゆる「大阪会議」の実現には、井上らとともにその実現に一役を買って活躍した一人であつた。

## 第二章 ジャーナリスト・学者の肝煎

— 福地源一郎・田口卯吉 —

一 草分けの新聞記者・福地源一郎（桜痴）

### (1) 火種

前章でふれたように、頭取の洗澤喜作をはじめ、取引所開設いらい肝煎を勤めてきた福地源一郎（桜痴）や小林猶右衛門、ならびに十二年七月に退任した小室信夫に代った栗原必ら全役員が突然総退陣すると、東株の株主總會は、十三年九月、新たに井関盛良、朝吹英二、諸葛信澄を選出し、やや遅れてこの三名の推挙で松林義規、松隈謙吾らが總會の承認をえて肝煎に就任した。

この三名の辞意表明の一と月前、小松彰はすでに退任していたが、この退任にも岩崎らの策動があった。洗澤らの辞意表明の一と月前、十四年一月の改選で小松彰がふたたび頭取に就任すると、以後十

らしい。

井関盛良の頭取就任は半期だけで、十四年一月の改選で小松彰がふたたび頭取に就任したのである。九年十月まで六期連続重任した。そして六期なかばで退任し河野敏謙に代ったのである。小松頭取のもとに副頭取となった井関盛良が

ウニヴェルシタス（ラテン語、英訳のユニオン、同盟、組合）といわれたのである。このウニヴェルシタスという概念には学問という意味はまったくない。大学とは学問の自由を守るために学者や学生が団結する組織にはかならない。

河野や森の国家主義的な教育行政に関する主張には、明治政府の一貫した国家至上主義が窺われる。

さて、文部卿から農商務卿に転じた河野は、数か月でその任を退いた。十四年の政変にあい、十月、大隈とともに追放されたからであった。

そして、十五年三月、立憲改進黨が結成されると、河野はその副総理に納り、党勢の拡張に努めた。しかし十七年十二月、大隈と共に脱党届を出し、党と袂を分かった。それは表面、党員名簿の廃止に関し党員との意見が対立したことを理由としたものであったが、実情は、この年の十月に解党した自由党の事情と大きく変るものではないと考えられる。

すなわち、このころ民権運動や野党にたいする政府の弾圧が烈しく、言論活動の自由も制圧され、さらに松方のきびしい金融引締政策から党財政も困難の度を加え、そのうえ党内の統制にも自信を欠くようになつたということである。

それから二年後、十九年十月、河野敏謙は東京株式取引所の頭取に就任した。世の意表をついた人事であった。この人事の経緯は筆者にも解らない。

教育令ノ改正案ヲ進奏スル所以ナリ」

五年の学制発布は実学主義、立身出世主義、四民平等主義に立つものであったが、河野のこの建議書は、教育にたいする国家の干渉政策の一步前進を示すものであった。

余談にわたるが、明治十九年、初代文部大臣となった森有礼は、学校令を發布して国民教育制度を確立し、これ以後の教育の土台をかためた。彼は二十二年に暗殺されたが、彼の教育行政に関する最後の演説となつたものをみよう。

「抑も政府が文部省を設立して学制の責に任せしめ、しかのみならず、国庫の資力を藉りて諸学校を維持するもの、ひつきよう、国家の爲なりとせば、学制の目的も亦専ら国家の爲ということに帰せざるべからず。例せば帝国大学に於て教務を挙ぐる、學術の爲と国家の爲とに關することあらば、国家のこゝとを最先にし、最も重んぜざるべからざるが如し。夫れ然り、諸学校を通じ学制上に於ては、生徒其人の爲にするに非ずして、国家の爲にすることを始終記憶せざるべからず。この事は最重要なる点として嚴重に体認を要す」

また余談となるが、世界最古の大学は北イタリアに一一一九年創設されたボローニヤ大学であるといわれる。ボローニヤは自立の中都市であった。この大学は学生の組合が主体であり、その後パリに創られたパリ大学も教員の市民的組合がその母体であつたという。

大学はその成立において学校が大学と呼ばれるのではなく、その学校で結ばれた教授や学生の組合が



(2) 意表つく取引所への登場

河野は、その後明治八年四月、権大判事から、陸奥宗光らとともに、新たに設置された元老院の議員を命ぜられ、同年十一月同幹事となった。十一年六月、法制局副長官を兼任のまま元老院副議長に選出される。

ついで、参議の各省長官（卿）兼摂の制が廃された十三年二月には文部卿に就任する。このとき彼は、教育令改正建議書を提出して（十三年十二月）、学校設置の義務制を強化した。

新政府は明治五年八月学制を制定し、中央集権的、画一主義的な義務教育の徹底をはかったが、それは地方の財政事情にはそわぬものがあつた。それで明治十二年九月、画一主義をやめ、学校の設置を地方の裁量に委せることにした。その結果、教育軽視の風が生じていた。河野はその改正建議書の中でつぎのように述べている。

「其政体ノ如何ニ関セズ、苟モ文明ヲ以テ称セラルル国ニシテ、普通教育ノ干涉ヲ以テ政府ノ務トセザルハナシ。是レ豈ニ普通教育ハ其国運ニ関スル最大ナルガ故ニアラズヤ。我国ノ如キ、学制ヲ施シテヨリ纔ニ数年、未ダ其効績ヲ見ザルニ於テハ、深ク怪ムニ足ラズ。但其施行ノ間ニ当リ、僅々ノ弊ヲ見ルガ為メニ、其精神ヲ挫キ、又皮相論者ノ説ニ膠ラレテ、此主義ヲ揉ムルニ至リテハ、何レノ日ニカ此

初代農商務卿に就任した河野敏鎌は、土佐藩の出身である。

弘化元年（一八四四）十月二十日、高知に生れ、幼名萬壽彌、土佐藩士河野通好の長男であった。安政六年（一八五九）三月、江戸に出て安井忠軒の門にて三年間修業して帰郷すると、坂本龍馬や武市半平太らと交わり、勤王の士として京阪や江戸にて国事に奔走していたが、文久二年（一八六二）、藩論は佐幕に傾き、彼は反対党のために投獄されてしまう。

六年間獄窓にあつた彼が出獄したときは、幕府は大政を奉還し、すでに新政府が発足していた。

大阪府知事に任官していた後藤象二郎を訪ねた河野は、後藤から衆議院副議長江藤新平への紹介状と金五〇円をもらい、江藤新平を頼って上京した。

明治二年、江藤の推挙で新政府に出仕、その後、四年、参議兼刑部卿となつた江藤新平のもとで刑部省に転じ、榮進の道を歩み始める。

だが、征韓論に敗れ西郷らと下野し佐賀に帰つた江藤は、七年二月、反乱を起し敗れて高知に逃げこんだが捕えられ、奇しくもその裁判官となつた河野から峻烈きわまる裁きを受ける。被告席の江藤はついに裁判席の河野をにらみつけ、「この恩知らず奴」と罵声を投げつけた。河野はこれに屈せず当時すでに禁ぜられたさらし首の処刑を下した。これは、反政府活動にたいする大久保の苛烈な作戦であつたが、のちの大久保暗殺事件に繋つた。

日本石油 二一・五 一五

九州鉄道 二一・六 七五〇

このなかで、セメント製造は小野田セメントの前身、東京綿商社は鐘淵紡績の前身、もちろんこのほかに多くの会社が設立され、明治二十一年にはその数二六〇〇社に達し、工場数二〇〇〇、工場労働者数は一二万三、〇〇〇を超えていた。

このような情勢にあつた明治二十年五月、政府は、従来の米商会所や株式取引所の条例を廃して、すべての取引所を一本化して統轄する条例を新たに制定し公布した。これによって政府は取引所行政の大改革を断行しようとしたのであつた。

この条例は、いわゆる「ブルース条例」とよばれたものであつた。これをみると、市場関係者はもとより、世論もその賛否をめぐり大きく沸騰し、いらい数年にわたり取引所問題は紛糾をつづけた。

明治十四年四月、新たに農商務省が設置され、初代の農商務卿に河野敏鐵が任命された。

この農商務省の新設は、参議の大隈、伊藤の意見によつたもので、大蔵省の商務局、内務省の駅遞、山林、博物（生物、鉱物、地質等）の各局、工部省の工作技術の諸務を各省から分離して、これらを統合し總括する行政庁としたものであつた。

セメント製造	一四・五	五・七
明治生命	一四・七	一〇
日本鉄道	一四・一一	二〇〇〇
大阪紡績	一五・五	二五
東京電灯	一六・二	二〇
大阪商船	一七・五	一二〇
阪堺鉄道	一七・六	三三
日本郵船	一八・九	一一〇〇
東京瓦斯	一八・一〇	二七
東京綿商社	一九・一一	一〇
東京火災	二〇・七	二〇
日本麦酒	二〇・九	一五
富士製紙	二〇・一一	二〇
山陽鉄道	二一・一	一三〇〇
日本セメント	二一・三	二二・五
関西鉄道	二一・三	三〇〇

戦いの号令を下した日のことを想い起していた。

これは、三菱側の策動による取引所株の買占めの動きや、取引所の資金を風帆船会社に流用しているといった中傷に憤然と立ち上った栄一の、深慮な決断による果敢な戦闘の開始であった。

### 三 峻烈な裁きを見せた河野敏謙

#### (1) 峻烈な裁き

明治十四年十月、大藏卿に就任した松方正義によって、紙幣整理や日本銀行の設立が企てられ、明治新政府発足後いくたびも危機に瀕した財政の立直しに成功したわが国は、この間、官営事業の払下げや、松方の強力に進めたデフレ政策下で資本の原始的蓄積がすすみ、つぎのように民間企業の創立も相つき、ようやく資本主義的経済社会への展開がひらきはじめていた。(資本金、単位万円)

会社名 設立年月 資本金

三井物産 (明治) 九・七 五

川崎造船所 一一・五 不詳

東京海上保険 一二・二 六〇

運施設、倉庫、あるいは年間二五万円の助成金の支給など、かずかずの手厚い援護を受けることになった。

こうして、岩崎の采配する三菱蒸気船会社はたちまちわが海運界に君臨し、独占体制を強めていった。だが当時輸送はほとんど海上に依存しなければならなかった時代であったから、海運独占の諸弊害は各方面に続出した。とくに全国的規模で物資の集散に従事していた三井物産のこうむる損失は、耐えうる限界にきていた。

益田や渋澤らの周到な計画が、東京風帆船会社の設立となって実現したのは、明治十三年八月十日であった。一八名の発起人名簿には、益田孝、三井武之助、大倉喜八郎などとともに渋澤喜作の名はみえしたが、栄一の名はなかった。

この風帆船会社の誕生をみて二週間ばかり過ぎたある日、東京株式取引所では臨時株主総会が開かれていた。その席で、頭取の渋澤喜作は突如辞任する旨の発言を行なった。これにつづいて、福地源一郎（桜痴）、小林猶右衛門、栗原必ら肝煎も全員辞任すると言明し、会場は異常な緊迫に包まれた。誰にも何が起こったのか皆目見当もつかなかった。

その理由を問いただされたのにたいし、喜作は参会者の顔を無視して天井に向い、

「信ずるところにしたがいこうするのであります」

と、ただ一言答えただけだった。喜作はそのとき、自分の声の響に、彰義隊の面前で上野の空に向い、

喜作は、心中栄一の果敢な措置に舌をまきながら、かつて栄一らとともに、この横浜の異人屋敷を焼打ちしようとした日の情熱の炎が、いま目前に空を焦がして燃え上っている炎と重なっているのを感じた。

この非常手段はてきめんきいた。数十万枚の蠶卵紙は灰と化したが、ついさきごろまで、上等品でも一枚五銭にたたかれたものが六〇銭にはね上り、下等品すら三〇銭の値をつけて取引されるようになったからである。

さて、東京株式取引所の創立を迎えると、喜作は栄一の意図を受けてその運営に参加することになった。栄一は喜作を頭取に推したかったと後年になって述懐しているが、多分このときのことを指しているものと推測される。しかしこのときは小松彰が就任した。

だが二期目を迎えた十二年一月には喜作がその頭取の座についた。恩慮深い温厚な小松とは対蹠的に、武骨で張りのある声で訴えかける新任の頭取にたいし、株主や市場関係者は好感を持って迎え入れ、つぎの改選期にも再選されていた。

ところがそのころ、三菱蒸気船会社にたいする戦いが、栄一や三井物産の益田孝らを中心に密かに準備されていたのである。

前にも触れたように、七年の台湾征討にあたり、その軍事輸送を一手に引き受け、大久保や大隈ら政

## (2) 武者ぶるい

喜作がヨーロッパから帰ると、栄一の勧めにしたがい生糸の貿易商の勉強を兼ねて、小野組糸店の古河市兵衛のもとに身をおいてまもなくの、明治七年の十月のことである。

暮末開港いらい、わが国の主要な輸出品は生糸や茶などであったが、その中に蚕卵紙の輸出も大きな比重を占めていた。

とくに明治に入ってから、ヨーロッパの蚕卵紙の不振から取引高も年々増加の傾向がみえたので、政府はいろいろと保護育成策を講じた。そのため生産も高まり製品も大きく改善されたが、同時に供給過剰の気味もあらわれていた。そこに目をとめた外国商人は、不平等条約下にあったわが国の外交上の弱点も利用して、法外な安値で買いたたいた。

全国から集まってくる蚕卵紙がただ同然となって、横浜の間屋の店先に積まれていった。その惨状をみた喜作は、じつとしていられずさっそく栄一を訪ねてその対策を性急にもとめた。すでにそうした情勢を察知していた栄一は、密かに政府を説得して資金手当の目安がつくと、喜作を督励して、滞貨の山をなしている蚕卵紙を買い集めた。

そして、傲然と傍観している外国商人を尻目に、その蚕卵紙を荷駄に積んで空地に運び数日間になり炎炎と焼き払った。



業に尽力していた尾高藍香とともに働くことになった。

だが喜作はなお釈然としないものを栄一の行動や思考のなかに感じていた。パリに旅立つまでの、自分もつねに行動をともしにしていた時代の栄一は、たとえば、一百姓から尊攘倒幕の士となり、さらに幕臣と目まぐるしく変った彼の心底はその隔ずみまで読み取ることができたが、横浜での別離いらい、新政府の高官となったこんにちの彼の変貌には、何かしら以前にはみられなかった、異質のものを喜作は感じはじめたのである。それを彼は、彼がまだ見えない栄一の踏みしめてきた異国の風物風土であると察した。

そう考えはじめると、喜作はその正体を自分の眼で確かめずにはいられなかった。喜作はさっそく栄一に自分を洋行させるように談じ込み、ヨーロッパへ旅立った。栄一はその後、大蔵省を辞任し、第一国立銀行の總監室に障取っていた。

喜作が帰国したのは明治七年五月だった。喜作は栄一の変わり身の早さに驚ろいたが、彼もすぐ大蔵省を辞め、栄一のすすめにしたがい、横浜で生系の売込商を始めることにした。そしてそれに先立ち商売の仕法を修得するため小野組糸店の古河市兵衛のもとで働くことになった。

ところがその二た月ばかり後、外人商館相手の大事件が持ち上った。

は江戸にのがれて謹慎恭順の身となった。だが薩長は朝敵としてその慶喜になお追及の手をゆるめようとしなかつた。

それに憤つた旗本の侍たちは一つの集団となって上野に集つた。その盟主に喜作は推された。彰義隊と称した。だが、彰義隊の暴発を恐れた喜作は、栄一の妻千代の長兄尾高新五郎（藍香）と相談して、別に同志二〇〇名ばかりを結集し、振武軍と名のつた。喜作が隊長となり藍香が参謀長であつた。

四月、慶喜は江戸を離れて水戸に発つた。

五月、奥羽越同盟が結成された。

だがそれからまもなく彰義隊は内部から崩れ、振武軍も敗走した。一部には奥羽越同盟軍に参加した者もあつたが、喜作と藍香は伊香保にのがれて潜伏し、藍香はその後帰国した。喜作は榎本武揚に従つて函館に走り、五稜郭に立てこもつて官軍に抵抗した。

翌二年五月、戦いに敗れた喜作は兵部省札問所に捕縛され三年の刑に処された。特赦をもつて出獄したのは明治五年の初めであつた。このとき栄一は、大蔵省三等出仕、大蔵少輔事務取扱という新政府の高官に栄進していた。

二人は五年ぶりの再会であつた。しかし、その形と影は、梅雨どきの季節のように、相手をもとめて探しあつてゐるらしく、その変身ぶりに戸惑つてゐるかにみえた。

栄一は、洩る喜作に大蔵省への出仕をすすめ、やはり栄一の推挙で富岡製糸場の工場長としてその創

て行動した人物といいきることができそうだ。

喜作は栄一の思慮の深さを信じ、栄一は、喜作の直情径行のきらいがあつたが武骨一辺の正直さとその行動力を愛した。

喜作の生涯で、その形と影とが相分れ、喜作が独り歩きをしたときがただ一度あつた。

それは戊辰戦争をなかにはさんだ数年間のことである。

血洗島村（埼玉県）の百姓の子として生れ育つた二人は、尊王だ、攘夷だ、倒幕だ、と吹きすさぶ時代の嵐のなかに青年期を迎え、淳朴なその精神に殉ずるため、近隣の同志を募り、攘夷倒幕の捨石たろうとした。そのため、まず高崎城を乗取り、その勢いを駆って横浜の異人屋敷を焼打ちしようという大胆不敵な計画を練つた。

さいわいこの狂気の作戦は、やはり渋澤一族の青年の諫止によつて事なきをえたが、その筋の目をのがれて郷里を捨てねばならなかつた。その放浪の空で二人は一ツ橋家に仕える身となる。そしてさらに將軍の座につく徳川慶喜の陪臣となつたのだが、その才幹を買われた栄一は、將軍の弟徳川昭武の一行に加わり、パリの万国博覧会に随行することになつて、慶応三年一月横浜港から渡欧の途についた。ここで影と形とは離された。

喜作は將軍慶喜の奥祐筆に抜擢されていた。

頭取に就いたものだった。

彼は一期だけその責を果たし、十二年一月には洪澤喜作にその席を譲った。しかし十四年一月ふたたび頭取に推挙された。その後連続六期その任に留まることになったが、六期目のなかば、株主らの意見と対立をみた彼は、十九年十月退任し、河野敏雄に後事を托すのである。

その翌年十一月、東京米商会所頭取に就任した。懇請されたのだが、病気のためほとんど出勤することなく熱海で療養に終始し、病重くなり掃宅。翌二十一年三月、四十七歳で世を去った。正五位の叙勲があった。

## 二 佐幕派の梟将・洪澤喜作

### (1) 形と影

東京株式取引所の頭取として、小松彰に代り、第二期（明治十二年一月から十三年一月）を勤めたのは洪澤喜作である。

彼は天保九年（一八三八）生れ、栄一よりは二歳年上の従兄であったが、物心ものごころのついたころから、大正元年八月、七十五歳でその生涯を閉じるまで、栄一とはつねに形影相添うように、栄一の意図にそつ

これに激昂した奥羽二六藩に、北越六藩も加わり、五月三日、白石（福島県）において奥羽越列藩同盟が結ばれ、輪王寺宮公現親王（後の北白川宮能久親王）を擁して、政府軍と戦うことになった。

戦いは一時同盟軍に有利に展開したが、この戦いで長岡城が敵に陥ち、その奪還戦のさなか河井継之助は負傷した。そして会津へ向う途中で絶命した。同盟軍は各地でしばしば敵を圧倒したが、敵の海路部隊が阿賀野川河口（現在新潟空港のある地）に上陸すると、新発田藩は同盟を裏切り政府軍に就いたことから形勢は逆転し、ついに同盟軍の結束は乱れて、同年九月、会津藩の降伏を前後に奥羽越はずべて政府軍の手中に帰した。

さて、小松彰は、河井継之助が江戸を去った文久元年のあくる年、父が世子（藩主のあとつぎ）に従って江戸に上ってきたので、入れかわりに松本に帰り家事をみることになった。しかしこの年その父が他界すると、翌文久三年に信濃松代藩（長野県）にあった佐久間象山の門に入った。

ところがその翌年、つまり元治元年、幕命によって象山が江戸に上ることになったので、小松もこれに従って江戸に出た。しかしその七月、象山は攘夷派の暴徒の凶刃に倒れた。小松は、その後象山の遺子を救け後事を処理したと伝えられる。

動乱の時代とはいえ、相ついで悲運の死を遂げた二人の師の面影をいだきながら、小松彰は、貢士としてえらばれて新政府に仕えたが、病弱でもあったので、そこで栄達の道を進もうという意欲はなかった。九年に官を辞したが、大隈や渋澤の懇望で取引所の設立に関わり、推されて東京株式取引所の初代

してもっぱら治政の道を学んでいたが、安政元年（一八五四年）いったん帰国し、同四年に家督をつぐ。国にあつて彼は自家で砲術を研究したり、開港論を主張したり、時局の進運に絶えず目を向けていた。安政六年春、河井はふたたび江戸に出て、古賀塾に入ったが、六月には西下して備中松山に山田方谷を訪ねて経済実学の教えを受け、さらに長崎に足をのばし、清国人、オランダ人と交り、世界の形勢を察し、帰途には熊本にまわり木下厚潭を訪ね、万延元年（一八六〇）に江戸に戻つて、三度古賀塾の門をたたいた。

そして、小松彰が古賀塾に入った文久元年（一八六一）に長岡に帰つたのである。

長岡に帰つた河井は藩政改革に尽力した。そして数年後に起きた戊辰戦争には、官軍にたいし藩の中立を訴えて戦乱を避けようとした。

これよりさき、鳥羽伏見の戦いの直後、会津、庄内両藩の討伐を進めようとした新政府は、その進軍に先立って、慶応四年正月二十五日、仙台および米沢両藩にたいし会津討伐を命じていた。ついで三月二十九日には重ねて米沢藩にたいし会津討伐の先鋒となることを命じた。

米沢、仙台両藩は戦いを避けるため、会津藩に降伏をすすめるとともに、政府軍に会津討伐の中止を嘆願したが聞きいれられず、そればかりでなく、海陸三方から進軍中の政府軍は、仙台、米沢はじめ奥羽諸藩をすべて敵として海陸から攻撃する作戦を展開しようとしていることが、ふとしたことで捉えた密偵の懐中した密書から判明した。

古賀は文化十三年（一八一六）に生れ、明治十七年に世を去った幕末の儒者。嘉永六年、ロシア使節プチャーチンが長崎に来航のとき、幕府の儒官であった彼は返書を作成して長崎でプチャーチンと応待しているが、以後外人の応待や外交文書の起草などに当った洋学者でもあった。

古賀塾の塾長は米沢出身の小田切成徳という人物であった。ある日、長岡藩士河井継之助がこの小田切を訪ねてきた。

この初対面で、小松彰は十五歳も年長の河井継之助の風格にすっかり傾倒し、親交を重ねるようになる。しかし河井は、この年、越後長岡に帰りふたたび江戸には姿をみせなかった。数年後の戊辰戦争の硝煙のなかに、その識見才華を突らせることなく消え去った。享年四十二歳であった。

### (3) 二人の師

河井継之助は文政十一年（一八二七）の元旦に越後長岡藩士として生れた。後年蒼龍窟と号した。少年時に、漢学、剣法、槍術を学んだが、十六、七歳のころから、幕府から異端視され時には圧迫されもした陽明学を、独学で研究した。

幕末、この陽明学から影響を受けたといわれる人物には、梁川星巖、横井小楠、真木和泉、西郷隆盛、吉田松陰らの名があげられる。

代表する貢士として、新政府が設置した議政官下局に出仕した。

議政官は三権分立の立法府にあたる機関で、皇族、公卿、諸侯、藩士から選ばれた議定、参与からなる上局と、藩主の推挙により藩論を代表する貢士からなる下局とに分れていた。また貢士は四〇万石以上の大藩は三名、一〇万石以上の中藩は二名、一〇万石未満の小藩は一名とされた。この下局は明治二年七月、集議院となった。

小松は二年には倉敷県（岡山県）判事に任命され、その後、久美浜県（京都府）権知事、生野県（兵庫県）知事、豊岡県（兵庫県）県令等を歴任し、六年には文部大丞に累進していた。

しかし官僚生活に見切りをつけた彼は、九年に退官した。そして翌十年、洪澤のすすめで取引所の創立にあずかり、初代頭取に推挙されることになった。

幕末における彼の行動をみると、十歳のとき（嘉永四年―一八五二）藩校の崇教館に入り、七年間修学したが、藩士二、三名とともに江戸遊学を思いたち、安政五年（一八五八）、松本を発し江戸に向った。

江戸に着くと、父の友人で医者の下条行藏の許に寄寓しながら、彼は幕府の儒官であった塩谷宕陰の門に学んだ。宕陰は海防論を唱えた儒者であった。

文久元年（一八六一）、小松は、王陽明の学をさらに研鑽しようとしたがその書が少なかったため、たまたまその全集を古賀蘆堂が持っていることをきくと、宕陰の諒解をえてきつそく古賀塾に入門することになった。



廣瀬宰平 住友家代表

永見米吉郎

中井由兵衛 三井家代表

西田永助 山口家代表

この五名の互選の結果、中山信彬が頭取、廣瀬宰平が副頭取となった。

さて、大阪に先立ち、十一年一月なかば、東京株式取引所では、小室信夫、福地源一郎、渋澤喜作、小松彰、小林猶右衛門の五名が肝煎に選出され、一月三十一日、これらの人々の互選によって、頭取に小松彰がえらばれ、副頭取はおかず、支配人として小林猶右衛門が指名された。

頭取決定の日は雪もやんで曇りであったが、夕刻から第一国立銀行の二階に、これらの役員を招いて、西洋料理を運び入れ、渋澤栄一は夜遅くまで酒盃を交わしていたという、当時の一行員の日誌が残っている。

東京株式取引所の発起人を見ると、渋澤と三井によってこの取引所が発足したことが明らかである。

初代頭取となった小松彰は、天保十三年（一八四二）三月九日、筑摩郡松本（長野県）に生れ、幼名を金八のち左右輔といった。

明治維新を迎えると、二十七歳の松本藩士小松彰は、六万石の譜代松本藩主から推挙されて、藩論を

(2) 陽明学

大阪株式取引所の設立にあたり、五代友厚や廣瀬宰平らの奔走で名をつらねた発起人はつぎの一〇名である。

兵庫県平民 加納次郎右衛門

” 士族 熊谷辰太郎

大阪府平民 井口新三郎

” 山口吉郎兵衛

長崎県士族 笠野熊吉

大阪府平民 住友吉左衛門

” 平瀬亀之助

京都府平民 三井元之助

大阪府平民 鴻池善右衛門

鹿児島県士族 五代友厚

そして、第一回の株主總會の投票でつぎの五名が肝煎に選ばれた。

中山信彬 元兵庫県知事

” 四二 小野善右衛門

” 四〇 安田卯之吉

” 三〇 大倉喜八郎

以上の一九名が三〇株以上の株主であった。以下、二七株一名、二五株二名、二〇株四名、一五株二名、一〇株四名、五株九名、三株四名、二株四名、一株一名で、発行株式数の三分の一相当の六六二株は、株主総数の八割に相当する七六名に所有されていた。

設立当初の東京株式取引所の仲買人は七六名であったが、株主以外の者も二人の保証人の連署をもつて、一〇〇円以上五〇〇円までの身元金を添えて、取引所に所定の手続きをとり認可されれば仲買人となることができた。ただ、この七六名の株主と同一人であったかどうか確認できない。しかし株主の大半は仲買人となったことは確かであり、またこの当初の仲買人はほとんど両替商か米の仲買人を前歴とする者であった。この仲買人も期限を一年とされ、継続を希望するものは取引所の認可を要した。

なお、十一年六月一日に開業した東京より二た月ほど遅れ、八月十五日に開業した大阪株式取引所は、東京と同じく資本金二〇万円であったが、株主数は一三〇名、仲買人は八二名で、その仲買人のほとんどは両替商の出身であった。

東京府平民 九八

洪澤栄一

京都府平民

八二

三井養之助

”

八二

三井武之助

東京府平民

八二

益田孝

”

八二

三野村利助

高知県土族

八二

小室信夫

山口県土族

六六

木村正幹

長野県土族

四二

小松彰

東京府平民

四二

福地源一郎

”

四二

洪澤喜作

(以上二名は設立発起人)

東京府平民

九八

今村清之助

”

八二

小林吟次郎

神奈川県平民

八二

田中平八

東京府平民

八二

岡本善七

”

四二

小林猶右衛門

てまた免許を受けることという規定だった。

当時、政府はすべての会社にたいし、その設立には官許主義をとり、とくに取引所にたいする官民の態度には、これまででもくり返してきたように賭博場と同視する考え方が一般的であった。

しかしながら、一方において明治五年いらい、旧体制解体にともなう旧藩債や武士階級にたいする生活資金として、二億二〇〇万円に達する新・旧公債、秩禄公債、金禄公債等を発行し、また十一年には一、二五〇万円の起業公債を、鉄道、道路建設の官営事業にあてるため公募しており、六年から設立されていた国立銀行も十一年には九五行となり、十二年末には一五一行に急増、その払込資本金は四〇〇〇万円を超える情勢であった。

そこでやむなく民間の要望を受けいれ、理想案を捨ててにわか作りの条例となつたため、営業年限を小刻みにし理想案の作成を将来に残したのである。

株式会社制度にたいする認識もあいまいであり、譲渡の自由や株主の有限責任といった株式会社制度の決定的な指標（クリテリウム）も欠いているが、役員以外の株主に仲買人となる特権を与えたことも注目すべき点だともう。

設立当初、東京株式取引所の株主は、設立発起人を加え九五名であった。ちなみに三〇株以上の株主の族称、持株数、氏名をあげるとつぎのとおりであった。

## 第一章 さむらい型の官僚頭取

——小松彰・渋澤喜作・河野敏謙——

### 一 陽明学信奉の小松彰

#### (1) 取引所の役員

明治十一年（一八七八）に創立された東京株式取引所の定款によると、株主一同の投票によって三〇株以上の株主中から肝煎五名を選び、その肝煎の互選で頭取をえらぶ規定であった。任期は一年で重任はさまたげない。

東京株式取引所の資本金は二〇万円、発行株式総数二〇〇〇株、一株の額面は一〇〇円であった。株式の譲渡は原則的に禁ぜられ、譲渡の場合は肝煎の許可を要した。

また、株主の責任は保証有限すなわち、もし取引所の閉鎖、非常の損害などの場合はその損害（負債およびこれに要した費用）を弁償するため、持株の二倍を負担しさらに出金すべきものというのであった。

さらに、営業年限について、株式取引所条例により五年と定められ、継続を希望するときはあらため



第三部 取引所の顔



エスレルの指導を受けたこの新しい取引所条例が、帝国憲法同様、ドイツ法規に換ったことは興味のあることだが、ただこれがドイツ流に「ペールゼ」と呼ばれずに、フランス風に「プールス」と呼ばれたのは、当時のフランス好みの知識層の故であろうか。

さて、吉田は二十一年に枢密顧問官に任ぜられたが、二十四年八月、四十七歳の若さで世を去った。

立した取引所の最終營業滿期にあたる明治二十四年六月まで、旧取引所の營業期限を一律に延期することを上願した。二十四年に期限到来のものは酒田米商會所などであった。

このころ、吉田農商務次官の身辺に変化があった。それは明治二十年五月に、吉田にたいし子爵の贈位があり、七月には元老院議員に転出することになったことである。

この吉田の異動は、新旧兩条例が併存するなかにあつて、新旧兩取引所がたがいとその存立を強く主張して譲らない情勢であつたから、混乱をいっそう深めることになつた。

取引所改革のもつとも積極的な推進者を失つた政府当局が、この問題をどのように解決していったかは後に述べる。ただ、この条例はついに定着することはなかつたが、一般に「プールの条例」と呼ばれ、証券関係者の間で言いならわされてきたものである。

この法の範としたものは、岩崎小二郎の冒頭陳述でも明らかにされているようにベルリン取引所の制度であつた。わが国に初めて制定された株式取引条例は明治七年のことだが、この場合は、フランス人のボアソナードの指導で、ロンドン取引所の規約を範とした。

ロンドンやパリ、ニューヨークの取引所は、初め数名の者で作られ、のち株式会社組織となつたが、市場の隆盛につれて弊害が続出したため、政府は一部株主の専断からこれを解放し、市場の公共性を強化するため、多くの困難をへて會員組織あるいは公立の市場に改革したものであつた。

ベルリン取引所はこうした先進国の前轍をふまず、当初から會員組織制を採つていた。ドイツ人、ロ

全十月中、金沢、

二十一年一月中、名古屋

全五月中、京都七条、など。

株式取引所では、

二十一年五月、東京、

全八月、大阪。

とくに大阪では、この改革の直接的動因を作ったとみられる例の大檢舉事件いらい、取引所にたいする一般の非難攻撃が強かったため、この条例の発布をみると、改革について事前に吉田次官から諮問を受けた藤田傳三郎が発起者となり、府内の有力者を勧誘して、新条例による新しい取引所の設立に着手した。この藤田傳三郎については後章で触れよう。

この設立は一般事業会社の発起と異り、なんら直接的利益がなかったにもかかわらず、上記の事情から、発起人には有力者のほとんどの参加をえ、また各種商業者もこぞって会員に加入するありさまだった。さて、このとき東京では、前年（明治十九年十月）東京株式取引所の頭取に就任していた河野敏謙や洪澤栄一らが設立発起人となって、新条例にもとづく東京取引所の設立を出願していた。

こうした動きは、旧取引所当局や関係者に大きな不安動揺をあたえ、市況も急落した。そこで東西の

## 七 「ブールス条例」

一般経済界でも、この賛否両論に耳を傾けながら、取引所改革の是非はともかく、急激な変革は、一時的にしろ経済を混乱させることであり、松方の努力によってようやく軌道に乗りかけたこのさい、強硬な手段は避けるべきだとする意見も少くなかった。

