THESIS

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OF

BACKWARD PEOPLES
Preliminary Note

The following pages deal chiefly with peoples in their pre-scientific stage of civilization, possessing more or less crude notions of anatomy and physiology, and with their equally crude methods of preparing their women for motherhood, treating them during pregnancy and in labour, and caring for them and their new-born infants during the puerperium.

It must be remembered that there are differences amongst the various races, or peoples, throughout the world which may render childbirth very difficult in some cases and relatively easy in others, and, even apart from this, the ideas held by any of them will be factors in determining the treatment considered necessary in any given case.

Referring to the Central Provinces of India, Russell says: "Generally speaking the whole treatment of child-birth is directed towards avoidance of various imaginary magical dangers, while the real sanitary precautions and other assistance which should be given to the mother are not only totally neglected, but the treatment employed greatly aggravates the ordinary risks which a woman has to take, especially in the middle and higher castes" (337 - IV p. 71).

While this was written about people in Central India it is equally true of most of the backward peoples throughout the world and in the following notes an attempt is made to give some idea of the beliefs and customs which determine the treatment carried out and, in some cases, the result of such treatment.

If we are to help these people we must try to know, and as far as possible understand their reasons for the treatment carried out by them. The following notes attempt to present some of the difficulties which will be encountered.
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ANATOMY
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including
FERTILITY RITES
In considering the subject of parturition it must be remembered that there are racial differences in the shape of the bony pelvis and that such variations may help to determine the ease or the difficulty experienced by a woman in labour. In order to compare these differences we employ the pelvic index of Turner; the measurements given by Broca, or by Topinard, or by van den Broek being useless for our purpose. Europeans on the whole are platypellic and Negros slightly so, while the Australian aborigines and the Andamanese are decidedly dolichopellic. In Melanesians the pelvis of the two sexes approximate to the masculine type" (30 p. 35)

Topinard states that Weber recognised four types of pelvic inlet "which are met within all races, but most frequently the oval form (is found) in the European, the square in the Mongolian, the round in the American, and the wedge-like in the Negro". (406 p. 306)

In a brief summary of an article by H. Rummel, the British Medical Journal of Nov. 16, 1920 stated that: "The prevailing type of pelvis in Canton has a transversely oval entrance with an outside measurement usually 2 to 3 cm. less than that of the European pelvis; there is a very marked frequency of round pelvis; these shapes of pelvis are possibly the effect of the squatting habit" (330) Other deformities may be acquired. For instance the contracted pelvis so commonly found in Uganda is probably due to customs in early life. Dr. A.R. Cook says: "Rickets is practically unknown in the country, so that we are driven to look further afield for the cause. I believe myself it is due to the almost universal custom of making even little children carry heavy pitchers of water or bundles of plantains on their heads. That component of the weight transmitted through the vertebral column, which acts parallel to the pelvic brim, would tend to force in the sacrum between the two iliac bones, and thus to diminish the antero-posterior diameter of the pelvis... I may note in passing that the proportion of pelvic contraction found in the Baganda is entirely borne out by the Negro statistics in America". (62)

We have also to consider the relation of the measurements of the child's head to those of the mother's pelvis. Prof. D.J. Cunningham showed that "the difference between the circumference of the head and the pelvis in the adult is much less in the large European than in the small Andamanese race, and it is not improbable that the relatively small pelvis of the female Andamanese has been instrumental, in some measure, in differentiating that diminutive race". He further suggests that town life, sedentary occupations and higher education of women "favour the production of large heads and imperfectly developed bodies of women" thus favouring
a "disproportion between the size of the head and the circumference of the pelvis" (70)

The female sacrum is relatively broader than that of the male. We calculate the sacral index by finding the ratio of the breadth to the length, taking the latter as equal to 100. In the average European female it is about 116 while in the Australian aborigines it is very much less (288 p. 16)

The Soft Tissues

Too little is known of the comparative racial anatomy of the soft tissues of the pelvic region to be of much help in the study of comparative obstetrics. However, a few racial characteristics may be mentioned. Fuller details can be found in the large work of Ploss and Bartels edited with additions by E.J. Dingwall (284). In Chinese women the mons veneris and the labia majora are said to be unusually developed owing to their mode of sitting. The type of development is said to approach somewhat to that of the orang-utan (140 p. 306). As these anatomical structures are of little importance for our present purpose no further illustrations need be given.

The labia minora of Hottentots are enormously elongated forming the so-called Hottentot apron. This elongation may be partly a natural peculiarity, but it is said that the young girls are so proud of this unusual development, they increase the deformity by stretching them artificially (140 p. 307). Schapera, however, says that this peculiarity "appears to be a physiological feature, and not artificially produced by manipulation, as has sometimes been suggested" (337 p. 59), but Deniker maintains that the custom is found amongst members of the Bushman race and amongst the peoples among whom the Bushman element is found - Hottentots, Nama, Grigua, etc. (80 p. 969). Stannus states that in British Central Africa "young girls by constantly pulling on the labia minora and enclosed clitoris try to cause elongation, as such is said to be admired" (372).

The clitoris was also enlarged artificially among some people such as those bordering the Aegean Sea, whose "sentimental attachment for one another was known as 'Lesbian love'". It was also practised among the Egyptians and still is to some extent among Arab women and Abyssinians as well as in the West of Africa (140 p. 368).

The natives living at the Southern end of Lake Nyasa do not appear to know the nature of carunculae myrtiformes. There is a disease called "muka" occurring in childhood and characterised by a rash. When this occurs an old medicine-woman is consulted.
She examines the mother's vulva and looks for carunculae myrtiformes, which she calls "mauka." These, she says, are the cause of the illness in the child and so she removes them with a sharp knife. (372, p. 293)

Among the soft tissues which are of importance in the course of childbearing and child-rearing we must include the breasts. In writing about the natives of Australia, Basedow says: "To him the voluminous, pendant udder-like form, which can comfortably be handed over the gin's shoulder, or under her arm, to the babe riding upon her back, would seem the orthodox and perfect creation. Indeed among most of the tribes the husbands endeavour to attain that type both by magical incantations and by actual manipulation." (14, p. 18). Among these Australian aborigines the breasts usually lie at a lower level than in Europeans, and they often are unsymmetrically developed. (Ibidem, p. 219). The natives living at the Southern end of Lake Nyasa admire prominent breasts and often tie a cord round the chests of young girls, just above the mammary glands in order to make the breasts prominent. (372, p. 317)

While names for the external organs of generation are quite numerous in the languages of many backward peoples, we find that names for the internal organs are comparatively few. For example, the Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia have special names for the pubic bone, the hair on the pubes, two words for the labia and separate words for the vaginal orifice and the vagina, yet for the internal reproductive organs there are few, but they have one for the uterus. (359 - I, p. 223).

From Asia we can take as an example the Muria of Bastar State in India. They have numerous words for the external reproductive organs - half a dozen for penis, three or four for vagina, etc., but they have no idea of the function of the testes. The hymen is practically non-existent on account of the early age at which sexual intercourse begins (99, p. 422).

In a paper dealing with the Sinangolo, natives of the Enga District in New Guinea, Prof. Seligman wrote: "A little rough dissection in the company of natives showed that they knew nothing as to the function or existence of the uteri in the Wallaby, and as elicited by English the same might be said of the vagina." (343)

Hypothetical Morphology

As has been stated, although the external organs are well known and their functions fairly well understood by most backward peoples, the structure of the internal organs of generation is a subject about which many appear profoundly ignorant. For example, among the Southern
Massim, in the region of New Guinea, the womb appears to be regarded as an undefined cavity within the belly communicating with many parts of the body - the vagina, breasts, mouth, etc. The Wagawaga tell a story of a snake which entered a girl's vagina after she had eaten its eggs. It lived curled up within her but, whenever it moved, its head emerged from her mouth. (345 p. 38250)

Another New Guinea tribe, the Sinaugolo, believe that conception takes place in the breasts since these show the first signs of pregnancy. When the child has attained a certain size, it drops to the lower part of the abdomen. Prof. Seligman says they did not seem to realize that there was any special intra-abdominal organ in which the child developed (345 p. 38250). The Kiwai Papuans say that "women at first had no vulva, but the mythical hero Marunogere bored an opening into them with a bone dagger, afterwards pouring some pigs blood into the hole." (219 p. 114). This tale was probably invented to explain the occurrence of menstruation.

The vocabulary of the Trobriand Islanders relating to matters of sex is very limited. They have special names for vagina and clitoris, but the internal female organs of generation are grouped under the general name of 'bam', which includes the uterus and placentas. They have no word for ovaries (244 p. 141).

While the Saigas in the Central Provinces of India have names for the various parts of the external organs of generation their knowledge of internal anatomy is very vague. They say that above the stomach lies a little bag, the mouth of which can open and shut. Here the embryo develops after fertilization. Their notions regarding this, however, are very vague. Some say that this bag is connected with the breasts by means of a tube. In the male, semen is produced in the chest. The only function of the testes is to induce erection of the penis (98 p. 216692).

Artificial Alteration of Anatomy.

It is the custom of many peoples, both 'primitive' and more advanced, to perform certain operations on the sex organs of both males and females with the intention of producing some effect on their fertility. The supposed effect may be to increase or to diminish their reproductive capacity, to make the progeny stronger, or the operation may have some magical or religious significance. These operations vary in severity from gross mutilations of the organs to the simplest cutting or, in some cases, to mere bloodless manipulation. Some of them are performed at initiation ceremonies without, apparently, any intention of interfering in any way with the fertility of the persons concerned and yet they may have some direct, or indirect, bearing on the reproduction of the people,
either by facilitating or by hampering childbirth, or by increasing or diminishing the fertility of the woman. As it is often difficult to decide what the original idea was, these alterations in structure will be classified according to the nature of the operation, and the real or supposed effect may be discussed under each heading. Only a few examples will be given by way of illustration.

The chief mutilations which concern us may be grouped as follows.

1. In the male: Incision, circumcision and subincision.
2. In the female: The so-called "circumcision", introcision, and infibulation.

1. The operation of incision consists of making a small cut in the prepuce on the dorsum of the penis. In Malekula, in the New Hebrides, this is supposed to prevent impotence and probably to increase virility (77 p. 245). W. E. Rivers tells us that the operation is widely practised throughout Polynesia (301 Part II). The natives of Hao in the Tuamotu Archipelago formerly performed the operation on boys between the ages of twelve and fourteen years in order to promote bodily development (338 p. 141). In British Central Africa it was once the custom (372). The Yao of Nyasaland make "a nick through the free margin of the prepuce just to the right side of the middle line near the frenum" (373) — undoubtedly a fertility custom.

Prior to the rite of circumcision a Chuka youth in East Africa wears a banana bud suspended from the waist just over the genitals, but before the operation this is cut and thrown away. A neighbouring tribe, the Masimba, also carry banana buds at their circumcision operation (271). This is definitely a fertility custom. The Jukun in the Sudan (254 p. 367) and the Ba-Yaka in the Congo (409) circumcise their boys "to make them strong" sexually. No uncircumcised Kikuyu lad can obtain a wife. They are unable to give any reason for this. As branches of the sacred fig tree are brought to the house when a circumcision is performed it would seem to be a fertility rite (388 and 19).

A third operation on the male which might have some effect on fertility is that of subincision, a slitting of the urethra from below. This is a common procedure in Australia among the Luritcha (133 - IV, p. 38) and the Arunta (135 - IV, p. 173), the Mungarai (365 p. 167, 54), and generally throughout Western and North-Western Australia (15). Rivers states that similar operations are performed by the Fijians and the Tongans (301). On account of the method of coitus, it was pointed out by W. E. Roth, this operation does not lead to infertile marriages. (322 Section 320).
One further operation on the male may be mentioned. Among the Cape Hottentots there was a custom of excising one testicle. Kolb suggested that this was in order to avoid the birth of twins, but most other writers consider that the real reason for the practice was merely to increase the swiftness of the man in running (337 p. 266–7).

2. The term "Female circumcision" has been applied to a number of mutilations varying in severity and in the position of the cuts. The simplest of these is employed in Malaya, where they make a small incision in the prepuce of the clitoris, just sufficient to draw blood. In Perak and Patani, girls are operated on when they are about ten or twelve years of age; in Jaler, however, the midwife does the incising shortly after the birth of the infant. In Perak the parts are held by pliers during the operation (3 p. 66). Bertram Thomas states that the Arabs of Oman "merely incise the top of the clitoris". (391). The Awuna of Ashanti incise their female children any time from birth up to four or five years of age (294 – II, p. 527). These are probably modifications of more extensive cuttings.

A more severe operation, excision of the labia, is employed by several tribes in Africa. The Bagesu of Mount Egion cut a piece from either side of the labia majora, and after a sacrificial meal the girls bathe in a sacred pool. This purification strengthens them and enables them to bear children (308). The operation is done in two stages by the Awimbe in Kenya. The labia minora are excised first and in the evening of the same day portions of the labia majora are cut away. The midwife then pronounces a charm to make the girls fertile (272). The neighbouring Chuka also operate in two stages, but the cutting does not seem to be so brutally done (271). In Tanganyika when a Wahche girl reaches the age of six or seven, she has the labia majora excised, but after puberty the labia minora and the clitoris are removed. This is supposed to render childbirth easier. The Wabena, a neighbouring tribe, appear to have learned this custom from the Wahche (180).

About the time of the first menstruation of a Masai girl, arrangements are made for her to undergo the operation of clitoridectomy. The excised clitoris is carefully guarded lest anyone use it to work magic on the girl (6). To ensure her fertility after the operation a lamb is slaughtered and eaten by all present at the ceremony (222). The Dorobo who live among the Masai of Kenya undergo the same operation as a preparation for marriage (195). Another Kenya tribe, the Kipsikis, or Lumbwa, practise the same rite but are unable, or unwilling (for the proceedings are kept very secret), to tell why it is done (12). Clitoridectomy is considered by the Nandi to be so important that, if any girl bears a
child before the operation, the infant is killed. Their neighbours, the Guashangishu, excise the labia as well as the clitoris after sprinkling the pudenda with wood ashes (172). A modification of the operation is sometimes performed by the Nandi of North West Kenya. The clitoris is burnt with red-hot charcoal, applied on a potsherd. At the operation girls who are virgins sit on stools, but the others have to stand (194). The Mohammedans of British Central Africa gave up this operation in 1903 on account of the heavy mortality which followed (372). At Dilling in the Nilotic Sudan, an operation, probably clitoridectomy, is performed on women about the eighth month of pregnancy, and the parts are treated with oil (350 p.389).

In Old Calabar, a girl is secluded for six months after betrothal. Near the end of this period she undergoes clitoridectomy. The glans clitoridis is drawn through a hole bored through a very thin slice of coconut shell and cut off with a sharp knife or a splinter of glass (242). All women who are not slaves in Southern Nigeria undergo this operation. When the bleeding is severe a special astringent lotion is applied (142). The Nankane and the Kasena in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast excise the clitoris and the labia about the age of puberty (294 p.81). Many other tribes in West Africa carry out similar operations.

Several Arab tribes practise clitoridectomy shortly after the birth of the infant; others wait until just before the girl is married. In the latter case it is said that the women are more lustful (287 p.81). The girls are operated on in their tents and the woman who performs the operation is paid a dollar (15 p.82).

When a Chama woman in Peru is married, an old woman performs the operation of clitoridectomy on her and applies some mud which has been treated with herbs in order to prevent infection (52 p.224).

Another mutilation which is commonly practised by the Aborigines of Queensland has been called "introcision" by W.E. Roth. It is only met with in areas in which subincision is performed on the men (322 p.179). The perineum is incised from the vagina. Gillen describes the operation as performed by the southern branch of the Arunta. The husband thrusts a piece of wood with a blunt end into the vagina of his wife and tears the perineum (133 - IV, p.165). A similar form of this operation is performed in Africa. In the French Congo the girls are deflowered by means of instruments as a preparation for marriage, probably with the idea of facilitating conception (71 p.168). The Wa-Yao also forcibly dilate the vagina by means of instruments and then submit the girl to intercourse. This renders her marriageable before puberty (210 p.410).
At puberty a Bemba girl in Northern Rhodesia undergoes hymenectomy and the hymen is thrown under a flowering tree to ensure the girl's fertility (39).

Digital dilatation of the vagina is practised among the Lambas of Northern Rhodesia when the first menstrual period occurs, and later, when the girl becomes pregnant, the midwife "inserts her hand into the vagina of the pregnant woman, closes her fist therein, and then pulls it out. This operation is repeated several times for two or three days, and the same is done shortly before the woman is delivered (82 p. 155).

We may consider briefly the subject of infibulation as a tribal custom. Several tribes in the Sudan, after excision of the labia, close the vaginal orifice of young girls in order to ensure chastity. This is only done by Mohammadans (347 p. 640). The Okrika of the Niger Delta also have this custom but, at puberty, a small opening is made with an ivory probe to allow the menstrual flow to escape (48). The Wa-Sania have a similar custom. When a female infant is about a month old "the child's pudenda are cut by a woman with a Kardu (razor); "The child's legs are tightly strapped together so that the raw surfaces of the parts grow together, leaving only a small hole to allow the child to micturate. When the flesh has become united, the child's legs are united". (9)
Physiology

Racial variations in menstruation.

Climate, food and general activity of a people may help to produce the variation in menstruation found amongst them, but apart from this there may be a racial factor. We cannot separate these yet. In Great Britain we find the average age for the onset lies between the ages of thirteen and fifteen (155 p.83).

The usual age for Persian girls to show signs of puberty is twelve (256). Khyeng girls in Arakan as a rule have their first monthly period between the ages of twelve and fifteen (119), and the Kotas of India, between twelve and sixteen (405 - IV, p.21). In Malaya the Kayan age is fourteen or fifteen (190 - II, p.166). The women of Inner Mongolia are a little later still in coming to maturity, the average age at the onset of menstruation being fifteen or sixteen (46). The Andamanese are also said to be late in starting their periods. From the records of E.H. Man menstruation does not appear to start before the fifteenth year (245 p.11).

In Africa, girls arrive at puberty at an early age. Stannus found that at the Southern end of Nyasa the periods usually started between twelve and fourteen years of age "on account of the free sexual intercourse before puberty". Formerly it was said to start much later - between sixteen and eighteen - and usually lasted from three to seven days. The present early age for the menarche is believed to be due to the free sexual intercourse which occurs at an early age in modern times (372). Baganda girls reach puberty on an average at thirteen (312 p.12). In the Upper Congo region menstruation is very early. Usually the girl is only ten or twelve years of age (71 p.165). In Nigeria also girls mature early. According to Major Tremaine menstruation starts between the ages of eleven and twelve (415 p.169).

Jivaro girls in Equador usually arrive at puberty when they are about twelve years of age (109 p.107). Before the start of menstruation an Arawaeanian girl is called a 'little woman', but after her first period which occurs shortly after attaining the age of fourteen, she is called a 'young woman' (161 p.75).

Ideas regarding the nature and cause of Menstruation.

As one would expect, we find among the Australian Aborigines peculiar notions regarding the cause of menstruation. For instance, the station master at Powell's Creek reported to Sir J.C. Fraser that the women in his area thought that a girl may
dream that a bandicoot has scratched her vagina and caused the haemorrhage (374). The Kakadu tribe in Northern Australia believe that something breaks near the woman's heart causing pain and allowing the blood to flow (365 p.326). In New Guinea the Koita have noticed that the development of the breasts coincides with the start of the monthly periods and therefore that the blood comes from the Mammea. (346 p.84). Another tribe in New Guinea, the Sinaugoro, associate menstruation with the moon and have a legend to account for this association (343). Menstruous blood is regarded by the Trobland Islanders as something different from ordinary blood and in referring to it they employ the possessive pronoun in a special way (244 p.144).

Sir J.G. Frazer, quoting De la Loubère (79) says that "a (Siamese) girl's first menstruation results from her defloration by one of a host of aerial spirits, and that the wound thus inflicted is repeated afterwards every month by the same ghostly agency". (116 - I, p.24). According to Lepcha belief a virgin cannot menstruate nor can her breasts swell. These are signs that she has had intercourse with a man or with some supernatural being (356 p.315). In the Central Provinces of India, the Baiga, a backward tribe, think that just prior to menstruation the blood fills the breasts which become enlarged and tender. It then flows through a pipe into the uterus and escapes by the vagina. They have various legends accounting for its origin (98 p.268). The ideas held by the Andamanese are rather hazy but Prof. Radcliffe-Brown says he "gathered that the girl's first menstrual discharge is supposed to be due to sexual intercourse. The man's breath goes into her nose and this produces the discharge". (290 p.94).

A few examples can be taken from Africa. The Baganda say that menstruation is induced through the influence of the moon, especially at the time of its waning (306). In Northern Rhodesia the Ba-ila believe that certain creatures called bapuka control various physiological functions. It is a female mupuka which controls menstruation. In a young girl it is immature but develops as she grows older and when she first menstruates it is said that "the mupuka has given her blood" (359 - I, p.227). C.W. Hobley tells us that the Ja-Lac of British East Africa believe that menstruation is caused by the New Moon. (172). As the Wa-Sania, in British East Africa, consider the monthly discharge very dangerous to men, a girl's father must leave the house as soon as his daughter's period begins and must not return to it until the discharge ceases. She must cover her face when she has to go out of the house for purposes of nature. During her first period, which is always considered the most dangerous, the girl must not eat in the presence of others (9). Westermarck says that "in Morocco it is believed that menstruous blood is due to Eve eating the forbidden fruit in Eden and that
it is actually the fruit changed to blood." (436 - II, p. 5)

Source and Nature of the Seminal Fluid.