しかし政府当局とくに農商務次官の吉田清成は、資本主義経済体制が軌道に乗りかけたこのときこそ、長年の弊害を一掃し、改革実現の絶好の機会であるとし、各方面の反対論を一蹴して、元老院の審議を通過すると同時に、明治二十年五月十四日、取引所条例を發布し、ついで六月一日には、農商務省令によりその「施行細則」も發布した。

このとき本条例の付則に、

「本条例ハ明治二十年九月一日ヨリ施行ス但米商會所條例及株式取引所條例ハ米商會所及株式取引所ノ營業満期ヲ待ツテ廃止スルモノトス」

とあった。

当時營業免許期限の接近していた取引所は、米商會所では、

二十年八月中、桑名(三重県)、東京、大阪堂島、近江滋賀、赤間関(山口県)、松山(愛媛県)、

全九月中、新潟、

また解合は破綻者が続出し、ために一般経済界に及ぼす災厄の計り知れざることを救い防ぐ方法であり、当事者のみならず、一般経済界のためきわめて適切妥当の処置に外ならない。これをもって取引所が担保責任を回避しようとする手段と断ずるは誹謗も甚しい。

また、取引所は多大の資本をもってその担保の責に任ずるが故に、委託者は安んじて仲買人に売買を委託し、また仲買人はこの制度があるため相手側を選択する要なく、きわめて活発敏速に取引を行うという利点がある。

と、担保制の廃止に強く反対し、さらにこれら改革反対論者は、言葉を続けていう。

取引所は特許をえて営業をなす市場である。その特許年限は、国家の事情または経済上の変革ある場合を予想したために外ならない。いまこれらに何ら変革のないにもかかわらず、単に時の政府当局者の理想によりその改廃をほしいままにすることは、経済界の秩序を紊乱するにとどまらず、取引所株主の既得権を侵略し、あたかもその財産を没収するに等しいものであって、政府行政権の濫用であるのみならず、ひいてはわが国法および制度の信用できぬことを内外に暴露し、国威信用の低下を希うにひとしいものである…。

こうした朝野をあげての論争展開の間において、当初仲買人は、前述のように、取引所側に対立して賛成者側にあつたが、改革の内容が、現行制度をほとんど原型をとどめぬほどに革新するものであることを知らると、むしろま一皮むいて取引所側を全滅せよ、斥を河にまき出すつもりで身をたがらすこと、こつこつと

相場の変動のときであつて、それは同時に取引所の担保責任の危険の最も増大する時である。

利益の少ない時は取引所の経常費を支弁する程度である。そしてその人的物的施設、受渡その他決済事務に要する必要経費は、会員組織となつてもまた欠かせないものである。

もしそれが担保料を含んだ取引所手数料をもつて、密売買が盛んに行われる原因だといふときは、取引所を故なく非難する雜言で、盗人を責めず、被害者の財貨に富むことを責めるにひとしい謬論である。

つぎに担保制についてみると、廃止賛成側は、取引所の担保制度は有名無実である。然るに取引所はこれに名をかりて不当高率の手数料を徴収し、それは株主に入つて売買者には無用の損失を蒙らせ、その結果は密売買を盛んとする原因となつてゐる。

またこの担保制度は取引上の基本である取引業者の信用の発達を阻害する。会員組織は薄資かつ信用の薄い者を市場から追放し、取引業者の信用を向上せしめこれを活用する利益がある。

さらにまたこの担保制の結果は、取引所に証提金の増徴を禁からしめ、あるいは不当に立会を停止しては公定相場を欠き、さらに、解合（よめあ）を強制する弊習を増大させるものである。

これにたいし反対意見は、市場が不穩に陥るとき、これを停止しあるいは解合をすすめることは、熱狂して常軌を逸した市場を冷静にするのにきわめて有効適切な策であり、いやしくもその乱用の事実がないかぎり、そのために一時公定相場を欠くことがあつても、それは大事の前の瑣事である。



は市場において市場代理人を用いることができるが、仲買人は事務的補助員以外は認めない。

一、会員には法人会員を認めたが、仲買人は認められない。

一、売買取引は直取引と定期取引の二種とした。直取引は値段の決定にだけ競売買を許し締約は相対取引とし、期限は、証券の場合、当日または翌日とした。また定期取引は九十日以内とされ、値段の決定ならびに締約は直取引同様である。

なお、定期における転売買戻は認められたが、それは取引毎に売主から買主に対し売渡証書を交付することを要し、第三者に転売しようとするときは、その旨を証書記名者（原契約の売主）に通知することを要し、この場合その原売主の要求ある場合は、さらに一定額内において、「同人の満足する証拠金」を差入れるべしと規定している。また定期取引はその期限における最終当事者間で、原則として現物の受渡を要した。

一、取引所における取引上の紛争は、取引所の仲裁を受け、出訴できない。

一、本条例の違反者は金刑に処せられ、施行細則の違反者は金刑または二日以上二十五日以下の禁固刑（体刑）に処せられた。（この点、この条例がいかにか売買法を重視したか窺えよう）

以上のような改革案は、元老院でもその実現性を危ぶむ発言が多かったが、これが外部に伝わると、早くも賛否の論争が高まった。



官営事業の払下げによる民間における資本的企業の成立など一の第一段階的な地ならしが終っていた。これをみて取った政府が、この緊要な時点を捉えて、すかさず、物価安定を主軸とする経済発展策を展開しようとしていたことを窺わせるのである。

とくに、憲法の発布や国会の開設を目前にしたこの時点では、社会秩序の安全をはかるためにも経済の安定的発展策が重要な政治的課題であった。

そのためには物価の安定が第一要件であったが、といって政府がこれを統制することは混乱を増すばかりであり、自由主義的資本主義経済発展の勢いを殺ぐものであった。

そこで取引所条例の改正に大きく期待したのである。

ところで、取引物件がこのように多種に涉つたため、売買法の細目は本条例にかかけず、すべて省令にもとづく「施行細則」と「取引所規約」によることになった。

これら「条例」、「細則」、「規約」を通じて、前記以外の主な改正点を列記すると次のとおりである。

一、明治十五年から規定された取引所の担保責任制が撤廃され、違約があれば証拠金および仲買人の営業保証金、身元保証金をもってこれにあて、なお不足額があれば被違約者から直接違約者に追求する。

一、取引人は会員に限られ、これを普通会员と仲買人とする。普通の会員は身元保証金三百円、三千元を納付し、証券、米穀等は自己取引のみ行う。仲買人は主務大臣の免許を要し、営業保証金は一千元

の審議にかけられた取引所条例には、たんに取引所行政にとどまる問題だけではなく、きわめて重要な経済全般にわたる政治的意図がかけられていたと解される。

それは、従来、米や株式の取引所はそれぞれ別箇の条例で規定されていたのを、この改正でこれが一つの条例に包含されることになったばかりでなく、他の主要な物資、すなわち、

大豆、小豆、菜種、砂糖、麦等の農作物、

種油、石炭油、生蠟等の油類、

魚類肥料、油粕、糠等の肥料類、

棉、糸、木綿、モスリン等の纖維類、

半紙、塵紙、洋紙等の紙類、

銅、鉛、鉄、洋鉄等の鉱産物、

など、当時の主要物資をほとんど網羅して取引対象物件に指定していた。そしてこれらの物資をすべて公開された市場に集中し、そこで、自由な競争にさらし、公正な取引価格を作り、これをただちに全国に報道して、生産者ならびに消費者、つまり国民全体の経済活動に寄与させようとしたのである。

こうした政府の意図は何か。当時、財政確立に身命を賭した松方正義の、すでに五年の歳月を費した努力により、紙幣整理や中央銀行（日本銀行）の設立がすすみ、国家財政確立の基盤がつくられていた。同時にその間に多くの犠牲を払いながらも、資本の原始的蓄積—資本家階級の造成、労働者階級の形成、

「第二の要点は、売買法を改めることである。現今わが国の取引所で行われている売買法は、一種不可思議なものでほとんど賭博に類するものであるから、これを一掃し、真正な実物の売買法を設けることが緊要である」

以上が岩崎の冒頭陳述の前段の要旨である。

すなわち、株主の利益を優先し取引所を専断しがちな株式会社組織を排し、善良な実業商人の自由に参加できる会員組織とすること、賭博的仕法である定期取引を改善して実物本位の売買法に徹底すること、などであった。

国内における諸物資の流通が個々の仲買商の専断するままに放任の状態では、かれらの思惑によってその円滑な流通が阻まれて、価格の安定、生産の向上は絶えずおびやかされ、ついには国家の経済活動の発展が大きく攪乱されることとなる。そこで株式や米に限らず、国内における主要物資はすべて公開された市場（取引所）に集中し、その市場における自由な競争にさらして公正な取引価格を作り、これを直ちに全国に報道させて、経済活動を安定的に拡大しようという政策的理念であった。

## 五 改革案の内容

第一次伊藤博文内閣のとき、農商務次官の吉田清成の奔走で、明治二十年（一八八七）四月、元老院

ら民間の有力者に、この取引所改革問題を諮問したのである。

そして秘密裡にこれを審議立案の上、八章三十四条からなる取引所条例をつくり、明治二十年四月二十七日、元老院の会議にかけた。傍聴は禁じられた。

この会議の冒頭、内閣委員の岩崎小二郎は提案説明を行なっているが、七、七〇〇字におよぶその筆記録を要約すると、大略つぎのようになろうか。

「従来、わが国の政治家や学者は、こと取引所のこととなると、すこぶる冷淡となり、有害無用のものであるとし、商業社会に大きな妨害をなすものだというばかりでなく、はなはだしきはこれに重税を課して成立不能とせよと論ずる者もあるが、取引所が商業社会にとって不可欠のものであることはいうまでもない」

「外国でも商業盛んな土地には必ず存在する。わが国の現状のように商業緩慢で信用地におちた社会では、すべからず取引所を設置して商人を奨励し、商業を盛んにし信用を厚くすることは急務中の急務であろう。ただ取引所の組織、運用が宜しいときは多大の利益をあげるが、これが宜しきをえないときは弊害を来たすは論をまたない」

「この提案の主眼とする要旨の第一は、今日の如く株式をもって構成せる取引所を廃して、商業社会の共同の取引所に改め、従来投機者流の巢窟たりしを変じて、実業商人の集会する取引所とし、もって本案第一条に掲ぐる目的を達し、わが国の商業を振起させようとするにある」



たように、多分に政商的性格がみられるが、反面、堂島米市場の再興、大阪株式取引所の創立（明治十一年）、大阪商法会議所（同上）、大阪商業講習所（十三年）の設立など、関西経済圏の産業振興に、民間を代表して、住友、鴻池、三井らと協力して大きな役割を演じたことは確かである。

五代は岩崎彌太郎の没した明治十八年に五十歳でその生涯を閉じた。しかし五代は岩崎よりも渋澤栄一とよく対比される。

私下げ事件や五〇年という短命を除けばこの二人の事業に優劣はない。ただ私企業の営みは国家の利益に繋ると考えていた渋澤が市民個々人の立場を忘れなかったのにたいし、外国に鉱山事業を任すは国家の損失だとして、自らその経営に乗りだした五代の立場は、企業はひっきょう国家あつての企業であるとするものであった。両者の相違はこの点にあったように思われる。

## ■ 自由競争の原理

五代友厚とともに薩摩藩の一〇数名の留学生が、前述のように、イギリスの武器商人グラバーの船でヨーロッパに密航した。そのなかの一人、二十一歳の吉田清成は、それくらいイギリスに留まり、キングスカレッジの教授で化学博士のウィリアムソンについて語学を勉強しながら、政治経済学から銀行保険事業の研究に努め、帰国したのは明治三年であった。

先にも書いたように吉田清成が加わっていたが、森有礼の名もあった。森は吉田より二歳若かった。

当時まだ海外渡航は禁ぜられていたから、五代らの出国は密航であり、その密航に船を提供したのは、武器売込商人のイギリス人グラバーであった。彼は当時わが国に駐留していたイギリス公使パークスの片腕といわれた男である。

イギリスに渡った五代は、その後オランダ、フランスなどをまわり、留学生と別れ、翌慶応二年二月帰国した。そしてこのヨーロッパ視察に基いて、十八か条にわたる重要産業改革を藩に提言した。また、このときわが国に最初の紡績機械を持ち帰った。彼は御納戸奉行格御用人席外国掛を命ぜられた。

慶応三年にはフランスで万国博覧会が開催され、招待を受けた幕府は、將軍慶喜の弟民部大輔昭武を名代として派遣することになり、これに渋澤栄一らが随行したことは前にふれた。

ところがこの博覧会には、五代とフランス貴族のモンブランとの画策で薩摩藩も招かれており、その参加に当って、薩藩では幕府から独立した存在として、薩摩琉球勲章を作成し、また出品は幕府のものとは別区画に陳列され、あたかも独立国であるかのような体面を誇示した。このときの使節には留学中の吉田や森らも任命されている。

維新後、五代友厚は大阪駐在の外国官判事などを勤めたが、二年七月には退官し、大阪に店を構え、各種鉱山事業の経営に当った。

さてここで、これまで触れる機会を失ってきた五代友厚について簡単に述べておこう。

五代は、直左衛門秀堯の二男として、天保六年（一八三五）十二月、鹿兒島郡城ヶ谷に生まれた。岩崎彌太郎の誕生よりちょうど一年遅れている。

幼名は縁助または才助といい、十四歳のころ、世界地図を模写して藩侯に差上げたという。二十歳、藩の郡方書役となった。

彼が海外の事情に直接関心を持つようになったのは、安政四年（一八五七）、二十三歳のとき、長崎に留学を命ぜられ、ここで航海、砲術、測量、数学などを学んでいらいであつた。二年後の安政六年に藩命で上海に渡り、ドイツの汽船を購入すると、これに天祐丸と命名してその船長となり、ついで御船奉行副役となる。

それから三年後の薩英戦争のときイギリス艦に捕えられ横浜に連行されたが、一緒に捕えられた松木弘安（後の寺島宗則）とともに脱走し、武蔵熊谷（埼玉県）に潜伏、のち長崎に潜行後、嫌疑晴れて帰藩した。

五代と寺島が、青年らをヨーロッパに留学生として派遣する急務を藩に説いたのはこの帰藩したときで、翌慶応元年三月、一四名の留学生を率いて、五代友厚はイギリスへ向うことになった。その一行に、



彼は、従来の政府の取引所にたいする漸進主義を一擲し、一挙に宿痼の弊害を一掃してヨーロッパの新風を吹き込み、理想的取引所の実現を期そうとした。

### 三 五代友厚のこと

前にも少しふれたが、吉田清成は弘化二年（一八四五）の三月生れ。薩摩藩士吉田源左衛門の四男で、幼名巳之次、通称太郎といった。

成人して藩吏となる。

彼が二十歳となった元治元年（一八六四）は、薩摩藩が新しい時代に向って大きく転回をはじめた年である。

それは、文久二年（一八六二）四月の寺田屋騒動、同年八月の生麦事件について、翌三年七月、鹿兒島米寇のイギリス艦隊との交戦などをへて、はげしい攘夷的行動に一応歯どめをかけ、海外への目をひらいた年であった。

元治元年六月、薩英戦争で破壊された鹿兒島の集成館が復興され、洋学や軍事技術を教える開成所が設けられた。また、早くから海外事情の一端に触れていた五代友厚らの進言で、青年たちを海外に留学

それまでは官廷と政府は一体であり、朝廷といえは政府のことであり、官廷のことでもあった。これは、政府は王の私有物であるという、王土、王民的な考え方のなごりであったが、この分離によって西洋風の近代的な内閣制に切りかえることは、立憲政治を運用し、政治の責任を明らかにするために必要なことであった。

このとき、取引所行政を担当する農商務大臣に就任したのは谷干城であった。しかし谷は翌十九年三月に欧州視察に出かけたため、海軍大臣の西郷従道が七月まで臨時に兼任したが、その後は内務大臣の山県有朋がこれに代って、谷の帰朝する二十年六月まで臨時に農商務大臣をかねた。

ところが帰国した谷は、関税自主権や治外法権の撤廃に関する条約問題で、井上馨外務大臣のといった屈辱的軟弱外交をはげしく批難し、意見書を政府にたたきつけると、七月に退官してしまった。

その後任に土方久元が就任した。土方は、(演出家の土方与志(明治三十一年、昭和三十四年)の祖父である)明治十四年から十七年まで内務大輔を勤めていた。しかし彼も二た月で退任してしまい、二十年九月には黒田清隆がこれに替るのである。

このように目まぐるしく入れ代った農商務大臣を補佐し、とくに大きな社会問題となりつつあった取引所問題に敢然と取り組んだのは吉田清成であった。

彼は、内閣制が敷かれる直前、すなわち十八年九月から十二月まで農商務大輔の要職にあったが、内閣制となってそのまま農商務次官となった。

買人らの秘密取引等の弊風にあるとして、世論に便乗し当局にいつそう嚴重な取締方を要望した。他方仲買人側は、取引所、仲買人ともにこの非常の不況時に苦しんでいるさいに、取引所が厳則を設けたり、あるいは政府に告げてわれわれをさらに嚴重に取り締まろうとするなど言語道断と憤り、營利本位の取引所の弊害をあげて、激しく取引所と対立するにいたつた。

このように、米や株式市場が重税の負担と恐惶的な不況にあえぐなかで、取引所と仲買人が互いに相手の非を責めあつて対立を深め、また一方からはきびしい世論の批判を浴びているとき、政府部内ではひそかに取引所の改革を考えていた。

それは、維新草創の時期にあつて社会的、經濟的な混乱をみたこともさることながら、米、株式いずれの取引所も政府当局の理想案とはほど遠い、業者側のいい分だけを通した、いわば場当りのな制度——多分に江戸期の米市場の慣行をそのまま踏襲した諸規約で市場を運用してきたというひげ目が、たえず行政者の負担となつていたからであつた。

そして、行政者自らも市場をみる目に、世間一般と同様、とかくこれを賭博場視しようとするきらいがあつた。業者間でも、市場を有害無用の存在としながら、ただ税収源としてののみ、これをやむなく許しているといった極端な論さえまかり通つているありさまだつた。行政者として、これはいつまでも無關心を養つていられぬ課題であつた。

よる市況の不振もあったことは、いふまでもない。政府は十八年十二月、ついに仲買人税を打ち切ったが、このころ取引所と仲買人の対立は著しく深まっていた。

## 二 取引所問題に取り組む

京城に起った壬午の乱で、軍備拡張に絶好の口実をえた政府は、増税を断行するにあたりそのもっとも有力な徴税源の一つとして、新たに米、株式の両取引所の仲買人税を設けることになった。

そして、その実施に先だち、密告者の訴えをとりあげ、大阪堂島、北浜の取引所役員や仲買人その他関係者一千数百名にのぼる一大検挙を断行した。

それにもかかわらず、当時、松方の強力な緊縮政策が展開されているさなかであつたため、全国各地とも取引所取引は衰微の一途をたどっていたから、仲買人らの秘密取引の弊風は少しも衰えず、その後も検挙事件は跡をたたなかつた。

こうした事態にたいし世論はきびしく市場関係者の非を鳴らしたが、ただ密告制度にたいしては必ずしも行政の行きすぎを指摘したため、この懸賞制度は十六年八月廃止された。

ところで、株式会社組織の當利法人であつた当時の取引所にとって、売買手数料の減取はたゞその年の運営をおびやかすものであつたから、売買高が激減し窮地に立つた取引所側は、その一半の理由は仲

った。

しかしながら、このような政府の弾圧にもかかわらず、仲買人らの旧弊は容易に根絶されなかったばかりか、吞行為や秘密取引は跡を絶たなかった。したがって官憲の介入する事件も絶えなかった。

さて、この吞行為と秘密取引について少し解説しなければならぬだろう。当時の取引は米市場も株式市場も江戸期に起った取引仕法（帳合米市場取引）を基本としていた。この帳合米時代の仲買人は、委託者から受ける仲買口銭のほか、その密売買と吞行為による日歩の収入を合せて営業の基本の収益としていたのである。しかし江戸時代には売買の課税はもちろん、会所（取引所）売買手数料の制もなかったから、これらの行為はさして悪質の行為とは考えられなかった。

この密売買というのは、同業者間の預け合すなわち「喰い合せ」のことであり、吞行為とは、委託玉を市場に出さずに、仲買人の懐合（まぶかい）においてこれと反対の勝負を試み、または売と買の委託玉を手もとにおいて組み合すこと、この両者を総称して「付け合せ」と称したものであった。

しかし明治になってからは、こうした行為が禁ぜられたから、それによる収益は失われたわけで、これに代るもうけとして取引所の売買手数料や税金をどのように脱れるかを考えるようになり、おのずと吞行為や密売買に走るようになったのである。

こうして政府の当初の新税の予想額は見事に裏切られ、十六年度収入は三二万八〇〇〇円、十七年度は三九万四〇〇〇円、十八年度は一六万三〇〇〇円に過ぎなかった。その一因は松方緊縮財政の展開に

で、前日の三月六日、中央の密令を仰いだ大阪府警察部長大浦兼武の指揮でこの一大検挙が断行されたものだった。

検挙者一千数百名、うち有罪者数百名に上ったといわれる。このような密告制度は、十三年四月に発令された太政官布告にもとづくもので、これによると、告発したものには、違犯者に科した一〇円以上二〇〇円以下の罰金の全部を給すと定められていた。

だが、仲買人らがこのような吞行為や秘密取引に走ったのは、十五年十二月の、仲買人税の新設にも関わりがあったといえよう。

松方が紙幣整理に着手した直後の十五年七月に、朝鮮に壬午の乱（わが国の公使館が襲撃される）が起り、政府は軍備拡張の緊急を唱え、尙葉印紙税や煙草、酒造にたいする増税を断行するとともに、前記仲買人税を新設した。

そしてこの仲買人税を政府はもつとも有力な税収源と考え、その予想税収額を年間百数十万円ないし二〇〇万円と見込んだのである。その根拠は、まずきわめて高率な重税であること、また旧来の風習である仲買人の吞行為や場外の秘密取引に着目し、以後これらをすべて市場内で行うよう督励すれば、前記の予想収入は確保できると早断したのである。

こうして政府は、この新設の仲買人税が十六年四月一日から実施されるにあたり、仲買人の動向を監視していた矢先に、密告者の訴えを入手したので、絶好の機会とばかりこの大検挙を断行したものであ

## 第二章 吉田清成・理想の法体系を急ぐ

### 一 仲買人の大検挙

明治十六年（一八八三）三月七日付の朝日新聞紙上につきのような事件が報道されている。

「（大阪府警察は）午前十一時十五分を期して堂島寄場と株式取引所を襲い多くの人を拘引した」

「仔細を聞くに予て両所にも反則人の有る見込を以て、同日は警察署一般巡査の休暇を廃し、午前九時頃各署より正務巡査二十名、偵邏四十名都合六十名と外に夥多の警部も交り、風体を変へて両所の近傍に配置し、期したる時刻に相図の鐘を打つと、等しく一時に近寄つて関係の有無に関はず、其場に居合はすものを残らず押へて、予め用意しある十余艘の船に積み、旧本田治安裁判所を指して差送られ、各商店の諸帳簿は悉皆掻凌へて持帰られしが、主人、番頭、丁稚、通行人等の差別なく、其場に在りあはす者一旦兎に角拘引し去られし故、其人数は幾百人なるを知らず、之が為両所とも一時の混雑は実にはすべからざりしと。…又同時に京都、兵庫にも網が下りたりとの噂あれど未だ判然せず」

これは、大阪の堂島米市場と北浜の株式取引所の仲買人にたいする大弾圧事件を報じた記事である。

爾を橋に、講和条約締結の早期実現に苦心したが、一方では、苛酷な要求によって、清朝が前後の見境いもなしに、一時的な他国の援助に頼りつき、将来の禍根をアジアにもたらすことを、よりいっそう憂慮していたのである。また、国内にたいしては、一時的な戦勝気分におされて、人民が戦争の拡大を欲したり、賠償の多寡にのみ目を奪われることを避けねばならなかった。

こうした配慮によって、清国との講和は、ほぼ陸奥らの期待を大きく裏切らずに運ぶことができた。しかし彼のもっとも恐れていた第三国からの干渉（ロシア、ドイツ、フランスによるいわゆる三国干渉）は、ついに避けることができなかった。

それはしかし、当時の国際情勢をみ、わが国の軍事的、経済的事情等からも、万やむをえぬことであった。

陸奥はこれらの事情について、「蹇蹇録」の末尾でこういつている。

「余は当時何人をもつてこの局に当たらしむるもまたけつして他策なかりしを信ぜんと欲す」

これは、たんに彼の自負心の表白というよりは、むしろ、死力を尽してその衝に立ち向いながら、なおかつ狂瀾を避けえなかった人物、陸奥宗光の、苦衷に満ちた内面の告白とみるべきものであろう。



れながら、大磯の病床のなかで口述し、さらにこれに陸奥自ら添削を加える労苦に耐えて、二十八年の十月なかばから起稿し、除夜の日にいたって完結したものであった。

彼の病氣は、彼の二十代初期に発病した肺患であった。いろいろ小康のときはあつても再発をくりかえし、入獄中や渡欧中にも苦しめられたが、この戦争中も悪化し、講和会議の席を欠くこともあつたり、三国干渉にたいする密議などは彼の病床で行われたりしたほどであつた。そしてこの肺患は、ついに、二年後の明治三十年八月二十四日、数え年五十四歳で死にいたらしめたものであつた。

さて、こうした病床にあつて数十日間に書かれた二〇万字に達する大著「蹇蹇録」は、複雑多岐を極める国際関係の舞台裏における外交的駆け引きや、事件、人物の動きを余すところなく活写し、しかも要をえて簡潔な客観的記述は、外交史上最高の名著たるにふさわしく、読者をして自ずとその活舞台に立たせる感を懐かせるものがある。けだし、政治外交上の造詣と実践的経歴、日清韓の歴史や政情に通曉した知識、さらに豊かな文学的素養など、陸奥の各方面にわたる才幹が渾然一体化した賜であろう。

陸奥がこの戦争を通じて最も苦心し配慮した点は、まず戦闘を深入りさせぬことであつた。そのため、緒戦から講和への足がかりを早期に見出すことに努めた。つぎに第三国の介入を極度に警戒し、未然に防止することであつた。彼は国内外の情報網や外交ルートを最大限に活用して、清国に利害関係を持つ第三国へ働きかけ、かれらが相互に牽制しあうよう画策することを怠らなかつた。

たが、その間における彼の思想的、政治的充実に、大いに見るべきものがあつたといえよう。

## 九 「他策なかりしを信ず」

当時の政局にたいし、胸中深く一線を画するものを持ちながら、ふたたび政府に出仕することを決意した事情について、陸奥は、一度政治的犯罪により断罪された者が、野にあつてまた政府を攻撃する立場に立つことは潔しとしなかつたためであると述懐している。

十九年十月、外務省在勤の弁理公使の任命を振り出しに、二十一年二月、駐米公使となり、二十三年一月帰国した陸奥は、

二十三年五月、第一次山県内閣の農商務大臣として入閣。二十四年五月、第一次松方正義内閣に引きつづき農商務大臣として留任。二十五年三月、農商務大臣辞任、枢密顧問官を拝命、同年八月、第二次伊藤内閣の外務大臣に就任する。そして、二十七、八年の日清戦争に直面するのである。

帝国主義が世界列強を風靡していたなかで、ようやく近代国家へ脱皮しようとする苦悶する日本が、アジアの眠れる獅子といわれる大国支那を相手に戦端をひらく破目に陥つたのだが、世界列強はいずれも清国の勝利を予想して疑わなかつた。国内においても勝利には何ほどの確信も持たれていなかった。

この戦争の顛末は、陸奥の「蹇蹇録」に詳述されている。これは、戦後、医師から絶対安静を命ぜら

本人にたいし数多くの指導を与えていたが、在野の一人にたいするのは、陸奥がはじめてであった。何の目的の勉強であるかを内心疑ったほどだったが、陸奥は、「国家の大改革の秋にあたり、政府のみにこれをゆだねず、在野の一人もそれを成功させるために、それなりの奉仕をすべきで、これが私の訪欧の目的である」と率直にシュタインに書き送っている。シュタインはころよく彼の請いを受け入れ、わずか一か月足らずの個人教授の後も、その学習態度にすっかり彼を信頼し、書信による親密な応答を重ねていた。

シュタインばかりでなく、当時ウィーンの駐在日本公使であった西園寺公望も、陸奥の驚くべき真摯な学習ぶりに目をみはり、これを伊藤博文に報告し、いろいろ、西園寺は陸奥より年少であったが、これらにはきわめて緊密な関係が生じていた。

国家を考えるには、哲学的方法と実証的方法があるが、この二つの総合によって、国家に関する知的概念を持つことができようと、シュタインは説き、さらに、共産主義や社会主義の欠陥を指摘し、政府の介入による社会改良の可能性を、陸奥に示唆した。

さて、陸奥はこの個人指導を受け終ると、八月なかばから約二週間のロシア各地の旅に出かけ、ベルリン経由でふたたびロンドンに戻ったのは九月なかばであった。その後彼は、古河や渋澤らの依頼で、銅や銅山の調査を行ない、十二月にイギリスを立ち十九年二月、彼はひそかに神戸についた。

試み、議會政治の實際を現地において再検討することだった。

長い歴史と伝統のある王室を持つイギリスでは、当時の議會制を確立するまでに二〇〇年もの歳月を要していた。しかるに日本の現状はどうか。自由民権派は、これをただちに実現しようと性急に政府へ迫り、政府はこれができるだけおさえて王制を確立しようとし、両者は、數年後に迫った憲法の制定、国会の開設に鎗をけずっている情勢であった。

これにたいし陸奥は、ケンブリッジや同大学のトーマス・ワラカー博士の個人教授等の学習を通じて、この課題に関する一つの結論を導きだしたのである。それは、自由、平等の思想にもとづく民主的立憲政体は、時代の進運にともない、遅かれ早かれ実現されること、したがって、天皇の大権もそれにつれて大きく削減されるものであること、同時にそれは天皇の地位を安泰にするものであるということだった。しかしこうした結論は、当時の日本の政情では、政府、野党いずれの考へ方にも一線を画すものであった。ただ、これによって、陸奥は渡欧の内面的な要件は果していた。

そして陸奥が大陸に渡りパリを経て、ベルリンに着いたのは、十八年の四月十八日である。ここでも、彼は二た月、ドイツおよびプロシアの憲法と行政について学び、六月二十日ウィーンに入った。国法学の権威であったシュタインは、ウィーン大学を定年退職した直後で、すでに六十九歳の高齢であった。

シュタインは、伊藤博文を皮切りに、伊東巳代治、松方正義、黒田清隆、谷干城など、官職にある日

アメリカに一月ほど滞在してロンドンに着いたのは七月八日であった。この渡欧には陸奥自らも期するところがあった。彼の胸底に抱く自由民権思想を、その発祥の地であるヨーロッパ、とくにイギリスにおいて究明することである。これは、陸奥にとって龍馬との出会いからの課題であり、また獄中のペンサムの訳が、その志向をいつそう強めたものであった。

## 八 天皇の地位

まずロンドンにあつて、自由民権思想を政治的に究明するにあたり、陸奥が中心的課題に据えたものは、責任内閣制と天皇の地位の関りあいであつた。当時、まだ動揺をつづけていたわが国の政治をみると、発足後の政府の姿勢は、もっぱら天皇の主権の確立にのみ汲々とし、天皇の主権を尊大化するあまり、内閣の責任を不明確化し、ともすると、幕藩体制下にあつて辛うじて守られてきた天皇の地位の絶対的な安全さへ脅やかすおそれのあることであつた。同時にそれは、自由民権思想を蝕ばむものであつた。

したがつて陸奥が、伊藤博文の懇意したローレンツ・フォン・シュタインとの会見に先立つて、九月もロンドンに留まつたのは、シュタインの病氣という事情もあつたが、彼自身にもさらに大切な仕事があつたからだといえよう。すなわち、いま述べたような彼の抱懐する自由民権思想に徹底的な解明を

同人等ガ暴挙ノ勢旭ヲ振りテ政体ヲ改革セ

トシテ

大江山ト通謀シ。明治十年四月二十一日京都ヨリ暗

号ノ電信ヲ以テ卓ニ約シ置キタル密謀ノ報知ヲ促シ、其翌二十二日卓ガ電信私報ノ禁令ヲ犯シ元老院ノ暗号ヲ用ヒシ許審官員ノ電信ヲ以テ拳兵ノ密謀ヲ謀合スル報知ヲ得テ卓ガ下阪ヲ待受ケタリ、右科ニ依リ、除族ノ上禁獄五年申付候事」

前日二十日、大江卓並びに林有造にたいし、除族の上禁獄一〇年の刑が申渡されていた。

九月、陸奥は山形監獄に送られた。翌十二年九月、同監獄炎上のため仙台監獄に移される。そして十五年十二月特赦をえて、十六年一月出獄まで、四年四か月にわたる獄中生活の間、彼はひたすら内面の空洞化との闘いを心掛けた。「面壁独語」やベンサムの「道徳および立法の諸原理序説」の訳述等はその成果の一端であったといえよう。

四十歳となっていた陸奥は、第二の人生に想を馳せながら、出獄後郷里和歌山で静観していた。折から、国会の開設を迫る民権派の執拗な攻勢に備え、憲法の調査のため欧州に赴いていた伊藤博文が一年半ぶりに帰朝し、陸奥にたいしてしきりに欧州遊学を薦めた。陸奥はこれに動かされついに渡欧を決意した。そして後事は、入獄中に引つづき津田出に托し、井上馨、渋澤栄一ならびに古河市兵衛らの資金的援助をえて、十七年四月、アメリカ経由のヨーロッパの旅に出発した。ヨーロッパへの渡航は二度目であった。古河との繋りは、死別した陸奥の先妻の次男潤吉を古河の養子として縁組させていた事情（古河が潤吉を引取ったのは、陸奥の入獄後であった）によるものである。

うに一室に正座していた。やがて夕刻になったころ警邏をともなった警部が訪ねてき、陸奥に同道をもとめた。陸奥は、その警部に夕食をとる間の許可をえて、独り食膳に向つた。そのとき、中島信行が急を聞いて飛び込んできたが、二、三談笑のやりとりをかわしながら食事をすました陸奥は、静かに立つて玄関口に出た。亮子夫人と中島信行の二人がそれを見送つた。

一と月前の五月十四日に、大久保利通が登庁の途次、石川県士族島田一郎らに急襲され惨殺される事件があつた。いままた元老院議員が突如警視局に連行されたという報道をみて、世間の風評はいろいろの取沙汰を行なつた。しかしその真相は容易に明かされなかつた。七月に入つてから、新潟新聞は、某氏の説として、陸奥が西郷隆盛を外国人に托して支那方面に潜伏せしめた廉により逮捕されたという記事を掲載していた。また拘留後の陸奥の動静について、某紙は、陸奥は、胃腸病を患らい頗る苦悶したとか、法廷の糾問にあたり、陸奥は、玉乃世覆判事以外の審問には応答を拒んでいるといった情報を流した。

八月に入り、この事件の真相が発表された。二十三日付の朝野新聞は、「大江卓、林有造等の陰謀に加担し、陸奥宗光政府顛覆を謀る」という表題の下に、大審院の判決文を載せている。

「八月廿一日大審院申渡 和歌山県士族 陸奥宗光

其方儀明治十年鹿兒島賊徒暴挙ノ時二際シ、元老院幹事ノ職ヲ以テ京都府行在所御用出張中、大江卓

は法を離れて常識的な観点から、ついに空相場の弊を防ぐという見解の支持にまわった。そして、彼の見解を表明した。

「政府が人民を保護するという主旨に立つ以上、実際上は指摘の通りいろいろの事情があることは理解されるが、受渡しの出来る者はするというのでは不可である。ここは、是非現物の受渡しをなすべしという筋である故に、この一句は掲げておくべきである」

議長は裁決をとった。起立者九名。陸奥の動議は少数意見として否決された。多くの議員は、佐野のような常識論に頼ったのだらう。

明治十一年五月四日、この条例は十二章四十九条からなる「株式取引所条例」として布告された。実施されたわが国初の証券取引所法となったものである。

## 七 「面壁独語」

明治十一年六月十日朝、陸奥宗光は、元老院議長の有栖川宮熾仁親王の呼出して宮邸に伺うと、宮は陸奥を静かに迎えて、さりげなく官職を辞すように勧められた。問答するまでもなく理由は陸奥の胸中に明白のことであった。陸奥は事態を諒解し、宮に謝意を述べ宮邸を退出した。

すぐ帰宅した陸奥は、急いで沐浴をすまし、仙台平の袴、黒縮緬の羽織に着替え、賓客を待つ者のよ



ば空物売買は、厳にその根源を絶たねばならぬのである」と、河野は陸奥を見つめながら、結んだ。

「只今百株はやはり百株なればという説もあつたが、現物の受渡しをなしうるとえないとは、必ずしも空物の売買が原因ではない」と前置して、陸奥は「これは投機売買そのものの不可避の枠組にあるのだ」と説いた。そして「現物受渡しをこれに強ければ、狡猾の輩は、これを口実にさらに悪どい取引を犯すかも知れず、さすればこの一句は實際上何等の効を齎らさぬばかりか、いっそう深い弊害の禍因ともなりかねない」と反論した。

このあと他に発言者のつづく気配のないのを見ると、山口尚芳は、もう一度自説を訴えておく機会だと感じた。まず彼は条例布告の主旨から始めた。公債等の発行が増大し、銀行の設立も近く一〇〇に達せんとする情勢にあるので、公債の売買に利便を供し人民殖産の良媒を開くこと。現下、公債の売買は個々に行なわれ、適正価格を欠き、不当な取引が横行している、そこで、取引所を設置し標準価格の形成を図ること。これにより銀行等における担保価格の決定に寄与せしめること等、緊急のこうした課題を解決するにあるが、これにもまして条例の重大な目的は、空相場の一掃にあつた。この一句にはその重責が負わされている。従つてこれを削除することは、政府が空相場を公認するに均しいと論じて、彼はその発言を終つた。

佐野常民がこのとき発言をもとめた。彼は、さきほどからの議員らの立言から、この問題の賛否両者の基盤は、一方は實際面に、他方は道義上におくものとみていた。彼にもその可否は決しかねたが、彼

するといふ目的を持つ者に限るべきである」

陸奥は、聞き流すことはできなかった。その取引高は発行高を超過するにいたるだろうとは、私が先「数個の取引所において取引する場合、その取引高は発行高を超過するにいたるだろうとは、私が先」  
「世の文盲なら或いはそのような考えも抱くかも知れぬが、私は決してそうは思わない。取引所においては、一件の物件も、甲乙丙丁と極めて複雑な取引し  
中で売買される。従つて中には、身元金や証拠金を損しても違約するが有利とし、敢てその約を履行し  
ない者もあろう。これ即ち英語でいうスペクレーションなるもので、いわゆる投機商売にあつてはやむ  
をえぬところである。これらをすべて空相場だ、賭博だというなら、株式取引所は設立せぬ方がよいの  
である」

河野はすぐこれに応酬した、「只今ある議官の説を聞くと賭博に非ずと論じ、また甲乙丙の例をあげ、  
さらに発行高超過等を示して取引所取引の実際を示した」と、ここでも陸奥とはいわずにある議官と呼  
びながらつづけた、「あるいはそうかも知れぬが、百株はやはり百株、これを二百株として売買するとき  
は、百株は空物であらう。各国でも空相場は禁制である。これが実際に行われぬのは、法律の力が及ば  
ないからである。無数の至りと申すほかない。また一面かかる売買によつて得た利益は殆んど善事に使  
なれで、多くは遊蕩に遣い果すのみならず、ひいては社会の悪風を誘導するに到る。され

さらにいうならば、取引所ははずれ数カ所に設置されようが、それらの取引を合すれば、発行高を超える取引も行われることが考えられよう。だが、取引所ごとにこれを制限することはできないのである。」

山口はすかさずこの言を捉えた。「これは驚ろくばかりである。発行高を超える取引とは、つまり空相場である。空相場は即ち賭博である。これを禁じないというなら賭博も罰するには及ばないだろう。いっそうこの一句の存在価値が高まったといえるのである。」

しかし、これにたいし、中島信行、細川潤次郎、前島密はつきつきに発言をもとめて、現物の受渡しは原則であり、これを条例に掲げて政府の命令とするにはおよばぬこと。実際に勵行し難きものを強制し、いたずらに取引を混乱せしめることの不利。投機の性格から、違約人の規定である身元金や証拠金を没収されても利に就こうとする者もあることなどをあげて、陸奥の削除動議を支持した。

「山口議員の意見に同意する」という発言がこのときあった。河野敏謙である。「空相場の諸弊害は諸君の熟知されることである。米の空相場はこれを禁ず、証券のそれは不問に付す。これは理なきも同然。ある議員は取引高は発行高を超えんという。この一言、何たる言か。現物受渡しのこの一句は、空物売買者への頂門の一針である。」

一同の視線がにわかに自分に集ったのを受けとめながら、

「この空物売買を断固として禁止せねば、取引所は忽ち一大賭博場と化すだろう」と河野敏謙はつづ



と陸奥はこれを受けた「ただ利を求め」  
「しばしば現物の引渡」  
「しつこくお執務的販売には」  
「本件の場合、違約人規定も」

と「といえどもこれを無理強いできるものではない。本件の場合、違約人規定も」

ある以上、開るを可とするというのである」

山口は、「元来、現物の受渡しを行うは正、行なわざるは変である」と、対応した。「たとえば盗賊は

法あるが故に捕えることができる。かく變に臨むの明文がなければならぬ。この一句の存在すべき理

由である」

これにたいし津田が反論に出た。「この一句がないと現物の受渡しが行なわれなくなるようにいわれる

が、決してそうではない。ただ定期では履行し難いことであり、これによって損害を受ける者があれば

別に処罰規程もある以上、これは蛇足であり、また定期を認め、一方にて現物受渡しに固執するは矛盾

にも似たるものであろう」

「定期の受渡しは行い難しと再三聞くが、十五日、三十日という猶予のあることなのだから、むしろ

行ない易いことである」と、山口は新しく突破口を見出したようにいった。

「そうではない」と陸奥はこれを一蹴した、

「定期におけるように、未必の条件にあつては、十五日といひ三十日といふも、その期日にならな

ければ、約定の履行は容易に予断を許すものではない。未必の条件とは、未然を約すことである。また、

取引所においては、売買上の損害はすべてこの条例によることになり、それは結局違約人条項による。

## 六 現物受渡の規定

陸奥の提言は、「必ず現物ノ受渡シヲ為スベシ」の一句を削除せよということだった。この一句の意図は、取引所取引においては容易に行なわれぬことを知る監督官庁が、警告的にことさら挿入したものであることは、陸奥にも察知できた。しかし陸奥は、まず、別項に違約人の規程が明記されているのだからとの理由だけをあげて、削除の妥当性を指摘した。

現物の受渡しということは商取引上の原則である。しかし取引所における定期取引では、これがほとんど行なわれないのも実情であった。陸奥は、これらをふまえ、法文構成上の重複に名をかりて、条例が徒らに過酷となり民心が遠ざかるのを避けようとしたのである。

津田出がすぐこれに賛意を表し、現物の受渡しは実際上行なわれ難いことであり、取引所を早急に設立しようとの意図にも反すと、陸奥の言外の意の一部を補足した。続いて、細川潤次郎も、この一句は干渉に過ぎるものであると、陸奥発言を支持した。このとき、山口尚芳が発言をもとめ、

「現物の受渡しは、取引所の設立にあたり最も肝要の一事である」と反撃に出た。「そもそも空相場は、新政府発足以来固く禁止してきたことであり、この一句がなければ、取引所取引は空米相場同様の弊害が起ろう」

しかし、このとき議長は、すでに討論のつきたことを察し修正案を可とする議官の起立をもとめた。起立者一五名、多数をもって可決された。

だが、元老院においてこのような議決をみたにもかかわらず、この条例に基いて設立した株式取引所の創立証書には、意外にも、

「当取引所ノ株主ハ其責任ヲ保証有限ト定ムヘシ故ニ若取引所ノ銀行又ハ非當ノ損害ヲ受ケタル場合ニ際シテハ其負債及ヒ右三開シタル入費ヲ償弁スル為メ現在所持ノ株高二倍迄ヲ負擔シ更ニ此金メクシト、明記されていた。そしてさらに、明治十五年十二月には、この条例の一部改正が行なわれ、この因株式取引所制度に幾多の弊害を発生させることになる、その意味で補綴と云つた改正の趣旨が創設されたことも付記しておく。

さて前日（四月十一日）に続いて、第二議会は十二日午前十一時からの開会だ。冒頭、先買取の議案を

「取引所ニ於テ為ス所ノ売買取引ハ現場ト定期ノ二様ニ分キ必ズ現物、金渡シヲ為スルコトヲ、且、本ヨリ永キ定期ノ約定ヲナスベカラズ」と読みあげた。

議案は、さつそく発言をもとめた。

「もともとこの条例を布告する主旨は、人民に便益を与えようとする点にあり、それを永く保護するために、会社の責任を重視し、かつ明確にしておかねばならない。然るにその負債償還の義務を有限とし、特にこれを株券にのみ負わせるというにいたっては、人民の便益を永遠に保持せんとする条例の主旨を貫くものではない。須らく取引所には、全資力をあげて負債は償うという義務を負わせるべきである」

山口の執拗な発言にもかかわらず、彼の見解を支持する発言はなく、また反論が起った。それは専門委員の前島密からであった。彼は、原案の無限の責任という条項は、既に陸奥議員の指摘通り、売買を許可する以上無効であると前置きし、「もし山口議員のいうように株券限りの責任では危険なりとするなら、銀行その他の会社も同様であろう。銀行等は無限とせずとも危険の恐れがないというなら、取引所も有限で差支えない筈である。取引所にだけ危険を抱くのは甚だ奇怪な説といふべきである」

たまたま正午のため休憩となり、午後再開されたが、山口議員は欠席していた。討論続行を議長が告げると、最年長格の佐野常民が発言をもとめた。

「午前中、責任の有限無限について討論が行なわれたが、私は山口議員の説の如く責任は無限とするがよい。他の議員諸公は無限としてもその効はないといわれる。しかし無限と規定するときは、有限というよりも、それだけ大きい責任を負う道理である。政府の人民保護の立場から論ずれば無限とする方がよい」と、はじめて山口発言にたいする賛成意見を表明した。

の財産調査を行なわねばならぬということになろう。この理由から、本官も修正案に同意するものであ

る。中島や陸奥の株式会社制度の原則論からの説には少しも耳をかさず、山口尚芳はさらに自説を主張し

た。「取引所は数万金を托す所である。これを托す人のためには充分の保護を与えねばならない。二十万

円以上の資本金とすることを要するというのもこれがためである。さもなくば十万円以下でもよろしいわ

けた。確固たる保護をなさんとすれば、誰が無限の責任を負うとするだろう。みな有限を主張するは明白

限無限は取引所の都合次第といえは、その多くは悪弊を発生するものだ。であるから、そうした悪弊を

防ぐことが条例制定の眼目となるのである。その条例において、責任の有限無限を取引所に委すとする

のは、条例制定の主旨にももともとというべきである。細川潤次郎も株式会社制度論から修正案



能的区別も明確に理解されていなかったことである。

まず、取引所の責任という条項で口火を切ったのは、山口尚芳であった。

「改正原案では取引所は無限の責任を負うべしとあった。それがこの修正案では、創立証書中に無限を明記せよと、取引所の裁決に委せているが、その根拠を伺いたい」

これにたいし、専門委員の中島信行が答えた、

「これは、株式会社とする以上、取引所の意見に一任すべきで、条例で規定するものではない。従って取引所の創立証書において記載するのが至当であると思料したから、かく修正したものである」

山口は、この中島の返答を追いはらうように、

「取引所の責任は無限とするのがよい」と意気込んでいう、「なぜならば、一取引所で仮に一日四十万円取引ありとすれば、一カ月千二百万円である。然るに取引所の資本金はわずか二十万円で、大蔵省に預けおく金高はその三分の二にすぎない。このような僅少の金額で、莫大な取引上に生ずる損失をどうして償うとするのか。故に取引所の責任はどうしても無限としなければならないのである」

すると、傍らから陸奥は発言をもとめた。

「この修正案に賛同する。山口議員は、取引所の責任を無限とするのがよいといわれるが、既に売買を許可する以上、その効はない。何となれば、たとえ無限としても、株主は株券のほかには財的物件は

えか不明だが、明敏にして慎重な彼にしては珍しく軽率な行動であったことだけは肯けよう。

さて、陸奥逮捕の二た月前に行なわれた株式取引条例改定の件に関する元老院会議に移ろう。

前に触れたように、周囲の情勢から緊急を要したこの改正は、民間の意見を徴し、何よりも取引所を早急に設置することを眼目とするものだった。そこで、さきの七年条例では、取引所の組織は、会員制と株式会社制を折衷したようなものであったが、今回はこれを純然たる株式会社制とし、また定期取引の限月を二か月から三か月に延長した。仲買人の身元金は五〇〇円から一〇〇〇円に、売買証拠金は約定代金の一〇〇分の二五から一〇〇〇分の五に引き下げるなど、民間の要請を十分容れ、業者の参加に有利な諸条件を最大限にとり入れたものであった。そして、この改正原案の作成に当たった大蔵省銀行局の当事者は、いずれ漸を追って理想案に近づくものであると語り、免許年限を五年としていた。

この改正原案は十四章六十三条におよぶものであったが、元老院の第一読会で、動議があり、専門委員を設けて調査検討させることになり、中島信行、東久世通禧、前島密が委員に選ばれた。ここで十三章五十一条に整理され、この修正案が第二読会以後の審議にかけられたのである。審議過程で最も論議を呼んだ点は、取引所（株主）の賠償責任と、取引における受渡の規定化の条項であった。ここでは、この二件に関する論議をかいつまんで述べてみよう。なお一言つけ加えておかねばならぬことは、当時、まだ商法はなく、株式会社制を採用する会社は国立銀行等数社にすぎず、一般には株券と公社債券の機

渋澤らに協力する。とくに六年六月、井上、渋澤ら辞任後は大藏少輔心得を任命されたが、まもなく征韓論による政変をみると、深く薩長の専横を憤り、「日本人」を草して、これを木戸に呈し、七年一月官を辞した。

八年四月、元老院議員に、十一月同幹事に任命。九年太政大臣三条実美の北海道巡視に隨行。十年、「余が半生の一大厄難にして、自家の歴史上磨滅すべからざるの汚点なり。余は多言するを欲せず」といわしめる事件に参加した年である。その上、五月には、父と木戸孝允の死に逢っていた。

## 五 取引所の賠償責任

その事件というのは、西南の役に呼応して、土佐立志社の林有造や後藤象二郎の女婿である大江卓らの起した政府転覆の陰謀であった。武器を購入し、大阪を占領して、西郷軍とともに一挙に政府を死地におとしめようとする計画であった。これには後藤も大江に默契をあたえ、龍馬の海援隊、中岡慎太郎の陸援隊時代から、大江とは知己である陸奥も、つねに藩閥政府にたいする強い憤りから、かれらの決起に加担していたのである。しかし陰謀は発覚し、八月にまず林が縛につき、遅れて十一年五月に大江が、次いで翌六月にはついに陸奥も逮捕された。

のではなく、世界融和を目標とする世界的

日本の革命を達成させようとする彼一流の情

熱のあらわれてきた

それが陸奥陽之助にどのように受けとめられるかは、陸奥自身の背負う人間的

責任に持たれることであつた。

しかし、それは意外にも早く、しかも突然にやってきた。坂本龍馬が暗殺されたのである。慶喜が大政を奉還した日からちょうど一か月目であつた。

それからさらに一か月後、慶応四年（明治元年）正月そうそう戊辰戦争が起つた。陸奥は、京からひそかに大阪に下り、イギリス公使パークスに面会をもとめた。パークスは慶応元年五月に着任したが、いらい彼の活躍は目覚しく、幕府を支援するフランスを牽制しながら、薩長を支持し、「英国策論」（英国士官サトウ著）を慶応三年に刊行して京阪の書店で販売し、倒幕後の政体以示唆を与えるなど、倒幕派を勇気づけた。江戸攻撃を目前にした勝、西郷会談によつて、両軍が戦乱を避けえたのも、このパークスの建言があつたからだといわれる。ただ彼の日本人にたいする態度は傲慢であつたというが、つねに日本の新しい出発に適切な助言を与えていたという。

パークスと維新後の外交問題を論じた陸奥は、京に戻り、ただちに開国進取の政策を岩倉に進言した。岩倉は、彼を外国事務局御用掛に推挙した。明治元年正月、陸奥二十五歳のときであつた。摂津、兵庫等の県知事を歴任して二年八月免官。その後和歌山藩の藩政改革に、津田出とともに参加。三年には藩の欧州執事としてヨーロッパに渡航、四年帰国。七月、新政府から出京命令、鹿藩置県後の財政政策に

ぶりに郷里に急いだ。だがこのころ尊攘派の志士との交遊がはじまっていた彼は、ふたたび江戸にもどる。そして翌二年、論議を呼んだ皇女和宮と將軍家茂との婚儀が行われた年、源二郎は京都に上っている。父宗広、兄宗興も相携えて脱藩し京都に現れた。坂本龍馬が脱藩したのもこの年であった。

源二郎が龍馬を知ったのは文久三年の春ごろなのだろうか。この回天の雄、坂本龍馬との出会い、それから慶応三年十一月、龍馬と慎太郎（中岡）の横死に逢うまでの四、五年は、一九世紀から二〇世紀の世界に向って、彼を開眼させ、後年の陸奥宗光を形成する最良の時期となった。

龍馬も、「我隊中數十の壮士あり。然れども能く団体の外に独立して、自から其志を行ふを得るものは、唯余と陸奥あるのみ」と述懐していたように、この一介の青年に、近代化への黎明期にあった日本の将来を託している。

龍馬は、神戸にあった彼の師勝海舟の采配する海軍操練所に、源二郎を送り、海軍の技術を習得させた。この年、長州藩ではアメリカ、フランス、オランダ艦隊に対する、また薩摩藩ではイギリス艦隊に対する攻撃事件をひき起した。

慶応元年、龍馬は、源二郎をとめない長崎に赴き、翌年には彼の創設した亀山社中に源二郎を参加させて、海運、商事の仕事にあたらせ、さらに慶応三年には、彼の組織した海援隊に入隊させた。ここで源二郎は陸奥陽之助と名乗った。

ほかに、後掲する河野敏謙の名もあった。

さて、陸奥宗光は弘化元年七月七日に生れた。父は和歌山藩士伊達藤二郎宗広である。自得あるいは千広と号し、国学に造詣が深く、その著「大勢三転考」は、日本の発展過程を、氏姓制、律令制、封建制の三時代における土地制度の変遷に捉えたものであり、こうした社会経済史的史観に立つ史書は、その近代性においてきわめて先駆的であり、出色のものであった。

宗広は、勘定奉行や寺社奉行を勤め、禄高も八〇〇石にすすんだが、そのころ、宗光が九歳のとき、藩内の政争にまきこまれ、これで失脚し田辺に幽閉の身となった。翌年、兄宗興も城下から追放され、一家はたちまち離散流浪の境遇におちいった。嘉永六年、ペリー来航の年のことである。

#### ● 龍馬との出会い

陸奥宗光は幼名を牛麿、長じて小次郎、さらに姓を陸奥に改め、源二郎、陽之助、宗光と名を変えている。宗光と称したのは維新後であった。動乱の時代、風雲の季節であった。

尊攘派を震えあがらせたといわゆる安政の大獄がはじまった安政五年、十五歳の小二郎は、江戸に出て安井忠軒の門をたたいた。

文久元年、赦免となった父宗広は和歌山にかえった。その父と面会のため、源二郎（宗光）は、三年

を習得す。慶応三年、パリ大博覧会には藩命によってフランスに渡り、勸業上の視察や軍艦製造の要務を果たし、維新後帰国した。明治六年に新政府に呼び出され兵部少丞として海軍掛を拝命、海軍創設に尽力。八年七月、元老院議員。十年、西南の役に際し博愛社（赤十字社）を創設。また同年十月開かれた第一回内国勸業博覧会の総裁に推される。

——十一年以降。十二年、龍池会（古美術鑑賞を目的とす。後の日本美術協会）設立。十三年、大藏卿。十四年、元老院副議長。十五年、同議長。十八年、宮中顧問官。二十年、子爵拝受。二十一年、枢密院顧問官。二十五年、農商務大臣。日清戦争後伯爵拝受。三十五年十二月、八十一歳で歿す。

津田出。天保三年（一八三二）生る。和歌山藩出身。幼名又太郎。藩主の小姓、奥祐筆組頭であったが、国事に座して禁錮。王政復古となり許される。明治二年、和歌山藩大参事に任ぜられ藩政改革に当る。郡県制度、徴兵制を率先して実施、紀州家の資産を強固にし、陸奥宗光ら多数の逸材を養成す。これらが認められ、廃藩置県後、新政府に招かれて大蔵少輔に任命。六年、陸軍會計監督長。七年二月、陸軍少将。三月、陸軍大輔。八年四月、元老院議員。十年、刑法草案審査委員を拝命する。

——十一年以降。十二年、治罪法案審査委員。十三年、陸軍刑法審査委員。二十三年、勅選貴族院議員。二十七年以後政治を絶つて、大農論を唱え、千葉県下の原野開墾に従事。三十八年六月、七十四歳で歿す。

前島密。天保六年（一八三五）生る。越後高田藩出身。幼名房五郎。十三歳のとき、江戸に出て医学を修む。明治のはじめ、民部、大蔵両省に出仕。紙幣制度取調のためヨーロッパに赴き、帰国後、駅通頭となり、「郵便」「切符」「切手」などの名称を創案し、通信事業の官営化と統一に尽力。十一年三月、内務少輔から元老院議員となる。四十四歳。

——その後、十三年内務大輔。十四年の政変で大隈らと共に官を去り、十五年十二月に大隈の結成した立憲改進党に参加、河野敏謙、矢野文雄、小野梓、犬養毅、尾崎行雄、島田三郎らも加っている。十九年、東京専門学校長に推される。その後ふたび実業界に投じ、鉄道、汽船、鉱業、生命保険等の会社重役を歴任。三十五年、男爵を拝受。貴族院議員に選出。国字改良論者としても著名。大正八年四月、齢八十五歳で歿す。

佐野常民。文政五年（一八二二）生る。佐賀藩出身。天保三年、十一歳のとき同藩の藩医佐野家の養子となる。十四歳、藩校弘道館で医学を修め、十六歳、江戸にて古賀侗庵の門に入る。二十五歳、弘化三年、藩命で侍医牧春堂らに従って京都に遊学、広瀬元恭に就いて蘭学と化学を学ぶ。さらに大阪の緒方塾にて洋学に専念、ついで江戸にて西洋科学を研究、翌四年には長崎に転学を命ぜられる。当時佐賀藩は長崎警備が常任であり、常に海防施設に留意。安政二年、わが国初の蒸汽船や蒸汽車の模型作成に成功。翌三年、幕府がオランダ人の海軍伝習を長崎で開始したときは、子弟と共にこれに参加し諸技術



二十九年、男爵を授かる。三十二年三月、齢五十四歳で歿す。夫人中島俊子は男女同権論を唱え、夫と共に自由民権運動につとむ。イタリーでは、美貌、才智、弁舌で外交界に活躍する。

細川潤次郎。天保五年（一八三四）二月生る。高知藩土佐出身。岩崎彌太郎と同年。彌太郎らとともに土佐の四神童の名あり。安政元年、長崎で蘭学を修め、また高島秋帆につき兵法火技の術を学ぶ。安政五年江戸に出て幕府の海軍操練所で航海術を修得。また土佐の漂流者中浜万次郎から英学を学び、英文世界地図を翻訳した。文久元年、二十八歳のとき、上海号を購入し自ら航海長となり、養成した子弟をつれて帰国。藩の制度改正局御用掛となり藩政改革に尽力。慶応二年、開成学校を建て、青年子弟の教育機関とする。明治元年、三十五歳、新政府に学校取調を命ぜられ、開成学校諸規則、新聞、出版条例等を起草。四年工部少丞に任じ、アメリカに出張。八年、一等法制官。九年、元老院議員。十年、刑法草案審査委員等を歴任している。

——十一年以降。十二年治罪法案審査委員。十三年元老院幹事、陸軍、海軍刑法審査の各總裁。十四年、司法大輔を兼任。十七年、会社条例編纂委員長。二十三年、元老院の廃止と同時に退官。同年勅選貴族院議員。二十四年、同副總裁。その後、女子高等師範学校長。二十五年、枢密顧問官兼華族女学校長。三十年、東宮大夫等を経て、三十三年、男爵拝受。四十二年、文学博士の学位授与。大正十二年七月、齢九十歳で歿す。

のが順序だろう。

山口尚芳。天保十年（一八三九）生る。佐賀藩出身。幼少、長崎に出て蘭学を修む。のち藩の蘭学校に入り、翻譯兼練兵掛に當った。明治元年、三十歳、新政府に呼び出されて、外国事務局御用掛を命ぜられる。その後、大蔵、民部の丞を兼任、さらに外務少輔に転じ、明治四年には、特命全權副使として、岩倉、大久保らの欧米使節団に同行する。八年四月、元老院議員となる。

——十一年以降の略歴を拾うと、十三年、元老院幹事。十四年、会計検査院長、同年参事院議員。二十三年、勅選貴族院議員。二十七年六月、齡五十六歳で歿す。

中島信行。弘化三年（一八四六）八月生る。高知藩土佐出身。通称作太郎。はやく勤王の志あり、坂本龍馬の海援隊に入り、龍馬の信任篤く、龍馬留守中は隊長代理をつとめる。明治元年、二十三歳、新政府に徴され、外国官権判事等を歴任し、五年には大蔵省に出仕、紙幣、租税の権頭を経て、七年、神奈川県令。九年元老院議員となる。「日本国憲法」の草案に専念す。

——十一年以降。十四年の政変（大隈重信の失脚事件）で、元老院議員を辞し、板垣らの結党する自由党に参加し副總理となる。爾来自由民権運動に奔走。二十三年、国会開設をみて衆議院議員に出馬当選。第一期衆議院議長となる。二十五年、特命全權公使としてイタリーに駐在。二十七年、貴族院議員、

七月に、熾仁親王、柳原前光、佐野常民、黒田清綱、佐々木高行、福羽美静ら一一名が議官に任命され、その後、井上馨、中島信行、細川潤次郎、神田孝平などが名をつらね、元老院廃止にいたるまで異動もあつたが、再任も含めると、明治大正期の俊才が延一九〇名近く任官している。ただ勝安芳はこれを拝辞して受けなかつた。

さて、前回に述べたような諸情勢から、取引所の設置が財政政策上の急務となると、政府当局は株式取引条例の改正案を急いで作り、これを元老院の審議にかけた。西南の役の余燼をおくすぶる十一年四月のことであつた。

この審議に當つた議官の一人陸奥宗光の発言には、ひととき優れた見解が認められる。だがこのとき彼の身には、実は重大な危険が迫つていた。

### 三 明治の官僚

明治十一年春、元老院において、有栖川熾仁親王を議長とする二〇数名の議官により、株式取引条例の改正原案が逐条審議されていた。議官はいずれも新政府推せんを選良であり、三十歳から四十歳だいの血氣盛り。後年、かれらは各方面における重鎮として、近代国家の建設に尽し、天下の視聽を集めた面々であつた。審議の状況を語るまえに、主な発言者についてだけでも、かれらの経歴を紹介しておく

板垣と木戸とを密かに談合させ、その上で、大久保、木戸、板垣、伊藤、井上の五人は、明治八年二月十一日、大阪において会合した。ここで、漸進的に三権分立の立憲政体を実現することを相互に了解し、その了解の下に、木戸、板垣、さらに井上の政府復帰も実現した。

四月十四日、大詔が発せられ、従来の左院、右院が廃されて、新たに元老院と大審院が内閣（政府）とならび、立法、司法、行政の府として姿を見せた。木戸は、これによって岩倉、大久保の専断を牽制しようとし、一方、大久保は、苛烈な民権国会の開設を排し、同時に元老院の権限をできるだけ制限して独裁的な基盤づくりを有利にしようとしていたのである。

そして、同時に地方官会議を開いてこれを下院に擬し、元老院には、貴族および勲功学徳ある天下の俊才を集めて、これを上院にみなすなどし、外見上は一応、西欧先進国の立憲制の形をととのえた。

元老院は、明治二十三年帝國議会の開会に先立ち、十月二十日に廃止されたが、その業績の第一にあげられるのは、明治九年、勅令をうけ、数年の審議を繰り返しながら「日本国憲按」を作りあげたことだといわれる。柳原前光、福羽美静、中島信行、細川潤次郎らがその起草に専念したのだが、しかしこの労作も岩倉の強い不満のため廃案とされてしまった。岩倉には当初から採択の意志はなかったのであり、政府にたいする元老院勢力の限界が知られる事件であったといえよう。

天皇親臨のもとに元老院の開院式が行なわれたのは、八年七月五日で、それに先立つ四月に、勝安芳、山口尚芳、津田出、河野敏鎌、加藤弘之、後藤象二郎、由利公正、福岡孝弟、陸奥宗光ら一三名、

## 二 元老院のこと

話はまたさかのぼるが、西南の役の発端となった明治六年の征韓論は、新政府発足いらい、地熱のようにくすぶっていた広汎な反政府分子の矛先をそらそうとする苦肉の策であった。それは、戊辰戦争直後にも、岩倉や木戸によって朝鮮への出兵が画策されているところをみると、新政府の国内治安にたいする唯一の秘策であったかも知れない。岩倉、木戸、大久保らが廃藩置県後欧米に出かけていた留守中に、おりから朝鮮に起った反日運動を捉らえて、西郷らによって朝鮮への出兵が実践されようとした矢先、たまたま帰朝した岩倉、大久保らは口をそろえてこれを封じてしまった。民心が西郷らに傾くことを恐れたからであった。そしてついにその年の十月、西郷、江藤、板垣、後藤らは政府を去った。

ところがそれから数か月後の七年四月、大久保と大隈は、突如、台湾遠征を主張して、五月には西郷の指揮する兵が長崎を出帆した。木戸はこの暴挙に憤然として任を辞し郷里に隠退してしまった。西郷、大久保、木戸の三巨頭の倒幕までの緊密な関係も、新政府部内にあつてはしだいにひび割れ、派閥を生んでいたが、ここに計らずも大久保の独裁体制が実現したわけである。しかしそれは独裁ではなく孤立に過ぎなかった。いかに大久保といえども、当時の難局をひとりでは乗りきれなかった。

こうした事態を憂えた伊藤博文は、大久保の苦境を救うため、ひそかに大久保と木戸との間の仲介の役を買って出た。また一方、大蔵大輔の職をなげうって、先収会社を作り実業界にあつた井上馨は、

た。政府の財政がいかに急迫していたかが知られる。

それはひとり財政ばかりではなかった。武士を追われ士族となった無産の階級は、いままた家禄も断たれていちだんと困窮し、一、二藩により独占された新政府やその官僚機構に烈しい忿懣をかきたて、一方では、徴兵制や学制さらに地租改正と重い負担を課される農民は、全国各地に一揆を続発させており、板垣らの主唱する自由民権運動のひろがりを支える温床となっていた。西南の役は、これら反政府的動きを結集させた様相を見せていた。

こうした情勢の激しい動きにあつて、公債価格の維持をはかるため、たんに転売を禁じたり、その資本化を購ずるといった、いわば高踏的な施策だけでは、もはや乗り切れなくなっていた。そこで価格維持の第三のきめて、実は最終手段として、政府当局、大藏卿大隈重信は、公債の売買を許可し、市場を開設して、その自由競争による価格の形成にまつにしかずとの方針に傾いていった。

そこで、前に述べたように、渋澤らの取引所設立の申請や、布告のままとなっている株式取引条例に關する渋澤らの改正意見を参酌しながら、条例改正の仕事に着手し、その成案が明治十一年四月、元老院の審議にかけられた。