Although our subject deals chiefly with females, it is necessary to refer briefly to the male sex and the part played by man in reproduction.

That seminal fluid has some fertilising power seems to be understood by certain Australian aborigines in spite of their alleged ignorance. They collect the semen of several men after they have had intercourse with one woman and float this out to sea in order to increase the number of fish (369 p.19). In his book on the Trobiand Islanders, Malinowski tells us that these people believe that the sex organs "serve for excretion and for pleasure". They are ignorant of the function of the testes and consider them simply ornamental appendages. The semen has its origin in the kidneys and is conveyed thence to the penis. Both male and female secretions serve only to lubricate the parts during coitus (244 p.142). In the neighbouring D'Entrecasteaux Group the natives of the Island of Dobu believe that the seminal fluid is coconut milk which has passed through the male, but it is understood to be the means of fertilising the woman (110 p.238). It is doubtful whether the Kiwai Papuans fully understand the nature of semen although they employ it together with other things, including ashes of dugong skin and bush-fowl's eggs, to increase the yield of yams in their gardens (219 p.77).

In India we find that the Baigas of the Central Provinces have very crude notions regarding reproduction. They believe that the testes only induce erection of the penis and that the seminal fluid is produced within the abdomen, probably in, or somewhere near, the bladder, from which it is conveyed to the penis through a pipe (98 p.217). The ancient Zoadastrian idea regarding the seminal fluid seems to have been that it gave strength to the offspring (452 - XV, p. 463).

We have seen how the Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia believe that menstruation is controlled by a mupuka. There is another mupuka in the male and this secretes the semen, but certain types of food, such as hen's eggs, fat, and ground-nuts will inhibit its normal function (359 p.226). The Rev. J. Roscoe tells us that among the Baganda "a person speaking of himself prior to birth says: 'Whilst I was still in the calves of my father's legs.' A man's seed is always said to be in the calves of his legs, and a man with large calves is admired and spoken of as being able to beget children" (306). The Awa-Wanga of British East Africa seem to look upon the seminal fluid as a vitalizing agent for we are told that "many believe that within five or six days of the birth of a child the parents
must cohabit, or the child will die" (172). G.D. Hornblower pointed out that the Ancient Egyptians recognised that "no calves could be produced without the preliminary action of a bull" and therefore used the symbol of the phallus as a determinative after the word signifying "bull". (187).

Writing in the first century B.C. Lucretius speaks of the seed being produced in the limbs (230 - IV, p.158).

Idea regarding Conception.

Very few races of mankind are completely ignorant of the cause of conception although in some cases their ideas may be very hazy. For example the Trobriand Islanders appear to be wholly unaware of the association between sexual intercourse and pregnancy. The father would appear to be in no way related to the child. Conception, they believe, is due to the passage of a spirit-child from Tuma, the land of spirits, into its mother's womb. Through the careful investigation carried out by Malinowski we learn that this spirit child is transferred to the Trobriands and laid on the head of the woman who is to become its mother. Blood rushes to the woman's head and causes the spirit child to descend into her womb where retained menstrual blood serves as nourishment for the growing embryo. After missing three periods the woman knows she is pregnant. Another explanation of pregnancy is that the spirit children may drift about the shores of the islands and enter the womb of a woman when she bathes (244 p.147,38). The natives of Dobu think that the semen, which has already been referred to, causes the menstrual blood to coagulate and form the foetus (110 p.238). The notion of conception held by the natives of Kiwai Island is not much in advance of the last. While they understand the natural cause of pregnancy they also believe that other causes sometimes operate, such as swallowing certain things - "a swamp-fish which contained certain eggs, or the woman's own ear-lobe, or some seeds from her ear ornaments" - or the smell of a banana, or "a digital assault committed by a man (219 p.228). A folk-tale of the Kiwai Papuans tells how a woman of Djibou "became pregnant through eating some swamp-fish which contained certain 'eggs'. After a time she bore a son". (16 p.86).

The Koita of New Guinea believe that cohabitation must continue for at least a month before one can expect pregnancy to occur. As menstruation and swelling of the breasts occur together they believe the blood comes from the breasts and that the foetus is formed from this blood (346 p.84). It is stated by Prof. Seligman that folk-tales of the Southern Massim contain stories of virgin birth and of conception without the presence of a human father (16 p.378).
Certain native tribes in Western Papua believe that an invisible 'something', called Birumbir "is the animating principle in human beings", and "the embryo from which the material body develops in the uterus". It is placed in the womb per vulvam in the form of semen "by an eel-like creature called Tombadbir" which haunts rivers, creeks and waterholes. This creature is supposed to impregnate any woman who bathes in the well when she is there. Pregnancy can only occur after puberty when a passage has been opened (233). As the breasts show the first signs of pregnancy, the Sinuagdo believe that this is where conception takes place, but the pregnancy is due to frequent cohabitation. Seligman says that "perhaps the belief that conception takes place in the breasts may be due in part to the undeveloped condition in which the young of the Wallaby... are found attached to the nipple, where they are believed to have grown" (343 p.300).

Some of the aboriginal tribes of Australia are said to be completely ignorant of the cause of pregnancy. For example, the Arunta who live in Central Australia, believe that spirit children lurk in totem trees, rocks and other natural objects in certain areas, and are ready to enter any woman who visits their vicinity. The child enters her through the loins. It is very small and shapeless, having neither head nor limbs. It has the totem of the area in which it was conceived (366 - I,p.363). It is said that spirit children prefer to have fat women as mothers (ib. - I, p.77). All spirit children have lived before as men or women and are ready to be re-incarnated when the opportunity arises (365 p.263). Andrew Lang Pointed out that Strehlow (379) stated that while the younger members of the Arunta are thus ignorant of procreation their seniors know but do not inform the young men or the women (220), and this statement is confirmed by Van Gennep (131). The Kulin of Victoria say that "the child comes from the man, and the woman only takes care of it". (296). Read states that ignorance of paternity is found among the Arunta and Luritja but "not amongst the Dieri and other tribes near Lake Eyre, who seem to be in culture inferior to the Arunta" (266p.154). It appears that the Larrekiya in the North of Australia believe that some hollow objects may have spirit children in them ready to enter any lubra who happens to be near them. Another possible medium for carrying spirit children is a whirlwind (14 p. 6139). Sir Baldwin Spencer states that the Kakadu, as well as some other Australian tribes, "have a belief in a double spirit... The origin of spirit, called Yalmuru, gives off a double, called Iwaigu. It is the latter that enters a woman and, after it has done so, the Yalmuru comes some night to the father and tells him that the child inside his wife is so-and-so, naming the old ancestor of whom he is a reincarnation, and saying also what his totem is". (365 p.2439). How the Iwaigu finds the right mother is fully described in
Malekula in the marriage ceremony, Euahlayi mentioned by water, which the people worked and they wish. She then believed that, if a woman dips her toes in the water, "one at once passes into her up her leg, or, if she stops and drinks, goes down into her through her mouth." (393 p.266). A.R. Brown says that, if a Kariera man gives some food to a woman of the right relationship and she becomes pregnant, the man is said to be the wooru of the child, the pregnancy being caused by the food eaten. The wooru is usually the real father's brother (37). When a woman of the Ingarda tribe becomes pregnant they believe it is due to some food eaten by the woman just before her first sickness in pregnancy (38). S.D. Porteus, describing the birth of a Luritcha child, says that when the mother was gathering the bulbs of the nut-grass she strayed into the patch of mulga in which she stoped. When she realised where she was, she averted her eyes but the spirit of the child had been watching and entered her body. She then realised that she had left the spot too late for she felt the spirit of the child move within her. "Among the tribes around the Cairns district in North Queensland, the acceptance of food from a man by a woman was not merely regarded as a marriage ceremony, but as the actual cause of conception". (118).

A.B. Deacon found that the natives of Malekula in the New Hebrides had no clear idea regarding the part played by the semen in the production of offspring. The cessation of menstruation caused "an accumulation and congestion of blood inside the womb", and this, they said, formed the child (77 p.231). The people of the Arosi District of San Cristoval, one of the Solomon Islands, say that virgins may conceive children through the action of water and "women who wish to have children regularly drink a great deal of water, so that they may conceive". (112 p.253). The people of Lau, also in the Solomons, tell a story of a girl who conceived by the sun. They say that she "sat out in the open in the village weeding, and as she worked she sweated in the heat of the sun's rays, and conceived thereby". (203 p.292). G. Turner tells of a Samoan legend about a woman who became pregnant through looking at the rising sun (419 p.200), and the Rev. Dr. Brown also tells of a Samoan lady "who became pregnant without having any husband." The child became a hero (40 p.48) as one might expect! Two cases in which women became pregnant by deceased males are mentioned by R.W. Williamson (447 - I, p.208 and II, p.44). The first quoted from Lisiansky (Voyage round the World p.89) tells how a woman could become pregnant by placing herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather. The other is from Caillot's "Mythes"
(p.283) in which it is stated that "a Fijian woman had a son by Mani-kisi-kisi, through having passed several times over his dry bones".

While the Andamanese recognise the physical origin of their offspring their belief in the origin of the soul resembles that of the Australians. There is a reef on which there are numerous stones which the natives think were formerly children. When a woman desires a child she walks on to this reef when the tide is low and stands on these stones expecting that one of the baby souls will enter her body and will be born as her child. They also believe that the Ficus tree has baby souls on it waiting to be born, and that when a baby dies before weaning it goes back to the tree and waits to be born again. Some believe that it is when the green pigeon is calling that the soul enters its mother (290 p.90).

Many Hindu castes have stories of miraculous or virgin births which need not be considered here. Although the Baiga, a backward tribe in the Central Provinces of India, understand the normal method of procreation, they also believe that a girl can conceive by drinking a man's urine, and they say that a girl became pregnant by licking a cloth which had semen on it (98 p.216). A Marathi legend tells how a certain king when hunting became very thirsty. Seeing a lake with beautiful clear water he gargled with some of the water and let it fall again into the lake. A young girl, feeling tired and thirsty, drank some of the water and became pregnant thereby (214). The Todas have a legend about a woman who became pregnant through one of their deities, Korateu, striking her on the head with an iron rod (300 p.191). Gorer says that the Lepchas of Sikkim believe that when the male and the female secretions mingle "the soul arrives from heaven or the place of the gods (the first being the lamaist, the second the Mon, repository of unborn people); the father's semen provides the bone and brain, the mother's vaginal secretions the flesh and blood". They believe that "conception is shown by the cessation of the menses, which were instituted for that purpose. The child does not feed on the menstrual blood; menstruation is exclusively a calendar." (138 p.282). According to a Chinese legend the ancestress of the Manchu dynasty was "a heavenly maiden, who, after bathing in a pond, found on the skirt of her garment a red berry... By eating it she became the mother of Aisin-Gioro, the hero who was to restore peace to his people" (27). Miss Hilma Grandquist, who carried out research work among the Arabs in the village of Artas in Southern Palestine, says that the people there believe that, when a woman conceives, an angel inserts a lump of kneaded dust into her womb (141). The Koryaks of Siberia believe that the soul of some ancestor is sent by the Supreme Being into the child in the mother's womb (72 p.136).
Although there is no ignorance found among African tribes as to the normal origin of offspring, yet some think that children may be conceived in other ways. For instance, the Baganda believe that anyone who died a violent death might be reincarnated in any woman who ventured too near the burial place of that individual (312 p.47 sq). They bury all still-born children at cross-roads and place thorns upon their graves to prevent their ghosts from entering the mothers again (306). The Banyankole believe that conception can only occur during the increasing moon (314 p.110). The Masai say that conception can only follow full sexual intercourse during the five or six days following amenstrual period (222). A tale of abnormal conception is told by the Nuer about a woman who was barren, but after being given a frog to eat she became pregnant (350 p.232). In this case it is not quite clear whether the eating of the frog was the actual cause of her conception or simply the factor which enabled her to conceive by natural means. Another woman conceived through a hyaena stepping over her (Ib. P.146).

According to the Azande, or Niam-Niams of Central Africa, a child is formed by the entrance of a spirit from the father into the womb of the mother. Both parents must, however, make their contribution, otherwise the union will be sterile. The sex of the child depends upon whose spirit is the stronger, the father's giving rise to a son and the mother's to a daughter (Ib. p.534). The tribes at the southern end of Lake Nyasa thought that the child was formed entirely from the semen and that the female contributed nothing (372).

In West Africa the Hausa say that a girl must be careful not to sit on any spot that is still hot after a man has been sitting there, for, if she does, she runs the risk of becoming pregnant (418). Some of the Hausas wear trousers during certain ceremonies. They believe there is some magic in this attire and a woman must be careful, for she may become pregnant by wearing a man's trousers or loin-cloth (Ib. p.27). Impregnation by mouth is suggested in some Hausa folk-tales (Ib. 32). Among many tribes in Northern Nigeria it is believed that pregnancy is due to the entrance of an ancestral spirit into the woman's womb. In a dream she may be warned of the dead ancestor's desire to be re-incarnated. The behaviour of the child after birth and the resemblance to that ancestor confirm the identity (252 II 72). While the physical side of procreation is fully understood by the Ibos of Nigeria they think that fertility is due to the great Mother Goddess of the Earth who delegates to certain subordinates the responsibility for placing in the womb the spirit of the being about to be born (386 p.60). In Ashanti they say that "it is the ntoro (i.e. spirit) of the man mingling with the mogya (i.e. blood) of the woman that ... forms the child, and just as the woman transmits her mogya or blood, so the man transmits his
ntoro." (292 p.36). In Nigeria the Kwottos think that the spirit of some ancestor must enter the womb, otherwise the woman will not conceive (449 p.185). The Isala of Ashanti believe that some spiritual help is needed to induce conception. This may be a human spirit, or some influence from a natural object such as a plant or a rock (294 - II p.499). The weather at the time of conception, or the season, is supposed by the Moroccans to influence the child after birth (436 - I, p.127). I. Schapera tells of a Hottentot girl who was believed to become pregnant through swallowing the juice from a certain grass. They believe that conception takes place in the bladder (337 p.259f).

Embryology.

Until embryology was recognised as a subject worthy of study, comparatively little was known about the development of the embryo in utero and many curious notions must have been held similar to those found among more backward peoples of the present day. As we have seen already, the Koita of New Guinea believe that the foetus is formed of blood derived from the breasts (346 p.64), but they appear to be totally ignorant of its actual development. The Sinangolo think that the child is conceived in the breast and drops to the lower part of the abdomen when it has attained a certain size, but it appears that they do not know of any special organ in which it is lodged (26 p.300). On Kiwai Island the Pauans say that the head of the foetus develops first, then the body. It lies in the mother's abdomen head uppermost, but shortly before delivery it turns and presents as a head. Cohabitation must continue during the early period of pregnancy to ensure the normal development of the embryo and to avoid the risk of the mother dying at the time of delivery (210 p.229f). The Arapesh of South-West New Guinea say the embryo is formed from blood and semen. The limbs develop first and the head last (251 p.33).

The ignorance of the Arunta in Australia regarding the development of the human embryo is so great that "on the very rare occasions on which a child is born at a very premature stage, as the result of an accident, nothing will persuade them that it is an undeveloped human being; they are perfectly convinced that it is the young of some other animal, such as a kangaroo, which has by mistake got inside the woman." (368 - I, p.39).

The natives of Malekula in the New Hebrides believe that the cessation of the menses leads to an accumulation of blood in the uterus. This increases month by month, becomes concentrated and forms a yolk which finally develops into the child (77 p.231). It was the belief of the Maori of New Zealand in bygone days that the eyes of the foetus were formed first, then
the head, and after that the other parts of the body.
The spirit of a child, they said, "is implanted in the foetus before birth, at the time when the eyes assume form." The foetus received its nourishment, they believed, through the fontanelles which close just before birth (22).

In Sikkim the Lepchas believe that the head of the foetus is the first part formed, then the trunk and last of all the limbs. The head takes one month to form and the foetus is complete in five months. It then acquires a soul. The bones are developed from the father's semen and the flesh from the mother's vaginal secretion. The foetus gets its nourishment from its mother's menstrual blood (265 p. 239). Gorer states that the Lepchas say that the bones and the brain come from the father, while the flesh and the blood come from the mother. The foetus, during development, feeds on a butter-like substance obtained through a kind of nipple (138 p. 283). The Arabs, who are very strict in their acceptance of every statement in the Qur'an, if asked for an opinion regarding the origin and development of infants will repeat, "Read, in the name of thy Lord, who hath created all things; who hath created man of congealed blood." (289 - XCVI, y. 2).

We have seen how the Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia believe in certain creatures called bapuka which control various functions. One special mupuka, called Chibumba, occupies the uterus and moulds the semen to form the embryo. The pains during labour are due to the attempts of this creature to prevent the birth of the child in order that it may devour the infant. Children born with some defect such as hare lip are considered proof of the correctness of this belief (359 - I, p. 227). In West Africa some of the Hausa say that "for the first forty days the womb contains only water,... for the next forty blood, and for the forty after that a worm-like object. During the following forty days this gradually changes into a human being, though very small... Another informant says that the child is formed at the end of three months in the case of a female, but not until one hundred and twenty days if a male." For ten days life is breathed into the foetus then "Allah pushes the womb to the front one night when the woman is asleep." (417 p. 98). There is a Kakongo version of the rhyme relating to the fingers. A native woman told Dennet that "the little finger claimed to be chief (or the first?) because the little finger and the 'tragus' of the ear were the first parts of a child in conception to be formed". (81 p. 62).

Period of Gestation.

Since the Australian aborigines do not understand the real cause of pregnancy and can only
reckon its duration from the first sign of quickening, they can have no idea of the true period of gestation. Male Papuans of Kiwai Island also have very hazy notions regarding pregnancy and its duration. Landtman says he was informed by the men that it lasted about five months and some of them thought that the period was much shorter than that (219 p.229).

In Northern Rhodesia the Ba-ila have very confused ideas regarding the duration of pregnancy. One married man thought it was about twelve months but the women, nearer in their guess as one would expect, said it was about ten months. This may be due to the uncertain way in which they reckon time (359 - II, p.7). While the majority of the tribes in Northern Nigeria recognise that the usual gestation period is nine months, "many Negro peoples believe that this period may be considerably longer, and it is worth while noting that among the Shafiite and Malikite Muslims a condition of pregnancy is regarded as possible for four or seven years and that children born so long after the dissolution of marriage may still be reckoned as legitimate" (252 - II, p.73). Tremearne states that: "A Hausa on the Gold Coast gives the shortest time with normal women as six months, the longest nine, though some go on for four years if afflicted with a disease" (417 p.98). Hanafi law allows two years after dissolution of marriage for a legitimate birth (16 p.441).

The Muria of Bastar state in India say that a female child is born after nine months of pregnancy, but a boy after ten months (99 p.70).

The belief of the Zuñi Indians in America is the same as that of the Muria in India (383 p.296). The Moche of Peru say that males are born eight months and eight days after conception, while the time for females is nine months and nine days. (134 p. 136). In Chili the Araucanians say that nine months is the gestation period for males but they believe the time for girls is less (161 p.9).

**Fecundity.**

It is difficult to estimate the relative fecundity of peoples who are given to the practice of inducing abortion to any extent. This applies particularly to such regions as Australia and Oceania with one important exception – New Zealand where the value of eugenics is fully appreciated by the Maori and every possible care is taken to ensure the birth of healthy offspring.

We are told that in Queensland "the women bear their first child at the age of eighteen to twenty years... and seldom have more than three or four" (231 p.134), but this statement is misleading as it does not take into
account the infants lost through the practice of producing abortion in the later months of pregnancy as recorded by W.E. Roth (322 p.183). On the other hand it is stated that the aborigines of Victoria appear to be very prolific where food is abundant; and cases are cited of two women who had ten and thirteen children respectively (363 - I, p.78).

In New Britain a considerable number of the women are said to be sterile, although some have fairly large families, but here, too, abortion is practised (40 p. 3359). Among the people of the Northern D'Entrecasteaux group the average number of children is from two to three in a family, but, as abortion is very frequently induced (207 p.51), this must be too low a figure. Basil Thomson found that in Fiji the average number of children per family was 2.94 and says that the relatively high birth rate in spite of induced miscarriages shows how fertile these people must be (402 p.195). The Gilbert Islanders are said to be exceedingly prolific and a professional midwife on the islands said that "four or five children are considered enough, and any above that number are not allowed to come to maturity. All women practise abortion because they are so prolific. If they did not they would have from ten to twenty a piece (402 p.211). In Samoa there were seldom more than three children in a family. There appeared to be a want of virility in the men for the women proved to be much more prolific with white husbands than with those of their own race (40 p.47 and p.424).

In the Nicobar Islands the greatest number of children recorded for one family is twelve and it would appear that families of six or seven children are by no means uncommon. The birth rate in the south, however, seems to be lower than in the northern group of islands (246 p.120). E.H. Bann, writing in 1885 said that in the Andaman Islands "three or four is the average number of children born of the same parents. The largest family known consisted of six, three of whom attained maturity." (245 p.13). A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, however, at a much later date, states that the birthrate in the Andaman Islands has fallen almost to nothing. He says: "A birth is of rare occurrence, and of the children born very few survive infancy." (290 p.16).

The Sakai of Malaya have on an average four children per family although there is one record of sixteen. The women are fertile up to almost forty-two years of age. (358 - II, p.12). The usual number born in a Tembeh family is two (35 - II, p.47), while for a Jakun family the number is three (35 - II, p.24). With regard to the Hawken, or Sea-Gypsies of Malaya, we are told that their women give birth to a child every twelve or eighteen months (439 p.199). The women of one tribe of the Semang, who live in Siam, are said to bear a child every year (340). Without giving any statistics,
Father P. Dehon remarks on the extreme prolificity of the Orans of Chota Nagpur (78). The birthrate among the Chenchus of Hyderabad is very high. The average number of children per married woman is 3.5, but many of these women being very young are likely to have a larger number still. Among the women past the age of child-bearing the average number is 5.5 (120 p.148). The Kasai, a caste of butchers in the Central Provinces of India, are supposed to be so prolific that there is a saying that: "The butcher's daughter will bear children when she is ten years old" (331 - III, p.347). In Assam, Lushai women have on an average from five to seven children each (352 p.2). It is said that Persian women become mothers when very young and if there is no sign of a child within a year and a half the husband may divorce his wife (256 p.335). In her book on Siberia, Miss Czaplicka says the Kamchadal are not a prolific people. The Chukchees on the other hand are "one of the most prolific tribes in north-eastern Asia." Quoting Sieroszewski she says: "Yakut marriages are generally fruitful averaging ten children to a woman, but becoming less so towards the northern districts, although the Yakut are everywhere more prolific than the Tungus" (72 p.141).

Coming to Africa, we find the Bagesu, living on Mount Eglon, a most fertile tribe, many families consisting of ten children (315 p.25) and their neighbours, the Basabei, have about the same number (26 p.72). Large families are also found among the Baganda, sometimes ten or even twelve, and that in spite of the long time they continue to nurse their children (312 p.57). Emin Pasha said that many of the Banyoro were barren and most of the women had only two or three children (101 p. 8459). In his book on the Suk of East Equatorial Africa, Beech says: "In sharp contrast to the Turkana, whose children are legion, the Suk appear to have hardly any children at all, and those that are visible are but poor and weakly specimens." (18 p.22). The Beshuana are fairly prolific, the average number of children being six or seven, but some have as many as twelve (83 p.271).

With reference to the relative infertility of the Ba-ila we are told: "One reason, perhaps the chief, is the unproductiveness caused by the astonishing promiscuity of their sexual relations and the extreme earliness of age at which these relations commence." (359 - I, p.16). In the neighbourhood of Fort Johnston in Nyasaland it is said that the average number of children in one family is from three to five, only three out of every five survive to adult life (372 p.310), the greatest number born to one woman being twelve (396 p.312). Giving the figures for four villages in Nigeria, Northcote Thomas states that the average number of children per husband (among the Edo-speaking peoples), including only those who remain alive, was 2.7 per wife and 4.5 per husband (395 p.35)
The Eskimo of Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory, seldom have more than two to four children, although exceptionally six to eight may be found in one family (420 p.18359). The Araucanians of the Argentine are very fertile having from six to fifteen children in a family in which boys predominate (161 p.265). Fals-Borda in his study of the Chibcha in the Colombian Andes says: "The fertility rate (the number of children under five years of age per one thousand women age 15 to 44 inclusive) is high, 371," and it works out at 6.5 per mother (107 p.56).
Magic.

While magic cannot be looked upon as a subject worthy of serious study for its own sake, yet it is of considerable importance in comparative studies, such as midwifery, and, if we neglect it, we shall be unable to understand the reasons for the treatment adopted by the more backward peoples during the pregnancy and confinement of their womenfolk and therefore shall be unable to help them as much as we should.

Magic of the Generative Organs.

In this section we must consider first of all the magical power, or mana, which is inherent in the organs of generation and its influence on their environment.

One of the Arunta tribes of Australia, the Ilpirra, believe that the internal reproductive organs of the male opossum, or other marsupial, can give strength to a delicate woman. These organs are placed on the mons veneris of the woman while her husband sings over them, then they are given to the woman who must swallow the charmed organs whole. To promote sexual desire in a woman, her husband can take the same parts half cooked and coated with grease and, after singing over this 'medicine', present the dose to his wife who swallows it. A similar result may be obtained by squeezing the fluid out of these organs into the vulva of his wife (367 p.465).

Writing about the natives of Kiwai Island and the neighbouring shores of New Guinea, Landtman says: "The female sexual organs are regarded as in high degree the source of all kinds of witchcraft, beneficent as well as malignant... These notions explain why the mere idea of nudity in the case of women evokes the greatest abhorrence. What causes so much dread, detestation and embarrassment must be kept hidden" (219 p.235). When a Kiwai Papuan is going to war his wife sometimes gives him a piece of ginger which she has kept for a time inside her vulva. He chews this when fighting and spits the juice on himself "He spits just a little at his legs and the rest into his hand, with which he then draws his eyelids upwards, forcing his eyes wide open." This charm is to enable him to kill a man. "If instead of ginger a certain plant named manababa is used, a woman will be killed instead of a man." By other sexual means they think they can take any enemy unawares and can tell if an expedition against an enemy is likely to be successful (218).

The Maoris believe that the sexual organs are possessed of great power, the male being preservative and the female destructive. Elsdon Best says that an old man of the Tuhoe tribe once said to him that the
"male organ is a destroyer of man in one sense, for, by its powers, the workers of magic are confounded. But it is really the saviour of man... If two persons are engaged in a contention, and one thinks that the other has the intention of bewitching him, he at once withdraws to a secluded spot, takes hold of his penis, and draws back the foreskin. He then returns, holding his hand half closed as though still grasping his penis, expectorates into that hand, and makes a motion with it towards his adversary as though throwing something at him. That act, will save him and will destroy his opponent (or render his magic futile)." (23).

A Lakher in Assam dare not show his genitals to his son or to his sister's son as this would be a curse sufficient to cause death unless a fowl is sacrificed and eaten by both parties together (277 p.474). When the sex organs of a little Rengma girl are very pale it is believed that any man who marries her will die an accursed death (262 p.205). A charm, commonly worn in the Tsang Province of Tibet, consists of human ashes on a small copper plate, wrapped up with the image of a penis (425). The Kintak Bong of Perek say that when fish are being caught by means of tuba poison, no mention should be made of the private parts of a man or woman, otherwise the poison will have no effect on the fish (106 p.185). A cure for fickleness employed in Japan consists of a paper showing the genitals of the 'victim' (i.e. the fickle person). This is boiled in a mixture containing seven ingredients and the resulting solution given to the victim to drink (165). Lingam worship in India has probably arisen from this idea of 'power' in the generative organs.

Africa supplies us with many examples of the magical power of the organs of generation and a few may be given here. In Nigeria, a Borj magician who managed to get the foreskin of a circumcised youth would have sufficient power over him to kill him with his magic (418). It was an Ibo custom to worship both the male and the female genital organs. They were believed not only to have the power of granting children but were also protectors of family and village, and were able to promote fertility amongst the cattle (334p.65). TheEkoi of South Cameroons and Southern Nigeria set a pot before their sacred images and "during the annual rites a woman was formerly sacrificed and the genital organs cut out and laid in the sacred pot." We are told that "it is of considerable significance that traces of male semen have been found in no inconsiderable number of the pots set before Ibudu images and in other juju shrines throughout the Ibo country." (14. 586). The Ibibio and Yoruba sell small pieces of the phallus, removed during circumcision in Juju markets, as "fertilising agents in farm and byre as well as by the hearth." (385 p.275). The Mankans of Ashanti say of any girl who has not had her nymphae
removed that she will spoil the yoka pumpkins if she steps across them (294 - I, p.168). The Bakiitara of Uganda believed that "circumcised persons or any who had mutilations on the generative organs, would be drowned if they tried to cross (the river Muzizi); and any malformed persons had to buy their safety with special offerings before crossing." (313 p.43).

Magic of Menstruation.

The more primitive beliefs regarding the nature and the cause of menstruation have been briefly considered but we have now to see what the supposed effect is upon the woman and her environment, and how any ill effects can be avoided or treated.

Let us begin by considering the views of the natives of Australia and Oceania. When a girl of the Yaraikanna tribe in North Queensland reaches puberty she is compelled to live alone for several weeks and must be seen by no man. She lies on her back in a specially constructed shelter and must not see the sun but must keep her eyes closed till sunset as the sun could harm her and give her a diseased nose. If she were to eat anything that lives in salt water, she would be killed by a snake. Her food during her seclusion consists of roots, yams and water. The Uiyumkwin in the same region make a girl lie full length in a depression dug in the sand which must cover her legs and body up to, but not including the breasts. Here she remains for a few hours under a shelter made of boughs. She and her attendant then search for food in the bush. When the period is over the girl stands over heated stones while water is thrown over her and she is thoroughly steamed. After this she is painted with red and white stripes and returns to camp (345 - V, p.205). The complete isolation of these girls is on account of the danger of menstrual blood for any male member of the tribe, while the red and white pigments used before returning to camp are to show that the danger is now over. The steaming purifies the girl and allows her to mix with others without risk to them or to anything she comes in contact with. In another tribe in British New Guinea, the Arapeah, a girl is secluded in a special hut where she must sit with her legs straight in front of her and uncrossed. All ornaments are removed and she is rubbed with nettles, one of which must be rolled up and inserted in her vagina. Certain plants and cocoons are given to her to promote fertility (251 p.7359). A Koita girl is not isolated during menstruation but she must not enter a new garden in case she spoils the produce (346 p.140).

Similar beliefs are found on the neighbouring islands. On Saibai, just south of British New Guinea, isolation is carried out just as we do in cases of infectious disease, but she is not allowed to handle food
so must be fed by her attendants. The latter must wash in salt water before speaking to any man. On the islands of Yan and Tutu a girl at her first menstruation goes into the bush where she is "blackened all over with charcoal and wears a long petticoat reaching to below her knees." She is prepared for matrimony (by occasional beatings). Seclusion lasts a month then the charcoal with which she had been coated is washed off (345 p.202). Among the Kiwi Fquans no woman who is menstruating is allowed to go near a drum when it is being made or it will break, and her husband is under the same restrictions during her period. While menstrual blood is injurious for yams, they say it is beneficial for bananas. During her period a married woman cannot cook for her husband, nor can she feed a dog that is employed in hunting. It is believed that the power of menstrual blood is so great, a little mixed with food forms a deadly poison (219 p.23759). On the island of Malekula in the New Hebrides the natives have such a horror of menstrual blood that, should a period start when a woman is journeying with her husband, he will leave her and go by a different route. It is taboo for a woman when menstruating to enter a garden in which there are young, growing plants, and her husband is also tabued (77 p.156). The people living on the small artificial islands to the north of Big Mala in the Solomon Group segregate their women during their periods. They must provide their own food, water, and even wood for their fires. Since these are unobtainable on their small island they must be brought from a neighbouring island, and since the women are not allowed to use native canoes, they are obliged to make rafts and must land at a spot not used by others. With the exception of young unmarried men and boys, all males who come in contact with a menstruating woman, or with anything she has used became defiled and must be purified by giving the priest an areca nut to eat (203 p. 10259). The rules in Samoa are not so strict. There is no seclusion of a woman during her monthly period but she must avoid preparing bread-fruit pudding and kava (251 p.59). If a Maori woman were to collect any foodstuffs when menstruating, this would lead to a death in the supply. Her soiled diaper must be buried in a secret place and must be seen by no person but herself (240 p.139).

No Andamanese man would dare to touch a girl during her monthly period as this would cause his arm to swell up (290 p.94). Menstruation not only renders a Lakher woman impure but also affects her husband and prevents him from making certain sacrifices (277 p.367 and 370). A Rengma woman during her monthly period is not allowed to go near the bottle gourds which are used for holding rice-beer, probably because this is sometimes used in purification ceremonies (262 p.78), and the woman must sleep on a mat spread on the floor (26 p.212).

In India there are so many different castes,
each with its special caste rules, that only a few can be mentioned. The main points to be considered are the ill effects on the woman herself and the way in which she may influence adversely her environment or those with whom she comes in contact, and the means by which such ill effects may be avoided or neutralised. In the Central Provinces, a Gond woman is considered so impure during her periods that she is not allowed to draw water from any well, nor to cook any food, as she would contaminate them. She must not enter a cowshed since cows are sacred. Sometimes she is confined to a building out of sight of her village and when her friends bring her food, they dare not see her face in case of being polluted thereby, or lest some evil should befall them (331 - III, p.83). The Halbas say of a woman who is menstruating that she has a dirty head; she must not walk on a ploughed field, nor may the male members of her family plough, or sow seed, during her period of impurity. Any cloth stained with menstrual blood must be buried; to burn it would render the woman sterile and, "if a barren woman should swallow the ashes of the cloth, the fertility of its owner would be transferred to her" (46 - III, p.196). For a Kunbi woman to touch cotton during her monthly period would defile it beyond all possible purification and if any has been touched accidentally it must be thrown away before her purification. Wool, however, is too sacred to be defiled (46 - IV, p.285q). A Kunbi woman believes that if she were to walk across the shadow of a man while her periods are on, her next child will be like that man (46 - IV, p.67). In the Vedanta strict rules are given to be observed during menstruation. The woman must not drink from a metal vessel nor wear a fresh dress for three days. She must not be touched by a Sudra (a member of one of the lowest castes). At the end of three days she must wash and her husband makes her pound rice which is to be used in further rites (424 p.2185q).

Badaga women in Southern India occupy a special hut during menstruation and any child touched by such a woman must be bathed to remove the pollution before it can be handled by others without defiling them. (405 - I, p.102). All articles which have been in the room of a menstruating Chaliyan woman must be thrown into a river or a tank owing to the defilement (46 - II, p.13). At the puberty rites observed by the Palayas of Cochin, the water from seven coconuts is poured over the head of the girl and she is isolated in a temporary hut for seven days after which a feast is held and the girl gets an oil bath and any demons are cast out by 'music' from flute and drum. If possessed, the girl leaps with frantic movements, and the demons when driven out are nailed to the trunk of a tree after being cast out of her (46 - II, 625q). During the first four days of her period a Kudumi woman is considered so impure that her breath can contaminate others up to a distance of seven
In order to remove such impurity from a Tiyan woman, she receives a new cloth from the washerwoman who retains the soiled one given for washing. This exchange is second in importance to no custom. It must be done on the last day of pollution (16- VI, p. 353). To prevent any contagion by contact a Toreya girl pulls down and burns the hut she occupied during her first menstruation (16- VII, p. 178).

A Birhor woman of Chota Nagpur can do much harm to her environment during menstruation, and it is believed that if she were to touch a man, even by chance, her own husband would die through an accident or illness. Each clan has its own beliefs (326 p. 113 and 250). The Kharias of Orissa and Chota Nagpur think that the first menstruation after marriage is so dangerous that cohabitation within the next seven days would lead to the death of either husband or wife. The latter is accordingly taken to her parents' house for safety (328 - I, p. 203). If any person were to take food from a Baiga woman in the Central Provinces of India during that woman's period, he or she will be attacked by a tiger, or bitten by a snake, or perhaps, by Nareyan Deo that very day (98 p. 211). The malign influence of menstruation is thought to be so virulent amongst the Muria of Bastar State that if a woman happened to start her period when her husband is on a hunting expedition, he should return home, or avoid going near traps. The woman herself must occupy a special hut. If her shadow were to fall on a man it might destroy him (99 p. 43 and 80). A Chamar girl in the United Provinces "must not look upon the sun, a cat, or a crow, nor into the sky". She should carry a knife and her chief articles of diet must be sugar, curds and tamarinds (33 p. 71).

According to the Lepchas of Sikkim the odour of menstrual blood can damage certain vegetables when they have been exposed to it while in the flowering stage and if the actual blood falls into food or water it can be fatal to man and land animals although beneficial for fish. Intercourse with a woman at this time can render a man senseless for a week (268 p. 233 and 485). Examples of menstrual blood having protective influence are found in certain Indian charms coming from Tibet. They are mentioned by Waddell (426).

Among the early Persians a woman during menstruation, or when suffering from leucorrhoea, did not dare to look at fire, which was sacred. She had to remain fifteen paces away from it, and from water and the sacred plant Baresma. The person who brought her food was not allowed to approach nearer her than three paces. Her food had to be carried in a metal vessel and the amount was fixed. (452 - XVI, 1-6).
We may now consider the beliefs held by some African tribes regarding the effects of menstruation upon a woman's environment. The Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia consider the woman a source of danger and therefore isolate her as completely as possible. If she were to eat in company with a man he would lose his virility, and would be unable to run without grave risk of something bursting in his chest, causing him to die. Cooking and drawing water are forbidden, and likewise handling other people's cooking pots and dishes. Before she enters a hut, other people must come out. A gun is rendered useless by her presence (359 - I, p.27). No Baganda woman was allowed to cook when menstruating, nor to touch anything used by her husband. In the case of a woman "who has never menstruated, the husband, when taking leave of her (prior to going to war), would scratch her with his spear, sufficiently to draw blood, and this would ensure his safe return (312 p.325). If a Bakene woman visited a well during her period, they believed the water would dry up and she would fall sick and die unless she confessed her fault and the medicine-man made atonement for her (309). The first monthly period is a dangerous one for a Banyankole girl and is kept secret even from her husband. She is only allowed to drink milk from cows that are part bearing; other cows would be rendered sterile in future (314 p.117). It is believed that if any woman of the Bakitara were to cross a river on a raft while menstruating, the raft would sink (313 p.221). The Busoga have a similar belief (315 p.108). Honey is forbidden to a Bakyiga woman (59 p.172), but no reason is given. Among certain tribes at the Southern end of Lake Nyasa it is thought that sexual connection with a woman who has her courses will induce an attack of haematuria in the man and he may die if untreated. If a menstruating woman puts salt in food, all who partake of it will be ill. Connection with a woman two or three days after menstruation will cause hydrocele (372 p.29359). The Kikuyu consider that touching menstrual blood renders a person accursed and anyone thus contaminated will apply cow dung and then red ochreous earth to the part touched by the blood. If, on entering a new hut, a woman finds she is menstruating the hut must be pulled down, but if the period starts when she is out of the village, she cannot return for three days, and then only after washing (176). Among the many restrictions imposed on women during their monthly periods, the Wagga of Tanganyika include prohibiting them from adding salt to food (60). If a Kamba girl starts her first period when away from her village she must return through the grass and not on the road lest a stranger should step on a drop of blood. If this happened and the individual "cohabited with a member of the opposite sex before the girl was better again it is believed that she would never bear a child"... When the girl's period is finished "the husband must cohabit with the mother of the girl, or the girl will be
doomed to permanent sterility." (175 p. 65). During her period she must not grind corn or milk cattle. If she steps over her husband he will fall ill. To prevent this "a ewe lamb must be killed and both husband and wife invested with bracelets made of the skin". (177 p. 161). Marriage takes place among the Achewa of Nyassaland a few months before puberty and when menstruation occurs for the first time the headman is notified. He must abstain from sexual intercourse during the period. The girl's head is shaved and the hair is thrown away. The principal ceremony is held after the harvest following the second month. A special instrument is made with a gourd, closed at the end with a goat skin through which a feather is fixed. When this is pulled on it produces a sound like the cry of a jackal. When this is sounded on the following morning, the girl is dragged from her hut and her dress, which usually covers the breasts, is fastened round her waist and between her legs. Flour is poured on her head, then it is removed at sunset. After a feast, a stick is used to drive the girl round and round. When her mother thinks the girl has had enough, she presents a fowl to the master of ceremonies. Further complicated rites follow (180).

In West Africa we find that no Pabir, or Bura, man of Nigeria will partake of food prepared by his wife when menstruating. For him to do so would "cause blood to collect in the calf of his leg and prevent him from hunting or fighting" (253 - I, p. 157). A Kilba chief only takes food cooked by a woman who has passed the menopause (16 - I, p. 155). Men of the Higi tribe have the same rule and their "custom by which all foods used in sacrificial rites must be prepared by men instead of women is probably to be referred to the menstruation tabus (as among the Jukun)". (16 - I, p. 261). To avoid any accident and ensure success in hunting a Gola man must smear the juice of a certain tuber over the lintel of the door, and his wife must abstain from cooking, during her monthly period (16 - I, p. 478, 599). The other tribes of Northern Nigeria have very similar customs which need not be referred to. In former times the stools used by the King, or by the Queen Mother, in Ashanti were considered most sacred and if any woman, while menstruating, entered the room where they were kept she was killed (292 p. 96). Throughout Morocco, any woman during her monthly periods was supposed to be harmful to foodstuffs of certain kinds, to bees, and sometimes even to horses, mules, or asses. (436 - I, p. 230).

In British Columbia women of the Statiılısh tribe were not allowed to eat fresh meat or fish during their periods, but could partake of them if dried and old. For one to step over arrows would render these useless and might even lead to the death of the owner. Seclusion for four days was therefore imposed on the women (412). When a girl of the Stiatılısh tribe starts
her first menstrual period, her mother builds a temporary shelter for her. The girl sits in a hole dug several feet in the ground until the period ceases. No meat is given to her as that would affect the father's chance of killing game (413). The Tewa Indians never allow a menstruating woman to carry a baby because this would make the infant's skin rough and spotty and would make the infant irritable (281).