では、日本の近代化のため各方面で活躍する英才が、一堂に会して政策を論じたこの元老院とは、いったい何だったのだろうか。

め、正貨準備が底をつき、国立銀行の運営が危機にさらされたのを機に、銀行条例を改正して、広く諸公債を資本とする生業化の道を講じたことであつた。

すなわち、銀行は、以後、資本金の八〇％に相当する四分利付以上の公債（従来は六〇％に相当する金札引換公債）を政府に供託し、これと同額の銀行紙幣（従来は正貨兌換紙幣）を発行することができ、引換準備金として資本金の二〇％の政府紙幣（従来は四〇％の正貨を保有すること）を積立てるといふように改められたのである。

正貨兌換の義務を解いたこの改正は、初めの条例からみれば数歩も数百歩も後退するものであり、その後いろいろの弊害を統発するのだが、一面からいえば、通貨（政府紙幣）の信用と流通をはかり、各種公債の資本化のルートを確認し、一部華士族の生業の道を開いたことなどは大きな前進であつたろう。これを機に国債にたいする需要が増え、国立銀行の設立も相つぎ、明治十二年末までに一五一行に達していたのである。

しかしながら翌十年に西南の役が起ると、政府はまたも不換紙幣の増発や多額の借入金に頼らねばならなかつた。この西南の役にたいする出費は四一五七万円に上り、それは、旧藩主らの出資によって設立した第十五銀行からの一五〇〇万円の借入金と、二七〇〇万円の不換紙幣の発行によって賄われていたのである。戊辰戦争らしいものを計上すると、明治十一年現在の政府借入金は二億八五〇〇万円、紙幣発行高一億四〇〇〇万円に累増していた。これにたいし当時の政府収入は六〇〇〇万円程度であつ

## 第一章 陸奥宗光の現実重視の法理念

### 一 第三のきめて

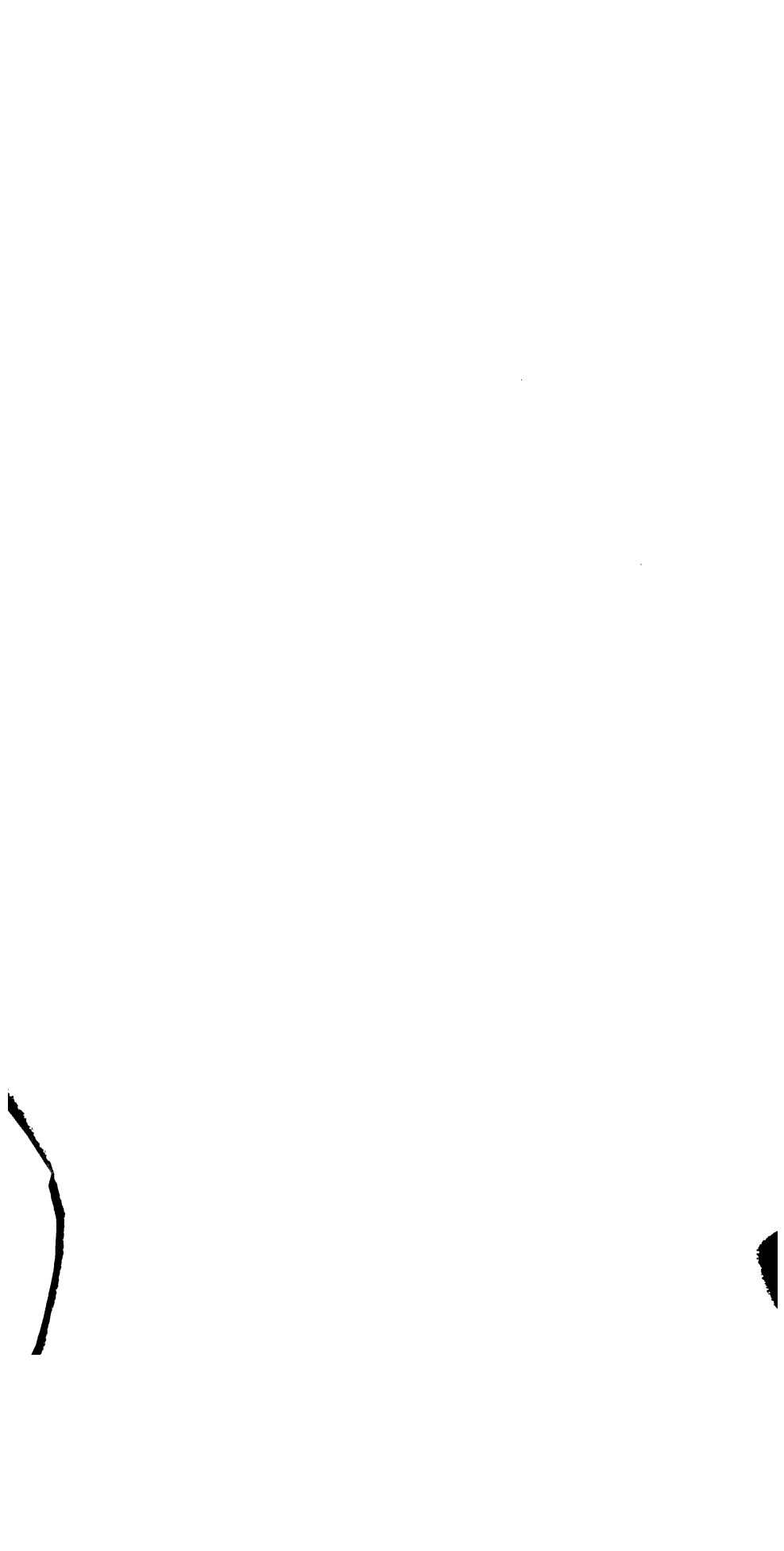
明治九年八月、新政府は、当時歳費の三割も占め財政を圧迫しつづけていた華士族への家禄支給の制度を廃止することを決意し、これにかえて、新たに金禄公債を発行して、これを華士族に交付することにした。

五分ないし七分利付のこの公債は、五年据置のうえ漸次償還するというものだったが、はじめ原則として転売、質入れ等は禁じられた。その支給額は俸禄元高の五年ないし一四年分で、総額は一億七四七五万圓に達した。この金高は、明治元年から八年六月までの税金収入総額の六〇％に相当した。またこの公債の交付を受けた華士族は三一万三〇〇〇余名もあった。

前にもちよつとふれたが、こうした大量の公債の発行にあたって、政府がもつとも心を砕いたことはその価格の維持であった。

そのために転売や質入れをまず禁じたわけだが、さらに、この公債の受給者に生業化へのルートを開いておくことである。それは、たまたま小野組の破綻に端を発し、さらには政府の不換紙幣の濫発のた





## 第一章 陸奥宗光の現実重視の法理念

### 一 第三のきめて

明治九年八月、新政府は、当時歳費の三割も占め財政を圧迫しつづけていた華士族への家禄支給の制度を廃止することを決意し、これにかえて、新たに金禄公債を発行して、これを華士族に交付することにした。

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第二部 壁に面す

しく、変更をもとめられたので、株主總會の紛議からついに開業に到らなかつた第三国立銀行の三といふ若い數を欲し、第三国立銀行とした。この三は、安田家の先祖が名乗つたといふ三善姓にもゆかりがあつた。開店したのは九年十二月五日である。路地をへだてた向い側にあるこの国立銀行の母である安田商店も實質的な銀行であつたが、これが安田銀行と名を改め、名実とも近代的な銀行として発足開店したのは、十三年一月一日であり、安田善次郎はこの二つの銀行を柱として、しだいにわが国金融市場の中核的な存在へと歩を進めるのである。

他の巨大銀行が有力な産業資本を背景に登場し、財閥の機関銀行的役割によつて膨張したが、安田は地方小銀行から出発し、合併を重ねて大銀行に成長した。それも中小銀行の破綻の救済によるものが多い。ここに安田善次郎究明の一つの鍵があろう。

しかし当時は明治二年いろいろの輸入超過の時であり、銀行紙幣はすぐ兌換をもとめられ、銀行はたちまち準備金の欠乏となった。政策の失敗であった。たまたまそのころ、小野、島田組の官金の流用が政府に伝わった。

七年十月、金融機関にたいする、公金預り高に關した抵当増額令が、突如大藏省通達として発せられ、このとき小野、島田組は倒産した。

また政府は、財政上の窮迫から株株制度の全廃にふみきり、金禄公債の発行をもってこれを断行することになった。

以上のような諸事情から、銀行側の訴えを聞くまでもなく銀行条例の改正へと政府を追い込んでいたのである。資本金四〇%の金貨を、二〇%は政府紙幣とし、六〇%の銀行紙幣の発行制限は八〇%に引き上げ、また、六分利付金札引換公債とする限定は、四分以上の利付公債に上げる規定に改めた。銀行経営の制限を大幅に緩和したこの改正は、同時に金禄公債の利用をねらったものでもあった。条例改正も金禄公債発行の布告も、九年八月に出された。

あたかもこれ wait っていたかのように、安田善次郎から国立銀行創立願が出されたのはこの月であった。彼は、かねてから有利確実な投資対象として保有していた諸公債の運用の時期をここに見出したものだった。

そのとき彼はその銀行名を「東京国立銀行」としたが、政府は後の中央銀行の名称に用意していたら

行券を発行する国立銀行を作ろうという構想が検討されていた。

この銀行設立に関して欧米銀行制度の調査に当たったのは、イギリス、アメリカに学んだ吉田清成と、アメリカに渡った伊藤博文である。

吉田は、後述のように、弘化二年（一八四五）、鹿兒島藩士の四男として誕生。薩摩藩士として元治元年（一八六四）にイギリスに渡り、明治三年帰国するまで七年間、政治経済学や銀行保険事業について研究した。四年二月大蔵省御用掛を命ぜられる。その後、アメリカ全権公使（七年）、外務大輔（十五年）、農商務次官（十九年）、元老院議員（二十年）等に任ぜられ、二十年には子爵を授けられた。明治二十四年八月、四十七歳で死去した。

吉田は、イギリスのゴールドバンクの組織による兌換制度の確立を主張した。伊藤は、南北戦争後に公債を基本として銀行を設立させ、これで多額の不換紙幣を回収したアメリカのナショナルバンク制を主張した。そのため条例の発布が遅れたが、成案は両者を折衷したものであった。

これにもとづき、六年から八年まで、第一、第二、第四、第五の国立銀行が設立された。

前にもふれたが、この条例では、銀行の設立にあたり、資本金の四割は金貨でその発行する銀行紙幣の兌換準備にあて、残る六割は太政官札を政府に上納し、これと引換えに同額の六分利付金札引換公債をもらうが、銀行は紙幣発行の抵当としてこれを政府に預け、そこで政府から同額の銀行紙幣を受け取り、これを営業資本とするというものであった。

秩禄公債 八三% 八六%  
持高合計 四五% 六三%

旧公債は無利子、五〇年年賦償還という条件からほとんど無視され、秩禄公債は、小禄武士を交付対象者とする就転業資金であり、すぐ手放すものも多かった上に、所有者の公債に関する無知識に乗じた奸商の暴利をむさぼる買叩きで暴落し、高利貸資本や商人の手に渡っていった。

預金、官金、貸付等を営む善次郎にとり、これら公債は好箇の投資物件であり担保物件であった。八年の新公債元金払戻抽せんや、九年の秩禄公債、新公債の抽せん償還にあたり、善次郎は、第一、第五、三井各銀行とともに代表立会人選ばれているが、安田商店の公債運用の大きかったことを物語るものであろう。

### 一〇 両替商から銀行経営へ

明治五年十一月に国立銀行条例、六年三月に金札引換公債証券発行条例が發布された。不換紙幣を回収し兌換銀行券を発行するための一連の措置であった。

太政官札は発行いらい不評で、はじめ十三年間を流通期限と定められたが、はやくも二年五月に、これが五か年に短縮され、期限到来後は公債を発行してこれを消却する、そしてこの公債を抵当に兌換銀



上の優れた一面として評価すべきである。

明治三年、善次郎は仙台藩の御用達の免許をえて、金銀を預り為替業務も引き受けることになった。夢が実現したのである。しかしこの場合は、四年の廃藩置県のため成果をみずに中断された。

だが明治五年（一八七二）、善次郎は待望の本両替の鑑札を手にした。元治元年（一八六四）、人形町通りに安田屋を開店してからわずか八年だった。まさに青竹のような成長ぶりといえよう。

そして、七年には司法省の金銀取扱いを命ぜられ、続いて為替方御用も拝命、八年には東京裁判所の為替方と、栃木県庁の為替方ならびに金銀取扱いの契約を結び、いよいよ官金取扱いに進出し、その官金の預金高は、安田商店の総預金額の四割を占めた。これは安田商店の発展に大きな影響をもたらし、信用を高めるものであった。

さらに注目すべきことは、七年一月の安田商店の考課状から、はじめて公債の手持高が掲げられたことである。まず新旧公債からはじまり、八年一月からは秩禄公債も名を連らねた。以後、秩禄公債は急速に増加している。

八年一月および十年一月現在の、額面額にたいする時価額の比率はつぎの通りである。

八年      十年

旧公債    一六%    二五%

上層階級であつた武士の禄高に供し、これが財政の負担となると、この秩禄制度を強制的に全廃するた  
めの資金とした。

しかし、まだ政治体制の固まらぬ動乱期にあつては、こうした金融先導の経済、社会政策は容易にそ  
の成果をみせるものではなく、これはインフレーションを増長させ、物価の高騰を招き、生産を阻害し  
て、ますます金融機能それ自体をも混乱させるばかりであつた。

そこで政府は、経済運用の根底である通貨の安定と民衆の信頼をえるため、不換紙幣の回収と兌換紙  
幣の発行をめざし、近代的な金融機関である欧米における銀行制度の導入を急ぐ。

安田善次郎は、この間にあつて、幕府の古金買上げや、新政府の金札（太政官札）流通に協力し大き  
な利益をあげ、幕藩時代からの大小両替商の多くが激動する社会に直面して没落するという時勢にもめ  
げず、この新参の両替商人は、ひたむきに事業の拡大をもとめていた。

善次郎のこうした成長は、そのまま同業者間の信望に結びつき、明治元年には両替町の世話役や、商  
法司役所の肝煎（理事）にも推挙された。

明治二年には、質屋業の鑑札を受け、預金、貸付をはじめ、また大阪と為替業務を試験的に行つてい  
るが、これらは彼のかねてのねらいであつた官金の取扱いの夢を托したものであつた。ともかく、この  
ころすでに安田商店は自己資本を上まわる預金高を記録しているが、全国銀行勘定において預金高が自  
己資本を上まわつたのは、明治二十九年であつたことを考えると、この事實は、善次郎の運用資産構成

しかし、こうした微温的な措置では、いろいろの火急な課題に、大量の資金を投じて処理してゆかねばならなかった当局者の政治的な焦慮を、少しも和げるものではなかった。武士という特権階級から追放した華士族に、歳費の三割にも達する家禄を支給していることには耐えられず、これを廃して、その財源を富国強兵関係にふり向けることにした。明治九年八月のことである。

政府はその廃止にあたって、新たに金禄公債を発行し、これを華士族に交付することにした。前にも書いたが、五分ないし七分利付のこの公債は、五年据置のうえ漸次償還されるものだったが、原則として転売、質入れを禁じた。その支給額は俸禄元高の五年ないし一四年分、その発行総額は一億七三九〇万円、これは明治元年から八年六月までの税総収入の六〇%に当った。また、交付者は華士族三二万三〇〇〇余名だったという。

### 九 諸公債の運用

古い体制を倒し、新しい国造りに取りかかった明治新政府は、まず不換紙幣（太政官札など）を大量に発行し、産業、貿易、金融等の総合的推進機関であった商法司、これをつぐ通商司を媒介として、なかば強制的に民間に流通させ、諸産業や商業活動を誘発し、財政基盤の確立をはかろうとした。

そして一方において、非生産的に徒食してきた武士階級、いまでは無産の階級に転落し、国家の生活保護者のような存在となった人間を生産者に再生させ、同時に国庫負担を軽減する方策を講じてゆかねばならなかった。

つまり、幕藩体制を解体し、士農工商の四民制度をご破算とし、そして人民と土地とを解放する、こうした整地こそ、新しい時代、新しい社会を迎える先決課題であった。

国民皆兵を標榜した明治五年の徴兵令や、同年の土地売買の解禁から、翌六年の地租改正などの政策は、その意図はともかく、いずれも人民の期待にそむく血税の収奪となったが、封建社会からの脱皮を目ざしたものであったはずである。

こうした措置とともに、政府は、明治三年には士族の農商等実業への転出をすすめる、その資金として、最高は禄高の五年分を一時金として支給する一時資金制を設けていた。

そして、廃藩置県、徴兵令布告に対応し、六年には仰資奉還制をもうけ、士族、平民一〇〇石未満の者の家禄、賞典禄の奉還者にたいし、転業資金として、禄高の六年分を現金と公債をもって与えることにした。同時に家禄税を新設して、これを陸海軍費にあてた。

この仰資奉還制の財源として、現金分は、総額二四〇万ポンド（邦貨約一一七二万円）の七分利付外国公債をロンドンで募集し、交付する公債は、七年から九年にかけて総額一六五六万円を、一〇か年賦償還、据置二年、利率八%の秩禄公債の発行によってまかなった。

から同四年七月までには新公債をそれぞれ交付することにした。

旧公債は、無利息、五〇年の年賦償還、その発行額は一〇九七万三〇〇〇円。

新公債は、年率四%、二二年間、毎年もしくは隔年抽せんによる償還、その発行額は一二四二万三〇〇〇円、新旧総額の五三%。

これによつても、維新後の各藩の財政がいかに困窮していたかが察せられる。またこうした措置によつて、去就を決しかねていた高利貸資本家を懐柔し、新政府にたいする信頼をえようとしたことはいふまでもない。この新旧公債は、わが国の内国債の嚆矢となった。

さて、新政権の下では人民と土地はすべて天皇に帰属させられたが、その土地はいふまでもなく、人民によつて耕作され、利用され、開発されねば経済的にも社会的にも有効な資産的価値とはなりえない。農業生産が産業のほとんどであり、国庫収入の七割を占める租税源であつた当時、土地と農民にたいする政治が内政上の重要課題であつたことは、幕藩体制と変りがなかつた。

それに、外交、国防、貿易等の問題が新たに加わつただけ、この内政の重要課題が、むしろその緊要性を倍加したとさえいえよう。従来のように、農民を土地に縛りつけ、そこに土地を固定化しておく封建的な政策では、もはや新時代に対応することはできなかつた。土地の多角的利用や営利的経営によつて生産をあげ、一方では、農民を土地から解放してその一部を他産業へ進出させ、あるいは国家防衛

いこのとき、薩藩の年貢は政府が一手に収納することになったが、これと引換えに、政府は、藩主と家

臣の家禄を支給することになつたばかりでなく、藩の負債まで肩代りすることになった。このため、政府は国庫支出の実に三分の一という巨額の出費と取り組まねばならなかつた。

各藩の負債総額は、七八一三万円に上り、これは、二七七の藩の二年分の実収高に相当したという。このうちには、主として戊辰戦争にあたり、イギリスやオランダあるいはその他外国商人から借用した三七藩の外債が四〇〇万円も含まれていた。

政府は、このような莫大な藩債の返済にたいし、一部は現金、一部は公債を交付することにした。それでも三九〇〇万円余は無効として切捨て、外債の四〇〇万は明治八年までに完済した。したがって約三五〇〇万円が現金と公債の交付によって償われたわけである。

## 八 政府、武士階級の処置に苦慮

旧藩の債務肩代りにあたり、明治政府は、その債務負担の期間として、弘化元年（一八四四）から、廃藩置県が行われた明治四年七月までの二八年間を認めた。明治四年（一八七一）は納得できるが、新政府がなぜ債務発生を弘化元年まで遡ることを承認したのか、明らかではない。

そして、弘化元年から慶応三年（一八六七）までの二四年間の債務にたいしては旧公債を、明治元年

リス人ホレーショ・ネルソン・レーとの間に資金借入れの契約を結んだのだが、レーは翌三年これをロンドンで公募に付したため、政府もやむなくこれを正式に認めたものだった。

十一年の起業公債（六分）は、わが国ではじめて公募された公債である。これは、港湾、道路、治水、鉱山、鉄道などの官営事業の資金調達にあてられたもので、第一国立銀行や三井銀行が募集の取り扱いを委任された。この公募の背景には、国立銀行設立が全国的に普及しつつあった事情などが指摘される。さて、各種の制度変更公債の発行だが……

戊辰戦争も奥羽列藩の降伏（明治元年九月）によって、幕府側の敗北が決定的になると、翌二年には、新政府は、諸藩の土地と人民を天皇にお返しするという、いわゆる版籍奉還の意向を受け入れ、ここに国家統一の下地ができたことを認めた。（この時点で、姫路藩、薩長土肥の四藩主、版籍奉還上奏）

だがこれはまだ名目上のことであり、各地の政権はなお各藩が掌握し、急激にうつり変ろうとする世情に苦慮しながらも、藩政の改革に懸命に努めていた。しかし、それにもかかわらず、下層武士層の反抗や農民一揆が絶えず、藩財政は急迫を告げ、各藩とも手を焼いている状態であった。

一方、新政府側は、各地の騒動を放任することは由々しい事態の発生を待つようなもので、これは力にかけても未然に防がねばならなかった。そのためには、兵権の統一と税制の統一をはかることが肝要であり、このさい、一挙に国家統一の実をあげるには藩制の廃止を断行することであった。明治四年七月、

五	新・旧公債	一三三、三九六
六	外国公債	一一、七一二
六	金札引換公債	六、六六九
七	秩祿公債	一六、五六六
一〇	金祿公債	一七三、九〇三
一一	旧神官配当祿公債	三三四
一一	起業公債	一二、五〇〇

以上、総額約二億五〇〇〇万円に達し、これは明治元年から六年までの歳入総額あるいは紙幣発行総高に匹敵する額であつた。

しかしながら、これを起債目的からみると、近代産業の育成を目的とした生産公債は、三年の外国公債と、十一年の起業公債の二種で、それは総額の七％に過ぎず、他は、不換紙幣（太政官札、民部省札など）の整理を目的とし、紙幣と交換に引換えられた金札引換公債（総額の三〇％）を除けば、新・旧公債、六年の七分利付外国公債、秩祿公債、金祿公債、旧神官配当祿公債など、いわば制度変更のために発行されたものであり、これが総額の九〇％を占めていた。

つきにこれら個々の発行事情に触れてみよう。

三年（一八七〇）の九分利付外国公債は、政府ははじめ鉄道の建設資金を調達するため、前年、イキ



そして、明治と改元された慶応四年九月には、日本橋の海運橋ぎわにも商法司が設置されるようになり、その肝煎に推挙されていたので、善次郎もその十二月に金札二〇〇〇両を無利子で借り受けその流通に尽力することになった。

ところがその数か月後の明治二年四月二十九日、金札は額面通り通用すべしという罰金つきの布告が発せられた。この布告の前日には、金札一〇〇両が正金三八両まで下落していたのである。この布告が出るという情報を、一日か半日前にえた善次郎は、すかさず金札の買集めに全力をあげた。これが安田商店をふたたび大きく躍進させた。明治二年一月の五二六三両の資産は、翌年一月には、一万四二八四両となり、約三倍の増加を示したのである。

## 七 新政府の公債政策

国家財政の確立や産業経済の振興をはかるにあたり、金融を先導させる政策を採らざるをえなかった明治新政府が、太政官札（金札）の発行に次いで打ちだしたのは、多額の公債の発行であった。参考までに列記すると、

年 銘 柄 起債額(千円)

三 外国公債 四、八八〇

をよたたび東京に迎えた明治二年三月のことである。

この間にあつて、「封建諸侯、旗本、御家人等亡びゆく階級を相手としていた掛屋、用聞、藏元等、従来の封建的金融機関である大両替店はつきつきと倒壊し惨憺たるものであつたが、安田商店がこの変革期に當つて、封建制度と運命をともにしなくてはならないほど成長はしていなかつたことは幸いであつた」(「富士銀行八十年史」)

新政府は、富国強兵、殖産興業をスローガンとした。だが、当時の経済状態からみても新たな産業が自主的に起ることを待つほどのゆとりは、新政府にはなかつた。それに新政府の財政基盤もまったく貧困であつた。

そこで、政府資金の撒布による信用の創出によつて産業の興隆をはかろうと試みたのである。金融優先のインフレーション政策であつた。そして、太政官札(金札≡不換紙幣)の発行、商法司の設置をみたのであるが、これは、財政難を解決しようとした新政府にとつて、一石二鳥の策であつた。

しかしながら、前にもみたように、この政策は失敗に帰した。太政官札の流通は振るわず、正金との間に打歩(割増し)がつき、商法司は、わずか一年で廃止され、新たに設けられた通商司に引き継がれている。

それはともかく、善次郎は、新興両替店として、前途の見えぬはげしい世情のなかで着実に営利を伸ばし、群小の同業者から頭角を現わし、慶応四年には江戸両替町の世話役にえらばれていた。

れの短い生涯を奉仕しているのである。ただ、非常の事態に遭遇した人間の行動には、平常時には見えない時代の陰影が強く反映して写し出されるので、ときには小人物も大人物のように浮き彫りされて見えたり、大人物もその影をひそめたり、きわめてドラマチックな動きになるのだらう。

しかし、この期は、安田善次郎にとつても、若木の育つ季節を迎えたように、彼を大きく成長させた時期であつた。

慶応三年（一八六七）は、幕府の古金買上げに協力した善次郎が大きな利益をあげた年であつた。しかしこの年十月、慶喜はついに大政を奉還し、十二月には朝廷から王政の復古が宣言された。

だが翌四年正月三日には鳥羽伏見に戦いが起り、五月には江戸上野に、九月には会津若松に、さらに翌明治二年（一八六九）五月には函館に、相ついで、徳川家を擁立した叛乱があつた。

時代はこうした激動を孕みながら、古きものから新しいものへ、あわただしい動きをみせていた。

慶応三年末、王政復古を宣言した新政府は、金穀出納所（後の大蔵省）を設置すると、翌四年一月には会計基立金の御沙汰書を、つづいて二月には太政官札発行の布告を出し、ついで商法司を各地に設けるなど、諸政策に先がけて財政政策を打ちだした。

一方、慶応四年中には、三月に、西郷と勝海舟の高輪会談で、江戸開城の諒解がなり、七月には江戸は東京と改められ、九月に入ると、明治と改元されて一世一元の制が定められた。十月には、初めての

る行為に敵愾心を燃やしたためか、それともたんに営利的打算から立ちあがったのか、この時点だけをみては、その心中は明確に判断しかねる。

ともかく彼は、当時七、八人いた手代、小僧らを使い、一同総掛りで、勘定、鑑定、包装、封印、引き渡しといった仕事に没頭した。門前は古金を売ろうとする人々で市をなすありさまで、開店中に処理できず、預り証だけを出して翌日に繰り越すこともあった。

その買入れ資金は、幕府から前借りが許された。しかし、鑑定料が金貨百両につき二匁五分、上納手数料が三匁五分、合計六匁の利益であったから、その取扱量の増加とともにその額は莫大な数となった。

元治元年安田屋開店当時の資産二五両は、三年後の慶応三年一月には六五九両となり、さらに同年中に一三二四両をえて合計一九八三両と急増していた。洋銀流入に対処した幕府の政策の一端をになった安田商店にたいする報酬が、いかに驚異的であったかを知ることができる。

## 六一夜で資産を三倍に

幕末から明治への転換期については、これまで幾たびも触れてきた。そしてこの激動期には多くの人材が輩出し、それぞれの立場で古き時代を新しい時代へ押しあげる役割を演じている。

もつとも、どのような時代に生きた人間も、この古き時代を新しい時代に変わてゆくために、それぞ

していたという。それだけ、安田善次郎の信用がすでに高まってきた証拠であろう。

翌慶応三年を迎えると、善次郎はさらに飛躍的發展の機会を擲んだ。それは、開国貿易によるわが国の金貨の流出が、一刻も猶予できぬ重大問題となったそのとき、幕府の対策に機を逸せず、善次郎は自ら進んで協力したことが、彼に大きな利益をもたらしたものだ。

幕府が開国のために結んだいわゆる安政五か国条約は、わが国にとってすこぶる不利なものであったために、これをうけついで明治政府が多年にわたってその改正に苦心したことは、前にもふれた。

そのなかの貿易の決済に用いる洋銀と邦貨は、同種同量をもって国内においても通用させるという規定であり、金は金、銀は銀と量目だけで交換するのである。まさに植民地である。

当時、欧米では、アメリカで銀の豊鉱が発見されたことなどから、銀価が暴落し、金銀比価が金一対銀一五の割合であるのに、わが国では銀一〇の割合であったから、わが国で金ををうるために銀一〇で足りることになり、わが国の金は流出し、外商は金貨を買い集めた。ただ外商は両替店の手をかりねばならなかった。

幕府は、洋銀売り古金買いに對抗し古金を買い集めようとしたが、慶応三年は天下の情勢いよいよ混沌とし、誰もこれを引きうけようとする者がなかった。

これを知った善次郎は、幕府の金買上げに進んで協力を申し出て、一手にこれを引き受けた。この場

## 五 幕府の金買いに協力

さて、江戸に出て一〇年、その辛苦が実を結び、元治元年（一八六四）三月、銭両替安田屋を開店していた善次郎のもとに、ふたたび戻ってみよう。

前年、長州藩は下関でアメリカやフランス、オランダの軍艦に砲撃を加えたり、薩摩藩ではイギリス艦隊と交戦したり、あるいは多数の貿易商人が暗殺されるなど、開国後も攘夷熱はすこしも衰えをみせず、国内はいよいよ騒然としていたが、善次郎のひたむきな営利への意欲は依然衰えてはいなかった。

そして、この年の六月には池田屋騒動があり、八月になると、アメリカ、イギリス、フランス、オランダの四国艦隊が下関を砲撃する事件が起り、一方では諸物価が暴騰し、買占め、売惜しみなどが横行するといった世情だったが、善次郎の商売は繁昌し、二年後の慶応二年（一八六六）四月には、小舟町に店舗を移して「安田商店」と屋号を変え、兼業の海産物や砂糖の小売をやめて、両替専門店としたのである。

銭両替としての彼の収益は、小銭と金銀貨の両替による歩合、封金料の収益、当時流通の銅銭の品位が雑多であったので、その選択によりあげた利益などであった。

封金というのは、五〇両、一〇〇両と紙に包み、これに封印して金高と屋号を明記し内容を保証するものであった。このころ封金を出したものは四、五軒にすぎず、なかでも安田商店のものはかなり流通

たとえば、第四条及び貿易章程によると、わが国には関税自主権がなく、また第五条では「外国の諸貨幣は、日本貨幣同種類の同量を以て通用すべし」とあり、金は金、銀は銀と量目をもって比較することをきめ、内外金銀貨のそれぞれの比価や純度に注意を払わずに定められたため、わが国の金貨の海外流出が激増したのである。

後に述べるように、この金貨の流出に関連して、安田善次郎の活躍があつて、両替商としての彼の存在が一躍社会に知られるきっかけとなつた。

さらに、第六条は領事裁判権すなわち治外法権を認めたものであつた。これは民族主権を侵害する国民的屈辱条約として、これを引き継いだ明治政府の外交上の最大の課題となつた。

しかしながら、条約十三条の、調印後一七一月（即ち一八七二年〳明治五年七月四日に当る）後、双方政府の意志により両国の内より一か年前に通達し、本条約および神奈川条約に関連し補足あるいは改正を行うことができるという根拠にもとづき、明治四年、廃藩置県後、岩倉具視ら一行は、条約改正交渉の目的で欧米に渡つたが、その目的を果さず帰国した。その後も、姑息な手段や秘密外交に終始し、不平等条約による損失は、もっぱら農民大衆や中小生産者あるいは、朝鮮はじめ近隣諸国へ向けられたのだった。

まった観があった。

こうした推移のなかにあって、彦根藩主の井伊直弼は、この幕府の暗闘にたいし、「御朱印船を復活し、進んで通商を求めよ」と積極的な注進をしていたが、安政五年（一八五八）四月、大老に抜擢されると、彼は勅許を待たず、同年六月十九日、アメリカ総領事ハリスとの間に、日米修好通商条約を、独断で調印した。

將軍継嗣問題についても、尊攘派が擁立した一橋慶喜を拒けて、紀州藩の家茂を推戴し、重大問題を一挙に解決する果敢な策を断行した。同時に彼は、いわゆる安政の大獄といわれた反対派にたいする大弾圧を行なった。こうした彼の政策は、動揺をつづけ威信を失いつつあった幕府の權威を高めることをねらったものであったが、しかしこれもまた裏目に出て、結局は万延元年（一八六〇）三月三日の桜田門外において、水戸、薩摩の浪士のため倒れ、幕府専制への途は挫折した。

さて、この日米修好通商条約は、十四か条の条文と七か条からなる貿易章程（通商条約と同時に調印された貿易に関する付属協定）によって成文化されていた。これは、その後、アメリカにつづいて、イギリス、フランス、オランダ、ロシアとも締結されたので、安政の五か国条約ともいわれる。

この条約は、自由貿易を認め、これによつてはじめて開国の実が上つたものの、わが国にとつてはきわめて不利な条項が多く、その後その改正をめくり明治四十四年（一九一一）まで数十年間も問題が尾を引いたものであった。



## 四 不平等条約

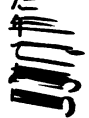
タウンゼント・ハリスの来駐は、幕府にとつても思いがけないことだったが、これで「開国の事」は隠せない事実となった。

幕府はこうした事態をふまえ、なお基本的には開国は欲しなかつたが、開国にふみきらざるをえないことを知ると同時に、開国することによって体制の危機を乗り越えようとする政策への転換をはかった。

ハリスは、幕府のこうした意向を見抜き、しきりに幕府に向つて通商貿易の必要を説いた。幕府はついに安政四年（一八五七）の暮、その内諾を彼に与えるにいたつた。

しかしながら内憂外患のさなかでは、国内の意志の統一をはかることが、内に向つても外にたいしても重要であることを考慮した幕府は、まず朝廷から条約締結の勅許をえて、これにより支配階級の結集をはかり、これを後楯として事に臨もうとした。