Purification Ceremonies

Many tribes have no special ceremony at the end of the monthly period but simply bathe and are then fit to rejoin the community. Others, however, have some simple or complicated rite to observe before being admitted into the normal society of their tribe. The Dhanwars of the Central Provinces of India must bathe and cleanse the hair with clay before they can touch any drinking water or cook food (331 - II, p.495). On the fifth day of their seclusion Halba women must "wash their heads with earth and boil their clothes in water mixed with wood ashes (26 - III, p.196). Kachhi women do likewise (26 - III, p.286). In Southern India a Paraiyan girl undergoes purification on the eighth day of her isolation. The shed she occupied is burned down and the spot is cleansed with water and cow-dung. The girl herself bathes and is then pronounced free from pollution (405 - VI, p.133).

The Stlathumb tribe of the Salish Indians in British Columbia had the following custom: "When the period of her seclusion was over she had to be formally purified by a Shaman; in other words, her 'bad medicine' had to be taken from her. This was done by the shaman marking in red paint the symbol of his snam or 'familiar spirit' upon her blanket or face" (413).

Fertility Rites and Customs

This subject is dealt with more fully in a later section and some examples have been given under the heading "Magic of Menstruation" as they could not be easily separated from the rest of the notes.

The Haddis, a low class of Oriyas who work as coolies and field labourers, have a custom of keeping a grindstone wrapped up in cloth near their girls who are menstruating and in seclusion (405 - II, p.316). The grinding stone used here undoubtedly is meant for a doll, the symbol of a child, and is meant to induce fertility. The following custom is rather a fertility omen than a fertility rite. On the thirteenth day after her first menstrual period, a Kappiliyan girl bathes and, as she returns home, she has to pass over a pestle and a cake. Near the entrance to her home a dog is fed then it is given a severe beating. "The more noise it makes, the better is the omen for a large family of children. If
the poor brute does not howl, it is supposed that the
girl will bear no children." (G. - III, p.218).

The Southern division of the Ba-Huana in the
Congo Free State hold their assemblies under a kola-
tree in the centre of the village. It belongs to the
chief and is supposed to increase the fertility of his
wives. He makes a cut in this tree every time a wife
menstruates to remind it of its duty. The fruit
of this tree is supposed to be an aphrodisiac and is
reserved for the chief and any privileged guest (410).

The Araucanians of Chili sometimes apply to
a herbalist for something to increase their
fertility. This man then states of a cure which he
gives to the applicant (161 p.8).

Magic of Coitus

That sexual intercourse itself can have
beneficial effects on environment is believed by many
tribes. For instance the Konyak Nagas of the village
of Wakching believe that the act can increase the food
supply. The wealthier members of the community screen
off portions of their verandahs and encourage young
men to bring girl friends there to have intercourse.
Individuals can "book" a place for this purpose
(262 p.43 footnote). The Lepchas of Sikkim have the
following custom which is observed when the rice
harvest is not all cut before sundown. Mats are
spread over the cut grain and on these the people have
promiscuous intercourse taking care that the rules of
incest are not broken. The more that take part in
the proceedings the better is the outlook for the total
harvest. This rite is known as "pressing the rice".
(138 p.242). The Kiwai Papuans believe that the
combined male and female secretions are very powerful
"medicine". After a couple have had intercourse the
secretion is used in various ways. Combined with a
little dried flesh and blood of an enemy it is used to
stroke a boy's eyebrows so that he will be able to find
an enemy quickly, and applied to his heels it will
make him a fast runner (218). The secretions are also
used to increase the yield of yams and coconuts
(219 p.70). In certain Kacha Naga villages models of
the sexual organs in coitus are to be seen (262 p.83
footnote), and are undoubtedly meant as a fertility
charm. A stone resembling a phallus is to be seen in
the Lhota village of Sakitung. "At dances the young
men in turn press it against the front of the women's
skirts and chant 'I am having connection with you'.
The women, with rather shy smiles, admit it is most
efficacious in increasing their fertility." (G. p.232 footnote). We are told that the "Maori
sacred legends taught that the male secretions were
natural and necessary food for the female, and the
female secretions natural and necessary food for the
Magic of Pregnancy

In Australia the Arunta do not allow their women, when they are pregnant, to gather irriakura, one of their staple articles of diet. To do so would lead to a failure of the supply (368 - II, p.494). During the pregnancy of a Tjungundji woman in Northern Queensland, if her husband has been particularly lucky in hunting, this is attributed to the influence of the infant in utero, by following him in his expedition (403). The Kiwi Papuans believe that if a pregnant woman were to come near a canoe while it was being built, it would be sure to break (219 p.209). A man on Malekula, New Hebrides, must not go out of doors nor do any hard work when his wife is far advanced in pregnancy, and he is obliged to observe certain food and drink taboos. "In Mewun he does not make a fire, does not scrape coconuts, does not walk about or exert himself in any way lest he should kill the child in the womb." (77 p.234). A Maori woman of high chieftain class was not allowed to do any heavy work during her pregnancy on account of the injurious effect it would have on her child, which was taru even before birth. Carrying foodstuffs on her back was particularly injurious to the unborn child (22).

In Malaya a Kintak Bong woman, when pregnant, dare not go to the hills alone as she will certainly meet a tiger if she does and will be devoured (106 p.175). Several castes in India believe that crossing a river may cause a miscarriage. A Toda woman will not cross even by a bridge (405 - VII, p.135). The Kurmis of the Central Provinces also avoid crossing running water. They will not touch any garment worn by a woman who has had a miscarriage in case of infection. For any pregnant woman to go near a she-buffalo or a mare would prolong her own gestation period, since theirs happens to be twelve months. If by any chance she should come near one of them she must make it an offering of grain (331 - IV, p.68 sq.). A Malba woman is particularly susceptible to adverse influences. During her pregnancy she must not use a knife when taking food and must not cross a river (26 - III, p.197). The food taboos imposed on a Birher woman apply also to her husband. She, herself, must not lie down in an open space in case some spirit causes her child to be still-born or deformed. Rivers must be avoided as they are the dwelling places of churils, the spirits of women who have died during childbirth or pregnancy (326 p.215 sqq.). The Gonds think that if a pregnant woman were to go near a horse or an elephant, the animal would become excited and would attack her (331 - III, p.83). According to Iepocha opinion if a child "is seen by a pregnant woman its teeth will not appear until after that woman's baby is born. For this reason pregnant women
always take care not to look at other people's children" (265 p.212).

When a wife of the King of the Bakitara was pregnant she was not allowed to drink milk from a cow that had lost its calf (313 p.157) in case this might induce a miscarriage; but when the wife of a commoner was expecting a child a touch from her, or even a glance, would crack any pots in the making (16 p.228). If an earthquake occurred while a woman of the Basoga was pregnant, she tied a band tightly round her waist to prevent the infant from being startled, and to avoid the occurrence of premature labour (315 p.108). During pregnancy a Kswana woman is a danger to the whole community. All animal and plant life is injured and if the woman were "to enter a hut where there is a baby, its skull would part asunder" (359 - II, p.11). A Mashna woman in like condition can injure other people, animals or plants. When she sees another woman's child crawling she must lick its feet, otherwise that child will not walk until after her own infant is born (45 p.196). The Wahehe do not allow a pregnant woman to speak or to make any noise when in the presence of a sick person as this might cause his (or her) death and the woman could be compelled to pay compensation to the relatives (189).

The first pregnancy of a woman in Costa Rica is believed to affect the whole neighbourhood (65). The natives of the Amazons think that "if a woman during her pregnancy, eats any meat, any other creature partaking of it will suffer; if a domestic animal or tame bird, it will die; if a dog, it will for the future be incapable of hunting; and even a man will ever after be unable to shoot that particular kind of game (428 p.439). Another South American people, the Araucanians of Chili, say that if a pregnant woman lifts the lid off a boiling kettle, or puts it on the kettle, this will cause her to have a difficult labour. Sitting on wood will also cause trouble through making the baby's head grow too big (161 p.12).

Magic of Parturition

In New Guinea a Rubiana woman just before her confinement has to go to a small leaf hut away from the camp of the tribe, and remains there until after the birth. No male member of the clan is allowed to help in the construction of the hut which is very crudely made and is far from protecting the woman from rain. No man may go near the hut as long as the woman occupies it. The father cannot see his child until it is at least a fortnight old. "The women of the village celebrate the event by a religious ceremony with sprinkling of blood." (446 p.62). It is uncertain whether the custom is due to the dread of evil falling on the mother and the child.
or upon the male population in general and the father in particular. Probably the evil influence is reciprocal — the association of males in building the hut or being near at birth would probably be injurious to both mother and child, while on the other hand purification of the mother is necessary in order to render contact with her safe for the males.

The Solomon Islanders consider parturition such a danger for the whole community that it must always take place outside the village. If a birth should occur before the woman has time to leave, "blood must be shed to take the curse off as soon as possible." The victim may belong to any village near, and the head brought back to the woman's village (186 p.74). In Western Viti Levu, a temporary hut is constructed away from the woman's village and grass is spread on the floor to catch all the blood lost. As this has magical powers all is burnt including the hut, to prevent anyone using the blood in witchcraft (402 p.210).

Blood lost during a confinement is used by the Kurmis of the Central Provinces of India as a fertility charm. A little washed off the toe of the midwife is given to a sterile woman, who then is believed to have the fertility of the woman whose blood it is, transferred to her (331 - IV, p.70). Childbirth among the Nayars of Southern India causes pollution of all the descendants in the female line from a common female ancestor for fifteen days (405 - V, p.342). S.C. Roy states that "when two women of the same Oraon village give birth to children in the same half moon, they are not allowed to see each other for the first twenty days after delivery. On the twenty-first day, the two women are led blindfolded from opposite directions to a spot fixed beforehand, and then the coverings of the eyes of the two women are taken off simultaneously. It is believed that if the cloth over the eyes of one of the women is taken off before that over the eyes of the other, the glance of the former will forthwith attract to her own breasts all the milk in the breasts of the other woman, so that the child of the latter will pine to death for want of mother's milk" (325). The Garos of Assam say that if anybody from a village in which a birth has occurred goes near the fields on that day, the crops will be blighted (283 p.114).

When the Bakitara of Uganda are smelting iron no man whose wife has just given birth to a child is allowed to take part in the work as this would prevent the iron from melting (313 p.221). The Atharaka who live in the Valley of the Tana consider that the pollution caused by a birth can affect a whole village. When one occurs, the father and all relations must
remain outside the village for five days after the birth and a goat must be slaughtered (49). All blood that falls on the floor of the hut during a Kamba woman's confinement must be dug up and buried in the bush. Any goat licking it would die and if any man should accidentally tread in the blood the child will fall ill (177 p.160).

Miss M.E. Durham states that in Montenegro: "it is in the highest degree unlucky for a married woman to be delivered of her child in the house of her parents. Should this occur, every kind of misfortune would fall upon her brothers." (95)

Among the Araucanos of Southern Chili a woman was driven out of her village on the onset of labour pains and settled by some stream or lake, in which she had to bathe as soon as the child was born. At the end of a week she was allowed to return home after final bathing (224), all contagion having thus been removed.

Magic of the Puerperium.

As must have been seen in the previous notes the magical effect of parturition extended into the puerperium. The present section stresses the latter point. As in most of the foregoing sections we shall start with Oceania.

During the puerperium and for some time afterwards on the Shortland Islands both mother and child are extremely susceptible to the influence of witchcraft and, if strangers appear, the mother hurries away with her child. But there is an evil influence which can also affect the visitor. Dr. George Brown says: "after a woman is confined, the house is hung round with leaves and no man is allowed to enter it. If he does, they say he will be struck blind... The father or grandfather after a week, rubs himself all over with certain leaves cut up small, and is then at liberty to go inside the house. They also take strings of beads. They place these strings alternately over each shoulder, or they may simply touch the shoulders of the woman and lay the beads in heaps. The tabu is now over" (40 p.36). The same writer tells us that in New Georgia after a birth has occurred, "no man is allowed near the place, and the father does not see his child for at least fifteen days. The women perform some sort of religious ceremony with sprinkling of blood, etc. but the meaning of this does not appear to be very clear to them". (26 p.35). Among the Lau people who occupy the artificial islands to the north of Mala in the Solomon Group, it was the custom that fighting men who had contracted defilement by contact with a woman during the thirty days following her confinement, must cleanse themselves by committing murder. The victim chosen was often a stranger who was not under protection of a chief (204 p.197). The
natives of Woodlark Island, East of the Trobiands, confine mother and child to a temporary room for two or three months after delivery. A fire is kept constantly burning in the room and the woman and her infant are well smoked to prevent any harm being done by evil spirits. As an extra precaution both mother and infant are frequently anointed with coconut oil (234).

In the Central Provinces of India when a birth occurs among the Malis all members of the sept to which the parents belong are considered impure for five days, and all others taking food or water from them become impure (331 - IV, p.168). When a Sonjhora woman has given birth to a child, a little hut is made for her beside the river near their encampment. This she occupies for two and a half days. Her husband must do no work but must stay near his wife and prepare her food. He must not touch her or enter her hut and he must keep a fire burning between them (16. - IV, p.511). The Avidi, or forest Gallas of Southern India, prepare a special hut for parturition about two hundred yards away from the village. Here the woman must live by herself for ninety days. She is considered so unclean that anyone touching her during her period of isolation is outcasted and not allowed to return to the village for three months (405 - II, p.267). In Travancore an Irali woman is separated from the community for seventeen days, and for a further period of twenty days she may not touch anyone in the house. The water in which she is bathed is defiled beyond remedy. Husband and relatives are polluted (16. - VII, p.248). A special doorway is made in the room in which a Birhor woman is confined and this she must use for several days after delivery. Precautions must be taken to prevent her shadow from falling on other people (326 p. 114 sq). A woman who attends at an Oraon birth is unclean until after the disposal of the placenta. She must then bathe and anoint herself with oil and turmeric before touching anything outside the lying-in room (327 - p.121).

A confinement among the Bakitara polluted everything in the house, and the removal of any article was believed to injure the baby. "The husband brought in one of the logs forming the gate and put it on the fire which had to burn brightly all the time" both night and day. If it happened to go out "the child's life might go out with it" (313 p.244). The Damara think that a man will become weak if he sees a lying-in woman, and will be killed in battle (65). Westernmarck states that the Ait Yusi of Morocco think that, when a woman is confined, it would be most unfortunate if some woman who has only given birth to girls should tread in the blood of the newly confined woman, as she would thereafter only give birth to girls (436 - II, p.372 sq).

Urine in Magic.

It was the custom among the Baganda for a
woman who had promiscuous intercourse after the birth of twins, to undergo special cleansing to save her children from illness or death. The medicine-man mixed some of the woman's urine with certain "medicines" and rubbed this on her chest and on the chest of her children. This averted any evil which might follow (312 p.72). It is also stated that: "In some clans the parents had each a pot, in which there was a mixture of water and white clay, with which they sprinkle the people; it was supposed to give them a blessing, and make them fruitful, some say that the water was urine from the parents." (35.p.70).

In Cherán, a sierra Tarascan village, they believe that if a pregnant woman urinates where some animal has urinated previously, the child, when born, will resemble that animal (17 p.165).
Fertility Rites and Practices

Symbolism plays an important part in the daily life of backward peoples and especially in their production of food and offspring. It is the latter which concerns us here so we may consider very briefly the different aspects of the subject.

Symbols used to promote Fertility.

In the section under the heading 'Magic of the Generative Organs' we have had some examples of this type of symbolism. Others will now be given considering the subject a little more fully.

In the Roman Catholic Church at Isema in Calabria, votive offerings of phalli were made by women in the hope of curing impotence in their husbands, at as late a date as 1780 (392).

A child, or a doll, is frequently used as a symbol. At a Brahman wedding in Southern India a male child, holding some plantains is seated in the lap of the bride while the bridegroom says: "Oh! fruits, ye bear seeds. Hay my wife bear seeds likewise by your blessing". (405 - I, p.289). The Telegu custom is to represent the child by a doll. (405 - I, p.292). The Komatis in Madras Presidency place a doll in a cradle and rock it to and fro during the marriage ceremony (46 - III, p.333), and the Kuramwars of the Central Provinces have a similar custom (331 - IV, p.53). The Lhodis use a stone rolling-pin to represent the child (46 - IV, p.177). One subcaste of the Kunbis swing a pestle then place it in the lap of the bride as a symbol of a child (46 - IV, p.26).

The neck-pendant worn by Maori women represent the human foetus and is a fertility charm. Elsdon Best says that the origin of this pendant, or heitiki, was that Hine-Ke-iwaiwa, the presiding genius of childbirth, was given one by her father (22 p. 130 sq).

The Zuñi Indians of New Mexico and the Keresans of Cochiti use dolls as fertility symbols or as charms for married women (279). Dolls are also used by the Hopi Indians of Arizona (280).

Vegetable symbols are frequently used to promote fertility. A bead in the shape of a pomegranate was commonly used in Western Asia and also in Egypt, as proved by Campbell Thompson. One Assyrian passage says that the "Goddess Ishtar, who loveth the apple and pomegranate, sexual strength, has come forth". Sidney Smith, referring to this passage says: "The use of the pomegranate as an aphrodisiac in this type of magic is really intelligible, and should explain the popularity of the pomegranate-shaped bead."
The fruit was obviously considered as effective as a charm as when used for love potions... Mr. E.J. Forsdyke informs me that the pomegranate in classical times was a common symbol of fertility" (361). In India, at the wedding of a Kayasth girl, the father fills the bride’s lap with almonds, dates, raisins, and other kinds of fruit four times, as symbols of fertility. Then he finally adds a coconut and a rupee to symbolize a child and wealth (331 – III, p.419). When a Kaikari girl attains maturity a ceremony is performed in which coconuts and other fruit and rice are tied up in her skirt to induce fertility (16 – III, p.300). The custom of the Rajputs in the Central Provinces is for the bride’s relatives to send a coconut to the bridegroom. When describing a proposal of marriage they say: "The coconut came" (16 – IV, p.419). The Banias send a coconut as a proposal of marriage (16 – II, p.153).

Rice is commonly used as a symbol of fertility. The old custom of throwing rice over bride and bridegroom at weddings came from the East. It is now being altered to the throwing of confetti. At a Kamar wedding in the Central Provinces of India, the guests throw rice over the couple. They say it is done to scare away spirits but it is really intended to make the marriage fruitful (331 – III, p.325). Rice plays an important part in the wedding ceremony of the Majhwas and is finally distributed among all the women present including the bride. Russell says: "The rice is no doubt an emblem of fertility, and its presentation to the women may perhaps be expected to render them fertile" (16 – IV, p.152 sq). The Panwar Rajputs also pour rice over the heads of bride and bridegroom (16 – IV, p. 343).

Another symbol used in wedding on account of its fertilising power is water. In the Central Provinces of India the Korku cover the bride and bridegroom with a blanket and pour water over it "to symbolize the fertilizing influence of rain" (381 – III, p.553). The Jumals tie the hands of the couple together with Kusha grass and pour water over them (16 – II, p.533). In South India at the marriage of Brahmins water is used, not only as a symbol of purification, but also as a symbol of fertility. At one stage of the ceremony, we are told, "Four Brahmins next bring water, and the bridegroom receives it saying: 'May the evil qualities of this water disappear; may it increase. Let the Brahmins bring water for the bath, and may it bring long life and children to her.'" (405 – I, p.284). In the daily observance of the Brahmins the performer sprinkles himself with water and offers a prayer which ends with the words: "Oh! waters grant us offspring" (16 – I, p. 310 sq). Here also the fertilising power of water is recognised not only in the increase of foodstuffs but also, symbolically in increasing offspring.
As the dunghill is looked upon as a symbol of fertility the Kawars of the Central Provinces of India bury the umbilical cord in one to ensure numerous offsprings for the mother (331 - III, p.396)

The Kacheras, also of the Central Provinces, have a custom, employed as an omen rather than a true fertility rite. After a wedding a silver ornament is fixed to the wall and milk is poured over it. If this dislodges it the union, they believe, will be a happy one. The proceeding probably symbolises roughly the birth of a child (331 - III, p.282). Milk itself is believed to have some fertilising power. An Indian sub-assistant surgeon once assured me, quite seriously, that if you mix milk with cowdung it will breed scorpions, without any other scorpion going near it.

Pre-nuptial Fertility Rites.

In the last section many fertility rites were recorded with a view to showing the type of symbolism employed in these observances, and others have been mentioned in the section on Magic.

Starting with India we can look at the custom of the Gonds in the Province of Mandla. As soon as a girl starts her first menstrual period she is isolated for four days. One of her body cloths is made into a cradle which she swings for a quarter of an hour each day in the name of the cradle goddess. On the fifth day a Baiga priest receives from her a hen and five eggs which he offers to the goddess Jhulan Devi. To the priestess, a hen and ten eggs are given, and she tatoos the image of the goddess on each side of the girl's body (331 - III, p.83). This procedure is meant to ensure offspring. When a betrothal has been arranged between two Kurmi families the girl's father sends a rupee and a coconut to the boy's house. The relatives of the boy return the visit and bring some sweetmeats, a rupee and a coconut which they lay in the girl's lap in order to ensure offspring. (46.- IV, p.61). The Gaddis of southern India wrap a grinding stone in a cloth, pretending it is an infant, and place it beside a girl at her first menstrual period (405 - V, p.105). On the onset of the first period of a Muka Dora girl, a cradle containing a stone is suspended from the roof of the room in which she is secluded (45. - V p.105). After the bath following the first period of a Urali girl, she sits on a pestle in front of the door and an infant is placed on her lap. She gives a small quantity of rice to the infant and takes some herself (46.- VII, p.252sq).

The operation performed on Bageau girls has been described. After the purification ceremony which follows the healing, a goat and a fowl are sacrificed at a sacred tree and the initiate bathes in a sacred
pool. Roscoe says: "This purification they say makes them quite well and strong and enables the girl to have children" (308). Here it would appear to be the purification rite and not the operation that is supposed to make the girls fertile. When a Baganda girl menstruates for the first time, her father or the male relative with whom she lives, must jump over his wife. The omission of this practice would either prevent the girl from having children, or any children would die in infancy (312 p.80). A Masai girl's initiation usually takes place immediately before marriage. A ram is killed before or immediately after the operation of clitoridectomy, and is called "the ram for childbearing", as it is supposed to ensure fertility (222 p.199).

Marriage Ceremonies to ensure Fertility

We can now examine the ceremonies performed at marriage in order to ensure the fertility of the bride. The Ghosias, who form a caste of herdsmen in the Central Provinces of India, have to go seven times round the sacred post at their wedding, but if the bride has not reached puberty, the seventh round is postponed. The bride in this case takes a young child into her lap then hands it to the bridegroom asking him to take care of the baby while she does her house work. Russel says that: "This ceremony, which has been recorded also of the Kapus in Chanda, is obviously designed as an auspicious omen that the marriage may be blessed with children." (331 - III, p.345). The Qashigai, a Turkish tribe living in the Persian province of Fars, have marriage ceremonies lasting three days and nights. On the last day the bride sets out from her camp on horseback with "a small boy seated behind her saddle to ensure that her firstborn is a son. The bridegroom greets her by throwing an apple or orange at her chest" (124). The fruit is to ensure fertility and the child to decide the sex of the offspring. At one time a Tottiyan bride and bridegroom had to remain in the marriage hut until a child was born, but now, one section living in the Madura district perform a mock ploughing ceremony then they pick up a child and carry it three times round the hut. This is to symbolise the birth of a child (405 - VII, p.193).

In discussing symbols of fertility a doll has already been mentioned. More examples can now be given with some details. The Kuramwars, a shepherd caste in Southern India, make a small swing in which they place a doll and swing it to and fro. Then the bride takes the doll and, handing it to the bridegroom tells him to take care of it while she goes to cook the food. The bridegroom then hands the doll back to the bride saying he must go to weave the blanket and tend the flock (331 - IV, p.53). The Komatis have a similar procedure. "A doll is placed in a cradle connected with two poles, and rocked to and fro. The bridegroom gives the doll into the hands of the
bride saying that he has to go on a commercial trip. The bride hands it back to him with the remark that she has to attend to her kitchen work" (405 - III, p.333). Two wooden dolls are presented to the bride during the marriage ceremony of Telegu and Kannataka Brahmans (46 - I, p.292). A doll appears during the wedding ceremony among the Lodhis but, in addition to this, a rolling-pin wrapped up in a piece of cloth is given to the bride by an old woman who imitates a baby crying and announces the birth of a child (331 - IV, p.117). One of the subcastes of the Kumbis use a rounded pestle as a symbol of an infant (46 - IV, p.26). In the Mandla district the Gonds have a complicated ceremony. The father gives his daughter a necklace of beads and cowries with an iron ring attached. The bridegroom's father sometimes passes a stone through the ring, but sometimes he hangs it up in the centre of the room and the bridegroom's relatives throw stones or bamboo sticks, or shoot arrows, at the ring. Until one of these has gone through the ring the wedding cannot take place (46 - III, p.77sq). The symbolic meaning is plain. With regard to the necklace, the cowries symbolise the female pudenda as shown by Jackson and others, while the beads represent pomegranates which were recognised as powerful aphrodisiacs. In some parts the Gonds erect a see-saw in the marriage shed or use a swing in which the bridegroom's father sits. Russell says: "It seems possible that both customs are meant to portray the rocking of a baby in a cradle or swinging it in a swing, and hence it is thought that through performing them the bride will soon rock or swing a real baby" (46 - III, p.78).

Fruit and grain are often used as fertility symbols at marriages. The Gurao females are actually married in infancy but continue living with their parents until puberty. At her first menstrual period the girl goes to her husband's house where she is secluded until she is clear. She then bathes and puts on a green dress and a yellow breastcloth. Into her lap her friends pour wheat and place a coconut, and her relatives present her with sweets and clothes (331 - III, p.178). In this case the wheat symbolises numerous offspring and the coconut represents the head of a baby. At a Kayasth marriage the father of the bridegroom fills the bride's lap four times with various kinds of fruit such as almonds, dates and raisins, and finally adds a coconut and a rupee to represent a child and wealth (46 - III, p.419). One more example of the coconut symbol may be given. At the re-marriage of widows the Koshtis arrange for the father-in-law to fill the bride's lap with coconuts, dates and rice, and he applies vermilion to her forehead. "During the night she proceeds to her new husband's house, and, emptying the fruit from her lap into a dish which he holds, falls at his feet... " The procedure appears to have some symbolical idea of
transferring the fruit of her womb to her new husband (II. - III, p.583). At the wedding ceremony among Gadarias, a shepherd caste of Northern India, the "brother-in-law fills the bride's lap with sweetmeats and water-nuts as an omen of fertility" (II. - III, p.5).

The Mango is sometimes used as a fertility symbol in India. At a Kharia wedding Mango leaves encircle the marriage booth and "a few old women also carry little leafy twigs of the fruitful mango". (328 - I, p.256)

Another common symbol of fertility is rice, illustrations of which have already been given. Two more illustrations may be added to these. In India, the Koltus, an agricultural caste, throw seven handfuls of rice on each other. "The priest ties the hands of the couple with thread spun by virgins, and the relatives then pour water over the knot" (331 - III, p.540). Here the water is also used symbolically. At the end of a Binjwar wedding, two strong men carry on their backs the bride and the bridegroom, who are usually adults in this caste, and the parties of husband and wife throw unhusked rice at one another (II. - II, p.333).

As the fertility of the earth is so much dependent upon water, there is little wonder that water itself is often looked upon as symbolical of fertilising power. It is employed by many castes in India. Only one example need be given. In the final stage of a Gadaba wedding the bride and bridegroom are shut up in a new grass shed and two pots of water are poured over them from the roof, but when the girl is a child this ceremony is omitted. Consummation takes place after the water has been poured over the couple. The omission of the water in the case of a child marriage shows that this is a fertility rite (II. - III, p.11).

The Dhimars, a caste of fishermen, kill a pig at a wedding and the bride and bridegroom step over the body, which has been covered with earth, and enter the house (II. - II, p.505). This is probably a fertility rite analogous to the Persian sacrifices where the victim's flesh is buried in the fields to increase the harvest.

Westermarck mentions several customs met with in Morocco which are intended to induce fertility. For instance, when a "bride is taken to the bridegroom's place the animal on which she rides must sometimes be a mare, on account of its fruitfulness, and sometimes a stallion, that she may give birth to male offspring. It is, in certain cases at least, for the same purpose that a little boy rides behind her on the mare..." (435 p.348 sq).

R.N. Salaman mentions a fertility symbol used in the fields between Ragusa and Sarajevo, and adds that when he mentioned it to Dr. Berger of Zagrab, he showed "some highly conventionalised symbols of the same kind..."
erect phallus and testes) on the elaborately embroidered wedding garments of the peasantry" (333).

Post-nuptial Fertility Rites

Here we can examine the methods adopted for ensuring the birth of children at the time of marriage or shortly after, leaving for a later section those employed in cases of real, or supposed, sterility.

As the spider is considered a most prolific creature, the Kiwai Papuans employ it to promote fertility among their women. Landtman tells us that "in order to have many children a woman will eat a spider mixed with sago or coconut kernel, or rub one in her hand against her abdomen... By way of causing many children to be born in a village, one of the leaders will collect a great number of spiders' eggs, crush them in between his hands and put them into a waterhole from which all the people are in the habit of drinking." (219 p. 228). The natives of the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago say that a woman who desires a child should eat the root of a certain shrub which grows in running water and keep away from her husband that night. On the following night intercourse should take place, but apparently this treatment sometimes is unsuccessful (207 p. 106).

Deacon reported that "in Seniang (on Malekula, New Hebrides) if a man wishes his wife to become pregnant, he stands in front of her, with his back towards her, and then taking a number of coconuts he bends down and hands them to her between his legs so that they may pass beneath his genitals. She now eats these coconuts, and for every such coconut eaten she will conceive... one child". (77 p. 231sq).

The Ibans, or Sea Dayaks of Boruco, always speak of grain becoming pregnant. At harvest a little is always retained to mix with the seed of the following harvest. While mixing them a woman "calls on the soul of the padi to cause the seed to be fruitful... and to favour her own fertility." (190 - I, p.111sq).

In India, when New Moon day falls on a Monday, married Kunbi women walk a hundred and eight times round a pipal tree and then present a Brahman with a hundred and eight mangoes, or other kind of fruit. Russell states that this is a birth charm, given to render women fruitful (331 - IV, p.33). The pipal tree is sacred and the supposed abode of Brahma. It is male and able to render women fertile. The Rengma Nagas of Assam have numerous sacred stones, some of which have powers of conferring fertility. One or two of the type known as tezu ('male organ') enable men to have large families. Another type known as 'female member stones', are said to "bring a quiver full of children
who, however, are apt to be licentious" (262 p.232). Just outside Hong Kong there is a large granite boulder known as the Harlot's stone which is visited by respectable women as well as courtesans in the hope of obtaining offspring. Offerings are made here to the gods (213). Mrs. Merritt-Hawkes describes a fertility rite from South Persia. She says: "There was much conversation before they learned I had only three children. They then pulled me up from the ground; a woman began to drum out a rhythm on my empty camera case and the other women danced round me signifying an incantation for a large family. Suddenly they stopped, the chief woman slapped me and said I would now have ten children" (256)

In Africa one sometimes finds the sacrifice of children as a fertility rite. The Bakitara sacrificed a child and a white sheep at a certain sacred pool in order to obtain more children and to increase prosperity (313 p.235). In addition to this custom there was a complicated ritual after which a horn of water was placed upright behind the king and his wives, and other women tried to get the water, after the king had bathed, in order to drink it or rub it on their bodies. This was considered "most potent medicine which ensured pregnancy" (16 p.94). Talbot reports that in the Ogoni country in 1920, a "Foetus was removed from a pregnant woman in order to be shared out among, and devoured by, others who believed this to be a sure way of increasing fertility" (386 p.133). The Akamba have a fertility rite which is supposed to be infallible. The woman to be treated has her umbilicus and loins smeared with the latex of a fig-tree. Then the medicine man smears the woman's navel with the contents of a goat's intestine mixed with the juices of certain herbs. "A small twig is dipped into the mixture, wrapped in a piece of cloth and tied up with a string. This is used as an amulet, and after being ceremonially passed thrice round the woman's waist is finally fastened by means of a string round the waist in such a way that the amulet rests approximately over the womb." This is done when the girl is menstruating. If the girl should have connection when menstruating, complete sterility would result. (21). Fish cooked and given to a Baganda woman is supposed to "effect rapid child-bearing, just as fish swam by thousands in the shallow waters of the lake" (312 p.64). At the naming ceremony of twins they also had a custom to promote fertility by sprinkling the people present with a mixture of water, or wine from the parents, and white clay (16 p.70).

In the Sokoto Province of Nigeria, a Gungawa woman who wishes to have a child sacrifices a goat and a red fowl at their sacred shrine. The owner of the shrine pours the blood over the pot contained therein and the woman promises certain gifts when a child is born.
The python is supposed to be able to confer on the Kilba the gift of children. A curious custom observed by the Kilba is for a woman who is anxious to have a child, to creep four times through a tunnel in the ground, the husband standing at one end and a friend at the other (253 - I, p. 196 and 205). The cult of Cie is a fertility cult in the British Cameroons. Women bring first-fruit offerings at the millet and maize harvests. The priest offers these in the shrine and prayer is offered for offspring. Earth from the base of the poles where the offerings were laid is mixed with water and the mixture smeared over the heart of each woman suppliant (46.- II, p.555). Meek was told of a fertility rite performed in the French Cameroons. Healthy women remain in seclusion while the rites are being performed. The sick women kneel in front of the shrine and are covered with cloths. "Drummers march up and down the line playing tunes, and then suddenly from the bush the genius of the cult appears. With weird shouts, he leaps over each of the 'sick' women, and then disappears as quickly as he came. The women withdraw into seclusion and it is said that... within two months of the ceremony women who had been infertile find themselves to be with child." (253 - II, p.496). The Ba-Yanzi of the Congo Free State have three principal fetishes which are supposed to confer fertility on any woman who may appeal to them; one is male and the other two female. An artery is cut in the neck of a cock and the blood allowed to trickle through the mouth on to the three fetishes. At the same time the chief makes his request for fertility for his wives and slaves and then spits on the three fetishes (411). This chief was considered the greatest magician in the country.

Aphrodisiacs.

Aphrodisiacs are much in demand throughout Africa. In Nigeria the flesh of the manatee is considered very good when it can be obtained. The most powerful aphrodisiac that they know consists of certain powdered seed, fir cone, ground nuts and pepper to which they add the "dried and powdered flesh of the manatee and a bull's private parts." These are boiled together and eaten with broiled meat (418). The Hausa make aphrodisiacs from the body of the jerboa, but say that "if a man touched a certain part with a jerboa's tail, he will become impotent." (416 p.33). A vegetable aphrodisiac used by them is the kola-nut. It is also sent to ladies with a proposal of marriage (36 p.77). The Ba-Mbala in the Belgian Congo also use the kola (408) and so do the Ba-Yaka (409). Sterility is said to be very rare among the former. At the southern end of Lake Nyasa three remedies are in use, one is a certain bark called 'mbevu' which is very strong and produces its effect in half an hour but its action is very short in duration. The other two are roots, which appear to be slower in action but more prolonged. (373). In Morocco they have many different recipes
which Westermarck reports. In Andjra he says they take the yolk of an egg every morning before breakfast for forty successive days, and, after eating it they drink the shell full of oil. This is supposed to be excellent (436 - I, p.581). Another remedy for impotence is for a man to hang the dried gall-bladder of a jackal at his right groin. (tfc. - II, p.320)

Other animal products used by Moroccans are the burned bristles of a hedgehog, or its penis, a sparrow, or a female locust. Chick-peas soaked in water until soft and swollen then the water poured off and drunk is another of their recipes and is said to be very powerful (436 - I, p.581). The Shawia in Algeria say that monkey nuts and walnuts mixed with honey make an excellent remedy if taken morning and evening (170).

According to Emin Pasha, the Banyoro believe that the skin of an otter worn on the body acts as an aphrodisiac (101 p.95). The Lango chew the bark of the atubara tree. It is rather uncommon (86 p.56 and 369).

In India the Muria look upon the bear as a symbol of power and "its male member is used as an aphrodisiac" (99 p.87). In China also the gall-bladders of bears are considered excellent (265 p.152). Morris states that aphrodisiacs are not in general use amongst the Lepchas of Sikkim but "the flesh of a bird called 'kenfo'... is said to have a somewhat stimulating effect, and chameleon flesh serves the same purpose. If a man drinks water into which they have urinated he is liable to suffer from priapism, and a woman may become a nymphomaniac; but if the actual flesh of the animal is eaten this has a much stronger effect. The flesh of the male animal creates desire; that of the female takes it away" (265 p.237). W.H. Hildburgh, writing about Japanese magic says: "The boiling, in a certain liquid, of a picture of the private parts of a person, which I have quoted from de Becker, 'to cure a man's fickleness', is, as I have pointed out, seemingly a sort of magical aphrodisiac." (166).

The Talmud, garlic "increases seminal fluid... by the feeling of comfort it engenders" (58 p.264).

The Campas of Peru prepare a drink called posan-ka which is a powerful aphrodisiac (52 p.93). Another Peruvian tribe, the Jivaro, also know of several aphrodisiacs (36 p.327). One of these is obtained from the sting-ray (Gymnotus electricus) (36 p.369). The perfume of a certain plant is said to have aphrodisiac properties (36 p.371). They call this plant 'piri piri'.

DIAGNOSIS & TREATMENT of PREGNANCY
General Views regarding Pregnancy

Pregnancy is viewed with very varied feelings amongst different peoples. While the Maoris rejoice over the news that a new member of the community is on its way, others try to hide the fact as long as possible. For instance, a Dagaba woman in Ashanti must pretend to know nothing about the fact until the ceremony of 'baptising' her with water. Some fictitious news is given to her to cause alarm or excitement sufficient to make her run out of the house, where the soothsayer awaits her and throws water over her. Until this is done it is taboo to mention the subject of pregnancy (294 - II, p.417). The Wala, also of Ashanti, have a very similar custom (46 - II, p.454). When a Jukun woman is enceinte, she is considered to be in a very dangerous condition and is said to have the 'spear of death' in her, so strict taboos are imposed on her (254 p.356). The Nankane, or Nankanse, consider it impolite to say that a woman is pregnant, so they simply announce that "she has a belly" (294 - I, p.131). In British East Africa, the Awa-Wanga consider it imperative for every married woman to bear children. In the case of a woman or girl dying while a virgin, or childless, her female relatives artifically deflower her body before burial (172).

Such general ideas about pregnancy are worldwide. Two further examples may be given, one from Asia and the other from America. The Lepchas of Sikkim say that when a woman is pregnant, both she and her husband become thinner and suffer from "a state known as 'thum doat', which appears to be a state of loss of appetite. Both these conditions, however, are merely due to anxiety and not to any supernatural or other influence." (265 - p.238). In America the Siouan Indians think that the pregnant state makes a woman very lucky at certain games (84 p.511)

Diagnosis of Pregnancy

In British New Guinea the Sinaugolo diagnose pregnancy by the enlargement of the breasts with pigmentation of the nipples and mammillary areolae. They do not consider cessation of the menses as a valuable sign but look upon frequent micturition as definite evidence (343). The Koita base their diagnosis chiefly on the darkening of the nipples and areolae, and say that suppression of the catamenia is a later and less reliable sign (346 p.84). Jenness and Ballantyne say that on Goodenough Island, in the Northern D'Entrecasteaux Group pregnancy "is detected... in several ways; from the gurgling (?) of the blood, the darkening of the areola, and the cessation of the monthly flow. They believe it becomes apparent four months after cohabitation, and the child is born in the
eight month" (207 p. 104). It is uncertain what the natives mean by "gurgling" of the blood.

The missing of three monthly periods seems to be taken as the sign of pregnancy by the Kurmis in the Central Provinces of India. It is said that a married woman "should eschew all red cloths or red things of any sort, such as suggest blood till the third or fourth month, when conception is certain" (331 - IV, p.68). The Baigas base their diagnosis on the cessation of the periods for two months and by the swelling of the breasts (96 p.223).

In Northern Rhodesia the Ba-ila make their diagnosis entirely by the cessation of menstruation but, as a woman is not allowed to tell her husband in the case of a first pregnancy, he makes his diagnosis from the actions of his father-in-law who asks him for a spear, or a hoe, or shell (359 - II, p.2). Writing about the tribes near Fort Johnston at the southern end of Lake Nyasa, Stannus says that the head woman makes her diagnosis by observing that the expected mother has become paler (372). The Bakitara take as the signs the absence of the monthly periods, the swelling of the breasts and the darkening of the areolae around the nipples (313 p.66). The Bangala of the Upper Congo accept as the only proof of pregnancy, enlargement of the breasts (432). Temeraire tells us that, in Nigeria, swelling of the breasts and navel is considered a sign that a woman is in the family way, but, if there is any doubt, a medicine man is consulted. "He fills a calabash with water, throws in a little ground acha, and then washes his eyes with some magic drug and by looking in the water can tell what is to happen." He receives payment in kind and, after the birth of the child, some further payment. If it turns out that the woman is not pregnant and menstruation occurs again the medicine-man gives the woman a charm to ensure success next time (415). Schepers states that the Hottentots consider the first signs of pregnancy to be sickness with vomiting and loss of appetite, provided the woman does not normally suffer in this way. Amenorrhoea is not so important (337 p.260).

Pseudocyesis.

Records of false pregnancy occurring among the more backward peoples are not very common. Temeraire says that "sometimes a (Hesa) woman will have every sign of pregnancy and yet at the end of nine months she will not be delivered, but will grow bigger than ever. This is due to the fact that an iska (a wind - another name for bori) has played a trick upon her... The worst of it is that the particular iska can hardly ever be identified and propitiated, for each bori when asked by the diviner will say it is another one, and thus it is seldom indeed that the woman is cured" (417 p.96). It is doubtful whether this is a true
pseudocyesis and not a pelvic or abdominal tumour. Elsewhere Tremearne says: "Sometimes in the case of a false pregnancy the iska is driven away by drinking and washing with a medicine made by pounding up the roots of certain plants, the native names of which he gives, "and mixing with water. The belly should be rubbed downwards. If these medicines are unavailable use gautan kaji and potash instead." (418).

Abnormal Cravings

Many women have abnormal cravings during pregnancy. In one case I knew the first indication of the woman's condition was an intense craving for coffee beans, which, at other times, she found quite repulsive. This occurred very early, even before she missed the first period.

On Murray Islands, south of New Guinea, the women during pregnancy, frequently eat a greasy chocolate-like earth. It is eaten either raw or roasted but it appears uncertain whether this practice is entirely due to craving, or in order to influence the unborn infant. It is supposed to make the skin of the child light coloured. (149 - VI, p.105). When pregnant, Andamanese women commonly eat small quantities of a whitish-grey clay. They also frequently eat lime, chalk, or slate pencil (245 p.18 and 164). In Borneo a peculiar soapy earth is supplied to pregnant women to satisfy a craving (190 - II, p.153).