ところがこの幕府の配慮が裏目に出た。当時、諸藩にたいし牽制力を失いかけていた幕府は、公武合体によつてこれを挽回しようとしていたときであつたが、開国に反対の公卿のために勅許はえられず、また將軍家定の後継問題にからみ、幕府内部や諸藩のなかに意見が対立して、これがさらに攘夷派と開国派とに分断していたから、いたずらに論議を沸騰させる結果を招いた。その上、これは朝廷や諸藩に、国政に関する発言力を増大させることにもなつた。こうして開国貿易問題は、一時暗礁に乗りあげてし



この年の九月は岩次郎（善次郎）少年が、

この嘉永七年は十一月に安政元年と改元された年であった。祭の夜、家人の隙をみて、最初の出奔を試みた年であった。

だが岩次郎が父の辛苦のすえようやくえたばかりの武士の地位を継ぐことをこぼみ、商人の世界に身を托そうと決意したのは、若い世代の持つ鋭敏な感受性から、すでに時代に萌しはじめていた大きな変化を嗅ぎとったからであつて、とくに武士や体制にたいする深い見透しや判断がそのような行動をとらせたのではなかつた。

行商人の多い富山ではあつたが、政治経済の中心である大都市からは遠く、まだまだ泰平の風潮にひたつていたはずの地方の少年、青年といふべきだろう十七歳の若者の胸にも、封建社会の動揺がひびいていたのである。ここに、勤王、攘夷の騒動に身を投じた当時の若い志士たちのものと共通した基盤を見ることができよう。

さて、幕府が強引な圧力に屈して結んだ和親条約は、たんに外国船の航海に便宜を与えたものにならず、幕府の弁解をしりぞけ、その本性をみせつけたのは、調印後二九か月、批准書交換後一九か月目の安政三年（一八五六）八月のことだつた。

それは条約の十一条、「兩國政府に於て、無提儀有之候模様により、合衆国官吏の者、下田に差置候儀も可有之。尤も約定調印より二八か月後に無之候ては、不及其儀候事」にもとづき実現されたことであつた。タウンセント・ハリスが初代アメリカ総領事として、下田に着任した。

的衝擊となつたであらう。

幕府は、かれらの強い要求を拒みかねてついに鎖国政策を捨て、開港にふみきつたが、そうせざるをえなかつた最大の理由は、やはり体制内部で財政経済的破綻を招来したこの矛盾に、もはや打つ手を失つていたからであつた。

嘉永七年三月三日（一八五四年五月二十五日）、幕府は、神奈川において、アメリカ合衆国全權ペリーと日本側全權林大学頭らとの間で、日米和親条約を調印させ、翌安政二年正月、下田でその批准書の交換を行なつた。

この十二か条からなる条約文は、その第一条に、日米両国は、「其人民の永世不朽の和親を取結ぶ」ことを掲げ、以下の条文中で、下田、箱館の二港にかぎり、アメリカ船の入港を許し、入港した船舶の要求に応じて、薪炭、水、食料品、石炭など航行必需品を供給することを認めたものであつた。

この時点では、幕府はまだ鎖国政策を完全に捨て去つてはいないが、各条文は、子細に判読すると、この後の通商条約締結の足がかりとなつたものや、合衆国官吏（領事）の駐在する法的根拠を与えたもの、あるいは治外法権に發展する可能性を持つもの、また最惠国條款とみられるものなど、外交上きわめて重大な意義をふくむものであつた。

いずれにしても、通称神奈川条約といわれたこの日米和親条約は、幕府による鎖国政策の放棄、開国政策への転機となつたことは否めない。

集まり、古金銀および銀の売買をなし、その仲値がその日の江戸市中の銀相場となり一般の標準とされ  
ていた。

### 三 胸にうづく時代の波

善次郎が安田屋を開店してわずか一、二年後、彼に大きな飛躍をもたらしたのは、前に述べたように、全国的な統一を欠き複雑をきわめた当時の貨幣制度のほかに、開国によってさらに重大な経済危機に見舞われたとき、彼が率先して幕府の対策に協力したからであった。

徳川幕府によって二百数十年間維持された封建社会は、嚴重な鎖国政策の下で、農村を基盤とする自給自足経済と、武士を支配階級とした四民制度（身分制度）を柱とするものであった。

しかしながら、武家政治の諸制度や非生産的なその消費生活そのものが、その封建社会をゆるがす商品経済の生成をうながし、また大量の物資の輸送や参勤交代制などによって陸海の交通網が整備され、さらに、本両替により金融・信用制度も発達し、これらが相まって商業活動を高め、商品経済を助長していたのである。

あたかも自家醗酵するように、体制そのもののかかえた諸矛盾が、社会を崩壊させる原動力として成熟していたとき、欧米資本主義諸国の来航をみたことは、幕藩体制を一突きで瓦解させるに十分な決定

小判(壹両) ……大判の十分の一

壹分 ……小判の四分の一

壹朱 ……壹分の四分の一

銀貨 ……定位貨幣として壹分(壹両の四分の一)

壹朱(壹分の四分の一)

秤量貨幣として丁銀および豆板銀(六〇匁ないし一〇〇匁が壹両)

諸錢 ……寛永通宝、天保通宝、文久永宝などがあり、銅、真鍮、鉄とあつて、数千枚から一万枚で壹両。

このように、当時の通貨は複雑なものであり、江戸、大阪のような大商業都市では、取引上や消費者にはきわめて不自由なもので、貨幣が交換手段の機能を果たすためには両替商を一度は通過せざるをえなかつた。

両替商は、金銀貨と錢とを両替する錢両替と、現在の銀行のように、預金、貸付、為替、手形の発行を営む本両替があつた。

なお錢貨の単位は文で、千文が一貫文であり、相場の変動もあつたが、金銀比価は金一両は銀六〇匁、錢四貫文に當つた。また本両替の取引先は主として、問屋、掛屋、藏元、用達などで、三井などの発行した手形は貨幣や藩札よりも流通力が強かつたといわれる。

ここに動いていたのであろう。

ここですこし当時の経済事情を写しとってみよう。

江戸時代の貨幣制度は、慶長六年（一六〇一）幕府が金銀貨を制定して以来、二六〇余年間これを踏襲してきたが、財政難にあうごとに貨幣の改鑄を行ない、正徳（一七一―）、享保（一七一一―）の改正を除くほかは、重量を軽減したり品質を落とすなど改悪を重ねてきていた。

また諸藩には、領内通用のため発行した藩札が、金札、銀札、米札、永札、傘札、かせいと札、ろくろ札などと、その総種類は全国で一六〇〇余種におよんだという。したがって貨幣、藩札の贖物も当然流通した。

前にもふれたように、これらの貨幣が明治のはじめになお二億数千万両、民間に流通もしくは温存されていたのである。

しかも江戸時代の通貨は二本建て、江戸は金本位、大阪は銀本位であった。金本位制は、文、朱、分、両という四進法、銀本位制は、毛、厘、分、匁、貫と進む十進法が採用されており、小さな島の中で、二つの通貨圏が併存していたわけだ。

慶応（一八六五―七）年度の約三年間に幕府が鑄造した硬貨は、金貨、銀貨および銅、真鍮、鉄の諸錢の三種類であった。

金貨…大判



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金貨…大判



## 二 国内に二つの通貨圏

祖父の強い願いから百姓を見限り、父の善悦は株を買ひ武士となったが、その子の岩次郎少年にはまた別の世界への夢が芽生えていた。それは、傲慢な武士をも見下す豪商の世界であった。

それを実現するため江戸に出た岩次郎は、他の商売には目もくれず、金かそのものを扱う両替商の小僧となつて数年間の修業を勵んだ。そして、金・銀・銭の目利きを身につけ、あわせて五、六両の資金を蓄えた岩次郎は、日本橋のある辻に露店をひらき、まがりなりにも商人として独り立ちしたが、戸板の小銭はわずか四か月で二五両の資金を生んだのだつた。

彼の努力もさることながら、人を呼ぶいろいろの才智が彼には備つていたのだらう。

彼はそれをもつて、海産物や砂糖の小売りもかねた銭両替を、人形町通りに開店し安田屋を名乗つた。富山を最初に出奔したときからちようど一〇年の歳月をへて、ささやかながら江戸の両替商としてのとりでをしつかりと築きあげたのである。

ところがその岩次郎こと善次郎青年は、それから一、二年後にはさらに大きな利益を掴むことになるが、それは、幕末から維新にかけての激動する社会経済情勢を、彼の商才によつてたくみに営利に生かしかちとつたものであり、**その後の安田屋形成のきっかけとなつたものであった。**

昭和四十八、九年いらいの石油危機に便乗し巨利を博した悪徳商人の商法とは似て非なる商魂が、そ

ここに動いていたのであろう。

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江戸時代の貨幣制度は、慶長六年（一六〇一）幕府が金銀貨を制定して以来、二六〇余年間これを踏襲してきたが、財政難にあうことに貨幣の改鑄を行ない、正徳（一七一一）、享保（一七一一）の改正を除くほかは、重量を軽減したり品質を落とすなど改悪を重ねてきていた。

また諸藩には、領内通用のため発行した藩札が、金札、銀札、米札、永札、傘札、かせいと札、ろくろ札などと、その総種類は全国で一六〇〇余種におよんだという。したがって貨幣、藩札の贖物も当然流通した。

前にもふれたように、これらの貨幣が明治のはじめになお二億数千万両、民間に流通もしくは温存されていたのである。

しかも江戸時代の通貨は二本建てで、江戸は金本位、大阪は銀本位であった。金本位制は、文、朱、分、兩という四進法、銀本位制は、毛、厘、分、匁、貫と進む十進法が採用されており、小さな島の中で、二つの通貨圏が併存していたわけだ。

慶応（一八六五〜七）年度の約三年間に幕府が鑄造した硬貨は、金貨、銀貨および銅、真鍮、鉄の諸錢の三種類あった。

金貨…大判

## 二 国内に二つの通貨圏

祖父の強い願いから百姓を見限り、父の善悦は株を買い武士となったが、その子の岩次郎少年にはまた別の世界への夢が芽生えていた。それは、傲慢な武士をも見下す豪商の世界であった。

それを実現するため江戸に出た岩次郎は、他の商売には目もくれず、金かねそのものを扱う両替商の小僧となつて数年間の修業を勵んだ。そして、金・銀・銭の目利きを身につけ、あわせて五、六両の資金を蓄えた岩次郎は、日本橋のある辻に露店をひらき、まがりなりにも商人として独り立ちしたが、戸板の小銭はわずか四か月で二五両の資金を生んだのだつた。

彼の努力もさることながら、人を呼ぶいろいろな才智が彼には備っていたのだろう。

彼はそれをもつて、海産物や砂糖の小売りもかねた銭両替を、人形町通りに開店し安田屋を名乗つた。富山を最初に出奔したときからちようど一〇年の歳月をへて、ささやかながら江戸の両替商としてのとりでをしつかりと築きあげたのである。

ところがその岩次郎こと善次郎青年は、それから一、二年後にはさらに大きな利益を擱むことになるが、それは、幕末から維新にかけての激動する社会経済情勢を、彼の商才によつてたくみに営利に生かしかちとつたものであり、その後の安田財團形成のきっかけとなつたものであつた。

金を駆使する商人こそ、これからの時代を担うものではないか。岩次郎の関心は、商人の活動する社会に急速に寄せられていった。いつかそれは豪商になろうとの決意になっていた。

こうして、江戸への一念おさえがたく、安政元年（一八五四）九月、祭礼の混雑にまぎれてついに出奔を決行した。だが、このときは飛騨山中で道に迷ってしまい、よぎなく村へひき返えさざるをえなかった。岩次郎はこのとき十七歳であった。

それから三年後、岩次郎はふたたび江戸へ向って出奔し、今回はその目的を達したが、江戸にあること数か月で叔父に連れ戻されてしまった。

彼はそこで江戸見聞の事実を話して、自分の将来の活動舞台は、武士ではなく、江戸における商人の世界にあることを、諄々と父に説いて安心させ、ようやく出府することを許された。

岩次郎は江戸に出ると、海苔や鯉節などの乾物小売業もかねた両替店に雇われて、ここで約六か年奉公した。その間に、両替商として肝要な金銀品位の鑑定眼を習得し、あわせて五、六両の資金をつくったので、文久三年（一八六三）十二月一日、日本橋小舟町あたりの辻にささやかな露店をひらき、戸板の上に小銭をならべ、ともかく独立の両替商をはじめることになった。

天稟の愛嬌と利潑な性格に加えて人一倍の努力は、わずか四か月で二五両の資金を生み、人形町通り乗物町に「安田屋」という乾物商をかねた両替店をひらいた。ときに元治元年（一八六四）三月二日、彼は二十七歳になっていた。そして、彼が父祖代々の善次郎を名乗ったのは、このときのことだった。

がいつも別天地に住むように、少しの苦勞も知らぬ氣に生きているのをみた彼の祖父は、一家の生活の安全をはかるには、たとえ輕輩でも武士になるにかぎると考え、機會あるごとに子の善悦(善次郎の父)にそのことを訴えつづけた。

善悦はそれを身に沁みて感じ、武士となることを唯一の希望とし、貧しいなかから嘗々と貯蓄し、高山藩下級武士の株を買って、屋号の安田屋をとり、いらい安田を名乗った。

こうしたことはそのころよく行なわれたことであり、伊藤博文、勝海舟なども、その一、二代前までは、前者が長州の百姓、後者は越後の貧しい檢校の家であった。

苦勞してようやく武士の仲間入りをした善悦の一家ではあったが、家計は少しも楽にならず、幼名を岩次郎と称した善次郎は、昼は野菜や漆器の行商をやり、夜は太閤記の写本をしてえた筆耕料などによって家計を助け、自らもこつこつと貯蓄を怠らなかつた。

そして、江戸、大阪、京都などから帰ってくる売薬行商人たちの語る中央の商業の繁榮ぶりに大きく心を動かされていた。

ある年のこと、大阪の豪商で高山藩に金を貸していた商人が高山を訪れたときのことであった。いつもは農民にたいしひどく傲慢な役人が、その商人にたいして鄭重きわまる款待をしているのを目撃した岩次郎は、武士も金にたいしてはすっかり威厳を置き忘れてしまつたものであることを知って、驚ろくとともに深い感慨に打たれたのである。

## 第三章 金の商品性を会得した安田善次郎

### 一 武士の家を飛び出る

幕藩体制をたおし、自由民権的な政治体制を志向した維新政府も、きわめて貧困な財政をもって、国防や社会治安の充足をはからねばならなかった当時の事情から、中央集権的な政治的支配体制の確立を急がねばならず、その上、政府をはじめ、中央、地方の官僚はみな、幕藩時代の武士階級で固められたため、その政治姿勢は旧時代さながら、とかく武断的、独裁的色彩が強かった。

したがって、こ一新も、民衆にとつてはたんに支配者の交替をみたというにすぎなかった。

このような情勢のなかで、これまでにみってきたような幕府や新政府の財政政策を、見事に自己の営利活動に生かし、一代にしてわが国を代表する金融業者の一人に成長した男がある。

安田善次郎である。

善次郎は天保九年（一八三八）十月九日、越中富山の町はずれ鍋屋横町の一士族の家に生まれた。

士族といっても、彼の祖父の代までは百姓であった。封建社会にあつては、飢饉は農民にとって避けられない災害であつた。そのような飢饉に遭遇して苦しむ百姓の悲惨な生活にひきかえ、武士たちのみ

だが、その開拓者であった三野村利左衛門は、三井銀行の晴の開業式には病床にあってこれを迎え、ついに翌十年二月二十一日早晩、癌腫のために他界した。享年五十七歳。三井家は、同族の格式をあたえ、三井家の靈廟に祀った。

後年、洪澤は、この三野村を評して、

「なかなかの機先を制する方の人だった。随分機敏な男で、私共「無学の偉人」といつて褒めておるが、なかなか偉い人、あの人と古河と糸平、この三人は無学の非凡の人であった」と語ったという。

目に一丁字もなく、人に物を説明するときに丸ばかりを書く癖もあつたと伝えられるこの風雲児に、二百数十年の伝統と数百万両の資産を保ってきたのれんを潔よく一任した三井八郎右衛門高福とは、いったいどのような人物であつたろうか。

幕末から維新にかけて激動期に、三井総領家第八代の当主として、文化五年（一八〇八）京都に生まれた彼は、天保八年（一八三七）三井家を代表する「八郎右衛門」を襲名していた。

三野村の死後、明治十二年一月末日、高福は、嗣子次郎右衛門高朗にその職を譲って引退し、明治十八年（一八八五）七十八歳の高齢で京都において病没した。書画をよくし、文雅の人として令名も高いと史書はいうが、彼の八〇年の生涯に立ち入ることは、筆者には望み難いことも知れない。

通常銀行の制度化と私噓禁止令の廃止も省内の議題に上り、その実現に向って審議中であつた。

九年三月末になつて大蔵省は、条件付許可の方針を下達するよう東京府知事に指令した。その条件は、株主にたいし無限責任制を課すことであつた。これを受けて三井は書類を再提出し、五月に認可を受けると、六月三十日、三井組と三井銀行との引継ぎを完了し、七月一日、わが国初の私立銀行として誕生した三井銀行は、盛大な開業式を行なつた。

小野、島田の事例にも明らかのように、官金の取り扱いにあたりもつとも警戒を要することは、抜き打ち的な預り金の引揚げに遭うことであつた。三野村はこの点を憂慮し、三井銀行設立の請願中、三井の資産内容まで披瀝しながら、預り金引揚げのごとき強硬措置を採らぬよう当局に懇願し、ついに大蔵卿大隈重信の確証をえていた。

三井銀行についてこの月には三井物産も兜町に開業した。これは、先年退官した井上馨が、三井を背後に、彼と行をともした益田孝と、貢米売捌を主業とする先取会社を經營していたが、これと三井の国産方を合併して設立したものだつた。そして、地租改正による貢租の金納化の時勢に対応し、三井銀行の新規事業となつた納税資金荷為替取組の開始に協力することになつたが、これも三野村構想の具体化の一環だつた。

この三井銀行と三井物産は、後に三井財閥を構成した他の三井事業群のなかで、その中枢的役割を果しながら、二〇世紀の世界に君臨したことは周知のとおりである。



という目的も失敗に帰したばかりではなく、金融恐慌の事態を招いたのだった。

政府は、国立銀行の救済に取り掛ると同時に、その条例の改正も急がねばならなかった。こうした事態がまた、三井の銀行創立の時期とその実現をはやめることになった。

## 一六 文雅の人

三井が、三井高福を筆頭とする同族ら七名を发起人とし、三井組総取締三野村利左衛門の名をもって、三井銀行創立願書を東京府知事大久保一翁宛に提出したのは、明治八年（一八七五）七月七日のことであつた。

これにさき立ち三井は、七年五月、駿河町に清水喜助の設計施工による洋風三階建を竣工し、為替バンク三井組の看板を掲げて開業し、ここに本拠を構え、さらに八年三月には三井組を三井バンクと改称し、この三井バンクを全三井の中核とすることを宣言していた。

さて、東京府知事から三井銀行の創立願書を受理した大蔵省は、その取り扱いに困つた。さきに国立銀行の設立にあたり、政府は、国立銀行のほか事実上銀行業を営むものも、銀行名を冠することを禁ずるといふ私唱禁止令を出しており、また通常銀行に関する条例も制定していなかつたからであつた。

分の担保増額を調達しなければならなかった。

しかし、二〇〇万二八〇〇円と一四万四〇〇ドルの積立金はあったが、また一方、六四一万一〇〇円と洋銀一五七万六四〇〇ドルの預り金があり、この引出しに備えねばならなかった。その上、七七四万六五〇〇円の貸出金のうち二二三万七四〇〇円は不良貸金となっていた。

三井は、三野村の尽力によって辛うじてこの急場を切り抜けたが、小野、島田の経営はつぎのように乱脈を極めていた。

小野組の官金預り額は四五〇万円の巨額であったという。しかしこれらは、米相場や生糸取引あるいは院内、阿仁等の秋田県内の鉱山に投資され、その総負債は七五〇万円に達していた。これにたいし現金七万円、地券、公債等二一万円にすぎなかったといわれる。

島田組は、三井、小野に較べその規模ははるかに小さかったようだが、官金を油やその他の投機に流用していたことは小野組と同じであった。

三野村は、七年十二月、大蔵省から小野組の負債整理を命ぜられ、九年にその清算を完了した。

名門小野組、島田組は、相ついで崩壊した。

三井にとつては、はからずも銀行単独創立の時機を迎えたわけである。

しかしながら、この小野、島田組の倒産騒ぎは、当然のことだが、この両者だけの敗退ではすまなかつた。それは前にもふれたように、国立銀行の経営を脅やかし、その設立によって不換紙幣を整理する

地租金納の政府の政策に協力し、同時に地方金融の足場を上げようとする構想を固めていたのである。

さて、第一国立銀行が創設された明治六年は、徴兵令やこの地租改正条例など、国民に直接大きな関りを持つ重大な法律の布告があり、さらに、岩倉使節団一行の二年にわたる海外視察旅行からの帰国をみると、朝鮮問題にからみ、西郷、板垣らの退官という重大事件が発生したが、翌七年には、こうした布告や事件がその内面の火を吹き出したように、各地で農民や士族の反旗がひるがえった。

七年十月、あたかもこうした社会騒動に呼応したかのように、創立後一年あまりの国立銀行の存立をゆるがす大事件が起った。

それは、公金預り高にたいする抵当増額令が突如、大蔵省から通達されたことであつた。従来預り金額の三分の一相当の抵当を公債、地券または不動産をもつて差出す規則であつたが、この通達により、「預け金相当の質物取置」くことに改定されたのである。この突然の通達は、官金の取り扱いを主業とする三井、小野、島田の金融業者に大きな衝撃を与え、小野、島田はついに倒産に追い込まれたばかりでなく、第一国立銀行もまたその余波を蒙らずにはすまなかつた。

三井の場合、

官金預り高 三七九万円

洋銀 四五万九八〇〇ドル

これにたいする担保は、地券、公債等で二一七万三、〇〇〇円、差引一六一万六八〇〇円と洋銀相当

四、納税者を従来の土地占有者（耕作者）から土地所有者とする。

しかし、財政的に窮乏していた政府は、この改正にあたり、その近代性はともかく、租税収入は尙より減らさないことを前提条件としていたから、こ一新によって年貢の軽減を最も強く期待していた農民を裏切り、全国各地に激しい一揆を誘発し、木戸孝允を、戦争よりも恐いと震え上らせたという。

だが、三井家の幾度かの危機を救い、その家運を一身に担わされた三野村にとっては、地租改正に関する政府の一連の動きは軽視できぬ重要な機会の到来を告げるものであった。

## 一五 小野、島田組の倒産

幕末いらい、さらに貨幣経済が拡がりをみせていたとはいえ、地租改正がすすめられていた当時の農村のほとんど大半は、幕藩体制のままのいわゆる米経済圏のなかにあった。

地価の決定にしても、種穂代や肥料代の算定の上に割り出すなどのことには、農民の多くは経験のないことであった。貢租が金納となっても、小作料は現物で納められたから、土地所有者である自作農民がその収穫物を金に代えて納税に向けることは容易でなかった。

ここに三野村のねらいがあった。

つまり、全国各地にあった三井の府県方や国産方の強化をはかり、官辺と農民との仲介に立って、

さて、当時は、国家の金を大蔵省や日本銀行が統轄して管理する今日と異なり、各官庁や府県がそれぞれ資金を持ち、その取扱いは出入りの商人に任せていた。大蔵省の官金取扱いを国立銀行に委ねることになった三井では、大蔵省以外の官庁や府県の官金に目を向けるようになった。さきに為換座御用を三井に独占された小野、島田組は、はやくからこの方面に地盤を固めつつあった。

明治四年七月、廃藩置県が断行され、全国領土の政治的統一が達成されると、全国の年貢収入も新政府の手に握られた。しかし、予算制度を導入した財政の近代化には、課税基準の設定と平準化による全国的統一がもとめられ、それはまた租税の金納化が前提とならなければならなかった。

こうした改正意見は、陸奥宗光や松方正義から強く主張されていたもので、廃藩置県後の九月、大蔵卿大久保利通や大蔵大輔井上馨から正式に建議された。そして、その実施に先立ち、田畑勝手作りをこの時に許可すると、翌五年二月には農地の自由な売買も許し、売買には地券を交付してその所持者を土地の所有者とするなど、地租改正の前段的措置を講じていたのだった。

地租改正条例の布告をみたのは、六年七月であった。この法律の要点は、

一、旧地租が土地の収穫を標準にして賦課されたのにたいし、新地租は土地の価格（田地一反の年間収益を利子率で資本還元したもの）を標準として賦課した。

二、新地租は地価の百分の三とし、豊凶による増租減免は行わない。

三、田畑を通じ金納とする。

たいし大蔵省為換御用の辞令を発したのである。

八月七日、この組合銀行は本両替町の旧為替方金所に設置された。三井、小野の両組から、月一、二度主人・重役が実地検査を行い、毎日一名ずつの重役が出動して、大蔵省の官金取扱いにあたることになった。

九月一日には、創立準備中の第一国立銀行の頭取として三井八郎右衛門高福、小野善助が任命され、取締役には両家から三名ずつ、支配人には三野村利左衛門、副支配人には小野組の江林某がそれぞれ任命された。

こうした政府の強引な処置に、三井家もついに兜町の三井ハウスを譲渡することを決し、九月二十九日、第一国立銀行と調印した。

十一月十五日、国立銀行条例が布告された。ついで二十二日には株式の公募も公示された。この月、三井の大元方、為換座は兜町から駿河町の三井両替店に移転した。

第一国立銀行は、六年六月、創立總會をひらき、八月一日、開業式をあげて正式に発足した。

この創立總會を前に、五月七日、井上馨とともに連袂退官した渋澤榮一は、予測されていたとおり、第一国立銀行に乗り込むことになり、総監役に就任した。それは、「銀行一切の事務立則と現務とに拘らず、すべて之を管理し、相当の考案を立て、頭取其他の役員に告諭又は指令する」役柄であった。その後明治八年八月に総監役が廃され、頭取一名となったとき、渋澤はその頭取に就任した。

全員で即決し、三野村を激励した。

しかし、井上や渋澤にたいする三野村らの交渉も徒勞に終つた。高喜と齋藤を前に、渋澤は、激しい口調でこういつたという。

「總管管轄執事存意にて合併バンクに致すべき儀は断なれば断、無理に合併バンクに可致様申候儀は無<sub>レ</sub>之、一同存意を建にして断申は甚不道理」といい、さらに「三井の爲方を存、合併バンクに可致様申迄<sub>レ</sub>の事」

その二、三日後の八月五日、突如、爲換方の廃止、官金預り即納を命ずる辞令と一緒に、三井小野組合銀行に、大蔵省爲換御用の辞令が交付された。しかしこの時機には、この三井小野組合銀行はまだ実在しなかつた。

## 一四 地租改正

明治五年八月の時点では、三井小野組合銀行は請願中で、政府はまだ認可を与えていなかった。しかも国立銀行条例が制定されれば、この組合銀行は、その新設の国立銀行にそっくり組替えられる予定の臨時的な機関にすぎなかつた。

「井上様は、私共に三井、小野の和解を保証できるかと申されたが、それは請合い難いとお答えした。と申すのは、三井の三野村とさえまだ一年ほどの交際かひにすぎず、在官中の交際も、退官後にはどうなるかは判断致しかねることである。人によっては、役人中は頗る親身であった者も、役人を辞めたとなると急に疎遠となるものさえあるから、人の本心は得心しがたい。小野組にいたってはまた最近知りあつたばかり、とても証人に立つことは難しいことだ」

洪澤のこの言葉には、表面はともかく、退官後、洪澤が国立銀行に就任することを、井上と話しあつていたことを推測させる節つづがある、三井の史書は述べている。

以後、三井の首脳の行動には確かにこの言葉にこだわった跡がみられ、共同銀行の設立と洪澤の入り行という二つの条件を念頭に容れて、諸対策を慎重に進めていた。

こうして翌六月、三井は、単独の銀行創設という意に反し、心中密かに、これも単独創業への捨石としながら、小野組との共同銀行を設立する願書に連署したのである。ところが三井の譲歩はそれだけではすまなかつた。

この月によりやく竣工した兜町の五階建洋館に、大元方、御用所、為換座を集め、三井ハウスの旗を屋上高く掲げて店開きをしたその翌日、七月二十七日、小野組は、井上大蔵大輔の要望を伝えるとして、この社屋を共同銀行の店舗にと申し入れてきたのである。

さすがに三井の狼狽と憤慨はかくせなかつた。重役会議は、この社屋を守り要請を一蹴することを、



かしその方らがいやしくも政府の御用を勤める者であるかぎり、万一、その方らの不和のために御用に差障りが起つたなら、政府の損害となることは必定であろう。それで余儀なく彼是と申すのだ」

ここで一息入れた井上は、

「もっとも、近々、バンクが開設されるようになれば、その方たちのこれまでの御用は何もかもいっさい放免となるのだから、そうなれば三井、小野が喧嘩しようが仲良くしようが構うことではない」と、突つ放すようにいって、口をつぐんだ。

国立銀行条例の草案の作成をめぐり、伊藤博文のアメリカ流の国立銀行制度案と、吉田清成の献言したイギリス流の金兌換銀行案との対立があつて、成文が遅れていたが、ようやくそれも解決したので、条例の発布、銀行の設立も近づいていること。さらに最近になつて、井上、渋澤は、三井、小野の銀行設立にたいする熱意を認め、両者の共同による銀行を創立させようとする腹案を抱きはじめ、そのために、両者の接触の機会を取り持ってきたこと――

井上のこのときの発言には、こうした考えがあつて、それがいきおい、御用放免の伏線を奥わせながらの強要となつたのであろう。

これにたいし、世間ではとやかくいうが、三井、小野の間にはけつして不和となるような行き掛りはないと、齋藤純造が答えて軽くこれを受け流そうとしたが、それには取り合わず、渋澤が傍らから口を

小野組でも銀行設立の運動を当局に働きかけている気配があることは、三野村にも最近うすうす感じられたが、それにしてもその設立認可もまだ不明なこの段階で、いわば競争相手ともいえる両者を同席させた浪澤の意図を解しかねたのである。

しかし浪澤は、その酒肴の席では、例の合本組織論や、目下政府内部で検討中の国立銀行にたいするいろいろな意見などを話しただけで、同席の意図には少しもふれなかった。

それらしい、政府当路と三井、小野両組の接待がたびたびくりかえされた。そして薩摩出身の五代才助（友厚）も、いつからかその席につらなるようになっていた。

### 一三三 三井、小野組の不和

政府側要人と三井、小野両組との交歓に、五代才助も加わってきたのは、彼が小野組と政府との仲介に立って動いたからであった。

そうしたある日（明治五年五月）、井上馨は、三井の首脳を呼び出した。浪澤栄一と紙幣権頭芳川顕正も同席した。井上は、口を開くと、単刀直入に、小野組との不和を直ちに解消せよと、三井の代表に迫り、

「もとよりわれわれは、三井と小野とが不和であろうと親密であろうと意に介するものではない。し



その正月の下旬、大蔵大輔井上馨から、三井の代表揃ってすぐ私邸に向くよう使いがあつた。三井では高喜、高朗、高深の在京の三家同族と、斎藤、三野村の重役がすぐこれに応じて、井上邸に急いだ。通された客間には、参議大隈重信と浪澤栄一の二人がこちらに顔を向けていた。一同は緊迫したものを感しながら控えると、井上は、志道<sup>シジブ</sup>聞多と名乗った時代に受けた傷痕のある顔を向け、さっそく要件を切り出した。

「三井家もいよいよ御用繁多となり一同さぞかし満足していることだろう。実はそれについて、この際、越後屋を分離して新しい時代にふさわしいバンク業に専念してもらいたいと考えたので、今日突然ではあつたが、みなさんに揃ってきていただいたわけだ。したがって、諸君らの存念を尋ねようとしているのではない。ここにおられる大隈参議をはじめ政府の要望として受けとめてもらいたい」

「どのような打ち合せがこの三人の間に行われていたかは知る由もなかつたが、井上の言葉が終ると三人は黙って一同を見守つた。これは相談ではなく命令であつた。

三井側は一瞬たがいに顔を見合せたが、三井にとつて銀行の創設は何ものにも換え難いものという相互の意志が読みとれたので、高喜は、暫しの沈黙の後、正面の大隈に向つて答えた、

「手前どもにはたびたびの御高配を戴き一同深く感銘致しております。ただいまの御話も、お上にはすべてを抛つて御奉行第一と勤めおります手前どもには至極ごもつとものことと存じますので、一族に代り確と承諾仕りました。さっそくそのよう計らいますので、今後とも何分の御引き立をお願い申上げ

この発行にあたり、大蔵省は五〇%の兌換準備金を三井に与え、発行、兌換の経費は三井が負担するが、その発行総額の二〇%は三井の自己融通に委された。十円、五円、一円の三種の証券には、為換座三井組の刻印が押され、十月十五日から発行された。総額六八〇万円に上ったこの証券を、世人は三井札と呼んだ。

## 一一 渋澤からの招待

明治五年の正月を迎えた三井家は、暮末いらい一〇数年ぶりにようやく一息をついた感慨にひたっていた。

前年十一月末には、海運橋のもとに着工中の洋風建築がその構想を姿に見せて、近隣町内の家々まで、糯米一〇〇石、文久銭一〇〇〇貫を振舞う盛大な上棟式をあげたばかりであった。

これを期して三井家は、天皇の御在所となつたお膝許に、東京大元方役場を新設することにし、払い下げを受けて新しく命名した兜町に、この大元方を、御用所や為換座の営業部門とともに併置した。三井家事業の中核がここに集中したわけである。