A particular kind of earth dug out of the banks of rivers at certain places in Malaya, is given, usually roasted, to expectant mothers (3 - II). The Sakai in the same region think that the cravings of a pregnant woman should be satisfied as far as possible (106 p.237). The Lakhers in Assam are much addicted to eating clay during pregnancy. The kind used is said to have the properties of chewing-gum and is believed to have a detrimental effect on their health (277 p.381 sq). Another tribe in Assam, the Ao Naga's, have a similar habit. While it is used by both sexes and at all ages, it is especially used by the women during pregnancy. Mills states that: "A single person will consume an amazing quantity in a day, often as much as a large handful. It is said to have an oily taste, and its smell is regarded as pleasant." (261 p.152). The cravings of pregnancy are believed by the Chamars of India to be due to the desires of the child and it is considered important to satisfy these longings or else the child will die or fall under the spell of the evil eye (33 p.61). In the Bondo Hills, in Orissa, the natives believe that the cravings of a pregnant woman are due to hunger of the unborn child. One of their stories tells of a woman whose craving was for beans (100 p.174 sq). Pregnant women of the Kurmi caste sometimes develop a craving for eating earth. It is mixed with wheat on the
threshing-floor, or with the ashes of cow-dung cakes which have been used for cooking. They consider this a preventive against vomiting. Panwar women of Bālāgāt eat red and white clay so that their children may be born with red and white complexions. (331 - IV, p.69 sq). The abnormal cravings of a Halba woman during pregnancy are supposed to come from the child and "must be satisfied if its development is not to be retarded." They sometimes "eat earth of a clayey texture, or the black cotton soil, or dried clay scraped off the wall of houses, or the ash of burnt cowdung cakes." It is said that this practice "if carried to excess leads to severe intestinal derangement which may prove fatal." (fcfc. - III, p.196 sq). The Chitaris have similar cravings and a pregnant woman may eat in one day a small handful of ashes or cowdung cakes (fcfc. - III, p.434). The Rawats of Chhatisgarh give their women whatever they desire to eat during the later period of pregnancy, otherwise the child would long for this food all its life (fcfc. - II, p.27)

Earth eating is common among Bantu women during pregnancy, but only after quickening. It is believed to have a "quieting internal effect." (47 p.136). It is reported by H. Ward that, throughout the Congo region the women commonly "eat clay or sand at childbirth" (429), but this author probably means during pregnancy. Weeks, writing about the Bakongo in the Lower Congo region says that red earth from ants' nests is much appreciated by women during pregnancy and tadpoles are also much enjoyed (433 p.109). When a Hausa woman is in the family way all cravings must be satisfied immediately. The eating of "white earth" is compulsory (417 p.97). It is said to be "eaten to secure easy childbirth" (416 p.142). Ibo women eat clay at any time to relieve heartburn and vomiting (13 p.1719), and on account of this it is popular during pregnancy.

Miss M.E. Durham states that in Montenegro "a woman who is with child and craves for any particular food must beware not to touch any part of her body with her hand. For, should she crave for milk and touch her hair the child's hair will be white; should she crave for pork the touched spot will be covered with pig's bristles and so forth." (92). Another Balkan belief is that a woman when pregnant and having a craving for wine should not touch her face, for if she does "the child will be marked with a red stain on a corresponding spot." (94 p.254). To gratify all the fancies of a pregnant Maori woman ensures an adequate supply of milk for the baby (22)

Maternal Impressions

In order to have a beautiful child the Kiwai Papuans recommend a pregnant woman to sit down close to
an individual who is considered handsome—a man if a male child is expected and a woman if a female infant is looked for (219 p. 230). On the Loyalty Islands a pregnant woman who happens to witness the tearing of a crawfish is most likely to give birth to a child with hare-lip. In the district of Lifu there is a rock known as the 'twisted foot.' The natives believe that if any expectant mother happens to walk across this rock, whether accidentally or intentionally, her child will be born with a twisted foot (151 p. 206 sq).

The Kayans of Borneo believe that the sight of an orang-utan, or of a long-nosed monkey, will cause a pregnant woman to give birth to a deformed infant (190—II, p. 153). According to the Kunbis, one of the castes in the Central Provinces of India, the sight of a dead body will cause a pregnant woman to give birth to a still-born child; and if she were to see an eclipse, her child would be maimed in some way (331—IV, p. 29). Several cases of the supposed effect of maternal impressions are recorded amongst the Lakhers and the Lusheis. In these cases the mothers put marks on their dead infants and begged them to return. The next child born in each case showed a mark similar to the one made by the mother on her dead infant (277 p. 396 sq.) The mothers were convinced that their dead infants had been reborn. The Lepchas of Sikkim say that if a pregnant woman happens to look at a solar, or a lunar eclipse, her child will be still-born. The sight of a dying or dead snake will likewise bring some misfortune to the unborn child (265 p. 206). They also say that when a child is expected, the parents must not watch a dog being born, for the child will then have one eye smaller than the other (138 p. 284). A Yezidi midwife in Iraq told Lady Drower that an expectant mother should only look on 'good things'. "If she sees a snake or a toad, or an ugly thing, the child that is to be born will be like them. I once knew a woman whose baby was born with a head like a sheep, and the mother told me it had happened because she had gazed at a sheep" (88 p. 31).

Coming now to Africa we find that when one of the wives of the King of the Bakitara became pregnant, great care was taken to prevent her from seeing any person of unprepossessing appearance lest this should affect the unborn child. She was not allowed to look at certain animals, such as monkeys, as this sight might cause the child to be deformed (313 p. 157). The Baganda believe that the sight of a monkey would cause a pregnant woman to give birth to a child with large, deepset eyes, and if one were to laugh at a lame person her child would be lame (312 p. 49). The Suk also avoid looking at a monkey (13 p. 22). The sight of a dead hawk would be disastrous for a Mwila woman's child (359—II, p. 4). It is stated that among the tribes living to the south of Lake Nyasa, an expectant mother will not look at a picture or an image lest her child be
be born deformed. Fright is said to cause the birth of a monster (372). In the Sudan the sight of a lizard, a tortoise, or a monkey, is believed to make a Jukun woman give birth to a child resembling the creature looked at (254 p. 358).

A Mashona woman, when pregnant, must avoid looking at anything undesirable such as an individual who has a squint or is in any way deformed, otherwise her child is liable to be affected in the same way (45 p. 195). For a pregnant Hottentot woman to be present when an animal is being slaughtered would cause her child to be born with a slit throat. Reaching high up with her arms would entangle the child in the umbilical cord. Partaking of the flesh or blood of a lion or a leopard would make the child fierce, swift and strong (337 p. 261).

When F.W.H. Nigeeod was travelling in the Limba country in Sierra Leone he saw a small Albino child and was told that the mother had seen a white man when she was pregnant and was frightened (299 p. 37). In Ashanti they believe that the sight of a monkey or any deformed person or carving can cause deformity in the expected infant (293 p. 54). In some cases even the thought of something undesirable may have a bad influence on a woman's unborn child. Tremearne tells of a Hausa woman who had dark rings round her mouth, which were due to her mother's desire for some black stain during her pregnancy. Being unable to get it she rubbed her mouth and thus produced the stain round her child's mouth (418 p. 32 sq.). The beliefs of the Ibos are somewhat similar. A pregnant Ibo woman must not look at anything 'juju', or anything ugly, otherwise her child will resemble what she has seen (13 p. 170). An Arab girl in North Africa was rather Mongolian in appearance and had eyes far apart. Tremearne was told that "this came about because when carrying her in the womb, her mother... was frightened by a ghost. She returned home, her eyes staring and so Naji (the daughter) has had to suffer" (417 p. 98).

In America we find similar superstitions. For instance the Indians of Laguna think that when teeth are present at birth, it is a sign that the mother, during her pregnancy, looked at a snake. They attribute all congenital abnormalities to similar causes (278). The Zuni Indians think that any rash on a baby is caused by the mother testing the heat of the oven by sprinkling bran on it. "Sores on a baby may be due to his mother stepping before his birth on an anthill... In another instance... the baby's sores looked like the spots of paint on the mask his mother in her pregnancy had seen worn by her father" (279). In the Argentine the Araucanians say that the sight of a hunchback, or a lame or ugly person, will cause a pregnant woman's child to be deformed. If the woman looks at an eclipse through an open roof and scratches her back the child will have a black mark on the corresponding spot on its body (161 p. 167).
When a woman of the Kakadu tribe in Northern Australia is pregnant, the father of the child "makes some string out of opossum fur, which he puts into the little... bag that is carried round his neck. Unless this be done the child will be born blind." The lubra carries in a special dilly bag a small stick smeared with some sticky substance obtained from an orchid. She must not part with this and must sleep with it under her head and must not talk at night. The loss of this stick would mean death to the unborn child (365 p.329). To ensure a strong, healthy baby, some pregnant women in North-West Central Queensland rub warm powdered ashes over their breasts (322 p.182). In Central Australia a man does not attempt to kill any large game during the first three or four months of his wife's pregnancy because he believes that the spirit child will misdirect the weapon. He can, however, catch smaller game such as rats or opossums (367 p.471). The Ngatatara, also of Central Australia, believe that if intercourse takes place during pregnancy there is a risk that the penis may go into the child's eye and cause him to stare after birth. The infant might have a flat nose or a receding forehead (304).

A Papuan woman in the region between Moorhead and Wassikassa Rivers, New Guinea, anoints her breasts with certain chewed plants mixed with ashes of the bark of the cork tree. This protects the child from any mishap. For the expectant mother to eat a certain species of lizard would cause her child to be born an imbecile (233). A native of Kiwai Island must not go hunting, fishing, or fighting when his wife is pregnant and the woman herself "must not go near anyone engaged in making a canoe, drum, or harpoon-shaft, as she would ruin his work. Neither must she approach a sick person, lest his malady should get worse" (219 p.230). For a Koita woman of British New Guinea to walk about at night, when she is an expectant mother, would cause her labour to be unduly prolonged (346 p.84). Another community from the same region say that cohabitation during pregnancy is liable to produce some deformity in the child (343). On the island of Saibai, near the south coast of New Guinea, a man gives a feast to the whole community, when his wife is expecting an infant and one of his brothers prepares a special ornament for his sister-in-law. This ornament represents an infant and is worn over the pit of the stomach. Its upper strings, which represent the arms, are tied at the back of the neck, while the lower, representing the legs, are brought round the waist and tied at the back, and the main fringe hangs down in front reaching almost to the knees. This is worn constantly except when fishing (344 - V, p.194 sq.)
As soon as it was certain that a woman on the Gilbert Islands was in the family way, her friends tried to keep the matter secret, because a woman in that condition was peculiarly susceptible to magic. Everything closely connected with her person was burned as soon as possible (146). E. Thomson reports that a professional midwife on the island of Tamana, in the Gilbert Group, stated that the women "do no work during the first two months of pregnancy. At the seventh month they are anointed with oil; about the eighth their limbs are given passive exercise, and they go to a separate house to be shampooed by expert masseuses, in order to train their muscles to bear the labour pains (402 p.209). On the island of San Cristoval in the Solomon Group, a woman of the chieftain class is not allowed to leave the house when pregnant, but women of other classes may go out at high tide. "It is only at high tide that women give birth successfully," (112 p.337). During the earlier part of her pregnancy a woman in the Seniang district of Malekula receives frequent presents of food from her brother, and once a month her female relatives who have borne children pay a visit to eat a certain pudding which she prepares for them. The brother also offers up prayers to his ancestors for his sister's safety. For this, the husband pays him first a fowl then, a month later, a pig (77 p.237). A Fijian woman was exempted from all heavy work, up to the time of quickening, but thereafter, it was believed, the more she worked, the easier would be her confinement (402 p.209). In Koroalau, Fiji, a pregnant woman is forbidden tobacco and sugar cane. Before the birth of her first child she lies in the house for two to four months then can go fishing (179 p.157). During a Samoan woman's pregnancy, she allowed her hair to grow long, partly to show her condition and partly because it was thought that this would make the child stronger. Later, she was given an offering of pigs. "This was called 'O le popo' of the child, and strangely enough so named from the fact that the expressed juice of the popo or ripe coconut was the first food given to the infant." A month before her confinement, the woman went to live with her own family and stayed with them until the child was born (40 p.44). The Maori, who were the pioneers in the study of eugenics, had strict rules which had to be followed by their women during pregnancy. In the high chieftain class no expectant mother was allowed to exert herself unduly by heavy work. As all food-stuffs were polluting for tapu persons, no expectant mother could carry any on her back (22).

In Borneo, the Katingans have very strict rules of behaviour for both the husband and the wife during the latter's pregnancy. For them to cut firewood would produce harelip in the child or give it double thumbs. Many other actions can cause deformity or may even cause death of the child, and in some cases
of the mother also (232 – II, p.335 sq). The Long-galts have similar restrictions and certain rules about diet (II – II, p.439). When a woman of Car Nicobar becomes pregnant both parents must avoid fastening anything tightly, such as tying knots or nailing boards. This would make delivery difficult or impossible, as they would make the spirit of the unborn infant get tied up in knots (440 p.117). Seligman says that "the pains and danger of childbirth are so well recognised by the Veddas in Ceylon that a special ceremony is performed by the wilder Veddas and a prayer offered for the safety of the young mother. We were assured at Sitala Wanniya that if this ceremony were omitted the mother and child would die" (349 p.102).

To ensure the well-being of the developing foetus a Jakun father in Malaya will never go out of sight of his wife during her pregnancy unless he is compelled to go for some important and unavoidable business. His constant presence is required for the well-being of the child. The woman herself carries "a shell-shaped piece of wood to protect her unborn child" (358 – II, p.22). Coconut rings are supposed to protect Burmese women from any misfortune during pregnancy (164). To ensure an easy delivery, the Lhota Nagas in Assam rub a slippery sand lizard against the abdomen and say "Let my child be slippery like you, and come without difficulty", then they let it go (260 p.145 footnote). In Siam they say some spirits delight in annoying pregnant women so the latter are given charms to wear in order to protect them. One type of spirit is sometimes sent into the womb by a witch and is believed to devour the infant's entrails and cause it to be still-born (427).

In India, a Kurmi woman of the Central Provinces must not light a lamp when she is pregnant lest this act injures her child. The use of a needle by the woman, or of an axe by her husband might injure the baby. During an eclipse the woman "must sit still with a stone pestle in her lap and anoint her womb (? abdomen) with cowdung" (331 – IV, p.69). Cutting instruments are not always considered harmful. During a woman's pregnancy, the Chamaras, a caste of leather-workers in Northern India, keep a knife under the woman's pillow at night. Red garments are forbidden but white and black are worn, and blue threads encircle the neck. No woman who has had a miscarriage must be touched by her for fear of infection (33 p.61). When an eclipse occurs, a Chitari woman who is enceinte must remain indoors, as the sight of it would cause some deformity in the child (331 – II, p.434). Crossing a river is dangerous for a pregnant Halba woman (II – III, p.197) and also for a Teli woman. The latter when in the family way must not wear any black cloth (II – III, p.551). In the Nilgiri Hills the Paikara River is sacred to the Todas and must not be crossed by a pregnant woman for the river god would probably cause a
mishap. (405 - V, p.305). A pregnant Baiga woman should not step over the rope tethering a horse as this would extend the duration of her pregnancy to twelve months. To avoid this, a little bit of the rope is ground and mixed with water which she drinks. Stepping over the little rough threads of the rope used to make beds or seats will lead to retained placenta and cause the death of the woman. For her to sleep on a sack would give the child smallpox, and to step over a pig's trough would produce rickets (98 p.224). A pregnant Gond woman should not go near a horse or an elephant because they would become excited and attack her (331 - III, p.83). Kuria women must not climb trees when in the family way and must remain indoors during an eclipse. For one to steal any foodstuffs would lead to deformity in the child. The husband's activities must also be restricted (99 p.71). No person should remark upon the condition of an Orsan expectant mother as this would render her liable to be attacked by churilli. She must not touch a dead body and must remain indoors during a thunderstorm (327 p.116 sq). The deities of the jungle or the mountains can harm Reddi women when pregnant, therefore long journeys must not be undertaken. Crossing rivers or travelling by boat must be avoided on account of the river spirits (121 p.108). It is considered unsafe for a Panjabi woman in Ambala to see an eclipse when she is pregnant, and antimony must not be applied to her eyes while the eclipse lasts as the child would be similarly marked (316). In one of the Confucian Classics, the Nei Zeh, it says that during the last month of pregnancy, a woman should occupy one of the side apartments where her husband can call twice daily to enquire for her, but must not see her. This continues until the child is born (267 ^w II, p.16).

When one of the wives of the king of the Bakitara was pregnant she was obliged to cover her breasts and her abdomen. If anyone saw them her unborn child could be injured by magic. The wife of a commoner should not step over a rope which tethers a goat or a sheep because this would make the labour much more difficult. If she saw any black ants crossing her path she had to spit on them before stepping over them. If she omitted to do this her child would cut the upper teeth first, which would be disastrous as it would have sores in its ears (313 p.240 sq.). No man would dare to use the seat of a pregnant woman or even to step over it, and the woman dare not drink from any pot that a man had used. Anything undesirable heard or seen by her could affect the child (315 p.120). One clan of the Baganda holds a parade about a month before full term and on the following day the mother-in-law awaits the expectant woman. When the latter arrives she brings a spear with which she pricks the toe of her mother-in-law sufficiently to draw blood. The company then retire. The omission of this rite would lead to the death of the baby either before birth
or immediately after (312 p.56). The Baganda keep all delicate children from contact with a woman who is pregnant, and surround her with strong, healthy ones, so that her child may be like them (306). A Banyankole woman wears a strip of lizard skin round her waist until her child is born. Bits of stick and cowries are attached to the skin to ensure the health of the child. As an aperient the expectant mother is given a decoction of herbs boiled in cow's urine. This makes the baby strong and healthy. A circlet made with certain seeds is worn from the eighth month to bring about a safe delivery (314 p.109 sq.). As the tendency to miscarry is considered infectious by the Kipsikis, or Lumbwa, of Kenya, no pregnant woman must go near one who has had a miscarriage. To protect her against such a misfortune, a woman who is in the family way wears a charm sealed in the neck of a gourd (12). In order to ensure an easy delivery, a Lamba woman, when pregnant, wears a charm suspended from her neck. This consists of a small horn containing 'medicine', with the cut ends closed with four beads in each (82 p.300). Hobley states that during the first pregnancy of a Nandi woman, she borrows pieces of the dresses of unmarried girls and sews them to the lower edge of her own robe. These are returned after the birth of the child (172). Hellis says that the prospective Nandi mother "borrows an apron from an unmarried girl and takes the seeds with which it is ornamented. Into these she bores holes with a piece of iron, and then threads them on to a cord and sews them on to her lower garment... She wears this charm until her child is born, when it is hung round the baby's neck." (184 p.64). When a Yao woman is in the family way the older women of the tribe dance round her and tell her that if she should prove unfaithful to her husband she will die when the baby is born. They give her rules regarding diet. Similar instructions are given to the husband regarding his behaviour and diet (123). In the fifth month of a young Makonde woman's first pregnancy she has her head shaved and a month later a feast is given and the expectant mother has a charm of bark cloth ornamented with beads hung round her neck. She is instructed by the older women how to behave. Sitting on other people's mats is liable to cause premature labour, while returning anyone's salutation would lead to delayed labour (438 p.355 sq.).

The Hausa say that a woman in the family way should be given without delay, anything she craves for, otherwise the child will have some disfigurement such as birth marks on the face (417 p.77). "Some of the Hausa in Tunisia... procure a black hen during the seventh month of pregnancy and keep it in the house until labour has begun. It is then taken to the Jew's quarter by one of the old women of the house, who lets it loose there, so that it will take away the evil bori... which has been watching for the child's appearance (36 p.98). In Northern Nigeria the Katab give a feast
when their wives are four months advanced in their first pregnancy. The woman keeps count of the months by putting a circular dot of red earth on her thigh for each month of gestation (253 - II, p.39). P. Amaury Talbot describes some very complicated rites of a religious nature which are observed by the Ibibio when a woman desires a child. The sacred shrine and well are visited by couples desirous of children and sacrifices are made of fowls and fruit with prayers for offspring (335 p.26 sqq.). This sacred well is in the Eket district of Nigeria. Mrs. Talbot also writes about these Ibibio. She says that the old wise women teach the expectant mother what she must do or refrain from doing for the sake of the expected infant. They gather certain flowers of a vivid cobalt blue colour and rub them over the body of the woman in order that her pains may be light. When a woman is near her time of confinement and finds a line of ants crossing her path, "she must not step over them, lest her unborn babe should be marked with a bald line round the head, supposed to resemble the 'ant road'. To avoid such a catastrophe she must first pick large leaves and lay these over the spot where she means to cross. Next she should collect sand and strew it over them, for only when the leaves are thus almost covered may she step across" (387 p.20 sq.). Among their neighbours, the Ibo, there is a similar superstition about ants. If a pregnant woman were to cross a line of travelling ants, her child would be strangled by the umbilical cord unless she swept a clear passage through the line and slapped her thigh. They also believe in the effect of maternal impressions on the offspring. If an expectant mother were to look at anything ugly such as a monkey, her child would resemble it. For her to see her reflection in palm oil would cause a miscarriage, and so would a visit to a house in which a child had recently been born. They also say that "too much exposure to the sun will cause the child to evaporate away" (13 p.170 sq.). The Jekris of Nigeria are usually very rough in the handling of their women so, when a woman is pregnant she "wears a small bell suspended from her back, and as the bell announces her approach room is made for her and she is not jostled nor struck." (142). Dennett says that Bavili women of the Congo wear as a charm, "to ensure safety in childbirth," a "horn of the little antelope filled with medicines," (61 p.89). This resembles the Silesian custom of hanging goats' horns over the door on Walpurgis night, as a protection against witches as mentioned by Frazer in "The Scapegoat". Horns are used extensively throughout the East. I have seen them hung over the doors of houses in Persia and India. Capt. Wilson-Haffenden mentions a peculiar custom found among the Kwottos in Nigeria. As soon as a woman quickens she shaves her head and puts on old, dirty garments. This is probably to protect her from the attentions of evil spirits. The
husband also dresses shabbily and refrains from shaving. The woman must not leave her compound because to do so would lead to the death of her child (449 p. 358 sq.). While a Chamba woman is not allowed to leave her compound throughout the whole of her pregnancy, a pregnant Berom woman, also of Nigeria, has a complicated rite to observe in the fourth month. Her husband shaves her head but leaves a small tuft on the crown, and after being anointed with oil she leads a procession to the cave of the priest of Mbon. Covering her eyes she is led into the cave where the priest cuts off the remaining tuft of hair. A chicken brought by the party is cooked and eaten. Other rites are observed in the sixth and some subsequent months (252 - II, p. 73 sq.). The Chamba say that "if an enceinte woman drinks water in which a cat's placenta or the stump of a human umbilical cord has been placed she will have an easy delivery." (253 p. 358). During the pregnancy of a Bassa-Komo in Nigeria, her husband, who is a notorious wife-beater refrains from striking her or quarrelling with her, and will rather leave the house during her pregnancy than risk hurting her (53). In Aschanti the Nankanse think that exposure to cold or taking cold food will induce haemorrhage in an expectant mother at time of delivery. She must always sleep on her side for fear of injuring the baby. Running and dancing are forbidden. Her husband must not kill any wild animal, nor touch a corpse, nor may he build a new hut (294 - I, p. 132).