このとき、三野村利左衛門は、先輩格の齋藤純造とともに、三井家最高の職名である執事に任命された。

という。

以上の伝承風説の記事は、「東京中央区史」や「江戸名所図絵」に拠ったものである。

源家に縁のある三井家が源義家の兜塚に由緒をもとめ、ここに兜町と命名したことは意義のあることであつたらう。また牧野邸跡があつたというこの牧野家が、遠い昔、三井高利の時代、越後屋に、大阪御金藏御用を推挙したという綱吉の側用人であつた牧野備後守貞成と繋りがあつたものかどうか、あつたとすれば、三井家がこの地を殊更に所望したらう。

また、維新後、商法司、通商司と置かれてにわかに脚光を浴びたこの地に、新しい時代の商業発祥の地としてその未来の発展を囑望していたのだろうか。

いずれにしても筆者の臆測だが、その後、この地が今日まで日本を代表する証券街として、特異な発展の道を辿つたことは確かである。そして、兜塚は、いま東京証券取引所のすぐ傍らの兜神社内にあり、毎年四月には賑やかな祭礼が行われている。

さて、この明治四年九月、大藏卿大久保利通は、大藏大輔井上馨を通じて、為換座三井組に大藏省正金兌換証券（紙幣）の発行を命じた。これは、三井の銀行設立は取消したが、政府側でもすぐ国立銀行を設立する用意がなかつたばかりでなく、新貨条例を發布しながら、ただちに流通量をまかなうほどの鑄造能力を持たず、明治五年末までとした太政官札の有効期限も切迫していたからであつた。したがつてこの証券の発行は、新貨幣が行き渡るまでの暫定措置であつた。

これにたいし、政府は、三井、小野、島田らが、ご一新の際、金穀出納所御用を抜群の努力で勤めた賞として、この三家に払い下げを許可した。

所伝によれば昔、一一世紀なかば、源義家が奥州征討から凱旋したとき、先の報賽（御礼詣り）と東夷鎮護のため、日本武尊の古い例にならって、自分の兜を、この地において一堆の塚に築き込めたといふ。その傍らに義家の霊を鎮める祠もあった。

またの一説には、天慶三年（九四〇）、藤原秀郷が平将門を討つて、その首級を兜と共に持添えてきたが、その兜をこの地に埋めたものとする書もある。

また、現在東京証券取引所の正面玄関の前に、茅場町と小網町とを繋ぐ鎧橋がある。このあたりは、架橋前は鎧の渡（舟便による渡し場）と呼ばれていたが、言い伝えによると、永承年間（一〇四〇―五〇年代）、源義家が奥州征伐のとき、ここから下総国に渡ろうとして乗船するや、時に暴風吹発り、逆浪天を漫し、既にその船覆らんとす。義家朝臣、鎧一領をとって海中に投じ、竜神に手向けて、風波の難なからしめん事を祈請す。遂につつがなく下総国に著岸ありしより、この所を鎧が淵と呼べりとなり」これについても他に一説があって、「平将門この所に兜鎧を置く。兜は塚に築きて、牧野侯の庭中にありと記せり」とある。

またのついでとなったが、紅葉川に架けられた海賊橋については、江戸の初めには高橋と呼ばれていた

これは、中央集権化への第一歩をしるすものであったが、同時に、財政金融・産業経済・軍事・教育・司法等広汎にわたる内政改革の緒となるものでもあった。

銀行設立の三井の願いにたいし、大蔵省は八月付で認可を与えた。

ところが、たまたま伊藤博文が帰国してアメリカ流の国立銀行制度の採用を主張し、これが政府部内の大勢を制したので、井上や渋澤の構想であったイギリス流の私立銀行制度はその支持を失い、三井の認可も取り消しとなった。

## 一一 兜町ここに誕生

銀行設立の認可が下りたと喜んだのもつかの間、すぐ掌を返すように取り消されてしまったのだから、三井一族は、勢い込んだだけ一時は落胆も大きかったろうが、後に述べるように、その再請願への希望まで捨ててはいなかった。

それから一、二か月後の九月なかばに、三井高福、高朗の父子は、東京府をへて、つぎのような願いを政府に申し出た。七月に、由利公正が府知事に任命されていた。

「海運橋際の元通商司跡と同統商社拝借地の一画を払い下げてください、兜町と名を立てて子孫に残したい」と懇願したのである。



の看板を掲げた。

また翌七月には、東京の海運橋ぎわに、清水喜助の設計施工による、総工費五万両の洋風ハウスの建築に着手、神戸弁天浜にも同様の洋風館の建造に着手した。海運橋の洋館は、三井ハウスとして、文明開化を競った当時の偉容が、今日でもよく錦絵のなかで見かけるが、三井の意気と誇りもよく窺えよう。

清水喜助は、これにさきだつて築地ホテルの施工にもあたつていた。江戸の開市にあたり、築地に外国人居留地が設けられることになり、もと幕府の軍艦操練所跡に外国人旅館として建てられたもので、慶応三年七月に着手、翌四年八月に竣工した。長さ二〇〇フィート、高さ六〇フィート、鐘塔があり、三〇〇人を収容しうる規模で、当時としては、欧米の最上のホテルに匹敵する豪華壮麗な建物であつたといふ。

ともかく、このような行動は、為換座御用の単独拜命にたいする三井家の感動の率直な表現であつたことに相違なかつたが、それにもまして、銀行創設に備えたなみなみならぬ熱意の表れでもあつた。

廉書からも察せられるように、三野村は、この件に関し、かねて当局と幾度かの談合を持つていたことは間違ひなく、さり気なく末尾に書き留められたこの一句にたいし、彼は猛然と活動を開始し、はやくも七月には、為換座三井惣頭八郎右衛門名代として、銀行を創設し、兌換証券を発行するという「新貨幣銀行願書」を大蔵省に提出していたのである。



幕府はこれに対処して品位を落した二分銀を急造して当座を凌いでいたが、維新後、これを偽造する者が多く、その取り締りに当った政府自らも密かにこれを行うありさまで、この贋金問題はついに外国公館の厳しい追及をうけ、明治二年七月の高輪会談の結果、真貨幣と交換させられ、その額は二〇万八〇〇〇両にも達していた。

また慶応二年五月、幕府がイギリス、アメリカ、フランス、オランダ各国と結んだ改税約書により、新政府は新貨幣鑄造の責任も引き継いでいた。このため、香港の造幣設備をイギリスから購入し、明治二年七月、政府は、大阪に造幣寮を設けた。

## 一〇「新貨幣銀行願書」

乱脈を極めていた幣制の整備を緊急かつ最大の課題とみた政府当局は、先進国の財政制度に範をもとめて、明治三年十月、大蔵少輔伊藤博文を、南北戦争後の統一国家の建設を目指していたアメリカに派遣した。その調査にもとづき、伊藤は金本位制の採用を上申した。

明治四年五月、品位、量目、種類等を定めた「新貨幣条例」が定められ、七月二十四日から一両は一円で交換された。この幣制改革を担当したのは、大蔵少輔井上馨と大蔵権大丞渋澤栄一であり、造幣権頭（造幣局長）は益田孝であった。

旧藩主 ( ) へ 貸付けたものもよくむ) や士族、浮浪人救済のための開墾会社、  
三井物産 ( ) 三井物産 ( ) 三井物産 ( ) 三井物産 ( )

窮民援産会社 (いすれも明治二年五月設立) 等へ優先的に向けられていたのである。これらは、採算を無視した政策的な社会事業であった。

ところで、新政府にとりさらに緊要な課題は、幣制の整備、統一であった。

当時、政情そのままの姿を反映して、旧幕府発行の金銀貨はもちろん、諸藩発行の多種多様の藩札がまだ民間に流通していた。

金貨 八七六一万両

銀貨 五二六六万両

銅、真鍮、鉄銭 六〇三万両

民間貯蔵の古金銀貨 九七〇三万両

藩札 (金、銀、銭、米等の諸札) 二四六四万両

これらの金額はいずれも概算ないし推定額であるが、こうした旧体制下の通貨のほかに、新政府発行の太政官札や通商司発行の民部省札、各地為替会社発行の金券など、新旧いりみだれた種々雑多な通貨が流布し、しかも相場を異にして流通している状況であった。

そのうえに、幕府が開港にあたり締結した条約で、劣悪なメキシコドル (洋銀) と邦貨とが同量同質で通用することを認めさせられたため (安政六年)、金銀貨の海外流出が重大な問題となった。

整えた。

しかし、そのときには、通商司が新たに設置され、商法司は廃され、海運橋ぎわの商法司跡は通商司の庁舎となっていた。そして、その管轄下におかれる通商会社は、この東京貿易商社を改組拡充してこれにあてられ、為替会社は、通商司庁舎構内に新設されることになり、いずれも六月に開業の運びとなった。各地にも続いて通商、為替会社が設置された。

三井家の首脳は、他の富商らとともにこの両会社の総頭取等に任命され、三野村は、東京の通商・為替両会社の総差配司に任せられ、その実権を握った。

三野村は、三年十一月に、鉄砲洲の三井御用所の出張所を、この通商司構内に置いたが、翌年二月には、鉄砲洲の御用所全部を引揚げて通商司構内に移した。新政府の財政経済の創建事業に、三井の総力をあげて取り組む構えを示したのである。

だが、この通商司政策も、期待を裏切り竜頭蛇尾に終わった。

それは、一六二万両に達する政府資金（太政官札）をほとんど無利息同然に貸下げたこと、準備金規定のないまま、資金不足の場合は、金券、銀券、洋銀券等を無制限に発行する特権を与えたこと―東京為替会社だけで、二三六万一〇〇〇両を発行していたような、経営の放漫がもたらした結果であつたらう。

しかもその主な貸出先は、管轄下の商社よりも、賞典米や賞典資金、収納米、産物などを担保とする



は、もはや封建社会の維持を不可能とし、幕藩体制は総崩れとなって瓦解したのである。

しかしながら、維新直後の経済政策が二度までも短日月の間に、何ほどの成果もあげずに不首尾に終わったのはなぜか。それはたんに列国外交団の圧力のみによるものではなく、動乱直後の政治・社会の混乱も一因であったのに加え、政策そのものが、幕末にみられたような国産会所方式の、独占的に経済活動を権力の下に掌握しようとする政策を引き継いだものであったことによるものであろう。

さらに不首尾の一因をあげるならば、これらの政策がいずれも流通面にのみ終始して、経済活動の根源である生産面に向けられていなかった点が指摘される。

さて、慶応三年（一八六七）十月に大政奉還のあった直後、新政府から金穀出納所御用達を受けている、三井家は、会計基建金の徴募や太政官札の流通のために他の富商らの中心となって尽力した。そして商法司における商法司会所や、これに代った通商司における通商会社や為替会社の設立にあたっては、一家の総領はじめ、一族の名代や手代などにいたるまで、それらの要職を拝命して、その衝にあたり、ひたすら協力している。

けだし、この時期に、幕府御用商人として不動の地位と資産を築きあげてきた三井家にとって、新しい時代の、新しい権力に結びつくことは、家運を賭けての努力であつたらう。

これまでもみてきたように、幕末には危殆に瀕した財政確立のため、借入金や密建金の底を払つてのやりくり算段をしては、幾度か多額の献納金を上納したり、あらゆる機会を捉えて政府の要路に接近し、

彼は、失敗に帰した商法司政策を捨て、幣制の整備を中心とする経済政策を試みた。すなわち、幣制の安定、貨幣の流通および通商貿易の管理、また商社、両替店の設立、海運業、保険業の育成など、商品流通から金融機関の設立におよぶ経済全般の権限を、新たに設置した通商司に与えて、経済の振興を計ろうとしたのである。

そしてこれらの実務は、通商貿易の諸商社の設立やその管理統轄を行う通商会社と、これら商社に必要な資金を供給する為替会社とによって行ない、その運営は、商法司同様、三井ら特権商人にあたらせた。

この通商司政策を商法司政策に對比して目立つ点は、前者には、都市特権商人や地域の豪農豪商を、全国的にこの制度のなかに組み込もうとした点と、強制的指導力をこの機関に与えたこと、また紙幣の発行権もこの機関に与えたことであろう。

しかし、この通商司政策も、ふたたび列国外交団の抗議によって後退し、二年後の明治四年七月には坐視してしまった。

明治維新は、政治革命としてみるよりも、経済革命として促えた方がより実証性があると思われるが、開国をめぐる佐幕派と倒幕派との闘争も、実は、公武合体と尊王攘夷を大義名分にかかげての、両者による外国貿易にたいする独占権の熾烈な争奪戦であった。

そして、その結末が示したように、内部における商品経済の滲透と、外部からの資本主義経済の上陸



翌明治二年二月、由利公正は会計事務局を辞任、同時に、会計事務局は大蔵省と改称され、また、外国官（後の外務省）のもとに通商司が設置されて、商法司の事務をいっさい引き継ぐことになり、三月、商法司は廃止された。この由利の辞任は、彼の財政政策にたいし、イギリス公使のパークスら外交団が不満を表明、これに対応しなければならなかった外国掛からも強い批判があったからであった。

太政官札の発行も二月限りで停止された。すでに四八〇万両に達しており、その内訳は、諸藩府県貸下一一三三万両、商法会所を通ずる貸付六五六万両、残りは役人給与、諸官庁支出にあてられていた。新たに設置された通商司は、その管轄下に半官半民の為替会社（金融担当）と通商会社（貿易、商業）が置かれ、金融貿易商工業を掌中におさめ、その育成をかねて開業することになり、東京、大阪、横浜、京都その他全国主要な貿易商業の中心地に設立された。これにも三井家は、小野、島田両家とともに総頭取に任命されている。

## 八 商法司・通商司政策の失敗

由利財政をわずか一年あまりで中断させたのは、列国外交団の圧力であったが、その外交の衝にあった大隈重信は、由利に代り、外交の立場から、この列国の圧力を内政に利用して、政権交替後の困難な財政・経済の基礎を築こうとした。

これに対処するには、この時代に動き始めた新しい勢力を各方面に見出し、その行動を見定めることが肝腎だと思つた。そして、西郷や陸奥にも、そうした新しい勢力をみ、かれらのいうように、もはや幕藩体制では、このような動きには対応できないと理解した。高福は、江戸兩番店や大元方から推挙のあつた三野村に接したときも、この男に、新しいものを吸いあげて生きてゆくような活動力を感じていたのである。

さて、江戸に大元方直轄の御用所を三井が設置した翌慶応三年十月、慶喜はついに大政奉還を奏上した。しかし江戸をはじめ各藩はなおその陣容を解いてはいなかった。翌年正月、鳥羽伏見の戦いを終つた官軍は、四月には江戸に進駐。五月、奥羽越列藩同盟成立。越えて九月十四日、官軍は会津若松城へ総攻撃を開始、これに呼応して同二十日、天皇は、東京に向つて京都を出発された。

この間、新政府は、王政復古を各国に通告し、新政府の当面の機構を整えながら、資金の調達や太政官札（金札）の発行とその占領地域への流布に、懸命に努めていたことは、前にも述べた。そして、最も困難視された江戸流通を、三野村利左衛門は建言書をもつて、引き受け、はやくも新政府の要路に渡りをつけて、幕府から新政権へ見事な鞍替えを実現していたのである。それはまた、幕府の倒壊によつて、御用納となる彼自身を、ふたたび強く三井に結びつける機会でもあつた。

そして、京都、大阪について東京にも商法司が開設されることになり、海運橋際にその庁舎が設置された。

## 七 深刻な変動の正体にらむ

三野村利左衛門の出現によって、局面を転回させた三井家は、江戸にあつて、小栗上野介の施策にいろいろの御用を拝命し、御用所を設けて、ひたすら協力した。しかし、前にもふれたように、京阪にあつては、三井總家の代表八郎右衛門高福らの深謀から、密かに薩長を主軸とする倒幕勤王派への接近も怠つていなかった。

思うに、このことは、三井家にとっては、日和見主義の輕拳妄動から出たものではなかつたらう。黒船いらいの世相は、諸国の輕輩武士たちの行動や諸方に起つた農民の一揆など、誰が見ても物情騒然たるものと写つたが、より深く、より広い地層では、もつと深刻な変動が起きていた。それが何であるかは定かではないが、たんに政權の委譲だけで済むような、尋常一様な変化ではない。

それは、ご政道のことよりは、生業や商売つまり経済により大きく関わるものではないかと、高福は考えた。越後屋を襲つたもの、三井大元方の資金を潤渴せしめたもの、得<sup>ゆた</sup>体の知れぬ剽盜のような仕業<sup>しぎやう</sup>をなすこのものの正体をつきとめることが、高福にとって何よりも重要な課題であつた。

金を生みだすもの、金を動かすものは、これまでのように、物資の動きのなかではなく、物資を生産するところに、その位置を変えようとしているのではないか、この剽盜の正体こそ、その動きではないかと、高福は考えた。

もしくは財産没収も辞さぬと、態度を硬化してきたからであつた。

三井家は、創業いらいの最も大きい苦境に立たされ、その対策に苦心した。

このとき、かねて出入りの錢兩替商美野村利八は、かつての主人、いまをときめく幕府勅定奉行小栗上野介に了解を取り付け、三井に振りかかった難を一時通れさすと同時に、たまたま小栗が幕府財政の挽回のために打ちだそうとしていた諸策を実施するにあたり、三井を中心に据え協力することをすすめたのである。そのころ、慶応二年（一八六六）、三井の大元方は、越後屋の拝命した御金御用達を越後屋から取り上げ、大元方直属の御用所を設立しようとしていたが、そこへ、美野村の尽力によつて、江戸勅定所貸付金御用をまた新たに命ぜられたため、江戸の本店越後屋に御用所を新設した。このとき、美野村は、この御用所限りではあつたが、「通動支配」という破格の待遇で、三井の経営に参加することになった。彼は、ここで三野村利左衛門と改名した。四十三歳であつた。

この江戸勅定所貸付金というのは、幕府が関税収入を基金として、江戸市中の間屋商人に商品担保貸出を行ない生産の振興を図ろうとした小栗の政策の一端であつた。小栗はまた、税法を破り金札の発行を行なつたり、外人居留地建設資金調達のため、大阪町人二〇名を中心とする株式会社を設けた。兵庫商社を作つたり、フランスから借款をえて、軍需工業を直営し近代的軍備を充実して強兵を堅持することを図るなど、多方面にわたり経綸の發揮に努めていた。三井高橋が密かに義舉と通じたが、幕府の御用を拝受したと、さきにふれたのは、この兵庫商社の頭取就任のことであつた。





金にたいする功納金（利益配当）は、京、大阪の両替店が年二割、江戸は一割七分と規定され、呉服店  
はこれが三割である。残りの利益金は各店で積立て、三年目ごとに決算を行ない、その一割は褒美銀（賞  
与）として店員に配分された後、残額はこれを大元方に納入する。また、繰替金にたいする融資には、  
銀一〇〇貫以上年利七分、五〇〇貫以上九分、五〇〇貫以下一割と定め、二期分納を認めた。

吉宗の治世下にはいると、三井家は、享保七年（一七二二）には、家憲および店則を制定し、さらに  
同十三年（一七二八）には、三都の両替店と京都にあった三井家直営の生糸問屋二軒をもって両替店一  
巻とし、三都の呉服店八軒を本店一巻と称し、この二つの企業集団を、大元方の下に併立させた。この  
とき京都両替店を三都両替店の本価格に指定している。

呉服店で掲げた「現金掛値なし」の商法や、幕府御為替御用という絶大な特権と信用を後楯として、  
大名や武家貸あるいは金銀取引などは家憲をもって禁止し、もっぱら問屋商人相手の抵当付の短期商業  
金融を主とした両替業と相まって、この江戸中期における機構、制度の改革は、三井家を、さらに幕末  
にいたるまでの百数十年、比肩なき発展をもって全うせしめた大きな要因の一つであったろう。

しかしながら、この幕藩体制下の封建社会のなかに芽生えた商品経済は、時代の推移とともに、武家  
や町人社会のみならず農民社会をも急速に捲き込んでいくのである。そしてまた財政に苦しむ幕府は、  
頻繁に通貨改革（貨幣改鑄）を行なうようになった。こうした情勢から三井両替店は、一九世紀はじめ  
ころから、農地や農作物を担保とする農村向けの貸付も行ない、さらに禁じられてきた金銀取引にも進出

しかし、~~幕府の~~ ~~政治の~~ ~~世が~~ ~~続~~ ~~く~~ ~~に~~ ~~し~~ ~~た~~ ~~が~~ ~~い~~、宗祖の神訓を墨守するだけではどうにもな

らぬ多くの矛盾が露呈し、幕閣当局は否応なく体制の~~内~~ ~~的~~ ~~を~~ ~~感~~ ~~じ~~ ~~よ~~ ~~せ~~ ~~ら~~ ~~れ~~ ~~て~~、~~い~~ ~~ま~~ ~~は~~ ~~内~~ ~~政~~ ~~の~~ ~~改~~ ~~革~~ ~~を~~ ~~急~~ ~~が~~ ~~ら~~ ~~な~~ ~~い~~。  
美濃や新井白石の儀礼制定など、武断政治から文治政策への転換がひそかにはかられ、やがては八代将軍吉家によって、人材の登用、行政改革、緊縮財政の展開など、懸命な打開策が打ちだされた。

幕藩権力に結びつく三井家も、ようやく迎えた泰平の世にあって幕閣の抱きはじめて危機意識にたいして、ひとり超然と座視していることはできなかつた。もちろん事情はまったく違っていたが、三井は三井としての自家の維持補強策を講じておかねばならない。

宝永七年（一七一〇）に創設した大元方（事業本部）の制度は、後年の三井合名会社（明治四十二年十月設立）や株式会社三井本社（昭和十九年三月設立）の前身とみなされるものである。この大元方から各営業店へ元建金（資本金）や繰替金（運転資金）を出資あるいは融資することとし、各店はそれぞれ独立採算の営業を行う。

このとき、定められた両替店の元建金は、

京都 銀一〇〇〇貫目（金二万六六〇〇余両）

大阪 銀六〇〇貫目（金一万両）

江戸 金七〇〇〇両

であった。この合計三万三、六〇〇余両にたいし、三都呉服店は合計四万両とされた。またこの元建



三井家の史書はいう。この年、三井は、大阪に両替店を開設している。

かくて、三井家の基礎を磐石の備えにした三井高利は、元禄七年（一六九四）五月六日死去した。

しかし三井両替店はその後も幕府からいろいろの金融上の御用を受け、禁裡からも為替、両替、出納に関する御下命を拝受し、フランス革命の起きた一七八九年、寛政元年には、御為替御用一〇〇周年を祝賀していた。

こうした三井発展のもう一つの要因として、三井家が一八世紀初期の二〇年間に行なつた組織機構の大改革を見逃せないだろう。

それは、宝永七年（一七一〇）の大元方（事業本部）の創設、享保七年（一七二二）の三井家家憲、店則の制定、ついで享保十三年（一七二八）の両替店一巻、本店一巻の制を設けたことである。

## 五 商品経済の滲透

一八世紀のはじめ、江戸中期の初頭にあたるころ、三井家の営業は創業いらいすでに一〇〇年を経て、京都、大阪、江戸三都の商勢は、いよいよゆるぎない発展を示していた。江戸幕府の治世も宗祖家康らしい、秀忠、家光、家綱、綱吉、家直、家継とはやくも数代の將軍を迎えて磐石の礎がかたまり、泰平

をゆるぎないものとし、三井家の信用を天下にひろめる決定的な機縁とした。

天保十三年六月八日、八百屋お七の火事と、これとやら  
天保十三年六月八日、八百屋お七の火事と、これとやら  
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天保十三年六月八日、八百屋お七の火事と、これとやら

二のとき越後屋の店も

灰燼に帰した。そのため翌年五月、越後屋は両替屋街の駿河町に店舗を構えた。現三越本店のある敷地である。「現金安売掛値なし」と彫られた看板が、店の証文判のように店先に掲げられていた。そしてさらに人目をひいたのは、西隣にのれんを張った「三井両替店」の店開きであった。

仕入地への送金もさることだが、金銀銭の三貨が日日の相場で流通していた当時、両替商に支払う費用がかさむため、本業のかたわら両替業務を兼営する店は少くなかった。越後屋は移転にあたり、その両替部門を独立させたのである。だが、これが数年後意外な発展の機縁をつかむことになった。

関西以西の幕府への貢租は、すべて大阪にあった幕府の御金蔵に収納され、随時、東海道の陸路を現金運送で江戸に輸送されていたが、元禄三年（一六九〇）、幕府は公金為替計画を発表すると、翌年二月、駿河町の本両替商十軒および三井両替店と越後屋に、その御用を命じたのである。

江戸で屈指の本両替商十軒は当然のことだが、大阪にも両替店を持つものという適格要件さえ欠き、開店後数年、本両替となったのは二年前という三井両替店と、一方は呉服商に過ぎぬ越後屋の当主まで、この大阪御金蔵御為替御用の大命を受けたことは、まことに破格の殊遇、異例の抜擢であつたらう。これについては、当時將軍綱吉の側用人として、幕閣に權威をふるっていた牧野備後守貞成（常州笠間藩主）の推挙があつたことは事実だが、この公金為替計画は三井の献策ではなかつたかと推測されると、

#### 四 「現金安売掛値なし」

三井高利は、江戸本町に呉服店越後屋を開業（現日本銀行の敷地の一割）すると、店先売りの商いはじめて、見世物商や屋敷売の慣習を堅持していた老舗の同業者に対抗した。見世物商は、得意先の注文をきいて好みの品を売る商いであり、屋敷売は得意先に品物を持ち込んで取引するもので、これらはいずれも、二節季払い（六月、十二月の二度の支払い）か、極月払い（十二月一度の支払い）の掛売りであった。店先売りは、ふりの客への現金売り、反物の切り売りも辞さないというもので、当時は、場末の小店の零細な商いのやり方であった。

伝統や格式を重んずる老舗には、とうてい行い難い、まったく意表をつく商法であった。しかし、この高利の奇抜な商法が意外に受けて人気を呼び、同業者からは、取引の停止をくったり、「無法の商い」と訴えられたり、店員の引き抜きをやられたりの妨害を受ける始末だった。それほどに店は繁盛した。

この時、この時代、大名貨を廃棄して呉服商人に転身した高利にとって、顧客は、大名や武家ではなく、自分らと同じように、日日を営営と稼いで生きてゆく町人であった。時代は、武士階級の経済から町人階級の経済に移つてゆく、こうといていた。店先売りの商法も、たんに同業者に向けられた競争手段ではなかつたと思われる。

人を出した周田の丹生の家業の出、すこぶる商才もある才媛で、店を一手に仕切っていた。

この高俊、殊法の間には四男、女が、長男は江戸に出て小物商の具服商を営むことになり、次男は松阪の家業を継ぎ、三男は他家の養子に迎えられた。四男ははじめ江戸へ出て兄の手伝いをしてきたが、次男が早世したので、ふたたび松阪に戻り家業を継ぐことになった。この四男の高利が三井家の基礎の構築者となるのである。

二十八歳で家業を承継ぐことになった高利は、いろいろ、大名貸や農村への郷貸（年貢米を抵当とした貸付）、農民への小口貸付、米の売買など、多岐にわたる堅実な金融業によってしだいに財を積み、四代將軍家綱治世の後期にあたる延宝元年（一六七三）には、京、大阪、江戸への進出という念願を実現した。当時、江戸店持京商人と呼んで、その実現は伊勢商人の大きな夢であった。彼には六男四女があったが、彼は長男をとめない京都で江戸送りの仕入れに従事し、次男と四男を江戸に派遣して、江戸本町通で呉服店越後屋を営ませた。当時はまた、材木商と呉服商が商業の花といわれていたものである。だが、一流の老舗が俤容を誇って立ち並ぶ大江戸の中心街で、小さな店を張った新参者が生き抜こうとしても、尋常の商法では通用しなかった。

年（一八五二）のことであつた。それからまた数年、その商売も、三井、鹿島といった本両替の大手どころからの鼻<sup>びな</sup>もあつたらしく繁盛のようであつた。

この男、美野村利八は、幕末から維新にかけての三井家の危機を救い、やがては三井総本家の主八郎右衛門高福から、三井總家の采配を一任され、三井財閥形成の基盤となる三井銀行の創立に、彼一世一代の奇才を遺憾なく發揮するにいたるのである。

さて、美野村利八と三井との出会いについては、三井家の歴史を語り、それにつなげなければならぬであろう。形こそ、突然に圏外から飛び込んだようだが、彼は、三井家の歴史を現代に引き継いだ掛け替のない一人だからである。

慶長五年（一六〇〇）関ヶ原に戦いがあり、天下騒乱のころ、伊勢松阪に「越後殿の酒屋」と呼びなされた酒造と質屋を兼ねる店があつた。店主の高俊の父は、三井越後守高安と名乗つた武士の出であり、一説によると、戦乱の時代に織田家に亡はされ、松阪に隠棲したが、源家の血をひく由緒ある家柄であつたという。「越後殿」といふ後年「越後屋」と呼ぶ、名稱のいわれである。

わが国では、中世らしい、金融業者が酒造業者を兼営するのが典型的な形態であつたといわれるが、この酒屋も金融業が主体であつた。

名を与えられ、その運営に当たることになった。なお海賊橋は、翌十月海運橋と改名されている。

### 三 越後殿の酒屋

徳川幕府最後の財政を担当したのは、小栗上野介忠順である。彼は、開港いらい、激しく変ろうとする社会のなかで音を立て崩れようとする台閣を、財政の再建によって支え切ろうと懸命にたたかっていた。そのため、欧米列国の資本をできるだけ導入し、その諸制度をも採り入れることに努めた。万延元年（一八六〇）一月、遣米使節新見正興らの一行に目付として加わり、アメリカを介して先進国の実情の一斑を見聞していたことが、彼のその信念を強めていたのであろう。

小栗は、勤定奉行となる一〇数年前の天保（一八四〇年前後）のころ、庄内藩の出であるという、一見風来坊のような二十歳前後の男を、雇仲間として抱えたことがあった。江戸へは出たばかりの様子だった。風貌は粗野で、文字の習得もないようだが、それへの執心はさらさらなといった調子だ。しかし万事如才なく、よく気がついてまめに動きまわり、家人にもすぐ馴れ親しんだ。小栗は、この男を重宝に使っていたが、やがて、神田三河町の砂糖菓子商紀ノ国屋の養子となり、美野村利八と名乗るようになった。理財に長じたらしいこの男は、その後、数年の蓄財を銭両替の株に投じたと、誇らしげに小栗に告げてきた。なかなか難しい商売だが、時代の動きに乗る転業だと、小栗は彼を励ました。嘉永五

幕に功勞のあつた三家の手代らは、それぞれ官名を与えられてその衝にあつた。このとき、三井は御為替三井組を名乗り、政府の金融事務を担当することになったのである。太政官札は、五月十五日から発行された。

商法司の実務は、はじめ京都に設置された御為替方御用所で行なわれ、のちこれは商法司会所と改称された。五月末には大阪にも設けられた。

当然商法司の江戸設置は重視されていた。しかしその反面、それが困難視されてもいた。京阪のように江戸では手形流通の経験が少ないことや、新政府にたいする反感もあつて、太政官札の流通が危ぶまれたからであつた。

こうしたとき、会計基金金の徵募と太政官札の流通を、江戸においてお引受け致しますと、政府当局に建策書を提出した者があつた。これをみて莞爾とほほえんだ大久保利通が、さつそく京都にいた木戸孝允に送つた書翰によると、三野村利左衛門という者で、江戸の大商人を結集して、三井がその中心となつて御受合すると申しているというのである。

この書翰は九月六日付であつた。明治と改元される二日前である。そして数日後の九月十二日には、日本橋の近く、楓川に架けられた海賊橋の東側の袂にあつた旧牧野備後守邸跡に、東京商法司会所が設置された。高福の義弟であり、三井十男家第七代の当主三井三郎助高喜は、江戸商人の代表である鹿島、

はつぎの通りであった。地域別では、

畿内周辺 七五・三

江戸その他 二四・七      また、職業別では

三都商人（三井ほか二家をふくむ） 七五・三

地方商人（堺、彦根、松阪等） 九・二

農村在住の商人 三・九

村役人、農民 一〇・四

その他 二・二

鳥羽伏見の戦いから函館の反乱におよぶ、いわゆる戊辰戦争と呼ばれたものが社会背景になっていることもあったが、畿内の富商に比重がかかっていたことは、以上によって明らかであろう。

一方、太政官札の発行は、二月二十三日の太政官会議で議決され、ただちに準備に取りかかった。十兩、五兩、一兩、一步、一朱の五種の紙幣が、京都の三井邸内で製造された。そして、会計基金の出資者にはそれぞれの出資と同額を、また諸藩にたいしては、一万石につき一万兩の割合で貸付けられることになった。

同時に、この月、金穀出納所は会計事務局と改称され、その管轄下に商法司が設けられて、その流通に当たらせることになった。三井家の高福、高朗は掛屋頭取兼商法司元締を命ぜられ、また、基金金の徴



## 二 維新、海賊橋を渡る

三井家らに示した由利公正の、維新政府草創期の財政計画というのは、会計基金とどろの設定と太政官札（不換紙幣）の発行であった。

当時、新政権の財源とみなされるものは、全国三〇〇万石のうち約八〇〇万石と推定される旧幕府および旗本領の一部よりの貢租であった。この貢租を担保に、年利一二％の利付国債を交付して三〇〇万両を集め、これをもって会計基金を作ること。

第二は、富国の基礎を作る資金づくりとして太政官札を発行すると同時に、商法司を設置して、旧来の株仲間を解散一掃し、全国の商品流通をこれに一元的に掌握させ、資金・商品の円滑な流通を計り、殖産興業に資するというものであった。

そこで、まずこの会計基金の三〇〇万両を徴募のため、金銀座はじめ幾内の富商、豪農の名簿を提出することを三家にもとめると、慶応四年（明治元）一月二十一日には、これに関する御沙汰書を発し、由利は自ら三家の手代らを同道し、二十九日から二月五日まで、その募集、説得にかけまわった。

しかし、大阪町人やその代表格である十人両替らは、きわめて消極的であった。それは、資産の大半が大名買付となっており、幕末いろいろ、幕府の御用金に苦しめられていたからである。