In South Africa the Mashona start their ante-natal care at the very commencement of pregnancy. The expectant mother must not enter a kraal nor cross certain cultivated lands, especially those with monkey-nut crops as the shells of the nuts would burst. If she sees an infant crawling she must lick its feet, otherwise that child would not be able to walk until after the birth of her own baby (45 p. 196). If her husband has to go on a long journey he must not let his wife know, else the birth would be delayed until his return (46 p. 256). Among the Bushmen, pregnant women have some privileges in the way of food but in one section, the Kung, sweet food is forbidden, also fat meat. "No one may pass behind a pregnant woman's back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it." (337 p. 112)

During the latter part of her pregnancy a woman of the Cheran people in Mexico is not allowed to lift a pot off the fire until he has removed the lid, otherwise her child will be born deaf and dumb. Club foot in a child is due to carelessness of the mother when pregnant they believe. To ensure the correct position of the child in utero they employ massage with lard (17 p. 165). In Colombia when a Goajira woman is pregnant she continues carrying heavy loads right up to the start of labour. No help is given even at the time
of confinement (437 p.192).

Diet during Pregnancy.

As the developing child derives its nourishment directly from the mother it is generally recognised that proper attention must be paid to the food of a pregnant woman. In Central Australia it is usual for expectant mothers to eat only vegetables in the early period, since they believe that meat causes sickness (367 p.471). The Kakadu in Northern Australia say that the flesh of the crane, if eaten by the mother, will produce yaws in the baby, if the parents eat a certain wood grub, the child will be covered with scabs; if they eat a rock snake, the cord will become twisted and cause the death of the baby. In the later months they must abstain from crocodile flesh, otherwise after birth the child will fall into a water hole and be drowned (365 p.344). If a Ngatatara woman in Central Australia eats too much meat when she is pregnant the child will grow too big and the birth will be difficult. If she should eat opossum, its tail might prevent the birth of the child (304).

In British New Guinea a Koita woman when expecting a child must not eat echidna, bandicoot, certain kinds of fish and the large lizard (Varanus) (346 p.84). Prof. Seligman who reports this does not give the reason for these prohibitions. In an article on the Sinangolo he says that "certain species of yam and fish are forbidden to pregnant women" but adds "that these restrictions are self-imposed. Breaking this taboo would render her child weak or deformed, or the umbilical cord might ulcerate" (343 p.301). According to the Epuans living between Morehead and the Wossis- kussa Rivers, if a pregnant woman were to eat a certain lizard, her child would be imbecile (233). Eating bandicoot during pregnancy would cause an Arapesh woman of South East New Guinea to die in labour since the bandicoot burrows far into the ground; eating a frog will induce precipitate labour; and eating eels would cause a premature birth (251 p.33).

Landtman states that among the Papuans of Kiwai Island, South of New Guinea, "a medicine given to women to facilitate childbirth consists of a cassowary's anus and part of a swamp eel... which is so slippery that it cannot be held in the hand" (219 p.230). These act by magic, the dilatability of the cassowary's anus and the slipperiness of the eel symbolising an easy and rapid birth. Among the eastern islands of the Torres Straits, products of the sea are forbidden. Eating a certain fish resembling sole would cause the child to have bad eyes or a mis-shapen nose. Shell-fish which make a hissing sound when being roasted will make the mother bear a child that will be a good talker and singer. Most expectant mothers make the Trumpet-
A peculiar rule is observed in New Britain. During pregnancy, women may not eat anything that is complete. Shark's tails being solid are forbidden, similarly the large arum cannot be used because its leaf is not serrated. For a woman to eat an ant would make the child cross. As a cuttle fish walks backwards, partaking of this would make her child a coward (40 p.33). Both parents on the S.E. Solomons must avoid certain fish, which would cause their child, when born, to throw back its head, which would then remain "permanently out of position (probably due to convulsions)". (203 p.275). Certain fish with large mouths are forbidden to expectant mothers on Lau, in the Solomons, because by eating them the child when born would be a mouth breather (204 p.109). An Arama woman i.e. one of the chieftain class, on San Cristoval in the Solomon Group may eat only one kind of fish when pregnant and one kind of prawn that lives in streams (106 p.337). An expectant mother on the island of Malekula in the New Hebrides must try to refrain from satisfying her cravings during pregnancy, otherwise the child will be malformed. Eating flying-fox, pig, birds, prawns or coconuts will cause her child to have sores (77 p.237). On the Loyalty Islands they think that any craving for special food which a pregnant woman might develop must be satisfied to avoid evil consequences to the unborn child (151 p.175). Eating land crabs during pregnancy can ensure a plentiful supply of milk for the infant after birth, according to the Gilbert Islanders. Fish and coconut milk are also excellent, but vegetables must be avoided. Flat fish cause distortion of the eyes, and turtle flesh will produce a cowardly child (146). Every attempt was made to satisfy the cravings of a pregnant Maori woman as this was believed to provide an adequate supply of milk for the child when born (22).

The Bagobo of Mindanao in the Philippines forbid sour food and dried fish or meat to pregnant woman as these would make the infant thin and weak (59 p.99). In Central Borneo certain animals can be
eaten by the Penyahbong only when killed with a spear or a parang, and any fruit damaged by falling is taboo (232 I p. 18sq). If a pregnant Dyak woman on Borneo were to eat snake or turtle, her child would resemble the creature eaten. If she happened to eat any fruit that had fallen to the ground, her child would be stillborn (Ib. II p.334). Andamanese women eat in moderation when pregnant but like to have as great a variety of food as possible (245 p.18).

In India Bondo women of Oriasa avoid eating mangoes during pregnancy. It is believed they can induce abortion. If the expectant mother were to eat jackfruit, this would cause her child to dribble when born, and brinjal would give it itch. A spotted fowl and any carrion are also prohibited. The father must not eat the head or the feet of any sacrificed animal (100 p.101). To avoid the risk of abortion the Muria also forbid mangoes. The other food taboos are similar to those of the Bondo (99 p.71). The Chenchus only prohibit stale food (120 p.146). The cravings of a Chitari woman must be satisfied to ensure the birth of a healthy child. These women frequently eat earth, or the scrapings from walls, or even the ashes of cowdung cakes "to the extent of a small handful a day." (331 II p.434). Similar cravings are found among Halba women and these must be satisfied (Ib. III p.196). The Chamaras in the United Provinces avoid purgatives, and any food which is supposed to cause abortion such as oil. Rice and leguminous vegetables are also forbidden (33 p.61). All red fruit and vegetables are avoided by a Teli woman when pregnant in case it should induce haemorrhage (331 IV p.551). The head of a certain type of fish has the same effect on a Birhor woman. Bread made of rice flour and cooked in a certain way will cause her child's ears to be wrinkled. If she happens to look at a hairy animal, her child will be hairy (326 p.376sq).

Each of the Kuki Tribes in Manipur has its own rules regarding the food forbidden to pregnant women. These refer chiefly to animals which have not been specially killed for food (182 p.176sq). The flesh of a cow or of a sow which is pregnant is forbidden to a Memi woman (186 p.541). The Anal clan withhold chillies and honey, while in the Kolhen clan crabs and eggs are taboo. A Langang woman must not eat a certain fish called 'ngain'. (352 p.160). The Rengma Nagas forbid bear's flesh throughout the eastern and western groups, as it is regarded a very stupid animal (262 p.111). All bitter food is withheld from Karen expectant mothers (356 p.182). In Sikkim, the Lepcha taboos apply to both parents. They must not eat wild potatoes if found between two stones, nor birds caught in a trap. If a woman happens to eat a double banana, her child will have webbed toes and if she eats a double head of millet, her child will have extra fingers (265 p.208). Neither parent should eat "animals which have met their death by accident or by
being killed by a wild beast." If the mother were to eat "any joined fruit such as a double banana, the child would be born with webbed toes." (138 p.284).

The Cham women in Indo-China believe that they are likely to give birth to a monster if they eat a certain kind of Javanese banana and that this monster will turn on them one day and torment them (16 p.257). When a Malay woman is pregnant she avoids eating cold rice and drinking coconut water because these are apt to render the head of the child hard and incompressible and make labour difficult. (3 part 2). Their Siamese neighbours give the flesh of monkeys to expectant mothers. (Ib.) The Yakuts of Siberia forbid their women to eat swan's flesh and the eggs of wild birds "because the child might otherwise be deaf and imbecile" (72 p.142). W. G. Sumner states that Yakut "women, especially when they are pregnant, are forbidden by custom to eat some dishes," but does not specify the forbidden foods (380). The taboos observed by the Yukaghir affect the whole household. "The pregnant woman must not eat the fat of the cow or reindeer, or larch-gum, because all these things are believed to thicken or 'freeze' in the stomach, and to fasten the child in the womb, but butter of the cow, or horse's fat may be eaten, for it will melt in the stomach" (72 p.131).

In Africa the Baganda withheld salt from pregnant women except one kind prepared from burnt grass. Water had to be drunk before food to avoid scalding the child. Among the forbidden foods were baked plantains, certain kinds of beans, yams and meat from the head of a goat (312 p.49). Food baked on hot embers, sugar cane, and certain fruits were apt to produce a delicate child or even a still-birth (305) and were therefore also forbidden. A pregnant Basabei woman had to avoid the flesh of any animal that had died or had been killed by a wild beast, or killed by hunters (315 p.71). For a pregnant Bakitara woman to take any salt, apart from that used in cooking, would cause her infant to be born blind or to have skin disease. Hot food given to the mother would scald the hands and arms of her baby (315 p.249). The A-Kamba think that ghee or fat can induce a miscarriage, and that honey delays the day of birth, making the confinement more difficult through the huge size of the child. Delivery may be impossible in such a case. Beans are forbidden because they "make the stomach swell and cause pain." (175 p.61). The taboos imposed on Dinka women include certain kinds of fish, antelope, buffalo, monitor lizard and animals which have died a natural death, because the eating of these would cause the death of the unborn child (69.) If a Makonde woman were to eat eggs when she is in the family way, it is believed that her child would have no hair; the flesh of
a monkey would make her child stupid (438 p.316). The Ila-speaking people of Northern Rhodesia do not allow pregnant women to eat the flesh of the hartebeest because the young of these animals are born blind, and they believe that the children likewise would be blind. The flesh of animals torn by birds of prey would cause the child, about to be born, to return into the womb; flesh of a goose would give the infant a long neck (359 - II, p.3). Yao women will not eat hippopotamus in case their infants develop teeth like those of the animal they have eaten. Eggs are also forbidden as they would make the infants bald (123). The Hon. K.R. Dundas says that a Wawanga woman when pregnant must not eat "meat called Iveci, if it has been placed in her hut overnight in an uncooked state; otherwise the child, when born, will be sickly; and when it commences to crawl, its hair will fall out, and sores will appear on its scalp." This Iveci appears to be portion of some abdominal organ (91). In his book on the Khoisan peoples Schapera says: "Among the Kung (a large Bushman tribe) a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkoss, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat" (337 p.112).

In Nigeria, Ibo women, when pregnant, will not eat snails as these would cause the eyes and nose to stream with water. The flesh of a certain rodent which has a habit of running forward and suddenly stopping, would cause the head of the baby to advance then retreat during labour. Bananas are believed to make the infant weak and anaemic, and pumpkins produce pimples on the body. If the expectant mother were to eat eggs her child will develop umbilical hernia. This, however, is admired and is not considered a defect (13 p.169 sq.). For an Ibibio woman to eat snails during her pregnancy would cause salivation. Eating pig would make the infant's skin spotted. (387 p.20 sq.) The Nankanse say that eating cold food during pregnancy will cause haemorrhage at the confinement. Honey and antelope flesh are forbidden to pregnant women (253 - I, p.132). The only thing forbidden to a Hausa woman is hot tea, and that only during the first three months of pregnancy (417 p.97). A Jukun woman must not eat the flesh of any pregnant animal during her own pregnancy. If she were to eat stale dry food the lignor ammil would dry up. "If she were to eat a water-tortoise, the child, when due to be born, would recede as a tortoise recedes into its shell." All food that grows underground must be avoided after the sixth month of pregnancy, otherwise when the child is born it will be dirty like all underground products (254 p.359).

In South America the Jivaro of Equador do not allow pregnant women to do any heavy work, their chief occupation being care of the children and looking after the household fires (109 p.107). During
pregnancy a Goajira woman of Colombia usually continues carrying heavy loads right up to the hour of delivery. If the pains start when she is on the march she gets astride a donkey and rides quickly ahead of the party she is travelling with and rests under the shade of a species of acacia. She is delivered without any help and the husband cuts the cord with his machete, then he cauterizes the stump with a glowing ember or candela. The child is wrapped up and carried slung across the mother's back. No washing is done until the party reach their destination (437 p.192). Bending and lifting heavy weights are forbidden to a Moche woman in Peru during the last two months of her pregnancy. She must also be careful to eat only cold foods (134 p.136). The Araucanians of Chili forbid their women during pregnancy to eat apples, honey or chilis (161 p.12). In Argentina the Araucanians believe that if a woman during pregnancy eats grease, her baby will have a running nose, and if she eats pickled eggs the child will have freckles. All food which the mother craves for must be given, otherwise the woman will have an abortion (76 p.266 sq.)
Special Pregnancy Customs.

Among many of the castes of India we find ceremonies held in the third, fifth and seventh months of pregnancy, which are considered critical periods. As the third and the seventh are believed to be the most important, the fifth month ceremony is often delayed and held during the seventh month.

(a) Third month Ceremonies.

As it is very important for a Brahman to have a son to observe the necessary rites after his father's death, every male child is specially welcome. During the wife's pregnancy she must observe a fast, then her husband squeezes into her right nostril some of the juice extranted from the fruit and twig of a certain tree (Ficus sp) and says "Thou art a male child" (405 - I, p.271). The Nambutiri Brahmins always carry out this rite in the third month. On the day chosen the wife must fast until she is fed by her husband with one grain of corn, symbolising the generative organs of the male (405 - I, p.271). In the Malay Peninsula the Benua perform certain rites during the third month of pregnancy and bind a charm round the woman's waist. This is not for the sake of the father as with the Brahmins but in order that all may go well with both mother and child (358 - II, p.15).

(b) Fifth Month Ceremonies.

It is uncertain why the fifth month should be chosen for special consideration unless it is because this is midway between the third and the seventh month, when the risk of a miscarriage is considered greatest.

The Mukkuvans of Southern India hold their special ceremony pulikudi, in either the fifth or the seventh month. "A ripe coconut, which has lost its water, is selected, and heated over a fire. Oil is then expressed from it, and five or seven women smear the tongue and abdomen of the pregnant woman with it (405 - I, p.271). During the fifth month a Tiyan woman is supposed to be subject to attacks by malignant spirits in an attempt to destroy the chilli. Special offerings must be made to appease these spirits. The woman with six female companions, walks seven times round the house carrying a lamp and other articles, which are then thrown away. Finally a live cock is held against the forehead of the pregnant woman, and after the repetition of mantras, rice is thrown over her head. "If she should have a fit, the head of the cock is cut off, and the blood offered to the demon spirit. If, however, she does not suffer from undue excitement, the cock is simply removed alive." (46 - VII, p.69). Somewhat similar rites are carried out by the Varmans in Southern India, ending with
eighteen or more Washermen, disguised as demons dancing in pairs on to the stage. Any fowls or animals thrown to them to appease them, they tear with their teeth as if they were tigers (15 - VII, p.321). About the fifth month of pregnancy the Todas seclude their women in a hut outside the village and burn their wrists. There are modified rites performed by different branches of the Toda group which are fully described by W.H. Rivers (300 p.313 sqq.)

Certain African tribes observe special customs at the fifth month of pregnancy. A special 'medicine', mixed with light beer is placed on a three-pronged stick at the head of the bed of Ba-ila. This is taken by both husband and wife until the child is born and is supposed to protect them from any disease which might hinder delivery (359 - II, p.5). The Makonde shave the heads of their wives when they are five months pregnant (435 p.315). In West Africa among the Edo the hair is specially dressed at the fifth month, while at Iyawa a woman "takes a cord and ties it round her neck; she also smears white clay on her body" (399).

A. Grimble states that the Gilbert Islanders consider the fifth month of pregnancy the most dangerous. The expectant mother is removed to the east side of the island and a special bark girdle is bound round her abdomen to give support for the increasing pressure of the gravid uterus (146). In the Trobriand Islands a primipara is given special ceremonial garments about the fifth month. These consist of "a plain white fibre petticoat, and a long cloak... of the same material". These must be worn for a month or two, and again after the confinement (244 p.179 sqq.).

(c) Seventh Month Ceremonies.

Throughout India many castes consider the seventh month of pregnancy so important that they have special rites to perform in order to ensure the safe delivery of the mother and welfare of the child. The Cherumans have a complicated magical ceremony after which the devil-driver rubs the body of the woman with the petals of a certain flower and paddy, to find out if she is possessed of any devil. If found to be possessed, certain offerings are made to drive the devil out (405 - II, p.73 sqq.). The Izhavans of Malabar take the woman to the foot of a tamarind tree and give her a thread, seven yards in length, to which is attached a silver ring. She entwines the tree with the thread which must not be broken, otherwise both mother and child will die. Next day the thread is unwound and the woman's husband gives her a handful of tamarind leaves. Some tamarind juice which has passed through the hands of her husband into her own must be drunk by the woman while she is leaning against a cutting
from a certain tree. The cutting must then be planted in the compound and, if it fails to grow, it foretells misfortune for the child (46. II, p.419). In Madura, a Kallan woman sits on a plank while cooked rice is waved before her, then her sister-in-law pours milk from a betel or a pipal leaf on her back (46. II, p.81). Many other castes have similar customs with slight variations. During her first pregnancy, the friends of Kunbi women "give her new green clothes and bangles in the seventh month; they then put her into a swing and sing songs" (46. IV, p.29). The Todas practise adolphos polyandry and a ceremony performed in the seventh month of pregnancy determines the one reckoned to be the father of the child. This man has to present the mother with an imitation bow and arrow after getting the consent of her father (41. VII, p.143 sq.).

A full description of the ceremony is given by W.H.R. Rivers (300 p.319 sq.). The rite performed by the Badagas seals the marriage contract. The husband asks his father-in-law for permission to throw a special thread round his wife's neck. If this thread becomes entangled in his wife's hair, "which is made large for the occasion by the addition of false hair," he is fined three rupees. Pollution lasts one day and terminates with bathing (405 - I, p.108 sq.).

Outside of India any special proceedings carried out during the seventh month of pregnancy do not appear to be ceremonial, unless we include the custom of the Hausa in Tunisia (417 p.98 sq.)

(d) Customs affecting neither Mother nor Child

Two African tribes living near Mount Kenya, the Igoshi and the Wembi, bore the ears of an expectant mother immediately before the birth of her first child, and ear ornaments are given to her (376 p.257). Until a certain ceremony is performed, a Dagoba woman must pretend she does not know that she is pregnant. Some woman, generally a relative by marriage, is chosen for the performance of the ceremony. The expectant mother is wakened from sleep and given some startling news that makes her run out of the hut. The performer of the ceremony throws water over her and it is then permitted to mention and joke about the fact that she is pregnant. When she is well advanced in her pregnancy she has all ornaments, except her bangles, removed by the woman who threw the water over her, and she puts on a red string waist-girdle (294 - II, p.417).

Ante-natal Omens.