参考までにこの募集成績をみると、徴募総額は二八五万五〇〇両余で、地域別、職業別の比率（％）

い重大な課題であったのである。

慶応四年正月鳥羽伏見の戦いが起こると、出陣する薩摩軍の軍費として、大久保利通から、三井、小野、島田の三家に二〇〇〇両調達の依頼があった。三井は、うち一〇〇〇両を献納している。このとき、衝にあたった大郎右衛門は、調達の方途に苦しみ、出入の両替商から一時借用して調えていたのである。その金子を両替商から薩摩の兵站部まで運んだ兵卒は、後の大山巖元師、大山孫助であった。

また、同月十五日には、三井、小野、島田の三家は、金穀出納所に一万両の献納を行なっているが、ときに小野家では、当主の善助が鳥羽伏見の砲声をききながら、この戦いの結末が、朝、暮いずれも勝利となろうと、しよせん金の用意が肝腎だと考え、急いで二万両を用意したという。

三井家では、京都両替店の地下穴蔵に貯蔵していた密建金（秘密の積立金）から持ち出し、この急遽を渡いだのである。この密建金は、天保八年（一八三七）二月の大塩平八郎の乱による災害に備へ、非常の時に備えて積立てられていたもので、三井家の浮沈に関わる非常時以外は絶対に取り崩さぬ筈で、当初二〇万両を設定し、以後、京都、大阪、江戸の各店の決算後の剰余金の一部を積立ててきたが、このときにはわずか一万五〇〇〇両を残すのみとなっていた。

さて、由利公正が、いよいよ彼の財政計画を、太政官會議に提出するに先立ち、三井、小野、島田の三家に密建金の計画を打ち明け、その協力を要請したのはこの直後のことであった。

由利は、この時期に密かに新政府に通じていた京阪の富商三井、小野、島田ら三家を訪ね、金穀出納所の御用達を任命して、まず大事業への足掛りとした。

幕末にいたると、外圧や内患に苦しむ幕府は、幕藩体制の挽回のため、富商らへの御用金調達は日をおうて多くなり、利権をもって各種の用命を課して行くことも増えていた。そうしたなかで、京都に大元方（事業本部）を置いた三井家は、江戸店では幕府財政に参与させる一方、ひそかに笠間藩の儒者加藤有隣、紀州藩の陸奥宗光らを保護し、勤王派の動静を探っていた。さらに慶応のはじめころからは、畿内における幕府側の新規の御用を拝受しながら、薩摩藩の御用を勤めている。また、薩摩藩家老小松帯刀や西郷隆盛らが、三井総領家を訪ね、当主八郎右衛門高福や嗣子の次郎右衛門高朗と内談していたとも伝えられた。三井家はきわめて豪胆な動きをみせていた。

金穀出納所御用も進んでかつて出た節<sup>た</sup>さえあり、前途多難な新政府にたいする三井の肩入れには並々ならぬものがあつた。

しかしながら、当時の三井家の経営はけつして順調ではなかった。むしろ、危機に瀕していたというのが実情であつたようだ。同族の間では、この危機を、幕府との連携によって切り抜けようとする江戸店側の意見も強かつたという。さいわいこうした意見は、文久三年（一八六三）十一月の越後屋（呉服商の三井の江戸店、後年の三越）の出火や、勤王派浪人らの強圧などから急速に弱まりをみせていたものの、経営の危機を告げていた三井家にとっては、新旧両政権への去就は、にわかには決断しがた

## 第二章 三井八郎右衛門高福の決断

### ——体制激変期の商業資本——

#### 一 由利財政と御用商人

慶応三年（一八六七）十二月九日、王政復古を天下に宣言したものの、新しい支配者たちは米一俵を  
買う金も実は用意していなかった。同月二十三日、金發出納所（のちの大蔵省）を設け、福井藩士、参  
与三岡八郎（由利公正）らが、新政府の火急の財政を担当することになった。

だが、この同じ日、幕府内では、アメリカ公使館員ポルトマンにたいして、江戸横浜間の鉄道敷設権  
を与えている。さらに一〇日後には鳥羽伏見の騒ぎが起るなど、この一、二の事件をみても、幕府から  
朝廷への政權交替劇は、きわめて渾沌としており、まだまだその帰趨を断定することは、誰にとっても  
容易ではなかったのである。

こうした情勢のなかで、莫大な資金を集めることは——同時に、債票に応ずることも——一種の賭に  
ひとしかったと思われるが、その成否はまた新政權の命運を占うものでもあった。

開業したのは六月一日である。洗澤はしかしその後、取引所の経営にはいっさい参加しなかった。彼は後年つぎのように述懐している。

「私は一時米穀取引所や大阪株式取引所の株主となつたがすぐ辞めた。また、明治三十九年、鉄道国有化に当り交付された鉄道債券を各方面に薦め三、四割の利益をあげさせた。だが金融業の重責にあつた私は、たとえ債券にしろ投機利益に走ることは世間の信任に背き、自己の信念に反するので買わなかつた」

洗澤は、昭和六年、九十二歳の天寿を完うしてその生涯を閉じたが、彼がそれまでに直接間接関係した企業や公共、社会事業は数百を数えるともいわれる。しかし彼は喜寿を迎えた時は一部の社会事業を除いてすべての事業から手を引いた。彼の関心は三井、三菱等の財閥形成にはなく、ただ、人民が幸せとなる社会の形成であり、そのための官尊民卑の弊風の打破であり、そのための合本組織であり、それは論語の教える「仁」の世界であつた。洗澤はいう、

「私の事業とは、ひたすら善事をなすにあつた」

や株式取引条例改正の要を説きながら、協力方を懇願した。

渋澤は、今村らの来訪で取引所設立の時期がようやくやく熟したことを知り、これを快諾した。そして、渋澤はまず政府当局に、株式取引条例を改正し、取引所を早急に設置するよう申し入れた。そのころ西南の役を辛うじて戦い終った政府は、ますます財政的な窮地に立たされていた。万一、ふたたびこうした反乱が起これば、新政府は持ちこたえぬ状態であった。その内乱を再発させぬためにも、旧武士階級の唯一の資産である公債価格の下落を防がねばならず、いまや取引所の設立は、戦後処理の中でも重要な課題の一つとなっていた。

政府は、さっそく、条例の改正点について民間側の意見をまとめるよう渋澤に依頼した。そこで渋澤は、今村や土屋を呼び、他に田中平八、福地源一郎も加えて、民間側の要望点を答申書にまとめて政府に提出した。しかし、政府がこれを容れて改正条例を布告するまでには、また数か月を要するものとみ、取引所の設立が近きにあることを知らせることは、内乱後の金融経済界の沈静にも役立つものと考え、また政府内部の条約改正論争にたいする先制攻撃の意図もふくめ、十年十二月、深川亮蔵、渋澤栄一、三井養之助、益田孝、同武之助、三野村利助、小室信夫、小松彰、福地源一郎、渋澤喜作らを設立発起人とし、東京株式取引所を兜町に設置することを大蔵省に願ひ出た。

二日後、創立の免許があったが、案の条、条例の改正が手間取り、元老院の裁決をへて改正条例が発布されたのは、十一年五月であった。これにもとづきあらためて創立免許があった。東京株式取引所が

ぶりながら積み重ねられているありさまであった。士族の窮乏は日に日に増して、反政府ののろしも絶えなかった。

しかし八年ころから、両替商の中に、堺町（人形町）のある砂糖屋の倉庫に集って、公債の仲間取引をする者も現れた。さすがに、かれら仲間には投資物件としての公債の有利性がしだいに感得されてきたのであろう。そうしたとき、横浜出身の両替商で、東京に進出していた土屋整太郎という者が、政府や民間の情勢を察知し、東京の両替商に先がけて取引所を設立することを思い立った。当時、天下の糸平として名声高かった田中平八と並び称された相場師に、今村清之助という人物がいた。土屋は、この今村の門をたたいた。

今村は、嘉永六年（一八五三）、信州下伊那郡に生れた。幼少のころ一家の零落にあい、十六歳のとき江戸に出、横浜、名古屋、郷里の間を転々としていたが、明治三年四月、横浜で両替屋を開き、後に堺町で太物類も商いながら両替や株式の売買も兼ねた。一時、横浜居留の外人と洋銀買占めを争って今村商店の名をあげた。

後年のことだが、明治十七年には陸奥宗光とともに外遊し、帰朝後、田口卯吉らが発起した、両毛鉄道の重役となり、その後全国の鉄道事業に参画する。また二十一年末には今村銀行を創設するなど、後半生は実業界に転身し、三十七年、五十二歳で没している。

さて、今村は、土屋とともに、兜町にある洪澤の私邸を訪ね、取引所の設立について、両替商の意向

あつたが、ことここにいたれば、浚澤も膝を屈して、その改正を政府に陳情せねばならぬ破目になつた。幸か不幸か政府当局にもつびきならぬ事情があつた。それは、廢藩置県と同時に、華士族の禄高から藩の旧債まで一手に引受けねばならなかつた政府財政は、それだけでも三割にも達する歳費を年々支出しなければならず、やれ殖産興業、やれ富国强兵と支出のかさむ一方の財政に、つい音をあげ、明治九年八月、この禄高支給の制を廢して、新たに一億七四五七万円の金禄公債を發行、これを華士族に交付することとした。そこでこの公債の価格を維持し、さらには華士族の生業の道をひろくため、四分利付以上の公債を、銀行資本金として政府への供託物件とすることを認め、また、引換準備には、正貨を廢して政府紙幣を積立てることに、条例を改正した。

## 一〇 「仁」の世界に生きる

財政の窮迫から相ついで發行した各種公債はいずれも赤字公債ではあつたが、新政府はこれを新しい国造りの生産資本とし、財政、金融はもとより、産業の起動力とすることに努めた。同時に、その価格の維持や円滑な流通のための制度の確立に腐心した。

七年に布告した「株式取引条例」は顧みられず、華士族の持つ公債は、所有者の無知に乗じた奸商や一部両替商らに、ただ同然に買いたたかれ、なかには、古道具などのならぶ夜店の藪くさの上には、こりをか



いるというのである。それはただちに国立銀行の存立を脅やかす火の手であった。その情報をいちはやく洪澤のもとにもたらしたのは、井上馨であった。彼は官を辞してのちは、三井組の出資による先収会社（後の三井物産）の経営に当たっていた。

洪澤はこの情報を持って、小野組の大番頭である古河市兵衛を訪ねた。洪澤は彼に残余財産の提供をもとめ、銀行にたいする債務一三五万円に充当することを申し入れた。古河は深くこれに応じた。この古河は、後に銅山王とよばれ古河財閥の創始者となった人物である。洪澤は、官意の手が伸びる前に、小野組の閉店整理の届書を大蔵省に提出し、これを一般に公告することを、古河にすすめた。これは官金の強制引揚げによって人民の預金の蒙る被害をすこしでも軽減しようとする洪澤の配慮であった。

一方、こうした事態に当面した三井組は、銀行株式の全額譲受によって、銀行を三井単独の支配下におこうとし、場合によっては、三井組資本も引揚げることをほのめかしながら、洪澤に同意をもとめていた。しかし洪澤は、あくまでも合本組織による共同経営で事態に対処することを主張して、三井組の要求をかたく拒絶した。そして二五〇万円の資本金を一五〇万円に減資して、この急場をしのぐことに成功した。

しかし、国立銀行の危機はこれで去ったわけではなかった。その死命を制する問題が襲いかかっていたのである。それは政府不換紙幣の濫発からその紙価が下落をつづけ、これが正貨の流出となって、銀行の正貨準備が底をつく状態に陥ったことであった。自分らの主唱によって制定した国立銀行条例で

い重大な課題であったのである。

慶応四年正月鳥羽伏見の戦いが起こると、出陣する薩摩軍の軍費として、大久保利通から、三井、小野、島田の三家に二〇〇〇両調達の依頼があった。三井は、うち一〇〇〇両を献納している。このとき、衝にあたった次郎右衛門は、調達の方途に苦しみ、出入の両替商から一時借用して調えていたのである。その金子を両替商から薩摩の兵站部まで運んだ兵卒は、後の大山巖元師、大山弥助であった。

また、同月十五日には、三井、小野、島田の三家は、金穀出納所に一万両の献納を行なっているが、ときに小野家では、当主の善助が鳥羽伏見の砲声をききながら、この戦いの結末が、朝、暮いずれの勝利となろうと、しよせん金の用意が肝腎だと考え、急いで二万両を用意したという。

三井家では、京都両替店の地下穴蔵に貯蔵していた密建金（秘密の積立金）から持ち出してその急場を渡いだのである。この密建金は、天保八年（一八三七）二月の大塩平八郎の乱による災害いらい、非常の時に備えて積立てられていたもので、三井家の浮沈に関わる非常時以外は絶対に取り崩さぬ掟で、当初二〇万両を設定し、以後、京都、大阪、江戸の各店の決算後の剰余金の一部を積立ててきたが、このときにはわずか一万五〇〇〇両を残すのみとなっていた。

さて、由利公正が、いよいよ彼の財政計画を、太政官会議に提出するに先立ち、三井ら三家に腹藏なく計画を打ち明け、その協力を要請したのはこの直後のことであった。

由利は、この時期に密かに新政府に通じていた京阪の富商三井、小野、島田ら三家を訪ね、金穀出納所の御用達を任命して、まず大事業への足掛りとした。

幕末にいたると、外圧や内患に苦しむ幕府は、幕藩体制の挽回のため、富商らへの御用金調達は日をおうて多くなり、利権をもって各種の用命を課してくることも増えていた。そうしたなかで、京都に大元方（事業本部）を置いた三井家は、江戸店では幕府財政に参与させる一方、ひそかに笠間藩の儒者加藤有隣、紀州藩の陸奥宗光らを保護し、勤王派の動静を探っていた。さらに慶応のはじめころからは、畿内における幕府側の新規の御用を拝受しながら、薩摩藩の御用を勤めている。また、薩摩藩家老小松帯刀や西郷隆盛らが、三井総領家を訪ね、当主八郎右衛門高福や嗣子の次郎右衛門高朗と内談していたとも伝えられた。三井家はきわめて豪胆な動きをみせていた。

金穀出納所御用も進んでかつて出た<sup>st</sup>筋さえあり、前途多難な新政府にたいする三井の肩入れには並々ならぬものがあつた。

しかしながら、当時の三井家の経営はけっして順調ではなかつた。むしろ、危機に瀕していたというのが実情であつたようだ。同族の間では、この危機を、幕府との連携によって切り抜けようとする江戸店側の意見も強かつたという。さいわいこうした意見は、文久三年（一八六三）十一月の越後屋（呉服商の三井の江戸店、後年の三越）の出火や、勤王派浪人らの強圧などから急速に弱まりをみせていたものの、経営の危機を告げていた三井家にとっては、新旧両政権への去就は、にわかには決断しがた

## 第二章 三井八郎右衛門高福の決断

### ——体制激変期の商業資本——

#### 一 由利財政と御用商人

慶応三年（一八六七）十二月九日、王政復古を天下に宣言したものの、新しい支配者たちは米一俵を  
買う金も実は用意していなかった。同月二十三日、金穀出納所（のちの大蔵省）を設け、福井藩士、参  
与三圓八郎（由利公正）らが、新政府の火急の財政を担当することになった。

だが、この同じ日、幕府内では、アメリカ公使館員ポルトメンにたいして、江戸横浜間の鉄道敷設権  
を与えている。さらに一〇日後には鳥羽伏見の戦いが起るなど、この一、二の事件をみても、幕府から  
朝廷への政権交替劇は、きわめて渾沌としており、まだまだその帰趨を断定することは、誰にとつても  
容易ではなかったのである。

こうした情勢のなかで、莫大な資金を集めることは——同時に、徴募に応ずることも——一種の賭に  
ひとしかったと思われるが、その成否はまた新政権の命運を占うものでもあった。

月葬したのは六月一日である。洗澤はしかしその後、取引所の経営にはいっさい参加しなかった。彼は後年つぎのように述懐している。

「私は一時米穀取引所や大阪株式取引所の株主となったがすぐ辞めた。また、明治三十九年、鉄道国有化に当り交付された鉄道債券を各方面に薦め三、四割の利益をあげさせた。だが金融業の重責にあった私は、たとえ債券にしろ投機利益に走るとは世間の信任に背き、自己の信念に反するので買わなかつた」

洗澤は、昭和六年、九十二歳の天寿を完うしてその生涯を閉じたが、彼がそれまでに直接間接関係した企業や公共、社会事業は数百を数えるともいわれる。しかし彼は喜寿を迎えた時は一部の社会事業を除いてすべての事業から手を引いた。彼の関心は三井、三菱等の財閥形成にはなく、ただ、人民が幸せとなる社会の形成であり、そのための官尊民卑の弊風の打破であり、そのための合本組織であり、それは論語の教える「仁」の世界であった。洗澤はいう、

「私の事業とは、ひたすら善事をなすにあつた」

や株式取引条例改正の要を説きながら、協力方を懇願した。

洪澤は、今村らの来訪で取引所設立の時期がようやく熟したことを知り、これを快諾した。そして、洪澤はまず政府当局に、株式取引条例を改正し、取引所を早急に設置するよう申し入れた。そのころ西南の役を辛うじて戦い終った政府は、ますます財政的な窮地に立たされていた。万一、ふたたびこうした反乱が起これば、新政府は持ちこたえぬ状態であった。その内乱を再発させぬためにも、旧武士階級の唯一の資産である公債価格の下落を防がねばならず、いまや取引所の設立は、戦後処理の中でも重要な課題の一つとなっていた。

政府は、さっそく、条例の改正点について民間側の意見をまとめるよう洪澤に依頼した。そこで洪澤は、今村や土屋を呼び、他に田中平八、福地源一郎も加えて、民間側の要望点を答申書にまとめて政府に提出した。しかし、政府がこれを容れて改正条例を布告するまでには、また数か月を要するものとみ、取引所の設立が近きにあることを知らせることは、内乱後の金融経済界の沈静にも役立つものと考え、また政府内部の条約改正論争にたいする先制攻撃の意図もふくめ、十年十二月、深川亮蔵、洪澤栄一、三井養之助、益田孝、同武之助、三野村利助、小室信夫、小松彰、福地源一郎、洪澤喜作らを設立発起人とし、東京株式取引所を兜町に設置することを大蔵省に願ひ出た。

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小野組の閉店整理の届書を大蔵省に提出し、これを一般に公告することを、古河にすすめた。これは官  
金の強制引揚げによって人民の預金の蒙る被害をすこしでも軽減しようとする洪澤の配慮であった。

一方、こうした事態に当面した三井組は、銀行株式の全額譲受によって、銀行を三井単独の支配下  
におこうとし、場合によっては、三井組資本も引揚げることをほのめかしながら、洪澤に同意をもとめて  
いた。しかし洪澤は、あくまでも合本組織による共同経営で事態に対処することを主張して、三井組の  
要求をかたく拒絶した。そして二五〇万円の資本金を一五〇万円に減資して、この急場をしのぐことに  
成功した。

しかし、国立銀行の危機はこれで去ったわけではなかった。その死命を制する問題が襲いかかってい  
たのである。それは政府不換紙幣の濫発からその紙価が下落をつづけ、これが正貨の流出となって、銀

から託された。その組織は株式会社で、御用商人の三井組や小野組らが大股东として参加した。

その設立の意図は、正貨兌換の制度を採用し、政府紙幣の信用と流通力を高めること、公債（金札引換公債）の価格維持のため、それを銀行の営業資本とすること、さらには、わが国に株式会社法の制度を率先導入し、民間産業の興隆に資することなどが秘められていた。とくに浪澤には、これによって合本組織の社会的経済的効用を具現し、かねて人民の興起によって官尊民卑の弊風を打破したいという期待があった。銀行の発足は順調であった。

そのころ、両替商の間に公債（新・旧公債等）の売買が見られるようになった。政府は、その法的な規制や制度的な流通の要を痛感し、ボアソナードの指導の下に立案を急いだ。明治七年十月、「株式取引条例」としてそれを布告した。浪澤や三井組・小野組はさっそくそれに応じて取引所の設立に動いた。だが、この条例は、ロンドン株式取引所の法規を範として作られており、わが国の実情にほど遠いものであった。これによって営業をはじめようとする業者にとっては、厳格に過ぎ、負担が重かったから、誰も手を出そうとする者がなかった。

そうしたとき浪澤の身辺には大変な事態が迫っていた。小野組が破産に追い込まれたという。官金取引の特権や国立銀行からの多額の融資を利用し、事業の拡張に狂奔していた小野組の経営には、浪澤もつねに警戒していたことだったが、ついにその経営に破綻を来たし、それが政府の感知するところとなり、政府は小野組からいろいろの特権を取り上げ、預託中の官金も近くいっせいに引き上げようとして

等の質問に、彼は、微笑をつくり、手ぶりを交えながら答えた、

「それはぜひ必要です。賭博とちがいが、そこに売買のものが存在します。その価格はいつも変化します。けれどもそのものの価値は変わりません。変わるのは、政治や経済の動きや、人間の欲望の変化です。それは限りなく、またたいへん変りやすいでしょう。ですからその変化に前もって備えるためには、重要な商品の取引を仮託する市場の存在が、ぜひ必要です。そこでは取引に参加する人の信用と取引に関する厳しい規則があれば十分です」

玉乃はこの会見の後で渋澤を私邸に訪ね、自分の長い間の不明を心から詫びた。二人は盟友となった。後年、玉乃は大審院長になった。明治十九年八月自殺。誰もその理由を知らない。

### 九 金権に抗し合本思想を貫く

井上馨とともに大蔵省を辞した渋澤は、その翌月には第一国立銀行の総監役として采配を振っていた。百姓、攘夷倒幕の志士、一橋家の家臣、幕臣、新政府の官僚につぐ目を見張るような変身ぶりであった。

この国立銀行というのは、先年、伊藤博文がアメリカから学んできた「ナショナルバンク」の名称を、渋澤と福地源一郎（桜痴）が雛案して名づけたものであった。銀は金銀の取扱いを意味し、行は元や明の時代に用いた舗、業、屋の意義を表したものである。この銀行は、紙幣の発行権や官金の収納も政府

それから四か月後の四年十一月、条約改正を目的に、右大臣岩倉具視を全權とし、參議木戸孝允、大藏卿大久保利通、工部大輔伊藤博文らを副使とした一行四八名という大がかりな使節団が、二年にわたる日程で欧米に旅立った。その間、渋澤は井上とともに慶應義塾後の財政立直しに心血をそそぎ、五年には国立銀行条例を、六年三月には新旧公債証書ならびに金札引換公債証書の発行条例の布告まで漕ぎつけた。

ところがまたも予算増額の件で、井上と司法卿江藤新平との激しい対立となった。西郷を後楯とする江藤の傲慢な要求に頑として応じなかったが、西郷や大隈ら枢機の重臣は、いったん最高会議で撤回とした決定を踏みにじり、増額を認めよという約束ぶりを示すにおよんで、ついに井上は激怒し辞職を決定した。もはや踏み止まるなんらの理由もなしとみて、渋澤も辞意を固めた。二人は連袂して、長文の「奏議」を上程して官を辞した。六年五月六日のことである。この時渋澤は居を兜町に移した。

さて、諸公債の発行が定まると、はやくもその会所の設立を願ひ出る者もあらわれ、政府はその可否を決定しなければならなかった。

そうしたある日、玉乃は、省内で、司法省明法寮の教師として最近赴任したフランス人のG・E・ポアンナードに面談した。ポアンナードは、一八二五年パリ郊外に生れ、パリ大学を卒業後、同校の助教として経済学を講じた法学者である。来朝後、民法刑法等の草案を起草したり、不平等条約の改正案にも献策し、発展途上の日本に寄与して明治二十八年帰国した人物であった。玉乃の会所設立の要否

だから彼の立場は、どのような任地や地位においても、現実に直面する事態にたいして、つねに局外者的に冷静に客観視できる境地を保ちえた。そうした彼からみると、新政府内部の人的関係は、あまりにも薩長を主流とする藩閥意識が強く、その抗争がいろいろの政策にもはねかえり、無益な論争の種にもなっていた。たとえば、大久保（薩摩）と木戸（長州）の対立が、二人の性格的な摩擦によるものであったにしろ、その周辺はすぐこれを藩閥意識にすりかえて薩長両派の渦を巻き起こす。そしてそれが政府部内の人事はもとより、各省の機構や権限の拡大となったり縮小となったりした。

廃藩置県のクレータの基本工作を完了すると、詔書下達の日を前に参議を退いて大藏卿に就任した大久保は、早々に改正掛を廃止した。若い官僚どもが政策をみだりに戯弄し、とかく西欧かぶれに陥り易い嫌いがあるという理由であった。これを予言していたかのように、銀行調査を終りアメリカから多くの収穫をもたらした伊藤大藏少輔は、帰国直後、同様の主旨で左遷されていた。その生みの親である洪澤にとつて改正掛の廃止は、彼の職務の核心をえぐりとられた思ひだった。

そうしたある日、洪澤は突然大久保に呼び出された。陸海軍の予算を増額せよという。洪澤は腹に据えかねるものを感じ、睨みつけるような大久保の面に向い、財政上どのようにしてもそれは無理であると説くと、返答も聞かずに引き下った。そのとき、洪澤は辞職を考えていた。彼は、この七月に新たに大藏大輔に就任したばかりの井上馨の私邸を訪ね、辞任の意を伝えた。井上は聞き終ると、延々数刻にわたって翻意をもとめた。国家の建設に私憤を捨て立ち上れという。結局洪澤は辞意を翻した。

をはかることこそ、人民を安んずる最大のご政道といふべきである。先年、西欧の国々に遊びつぶさにこの間の事情を観察し、幾許かはその辺の呼吸を心得て参つたと思うので、ひとり米市場だけにこれをとどめず、いま準備を急いでいる公債や債券あるいは株式の発行に当つても、その会所の設立には、率先して当らうと考えているものである」

玉乃は、浪澤のこの反論になかば肯きなかなお寂然としないものを感じながら耳を傾けていた。だが現に米価は惨落し、またさきには自分らの考えで米価高騰の理由を、会所の取引に帰した事情もあり、たんになお賭博的とする理由だけでは、大蔵省を去つた現在、これを制する権限もない。彼は憮然としてその場を立ち去つた。

## 八 官を辞して実業へ

浪澤には、その出生からも、生い立ちからも、当時の武士が捨て切れなかつたいわゆる藩閥意識はみじんもなかつた。長じて、先に見てきたよんどころない事情から、一橋家に仕え、さらに転じて徳川宗家に出仕する身となつたが、それは藩に同化することではなく、あくまでも一人の人間として、生来の淳朴な性格から忠勤を励んだまでのことであつた。大蔵省に仕官後の彼の精勤ぶりも同様である。また、慶喜にたいする忠誠もきわめて純粹に個人的な敬愛の情にもとづくものであつた。

しかしこの仕方は、現物の受渡しを要せず、差金決済で取引を終結しえること、また決済期限を長期に繰り延べることができることなどから、誰にも安易な参加を許し、とかく一六勝負へと駆り立て、また信用基盤のない米商人も多くあつて、その周辺にいろいろの弊害を発生させ、訴訟沙汰も絶えなかつた。こうした事情から、いっばんにこれを賭博視する批判的見解も消えることがなかつた。明治になると、新政府は一挙にこれを禁止する措置に出たのである。玉乃の言動にはこうした世論を代表した抗議の姿勢があつた。

洪澤はもちろんこうした抗議は予期していたことだつた。そこでこう応酬した。

「およそ天下の財となる重要な物資の商取引には、個人の利を先がけて不当にこれを扱うことは許されない。しかし、どのような商取引にも価格の変動の危険がつきまとうものである以上、商人は誰しもこれを予想して取引を結ぼうとするのは自然の成行きである。ところで、物資の少なきに値を上げ、その多きに値を下げるのもまた流通の大原則だが、さればといつて、これをただ呆然と見過すはあまりにも人智を蔑ろにする所業ではあるまいか。さいわいに会所の存在は、この愚を救う一つの才知であらう。つまり会所の取引は、衆智を集めて、その起りうる将来の価格変動を察知しようとするもので、いわば、有力な防衛手段に他ならない。小生もその反面の弊害は十分承知いたしているつもりである。だが、その弊をのみ訴え、会所の存在の大利益を洞察する明がなければ、天下の商人を失うばかりでなく、政治をも失ふこととならう。要は、その衝にあたる人いかにである。これを厳正に取り締り、価格の平準

ついで學び神童の譽が高かつた。青年期には京都で頼三樹三郎や梅田雲浜らと交遊、父脱藩後、家断絶のため、師九華の後を繼いで玉乃氏を称した。早くから西洋銃陣の戦鬪形式の要を痛感し、農兵を編成して訓練していたが、これが幕府の征長軍に大きな打撃を与えるという勲功をあげ、藩主より恩賞を受けた。のち藩主の遺命で藩政に當つた。明治二年、会計官試補から、三年九月民部権大丞にすすみ、四年當時は司法権大判事になっている。渋澤より十数年の年長者であつた。彼も大隈の梁山泊出入の一人であつたが、大隈の渋澤採用には猛烈に反対した人物である。

だがこの米市場禁止にたいする玉乃の見解には、一つの拠ろを見出すことができるだろう。ここで米市場というのは、米の現物の売買を行なっている市場を指すのではなく、その現物を離れて、いわゆる米の相場（値段）を建てるために、米商人仲間が一つの寄場（会所と呼んだ。いまの取引所のこと）を設け、そこに集つて、取引するのをいう。そこにはいっばんの町人もときには武士たちも、出入りの米商人を介してその相場づくりに参加していたのである。そして、これが米の現物（正米）市場の重要な指標として利用されたのはいうまでもない。

こうした機構は、すでに徳川の中頃から起こり、とくに吉宗將軍の時勢に、あの有名な大岡越前守がそれまでの禁を破り、米価調整の政策からこれを公認してからは、すぐれて組織的、制度的となり、いっそう盛んになつて、いらい明治までつづいた。その後、この売買仕法は、いろいろと姿を変えながらも、わが国の商品、証券の取引所仕法として伝統的に定着してきたものであつた。



濟運行、物資流通の目をつぶす愚行であった。

明治四年から五年の米価は五四台から三四台に暴落した。この対策をどうするかがふたたび政府部内、とくに大蔵省の課題になった。

そこでまず採られたのは、誰にも考えられた富商や政府管轄の商社を動員しての米の買占め政策であった。渋澤の考えは、そうした一時のがれの彌縫策は避け、商品流通の目となる市場の開扉こそ先決条件だとし、閉鎖のままの米市場の取引を解禁することを決定した。ところが、意外なところから意外な人物の強硬な反対の声が、これにたいして起った。

## 七 取引所是非問答

「いまさら米市場の閉鎖の禁令を解くなどという血迷った決定は、政府自らが賭博を公許するにひとしい暴言で、文明開化の世づくりのために人民の良風を涵養せんとする新政府の善政に楯つく許しがた

い反逆である」  
こういつて、渋澤の意見に真向から反対の声をあげたのは、さきごろまで大蔵省にいた司法権大判事の玉乃世履であった。

玉乃は、旧岩国藩士で文政八年（一八二五）生れ、幼名辰次郎のち東平といった。藩儒者玉乃九章に

要課題として審議され、井上や浪澤はその機密会議に陪席した。そして浪澤は七月に入るとそうした草案の執筆に忙殺され、二、三日の徹夜で数千枚に達する処分案を提出する健闘ぶりを発揮した。こうした緊迫した会議中、西郷は終始沈黙を守り、最後に採否をもとめられたとき、文案には眼もくれず、重い口を開いて、「まだ、戦争が足りない様にござすね」と答えたりまた口を閉じた。

七月十四日、宮中に全国の藩知事が招集され、天皇から藩を廃し県を置く旨の詔書が示された。

さて、通商司の設置にもみたように、維新当初の新政府の財政政策にはきわめて専断的、武断的な面が多く、これも国内事情にたいする危機意識や、しょせんは武家の商法の然らしむるところでもあったろうが、産業経済の運行を自らの手によって強引に左右しようとした嫌いがある。その煽りを真正面に受けたものに商品市場があった。

明治二年春政府は、前年五円台の米価が一挙に九円台にはね上ったので、これを米市場の投機的な売買のためとして、全国の米油市場の閉鎖を命じた。しかしこの措置のため、米価はその平準を失い諸物資の需給にも円滑を欠くようになったので、政府は先に出した禁令を自ら犯して、東京貿易商社に正米の限月延取引を許した。ところがその後ふたたび米価が急騰を示したため、これも中止させた。

米価のこうした変動が単に米市場の投機によるものではなく、不換紙幣の乱発や、動揺の絶えない政情、あるいはきわめて不利な片貿易など、むしろ政府の採っている政策の不備こそ、米価激変の根因であることに気づかなかつた。そしてこうした世情を敏感に反映して動く商品市場を閉ざしたことは、経

ついに伊藤博文は、紙幣や金融制度の抜本的な改革をはかろうとして、南北戦争後、統一国家の建設を著々と進めているアメリカにその範をもとめて、明治三年十月、渡米した。そうした肩の入れ方であった。

改正掛を母体とする調査研究は、やがてその実を結び、それらは、各種の税制改革、戸籍法の制定、郵便法、新貨条例あるいは専売特許法、著作権法、職業安定所法などにもわたり、さらに、明治五年の国立銀行条例から、六年の新旧公債証書・金札引換公債の発行条例の発布となる。これらはわが国が近代化へ向けて脱皮するために、必要な布石としての役割を果たす画期的な制度となり、いずれも史的な意義を高く評価されている。

この間、明治四年にはついに廃藩置県が断行されることになった。といっても、これは一片の事務的な通達で片づけられる問題ではない。この年の二月、東京は薩長土三藩の兵一万による天皇直属の親兵で固められた。五月に渋澤は枢密権大史に任せられ、七月には制度取調御用掛の兼務を命ぜられた。いずれも国政枢要の最高会議に陪席する書記官である。これに先立ち、ある日大久保参議は、渋澤所轄外の些細な件に関し、彼をわざわざ呼び寄せ質問した。渋澤は感想を述べる以上の答はできなかった。その後まもなく、清国との修好条約を結ぶために清国に渡る伊達大藏卿に代り、大久保が六月に大藏卿となり、七月には大隈の参議転出の後を承けて井上馨が大藏大輔となった。

このころから廃藩置県後の藩札、禄制、藩債務、税といった処置が西郷、木戸、大隈ら参議の間で重

司は、一時民政部省に移ったが、翌三月にはふたたび大藏省に移管された。商法司同様、通商司には、産業、貿易、流通、物価、金融、租税等財政経済全般にわたる指揮統率権があり、その監督下の通商、為替会社、回漕会社には異常なほどの手厚い保護を与えていた。

この政策には、殖産興業への熱意とその実践を通して民間の生産活動を刺激し、税収の増加をはかろうとした反面、太政官札の民間流通を高めようとするさらに重要な狙いがあった。しかしこの意図はその紙幣の相つぐ下落によって期待を裏切り、会社はいずれも失敗に帰し、通商司は四年七月に廃止された。洪澤は、省内の要路にありこれを見守っていた。

## 六 流通市場の目をつぶす

洪澤が改正掛の中心となって第一に着手したのは、財源の確保という緊要な課題からも、租税司正という彼の分掌業務からも、まず税制についてであった。当時最も大きな税収源は土地であり、その適正な把握の必要が痛感されたので、洪澤は、全国測量を議題とした。これと関連して度量衡の改正、つぎは租税制度、戸籍の編成、ついで駅伝法といったように審議をすすめ、つづいて貨幣制度、禄制、鉄道施設、諸官庁の建設、各省の職務章程等とその審議事項がひろがった。かれらは精力的に熱っぽく、尽き果てることもない案件と取り組んだ。貨幣制度の改革案のときは、議論を尽しても容易に結論がえられず、

けてもそれは実現するものではないと考え、就任早々ではあったが、改正掛の設置を大隈に申し入れた。それは、各省から百策簇出のとき、これを無批判に受け入れていたのでは、徒らに百害を積むだけであり、財源的にも到底消化できるものではない。よって、これらを一機関に集め、そこで綿密に調査研究を尽し取捨選択を厳にして適切な施策を建てる。同時に各省の制度、組織、分掌事項ならびに職制規程等を作り、行政事務の円滑な疎通をはかるという、調査、諮問機関の設置を要求したのである。

大隈はすぐこれを採用して、渋澤をその掛長に任命した。出仕直後の十二月のことである。こえて明治三年八月には大藏権大丞に栄進し、紙幣頭も兼任させられるほど、彼への期待はいよいよ広がり、新政府の死命を制する財政処理が、はやくも彼の双肩にかかってくるようになった。

財政上からみて、当時の最大の課題は、紙幣の統一とその信用を強固なものとする事、封建的な土地制度を改め、租税制度を確立することなどがあげられた。しかしそのためには、版籍奉還を行った藩もなお、藩主が藩知事として留任し、そのまま藩内の土地人民を支配しているといった幕藩体制を解体して、名実共に新政府による中央集権の実をあげねばならなかった。だがそれは、勝算のない最大の危機に、ふたたび新政府をさらす覚悟を持たねばならなかった。

こうした情況の中で、それまでに採っていた政府の財政政策は、明治元年四月、会計官の中に商法司を設け、三井八郎右衛門をその総頭取とした為替、貿易会社を管轄下において、金融、貿易、商業等にあたらせてたことであった。明治二年、会計官を廃して大藏省とし、商法司を通商司と改めた。この通商

民部少輔をそれぞれかね、大蔵、民部両省は実質的に一省の觀があつた（翌三年分掌明確となる）。しかもその実権は、大隈と伊藤が握っていたが、かれらは財政にはまったく暗かつた。他の属僚も意気はすこぶる軒昂だが、しよせん下士出身で、世情にもうとく、財政を処理するなどという才覚は持ち合はなかつた。

その上、新政府の台所は、徳川家の領地七〇〇万石余と、天皇領の現物納である貢租以外は、富商からの借入金や御用達金で、そのほかは、太政官札の発行以外に頼るべき財源は何ひとつなかつた。また藩体制は存続しており、富商は新政府の命脈を打算的に虎視眈々と窺つており、世情一般もご一新とはいいながら半信半疑の眼で見守っている時勢であつた。

洪澤としても、この一国の財政を采配するだけの才幹はなお未知数の課題であつた。ただ彼には、少年時代の藍玉の行商から始まつて、一橋家へ出仕の時代には、藩財政の建直しに功をおさめ、さらに西欧各国の視察から、その大きな経済発展に親しく接して、そこに合本思想を感得し、帰朝後は、静岡藩において静岡商法会所を設立して見事に軌道に乗せる等の経歴を持っていた。こうした彼の商才や経営的手腕は、生家の、農工商から金融におよぶ多角経営をもって洪澤家の復興をもたらした父系の血を継ぐものであつたらう。それに、忍耐強く徹底した調査と観察とに基いて、広く深く時代や社会を洞察する見識がそなわりつつあつたことも加えねばならない。

さて、洪澤は、このような無軌道な行政府の現状をまず整備してかからねば、どのような理想をかか

あつた。そこで洪澤は、大蔵大輔の大隈重信を私邸に訪ねて、これを拒絶しようと考えた。

当時、大隈はまだ三十二歳であつたが、数度の在留外国人との紛争を解決した実績を認められ、異例の抜擢で新政府の中央に栄進していたのである。彼の私邸は梁山泊とも噂され、いつも数十名の論客、壮士がたむろしていた。

大隈は、洪澤を通すと、開口一番、八百万やっぴゃくまんの神達、神計りに計り給えという祝詞のりとの文句を引き合ひにだし、いまの日本はまさにそれだ、君も若き神の一人として国家のために挺身せよと説得した。洪澤はこれに打たれた。ここにはからずも洪澤の大蔵省出仕が実現した。

## 五 一柱の神の座

一柱の神となり神計りに計りたまえという大隈重信の激発的な弁舌に引き込まれ、我を折って大蔵省に出仕することになった洪澤だが、数日登庁してまったくあきればてた。省内はまるで工事現場さながらの雑沓である。誰れ彼れの別なくいろいろの用件を持ち込んで早急に裁断をもとめ、また各省からは権柄けんべづくで金品を強要してくる。毎日がそうした怒号喧噪の嵐の中であり、神計りどころではなかつた。

その元締の伊達宗城大蔵卿、大隈重信大蔵大輔、伊藤博文大蔵少輔は、同時にまた民部卿、民部大輔、

澤は断固これをこぼみ、明治元年十二月三日横浜に帰港した。

幕閣の要人やフランス公使ら多数の見送りを受けた二年前の出発の時とは打って変り、その上陸第一歩は、取締官吏から厳しい訊問すら受けねばならぬ身であった。慶応は明治と改元され、江戸は東京と呼びかえられ、江戸城は皇居と定められていた。多数の知友は脱走し、あるいは死亡していた。渡欧にあたり見立養子とした平九郎は戦死（二十二歳）し、その兄尾高長七郎は出獄後発狂（渋澤帰国直後切腹）、従兄渋澤喜作は五稜郭に従軍、また、平九郎、長七郎らの兄尾高惇忠（渋澤の妻千代の兄）は郷里で運塞中という変り様であった。

渋澤は、必要な帰国後の処理を済ますと、彼がもつとも心を痛めていた慶喜を、十二月下旬、蟄居中の静岡に見舞った。渋澤は、その時二十九歳であったが、世事いっさいを捨て、田を耕しながらでも、慶喜の心の伴侶として自分の余生を送ろうと決心していた。しかし、そうした決心も、慶喜の懇望からやむなく置いて、静岡藩の財政建直しのために立ち上がらねばならなかった。そして彼は、静岡に、わが国最初の合本組織の商事会社である商法会所を作った。

翌明治二年十月、渋澤は突然、新政府からの呼び出しを受けた。出頭してみると、大蔵省に出任せよという命令であった。大蔵省租税司正という辞令もその場で渡された。渋澤は固くこれを拒んだ。しかし、新政府もいうなりに引き下ろうとはせず、強権をもって静岡藩に渋澤の出仕を迫ろうとする気配で



待されたところ、参上致し兼ねると、コロネルに書状を以て伝えてきたと、同人から公子に言上す」

とある。こうした不安な状況で、渋澤は、しかし、祖国の激動の渦中に幼君を置くことの無益を思い、留学をつづけ将来の器を育てることが国家的にも有利だと考えた。そのため、送金もとどこおりがちになつた留学資金の捻出に努めた。公子留学係の減員のための送還、宿舍替え、日常出費の切り詰め、毎月二万ドルの送金中から貯えた予備金のフランス公債や鉄道債券への投資、さらに万一を思い、国許の父への送金依頼など、万全を期していた。

そうしたところへ、伊達宗城、東久世通禧連署の「王政復古につき公子を帰国させよ」との公文が一橋家に達せられた旨の書状が入つた。五月には、フランス駐在公使を介して再度同旨の督促があり、七月には、重ねて新政府からも書状があつた。近々御迎えの使者を渡欧させるとの一橋家からの御用状も届いた。ただこの間も、パリにおける日本情報はきわめて流動的で、いったん敗北したかに見えた幕府方は、その後勢力を挽回し、江戸から横浜にかけての第一帯はふたたび完全に幕府支配下に入ったなどと報ぜられた。こうした新聞情報を楯に、フランス政府筋は、公子の留学継続をしばしば勧奨した。しかし渋澤は熟慮の末、公子一行がこれ以上踏み止まることは、日本人の情誼にもとるものであるとして一行を説得しついに帰国を決定した。そして九月末、フランスを発つた。

帰路の船路はまことに蕭条としたものであつた。途中、香港で、当時函館に布陣中の幕府方から、全軍の士気高揚のため公子をお連れしようとの申し出を、同地で銃器調達中の一知友を通じて受けた。渋

学校、病院、新聞、軍事などほとんど總なめの視察行脚であった。浪澤はこうした見聞のあいだに、エラーから株式、公社債の知識や株式取引所の見学を介して、この産業経済、文化の興隆発展をもたらす原動力とみられる「資本」形成の制度的枠組も理解した。彼の追究ぶりは、汚水の流れる下水道の暗渠の中を歩きまわるほどの熱心さで、まさに研究の鬼だった。

#### 四 大転回

しかし、事態は急変した。数繁くなった御国御用状の到着は祖国の政変を訴えつづけたのである。出発のときは、激動する政情を案じて、はやくから西欧文明に強い関心を持った慶喜の配慮で、次代をになう少年の民部公子にたいし、西欧各国視察の後は数年のフランス留学を命じられていた。だがいまは、その希望すら絶たれようとしている。

さきにあげた「巴里御在館日記」の三月一日（慶応四年）の記事には、

「昨夜の仏国新聞は、大君（慶喜）引退後の新政府の国内制圧は着々と進行中で、二月には、天皇は、各国へ和親の国書を携えた使節の派遣を準備中と報ず。今夕の新聞には、鳥羽伏見で敗戦し江戸へ帰還した大君は、これから再挙するか和を講ずるか、あるいは雄藩が結束して東上するか不明であると報ず」と記入され、さらに三月十日の日記には、「新政府の公使が到着されたので、公子がその新任の公使を招

横浜出航から四九日目、二月末、一行はようやくヨーロッパ大陸の一角に辿り着いた。マルセーユであつた。ここで、幕府から委嘱された名譽総領事フリュリー・エラール（フロリヘラルドと日記に記載されてくる人物）と対面する。彼はパリの銀行家で、民部公子の滞欧中の世話役を受け持った。もう一人、コロネル・ウアンシャンという軍人も同役で、二人は協力しながら一行の行動に勞をいとわず働いた。この二人は、日本の立場からみると、町人と武士の関係、つまりは服従と支配との間柄である。洗澤は、後年こう語っている。

「両者の接触する様は官尊民卑の日本人の目からみて驚ろく許り親密で遠慮なく議論するので、私は深い感銘と教訓を受けたのであります。そこで私は政治家たることを断念し、商業——いとうところの実業——を振興し、官尊民卑の旧習を打破しようと考えたのです」

目的地のバリ着は三月七日であつた。そのバリ生活が始まると、公子は洋服を着用することになった。洗澤もこれにならつた。ところで、刀を差すかどうかが論議の種となるという一幕もあつた。洗澤は御勘定格陸軍付調役として随行したが、會計から万端の庶務までいっさい一手に引き受けねばならなかつた。

公子のナポレオン三世との謁見、大親兵式への参列、万国博覧会の観覧等の公的行事が一通りすむと、一行は、フランス各地への巡遊の後、スイス、オランダ、ベルギー、イタリア、イギリス各国への旅行を十一月末まで続けた。製鉄、鉱業、機械、造船、鉄道、製紙、紡織等の工場、銀行、保険、あるいは

國に近代医学を伝えた、あの有名なシーボルトとは別人のようだ。洪澤は、旅中、彼について食べるようにフランス語を学んでいた。このシーボルトは、この後一行の滞欧中にもしばしばバリの宿舎に一行を訪ね、友誼をあたためている。

十五日、上海に上陸。紅毛人の設営する各種の施設等に接する。また在駐するイギリス、フランスの官吏の外交的儀礼に関する訓練が行き渡っていることに感心する。そのかれらが、そして現にかれらの設営にかかる、アジア人種からみれば幾層倍も進んだ文明の先進民族が、われわれを激発させている同じ紅毛人であったのかと、洪澤は思わざるをえなかった。彼の心中から攘夷の思念は跡形もなく霧散し新しい天地へ向つての渴望が油然と涌いてくるのを感じた。ただ、その周辺で地を這いまわっているように動いている支那人民の姿が、いつまでも消えずに残った。そして、この後の寄港地でも、こうした西欧人と現地住民の印象的な対照がみられ、洪澤の心を暗くした。

つぎの寄港地香港でフランス郵船アンペラトリス号に乗換え、サイゴン、シンガポール、セイロン、アテンをへて、二月二十一日、スエズに到着、スエズ運河はまだ開き中だったから、陸路、はじめて乗る汽車で、カイロを通りアレキサンドリアに向う。車中、一行の一人が食べ残した果物の皮を、移りゆく窓外の景色の中に無雑作に放り投げると、それが車窓にはねかえり、傍らの外人の体にふりかかった。外人は呆れてその加害者に注意したことから、あわや立ち回りの喧嘩になりかけた。その加害者、日本人は、車窓がガラス張りであることを知らなかったのである。

達成するのに大きく貢献できたのだとおもつ。

さて、その渡欧へ、話を移そう。

### 三 合本思想の芽生え

慶応三年一月十一日朝、横浜を解纜した民部公子一行の乗船する一〇〇〇トン級のフランス郵船アルヘー号は、長崎で、フランス政府の命により一行旅中の世話役となった長崎駐在フランス総領事ジュレーを乗せ、最初の寄港地上海に向った。安政いらい、幕閣を震撼させ、下級武士の血を沸き返らせ、百姓の件の人生も二転三転させるほどの、国を転倒さすような開闢いらいの騒乱の中にある日本を後に、紅毛人の国、鬼ヶ島への船発ちであった。じじつ、渋澤の郷里では、これをそのように受けとめ、渋澤のここ数年の約変ぶりをなじり、しきりに彼の非を取沙汰した。そのため渋澤家の人びとは顔を伏せ人を避けそうした批難をのがれたという。

しかし船路は順調であった。たまたま帰国の途に就くため同船したイギリス公使館の通弁でドイツ人のシーボルトが、万事不馴れな一行にたいし、いろいろと友好的な協力をしてくれたし、善良、細心で紳士的な船長のクレームもよく心を配ってくれ、また、ナイフやフォークでの洋食も結構楽しかったからである。このシーボルトが文政六年（一八二三）に、オランダ商館医師として長崎の出島に来航し、わが

そして、ここに尊攘派に走る青春時代への扉がひらかれた。二十二歳となった文久元年には、江戸へでて千葉道場に通い、憂国の志士と交る青年となっていた。前に述べた池田長発の渡仏直前の文久三年の秋、栄二郎は、近郷の農民から数十名の同士を募り、ついに倒幕攘夷の捨て石たろうと決心し、まずその旗上げとして高崎城を乗っ取り、その余勢を駆って横浜の外人町を焼き打ちする計画をすすめた。しかし父母はじめ肉身への累を避けるため、前夜、夜を徹して父と語り義絶を乞う。もちろん計画は打ち明けなかった。しかし城攻め決行の直前になり、従兄尾高長七郎の諫止に逢い、激論の末、この挙を中止した。だが、ことは、八州取締りの耳にはいり、身辺の危険を察したので、同志であり従兄である洪澤喜作とともにひそかに故郷を脱して江戸に走る。ここ江戸において、慶喜の信任厚い平岡四郎という一橋家用人に知られ、その家来分となり、さらに京都に向う。元治元年二月、幕吏の追求をのがれるため、名を篤太夫と改めて、正式に一橋家に仕官した。ところが二年後の慶応二年八月、慶喜、宗家を継ぐことになり幕臣となることになった。そして同年十一月末、突然民部公子の渡欧随員を仰せつかったのであった。

民部公子一行の渡欧中の行動は、洪澤の行き届いた観察とともにその丹念な記録に収められた。その蓄積は、彼の帰国後の数十年におよぶ産業経済面での広汎な活動を通じて、見事に開花した。したがって、洪澤の一九世紀後半の西洋文明への接触は、たんに華やかな外見との交りではなく、その文明の真髓との関りあいであったのであり、それらをわが国土に移植しえて、日本の近代化という世紀的事業を

九日に出発した。しかしもとよりフランス政府はこれに応ずるわけはなく、逆に、同年五月、長州藩が下関においてアメリカ、フランス軍艦を攻撃した事件の償金支払や関税の引き下げなどの協定の締結を迫られ、池田ら一行は実地にみるヨーロッパ文明にふれて、攘夷鎖国の不当であることを知り、むしろ幕府当局にこれを認識させようと、幕命を待たずに帰国してしまった。幕府は、池田らを処罰し、そのパリ協定を破棄した。このたびの一行の中にも福澤諭吉の顔がみられる。

さて、この当時、洪澤はどのような歳月を過していたか、この辺でふりかえってみよう。利根河畔の深谷在（埼玉県）の富農（農耕、養蚕、荒物商、藍商のほか質物を取り金融も営む）の三男（兄二人は早世）として、天保十一年（一八四〇）二月十三日に誕生。幼名を市三郎ともいい、母・栄の名を継いで栄二郎とも称した。厳直にして慈愛に富む父母の膝下で、幼年時代はひたすら漢学武道の習得に明け暮れる恵まれた環境にあった。十四歳になり父の訓えにしたがい初めて家業に従事した。

安政三年のあるとき、二万石の領主安部揆津守から多額の御用金の調達を命ぜられると、父は十七歳になっていた彼を名代として、岡部の陣屋に出頭させた。陣屋での彼は、自分一存では直ちに引き受けかねると答えたところ、下役人の居丈高な罵声を浴びねばならなかった。これが温厚な少年栄二郎の血潮にも、時代の激浪を吹き込むきっかけとなった。幕政にたいする強い怒りと批判は、栄二郎少年の心に「百姓はやめよう」と誓わせたのである。

いるのである。

その間、遠い故国にあって、上様には宗祖開闢いらいの難局に立たれ、ついにこのたび宗家ならびに人民の安泰のため、大決意をもって政權を返上し奉ったのであろう。おそらくこの御決定は、上様が將軍職御就任を承諾なされた際、すでにひそかに心に期しておられたところだったのであるまいか。

自分らが御辞退あるようお願い申しあげた真意は、上様御一身の安全もさることながら、英邁な上様の御登場が、反幕派を無用に刺戟し、天下の騒乱をいっそう拡大する危険をおもんばかつてのものであった。しかしながら、このたびの御英断は、上様をおいて、他になしえる人物がなかつたことを考えあわせると、自分らの浅慮が上様には達しなかつたのもまた道理であつたのだ……。

ところがこの日、つまり洪澤が日記を認めた冒頭の正月二日のこと、祖国では、戊辰戦争の幕が開かれようとしていたのである。あくまでも武力倒幕によって新政權の樹立をはかろうとする薩長派にとつて、慶喜の大政奉還はその機会を失わせるものであつた。しかも大政奉還を受けた朝廷には、まだ政治をとるほどの用意はなく、慶喜の上表に示されたように、各藩主の合議によって諸政を行おうとする合議政体制が支持されようとしていた。そこで、岩倉具視や大久保利通の策動によって、小御所合議がひらかれ、合議政体を棚上げにし、天皇親政を骨子とする王政復古の头号令が勅書によって示されたのである。このクーデタは慶応三年十二月九日のことであつた。



時（慶応三年一月）の国内情勢や幕府の内部事情からありえぬことではないとみて、パリにおける日本の情報にたえず細心の注意をはらっていたのだった。しかし、それが事実となりいまその公報を手にする、栄一も強い感慨に打たれ、將軍慶喜の胸中に深く思いをいたさずにはいられなかった。遙かな故国に想いを走らせずにはいられないのだった。

—慶応二年七月二十日、大阪城で前將軍家茂が二十一歳で没すると、その相続問題が起こり、前將軍は同じ紀伊家の田安龜之助（徳川家達）様を後嗣とする意見であったといわれたが、激動中の時局は、自づと衆望厚い水戸家の殿様（徳川慶喜）を擁立する動きとなった。当時、一橋家にあつて格外の信任をうけていた自分は、極力、御就任なきよう懸望したが、殿様は諸方のたつての勧誘にやむなく宗家相続の決意を固められ、あえて累卵の危きにあつた將軍の座に就かれたのであつた。そのため、かつては倒幕、攘夷の志士をもつて任じた自分が、軽輩ながら幕府直屬の臣下の身となつてしまった。巡り合せとはいへ、我ながらあまりのわが身の節操のなさ、また、そのふがいないさまに、その時いらい、気力のなえ尽きるような失意におちいり、ときには死をすら真剣に考えたほど、懊惱の日を送っていた。が、はからずもその年の暮、上様（慶喜）によつて、このたびの公子渡欧にあたり隨員の役を与えられたのである。そして渡欧の途次、あるいはその後欧州各国への巡行の途次、先進各国の文明の實際を見聞したことによつて、その開花の源泉の深遠たるものの片影を、いささかうかがい知る機会に恵まれて

# 第一章 洪澤栄一の合本思想

## 一 大政奉還をバリで知る

「慶応四戊辰年正月二日曇 日 西洋一八六八年一月二六日

夕五時半御用状着 御政態御変革之儀其外品々申来る 夜栗本安芸守来 御用状相廻す」

まいにちの日課としている「巴里御在館日記」にこう認めると、洪澤篤太夫（栄一）は、静かに筆をおいて目を瞑った。

この日はじめて、幕府から大政奉還の上表がだされ（慶応三年十月十四日）、つづいて同二十四日には徳川慶喜が將軍職も辞任したき旨を請願したという公報に接したのである。

昨年の暮ころからフランスの新聞等によって騒然とした日本の政情が伝えられ、一部には政変のあったことも噂されていたが、フランス駐在外国奉行である栗本安芸守はじめ、洪澤の従う民部公子の一行も、これを虚報として信じなかった。

この民部公子とは、民部大輔昭武である。彼は慶喜名代として慶応三年五月にひらかれたバリの万国博覧会に参列した慶喜の弟で、年齢はまだ十五歳であった。一行のなかでただ一人洪澤だけは、出国当



第一部 維新・海賊橋を渡る



# 草創期の群像

一四 背水の陣

一五 不況下の株高

一六 天皇のお言葉

あとがき

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三七

三八

三九

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―松方正義・財政金融の確立に成功―

一 天皇の地方巡幸

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三 病弱な子

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憤慨した八十は懐に短刀を呑んで、単身猛者揃いの隣りへ抗議に乗り込んだ。この勢いに吞まれて、応対に出た猛者の一人が「いや、実はあなたの詩が好きなのですが、近頃あなたは純粋詩を書かないで、通俗詩ばかり書いているからあんな歌を歌ったので、他意はない」と釈明したので、八十は持つて行ったカナリヤの唄を渡して、これからはこれを見て正確に歌って貰いたいと啖呵を切つて引上げて来た。

この時、応接した青年が後に映画監督になった渡辺邦男だった。ヘナヘナした優男のように思われている八十にも、いざとなると勇み肌のような喧嘩っ早いところもあるのである」

(「西條八十、人と作品」前掲)

西條八十はその晩年に、実に四十余年の歳月をかけた「アルチュール・ランボオ研究」(昭和四十二年十一月刊)の大著を完成した。

大学教授としての面目をかけたこの著書は、彼の場合、ランボオの詩よりも、この天才詩人の冒険と金儲けにかけてついに敗残の身となったその半生により深くひかれての発心だったという。

昭和四十五年八月十二日、八十は、教え年八十年の生涯を静かに閉じた。

詩を書いて行く運命を有つもの、ような氣もされるのである」

これは、兜町に出入りしていたころから十五年ばかり後の、昭和七年六月のある日、宇土高町連絡船上で書いた、「石油の芸術」という一文である。

八十は、また、このころ——乾坤一擲の勝負を挑んでいたころ——英書専門の出版社健文館に投資したり、新橋駅前に天ぶら屋を開業したりしていた。

そして、株への投機に敗れた八十は、鐵橋に立って、流れの川面に「石油の芸術」を眺めながら、わが敗残の姿を、「唄を忘れたかなりや」にそつと託したのだと伝えられる。

そして、翌大正七年、おりから童謡運動の擡頭期を迎え、鈴木三重吉によって創刊された「赤い鳥」にこれを発表すると、西條八十は一躍有名となり、瞬く間に詩壇の寵児になった。

この「かなりや」について、後日談がある。

「大正十一年ごろ、八十は池袋に住んでいたが、その二階家の背中合せに北沢新次郎の家があり、配下の浅沼稻次郎たち若い社会主義者の暴れ者が多勢ごろごろして、毎日「ああ革命は近づけり」と大声に革命歌を怒鳴って近所から恐れられていた。

この連中が西條の家の窓に向つては「唄を忘れた八十さんは、ボールのバットでぶち殺せ」と合唱する。家の中は八十を除けば女子供ばかりなので、みんな震え上ってしまった。

は、前場から後場の取引の間、午飯の休憩時間、鐵橋のうへに立って河の流れに眺め入ることだった。

錆びた鉄の欄干に凭<sup>よ</sup>つて、河面を眺めてみると、春の清明の日など、よく川上から石油が流れてきた。きらきらと薄紫に輝きながら、その油は、泛<sup>よ</sup>びつつ刻々に変化の姿をとった。或る時は人の顔のかたちになったり、或る時は花や獣の姿に見えた。

わたしは、たしかメレジコフスキーの「先駆者」かで読んだとおもふ、レオナルド・ダ・ヴィンチが、古い壁の汚<sup>し</sup>斑<sup>ま</sup>の象から画題を得たといふ話など、そんな折想ひだしてゐた。

煙草をふかしながら、縞<sup>しま</sup>の着物に角帯姿のわたしが、いつまでもいつまでも、川面を眺めてゐた。

だが夏がだんぐり深くなると、大川は急に汚なくよこれてきて、藁<sup>わら</sup>屑<sup>くず</sup>だの、布片だの、そんなものが一杯流れてきて、静かな油の輝きなど見られなくなった。川船の往来が繁くなつて水など見てゐる余裕が無くなった。夢想家のわたしはそれをことのほか寂しく想つた。

もう遠い日のことである。このごろは鐵橋のことなんか全然念頭に上つたことがなく、あの辺も減<sup>お</sup>つたに<sup>た</sup>通らないが、夏になると、やはりときどき、ふとあの青黒い水面を想ひ出すのである。

さうして、都会詩人であるわたしは、生涯、町の溝渠<sup>みぞ</sup>を流れる石油の波紋に暗示されて、

のである」

この妻晴子は、ときおり、八十にいった。

「あなたは詩を作らなければ全のお馬鹿さんですね」

しかし、八十の日常生活の一面は、このように夢の多い非現実的なものであると同時に、それとは反対に聡明で、大きな計算に強かった。父から受けついだものだったろうか。

大正六年のことである。

「八十は兜町の『かねなか』という株式仲買店に勤めながら、自分でも株の手張りをして儲けていた。時は欧州大戦の好景気で、一時は三十万円の儲けを仲買に預けておく身分だったという。詩人は貧乏で薄暗く、じめじめした生活をしているものときめ込んでいた当時の文士たちは、これに対して詩人にあるまじき俗情であるかのように非難を浴びせたものだったが、この非難こそ全く当らぬもので、乾坤一擲の投機こそ、彼の詩人氣質の著しく興味を湧かす所で、そこに突如として現出されるリュクスこそは、空想のメタモルフォーズの世界に最も近いものである」(西條八十・人と作品「安藤更生」)

これに関する八十自身の、散文をつぎに掲げてみよう。

「わたしがベンの生活を離れて、兜町で、あの定期の現物の生々しい叫びの中に暮していたのは廿七から八歳(注・數え年)へかけて約二年ほどだったろうか。そのころのわたしの楽しみ

その後、姉の嫁ぎ先の奈良に身を寄せ一年ばかり過ごすと、彼は早大英文科に再入学し、傍ら東京帝国大学の選科生として国文科に通い、日本文学の古典にたいする素養を深めていた。

この同級に木村毅や直木三十五がおり、また、このころの友人に日夏耿之助、三木露風、川路柳虹、柳沢健らがおったが、幼少のところには近所に山内義雄が住んでいて幼な友だちだった。こうした当時の文学青年の間でも、その読書範囲の広い点では、西條と芥川が双壁だったという。

彼が早大英文科を卒業したのは大正四年、二十三歳のときで、翌五年の初夏、八十は小川晴子と結婚した。

この晴子について、八十の「亡き母を念ふ」のなかにつきのような一節がある。

「詩を書かぬ詩人であった母は、無言の中によく私の仕事を理解してしてくれた。

私も母の我儘な性格の底に在る純情をよく知っていた。(中略)心中深く相通ずる私たち母子は、同時によき友人であり、また楽しい恋人だったのだ。

ただこの一見無理解で個人主義的な母に待するに、最も苦しんだのは、我妻晴子であったらう。盲目の母(注・晩年<sup>失明</sup>で失明)を抱えて二十年、今日まで私の孝養に恙<sup>あやま</sup>なきを得せしめた彼女の忍苦を思ふとき、私は我がため、母のために、彼女の前に衷心感謝低頭せざるを得ない



長兄は廃嫡され、八十が戸籍上西條家の嗣子となった。

大正三年、八十が二十二歳となった年、西條家はずいに没落し、八十は母とともに信濃町に移り住んだ。まだ学生だったが早くも自活の道をすすまねばならなかった。

西條八十が詩を作りはじめたのは、彼が早稲田中学校に在学中の十六歳（明治四十一年）ころからだつたようだ。

この中学校に、後年、孤雁と称して多くのすぐれた紀行文を発表し、またフランス古典文学の研究で命名をあげ、さらに早稲田大学に佛文科を創設した吉江喬松が英語教師として勤めていた。

吉江は教え子の一人であつた八十に、天分豊かな詩才を見出し、その天分の発芽にいろいろと慈父のような薫陶を惜しまなかつた。こうして八十は急速に文学への眼をひらいてゆく。

明治四十二年、八十がこの中学を卒業した春、吉江喬松は早稲田大学に教鞭をとるようになる。八十はこれを慕つて早大予科に進学した。しかし、八十は幼少のころから林エミリ夫人について英語を教わつていたので、すでに英語の本はほとんど読破できるようになつていたため、予科ではあきたらず、二た月ばかりで退学し、神田の正則英語学校に通い本格的な学習に励んだ。

また、時代の先端をいったこの商売は、輸入香料や化粧水、あるいは色とりどりのレットルなどの職したす異国趣味で溢れていた。そのような家の中の雰囲気は、幼い八十にはやくもヨーロッパ文明の多彩な明るい情緒をたたみこみ、彼の性格形成にも大きく影響を与えずにはおかなかつたであらう。

さらに彼の詩作に大きく投影しているものは、終生かわらなかつた母への強い思慕であつた。八十自身の言葉をかりれば、その母は、

「舊のまま枯れたやうな人で、きびしい姑に仕へ好まぬ父につれ添つて生涯を終つた」  
そういう女性であつた。

この母徳子は、神奈川県藤沢の生れで、藤沢小町と呼ばれた美人だつた。十七歳で西條家の嗣子と婚約し、式をあげようとした直前にこの嗣子が急死する。そのため、寡婦の姑の命令で、二十歳も年上の、西條家の忠実な番頭に娶わされてしまう。この番頭が八十らきょうだいの父重兵衛だつた。だが、徳子は急死した嗣子の面影を終生心に抱きつづけていたのだつた。母の悲しい生涯はこの結婚から始まつた。重兵衛は、不器量で、ひたすら謹厳で、趣味も持たなかつたが、商略にかけては頗る才覚の秀れた持主だつた。

しかしその父も、八十が十四歳の明治三十九年春に、脳溢血で世を去つた。遺産は、当時百万円を超えたという。だが、長兄の放蕩のため、その後、家運は急速に衰えていった。この

象牙の船に、銀の櫂、

月夜の海に浮べれば、

忘れた唄をおもひだす。

「子供の世界」に語りかけるこの作品は、エキゾチックな道具を駆使した繊細優美な象徴的手法によってはなやかに明るくうたいあげられているが、一面、深い哀感と母の優しい愛情をわれわれに伝えてくる。

そこに、作者の性格や生活の反映が感じとれるのではあるまいか。

それでは、作者の経歴に立ち入ってみよう。

作者西條八十は、明治二十五年一月十五日、東京市牛込区払方町に生れた。ここは、気位と教養を漂わせる、江戸からつづいている静かな邸町であった。

西條家はただひとつ、その中であって、先代から「乃木マスク」という乃木將軍の顔を商標にした高級石鹼の製造販売を業とする商家だった。

八十は、幼少のころ、この旧旗本屋敷の士族の子らから、よく「町っ子」といって区別されたが、利かん気の彼は、少しもひるむことなく、むしろこれにたいし強い対抗意識を育んでいた。そして、江戸っ子的な彼の庶民意識が形成されていった。