The ante-natal omens we have to consider here are those which are based on superstition. For example, the Birhors, a jungle tribe of Chota Nagpur, believe that it is a bad sign if milk escapes from the breasts of a pregnant woman, indicating that either the
child will be still-born or will die shortly after birth. The milk is looked upon as the tears of the child (326 p.386). If a pregnant Erawaller woman of Cochin State dreams that she is being threatened by cats, dogs or wild animals, this is looked upon as a sign that she is possessed of demons and a devil-driver is called to drive them out (405 - II, p.214). When an Odari woman in South Canara is pregnant, she receives a fowl or two from her maternal uncle. If they are abundant, it is considered a sign that she will have many children (16. - V, p.422). When a pregnant Memi woman in Assam dreams of a spear or a cock, this is said to indicate that her child will be a boy, but if she dreams of an iron walking rod, this indicates the birth of a girl (196 p.341). For a Naga to dream of a tiger means good luck or the birth of a son (182 p.131).

Hollis states that the Nandi of East Africa think that "if a snake goes on to the (pregnant) woman's bed, it personifies the spirit of a deceased ancestor or relation, and that it has been sent to intimate to the woman that her next child will be born safely." The snake is supplied with a drink of milk and is addressed respectfully and allowed to leave the house (184 p.90).

Diagnosis of Sex of Child.

Several of the aboriginal tribes of Australia such as the Yungman and the Mungarai, believe that children can be reborn in successive generations and in these cases the sex changes with each re-incarnation (365 p.267). Lumholtz says that in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Carpentaria the tribes believe they can predict accurately the sex of an infant a few months before birth by counting the number of rings on the nipples of the mother. (231 p.134). In New Zealand the Maori say that when the mammary areolas are dark and extensive, it indicates that the expected is a girl; if, however, they are smaller and still darker in hue, it means the coming infant is a boy (22 p.133). When an expectant mother's face and body grow fat while the father becomes thin, the Kiwi Papuans say the child will be a male. When the father grows fat and the mother thin a female infant is expected (219 p.230). Deacon reported that on Malekula, New Hebrides, in order to foretell the sex of an expected infant, the parents, or two friends, take a certain creeper and "hold it taut between them, each grasping his or her end between the thumbs and indices of both hands. Then at a signal 1-2-3! they simultaneously split the creeper from the two ends down its whole length. If it splits so that there is an uneven break along the edge, the child will be a boy if with an even break a girl will be born." (77 p.233). The Northern Andamanese say that when a woman feels her child on the left side it will be a boy because men hold the bow in the left hand; but when she feels it on the right, a girl will be born, since
In India it is most important for a man to have a son to perform the special rites required at his funeral; so he and his friends try to learn the sex of the expected child as early as possible. The K Konas, or Kerwas, a Kolarian tribe of Chota Nagpur, say that when the woman dreams that her own, or her husband's mother brings offerings of earrings or beads, this foretells the birth of a girl; but when she dreams that her own, or her husband's, father brings a brass pot, a boy is expected (87). The Gonds take it as a sign that a girl is to be born when the mother is fat and well during her pregnancy and her nipples are blackish in colour; but for the woman to be thin and ailing, and her nipples reddish in colour means that the child will be a boy (331 - III, p.85). A somewhat similar belief is found among the Mehtars. The mother is thin and ailing when the child is a male, but fat and well when a female. They also think that by pouring oil on the abdomen of the expectant mother they can make their diagnosis. In the case of a boy the oil flows straight down, but for a girl in an irregular stream. They also believe the swelling of the abdomen is more apparent on the right side when the infant is a boy (46 - IV, p.222). The midwives of Chhattisgarh dip a hand in oil and press it against the wall. The sex of the child is predicted according to the way the oil trickles down. They say that the mother is weak and ailing when a boy is to be born but strong and healthy when the infant is a girl (46 - II, p.27). The Bagas say the nipples are black when the expected child is a boy, but brown in the case of a girl (98 p.224). It is believed by the Birhors that a woman becomes thinner when her expected child is a boy, but that she puts on flesh when carrying a girl (326 p.221). The Oraons also believe that a male child makes the mother thinner and causes her eyes to sink in their sockets. A child lying on the right side is sure to be a boy, while a girl lies on the left side of the abdomen (327 p.119). When the milk in the breast of a Punjabi Mahammadan woman is thin, a boy is expected. "Sometimes some of the milk is put in a shell, and fire applied to it; if it dries up completely, a girl is expected, otherwise a boy" (317). The Kaniyans of Travancore prophesy like the Delphic Oracles. If consulted as to the sex of an unborn child they reply "Putro na putri", which can either mean "No son but a daughter", or "No daughter but a son." (405 - III, p.188). Sometimes Brahmanas are called in by the Chamars to foretell the sex of the expected child. They say that "if at the time of conception a man's right nostril twitches, the child will be a boy; if the left nostril, a girl." They also say that "if, in the later stages of pregnancy the right breast, or the right side of the mother, be the larger; or if she becomes thin, a son is sure to be born." (33 p.61). To predict the sex of the coming child the Balijas put into one of the marriage pots a pap-bowl and a ring. The couple
pick these out. If the bridegroom gets hold of the pap-bowl, the child will be a boy, but if the ring is picked out first the child will be a girl (405 - I, p.143)

The Sembadavans of Travancore drop seven rings into a pot at a wedding ceremony and the couple who are being married have to pick these out. If the girl gets three of them her first-born will be a girl, but if the bridegroom gets five, their first child will be a boy (16 - VI, p.355). This last is a case of foretelling rather than diagnosing the sex of the first child. The Lepchas in Sikkim think that a male child always lies high up in the abdomen, while a female lies at a lower level (265 p.206).

In Africa, the Awa-Wanga, a Bantu people of Kavironda, say that in the case of a first child the mother will remain fat during pregnancy if the child is a female, otherwise she becomes thin. "In the case of a second child suppose the first is a boy and the second is going to be a girl, the boy will get very thin, if the child is going to be of the same sex as the first child it will not get thin" (171 p.24). Sir Harry Johnston writing at the same date as the last confirms the first part of the report but adds: "If the mother has borne children before, her last child is watched whilst the mother is pregnant, and if this child be a boy and waxes thin, then the coming child will be a girl, or vice versa. But if the coming child is to be of the same sex as the one which has preceded it, the preceding should remain fat." (211 - II, p.748). According to the Mashona, when a pregnant woman at the eighth month has developed a very prominent abdomen it is a sign that the child is a male (45 p.196).

When a pregnant woman in Montenegro wishes to know the sex of her expected child she throws a dried fish-bladder in the fire." If it goes off pop there will be a boy; if it only fizzes out, a girl (92). Elsewhere Miss Durham says the "Balkan" custom is to throw a piece of dried fish-roe into the fire (94 p.254).

The Zuni Indians of New Mexico believe that when the foetal movements are felt on the right side, the child will be a girl, but if the movements are felt on the left, a boy is expected. At the confinement slight pains foretell a girl (279), probably because a girl is supposed to be smaller than a boy. In Peru, the Moche say that if the head feels hard the child is a male; if soft, a female (134 p.136). In the Argentine the Araucanians say a male child lies high in the abdomen and the veins on the back of the mother's hands stand out prominently, her complexion is clear and rosey, and she seems well. When the baby is a girl the mother's hips seem broad, the veins on the hands are flat and the face pale (161 p.266).
Regulating Sex of Child.

The Kivai Papuans believe that if a man always walks in front of his wife on their way to and from the garden, the woman will bear a male child; but if the woman precedes her husband the child will be a girl. The desired sex can also be obtained by special lubricants before connexion. These are fully described by Landman. Another way of ensuring the birth of a boy is for the woman "to wear a little bow about her during the day, and to sleep close to it at night" (219 p.229). Deacon states that on the island of Malekula, "if the husband of the pregnant woman be a man of Melanes he will gather something called nari, which, it seems, grows on trees, mix it with scraped coconut and give it to his wife to eat, this will ensure that her infant shall be a boy" (77 p.233). The method employed by the Maori was for the priest to cut a leaf in the form of a human being, indicating the sex desired, then placing this on the abdomen of the woman prior to conception and then to invoke the Supreme Diety, Io, to grant the desired boon (22).

We have seen how the Chamars in India sometimes get a Brahman to diagnose the sex of their expected child. They also believe, that they can control the sex. If the mother sleeps on her left side, the child will be a girl, but if she sleeps on her right side the child will be a boy (33 p.61). In Bastar State they say that, if a young Muria woman eats a mixture of pulse and rice without salt, after fasting for twelve hours at her first menstrual period, her children will be a mixture of boys and girls, but if she goes to the jungle on this day and brings home a bundle of leaves on her hip, she is likely to bear girls (99 p.72). Hildburgh describes the method of intercourse considered necessary in Ceylon for the desired sex of offspring and also the rules for bathing after the periods - odd days for a female child and even days for a male (162). The Brahmans have a rite known as the Pàhsavanam, or the male producing ceremony, which they practise in the third month of pregnancy to ensure the birth of a male child. "If the woman fasts and her husband squeezes into her right nostril a little juice from the fruit and twig of the alam tree (Ficus bengalensis), saying 'Thou art a male child'" (405 - I, p.271). This ceremony is sometimes postponed until the seventh or even the ninth month, but by right it should be performed before the embryo begins to move (201 - XXVII, p.2). Up to the fifth or sixth month of pregnancy the Lepchas believe it is possible to change the sex of the child. If two women who are pregnant with infants of opposite sex wish to change the sex of their infants, they or their husbands simply exchange some article. This cannot be done, however, if the women are blood relations (138 p.285).
Mrs. Tilly E. Stevenson, writing about the Zuñi Indians of New Mexico says: "Previous to the birth of a child, if a daughter be desired, the husband and wife proceed together to the 'mother' rock, and at her feet make offerings and prayers, imploring her to intercede with the great father, the Sun, to give them a daughter... Should a son be desired, the couple repair to the shrine above that and here, at the breast and heart of the 'father' rock, prayers and plume sticks are offered that a son may be given them... In both cases the sacred meal is sprinkled, and, should the prayer not be answered, there is no doubt that the heart of one or other was not earnest when the prayer was offered." (383 p. 545). Mrs. Matilda Cox Stevenson gives a little fuller account of the proceeding. She says: "Previous to the birth of a child, if a daughter is desired, the husband and wife, sometimes accompanied by a doctress or a female relative, visit the mother rock, on the west side of Towa Yal'łamé (corn mountain). The pregnant woman scrapes a small quantity of the rock into a tiny vase made for the purpose and deposits it in one of the cavities in the rock..., and they all pray that the daughter may grow up good and beautiful... If a son is desired, the couple visit a shrine higher up the side of the mountain, in a fissure of the same rock, and sprinkle meal and deposit telikinawe, with prayers that a son may be born to them." The author goes on to describe another shrine which "consists of a stone slab about 1 foot square, slightly raised from the ground by loose stones. These stones, two round and one several inches long, symbolizing the male generative organs, and are placed upon a slab, the long one pointing to the east." (381 p. 294). Dr. E. C. Parsons tells of a Hopi woman who had six girls and desired a boy. "When she was pregnant again, at about the seventh month, she 'made a little boy', to hang up in the back room where she kept her other ceremonial things." The doll was typically American in type and proved itself thoroughly reliable by causing the woman to bear a son (280). In order to ensure the birth of a son the Araucanians of Chili give the mother the juices of certain seeds and plants well mixed with the beaten white of egg (161 p. 9). If the father cuts his finger-nails with scissors the child will be a girl, but if he uses a knife he can expect a son (15 p. 10 sq.)

Influence of Paternal Actions

We have now to consider how the activities of the father are supposed to influence the expected child.

In New Guinea among the Ipi group of natives a pregnant woman returns to the home of her parents as the time of her confinement draws near, and her husband goes to live at the club of his community. While he is living in seclusion he is not allowed to do any work in case this might prove fatal to the child prior to, or at the time of birth (185 p. 64).
When the husband of a pregnant Lakhkher (or Mārā) woman attends a wake, he must not stamp his feet at the end of a dance as is the usual custom. They fear that he might trample on the spirit of the expected child. He is forbidden to touch a corpse because this might lead to the death of his wife and her expected child in the same way as the person whose body he touched (277 p. 382 sq.). During his wife's pregnancy a Lepcha in Sikkim, must not take any fish out of a trap in the river because this would cause the child to be born with its nose stopped up. He must not look at a recently killed animal and, if he happens to kill one, he must run away at once. The reason for this is not stated but probably they think it would cause the death of the child. If he happened to touch the iron or rope of a horse's bridle this would probably cause the death of both mother and child, but this calamity can be avoided by keeping a bridle in the house and waving it over the woman during her delivery (138 p. 284).

Roscoe tells us that, during the pregnancy of a Bagesu woman, "her husband had to refrain from climbing any trees or high rocks or on to the house roof, and when walking down a hill he had to go carefully, for should he slip and fall, his wife might have a miscarriage" (315 p. 24). When a woman of the Bakitara was in the family way her husband had to avoid having any sexual relations with the wives of any but his clan-brothers. The breaking of this rule would cause the child about to be born to suffer from pains in the stomach and might even cause its death (313 p. 241).

The Zuñi Indians of New Mexico think that, if the father of an expected child takes part in a masked dance, the appearance of the mask will be reproduced in the child (279). Elsewhere Dr. Elsie Parsons says that a "prospective (Zuñi) father may not hurt horses or cows, or shoot rabbits, lest the blood run from the baby's nose at birth or the baby cry incessantly" (280).
Here we can consider the known or supposed causes of abortion and miscarriage, the treatment employed to prevent its occurrence, and the disposal of the products of the mishap, leaving the subject of induced abortion for the next section — Pesticide.

1. Natural Abortion or Miscarriage.

Among the more backward peoples abortion is very common, possibly owing to the hard life that many of the women have to lead, and in some cases it may be due to actual disease. The explanation given by the people themselves is generally based on superstition. For instance, the Papuans inhabiting the district of New Guinea lying between the Rivers Morehead and Wassikusi believe that if a pregnant woman were to eat meet off the bones of a Wallaby she would have a miscarriage (233). Polynesians usually feared abortions and stillbirths and frequently deified them (447 — II, p.57).

One of the lowest castes among Hindus, the Nayadis, attribute abortion to the malign influence of evil spirits. To protect their pregnant women from these spirits, they tie a magic thread round the neck of the expectant mother and invoke the aid of their hill gods and also the spirits of their ancestors (405 — V, p.278). The Kaniyans tie round the waist of a pregnant woman a metal charm on which a yantra has been written. One evil spirit is believed to eat infants (447 — III, p.193 sq.). In Hosiyar the Jats use charms to prevent a mishap and believe that wearing a chip of wood from a scaffold on which some convict has been hanged is very effective. The flesh of a tiger or one of its claws is a good preventive when worn (357 p.203). The Muria of Bastar State say that a pregnant woman would have a miscarriage if she drank the juice of a newly-tapped sago-palm (99 p.55). Miscarriages are due to malevolent spirits catching hold of pregnant women, according to the Chenchus (120 p.145). The Lepchas of Sikkim believe that miscarriages are "caused by a devil Sor moco" and are "hereditary sex-linked" disabilities (138 p.286). It is said that Sakai women in the Malay Peninsula very often miscarry in the third or fourth month of their pregnancy and that the foetus is simply buried without ceremony (358 — II, p.6).

In Uganda, when a Baganda woman miscarry, she is said to have "a hot inside", or she was believed to have committed adultery (312 p.102), but Dr. A.R. Cook says that "owing to the almost universal infection of syphilis, miscarriages amongst out-patients (in Uganda) are appallingly frequent" (62). The Ba-ila believe that if a pregnant woman is not faithful to her husband she will abort. She is considered unclean and becomes a danger to the community (359 — II, p.6). The people living at the Southern end of Lake Nyasa say that
adultery on the part of either husband or wife is one possible cause of a miscarriage (372 p. 306). The Makonde also believe that misconduct of a man during his wife's pregnancy will make her miscarry and cause her death (436 p. 316). Abortions and premature births are attributed by the Bakitara to the influence of ghosts (313 p. 250). They believe that another possible cause is drinking milk from a cow which is suffering from foot and mouth disease (166 p. 196). The Basoga say that an earthquake can startle an unborn babe and lead to premature labour (315 p. 108). When a woman of the Wahehe discovers she is pregnant she sends her mother a cook and a hen to guard until the child is born. Any accident to these would lead to a miscarriage. Incontinence on the part of her husband would have the same effect (177). The Nandi, living to the North-East of Victoria Nyanza, believe that the glance of certain people can cause a pregnant woman to abort, therefore anyone possessed of the evil eye must spit on seeing an expectant mother in order to avoid causing this calamity (184 p. 50).

A few examples can now be taken from West Africa. The Ijuma of Nigeria consider it "advisable for all pregnant women to avoid looking at any tutelary genius; for if during a dance she catches sight of the legs of the human being personating the god, the god may retaliate by causing her to abort." (254 p. 358). During the early months of pregnancy hot water is avoided by an Ibo, and oil and pepper must be used sparingly by a pregnant woman lest a miscarriage be induced, as "the smell would upset and drive out her child prematurely" (13 p. 171). If a pregnant Hausa woman were to sleep on the skin of a lion or of a leopard, it is believed this will induce an abortion. Certain sights can have a similar effect (416 p. 35 & 161). To mention her condition to a pregnant Ashanti woman will cause her to have a miscarriage, or if a co-wife places an egg in the water the woman will drink, a mishap is sure to follow (292 p. 54).

The Montenegrins believe that tying a knot in the shawl worn by a bride will cause the first child to miscarry or to be deformed. Until the groomsman arrives it is the duty of the woman's brother to watch that no person gets the chance of doing this (92).

The chief causes of abortion among the Cherán in Mexico are believed to be drinking and hard work. Other less frequent causes are believed to be excessive liking for something and the occurrence of a solar eclipse (17 p. 164).

2. Treatment of Abortion and Miscarriage.

It is convenient to give notes here on the treatment of abortion and miscarriage, although the subject is outside the province of pathology.
Although the Turkana of Kenya consider that a mishap is due to the will of God they try their best to help the mother by administering a mixture of mutton fat and a certain kind of seed called ebugut. (102). In a case of threatened abortion the Be-ila give the mother some of the root of a certain tree, but when misconduct is the cause, the woman is isolated and has to cook her own food in potsherds (359 - II, p.6). A Bantu remedy for the abortion habit is for the medicine man to give the woman, as a charm, the horn of a duiker containing certain medicines, to be worn round her neck (47 p.92). The custom of the Nyasa people is to confine a woman to the house for only two days after a miscarriage, but she must abstain from sexual intercourse for six months and must take medicine for six months (372 p.311). Hobley reports that the Nilotic tribes of Kavirondo have medicine which is said to avert a threatened miscarriage but does not mention what this medicine is (171 p.34). Inland, opposite the island of Pemba, live the Bondai. In the event of a miscarriage occurring they consult a diviner. He diagnoses an evil spirit and tells the woman not to go to distant villages or to dances and to avoid crossing streams (73).

After a miscarriage a Lepcha woman and her husband take the foetus to the river and a Mam, or 'priest', waves some object over the woman. This is made up of a bunch of elephant grass to which rings and other things have been attached. On returning home an animal is sacrificed and the waving is repeated once more to protect the woman against further mishaps. (138 p.286 sq.). In Malaya the Jakum hold a council of sages-femmes to decide whether the miscarriage was induced or natural. In the latter case no punishment follows (358 - II, p.24).

In a case of threatened abortion the people of Cherán in Mexico rub the white of egg over the abdomen and the coccyx of the patient. The egg is often mixed with lard or oil. Another remedy is to mix maize, tomato, verbena and ground potsherds and make an infusion which should be taken twice daily (17 p.146). The Mojos tribe of South-Western Amazonia are said to be "a kind, genial and social people", yet it is said that a "husband killed his wife if she miscarried." (51 p.107). Probably they suspect that miscarriages are due to misconduct self induced.

An early book on magic called "The Sword of Moses" gives a magical formula to be repeated on a cup of wine, or strong drink, or water", in a case of threatened abortion or miscarriage. The woman must drink this for seven days and they believe it will save her child (127 p.42).

3. Disposal of Infant and Secundines.

In India the Gonds simply put the foetus in a
and bury it in a heap of refuse behind the house (331 - III, p.85). The Yeaidis in Iraq bury the foetus in the house near the threshold stone, so that the mother would walk over it when leaving, or entering, the house and conceive again and bear a living child. Lady Drower was shown a ball of clay containing a foetus and was told that when the mother "took her purification bath, it would be placed upon her head so that she might have another child" (88 p.209). The Leipchas simply place the foetus in the river as has been stated. The Mashona in Africa also dispose of a foetus in water after placing it in a jar (45 p.285). Basden states that the Niger Ibos envelope any foetus under five months in clay and throw it away. When older than five months "the dead babe is carried on the palms of the hands, laid in the burial ground and covered with grass" (13 p.173). A premature baby among the A-lunga is cut into five pieces, consisting of the trunk and the four limbs, and buried under the floor of the mother's hut (210 p.417).

Morbid Psychological States

Records of mental derangement during pregnancy and after childbirth are not very numerous among the more backward peoples. Cases sometimes occur among the Banyankole. A medicine-man would then be consulted as to which ghost was causing the trouble, and the woman would be taken to a hut specially built for her a little way from her home, and her mother-in-law would remain with her to look after her. The infant was called the child of the ghost and "particular care was taken of it lest the ghost should not be satisfied with its progress and should afflict the family." (314 p.117 sq.)

Mrs. M.C. Stevenson records the case of a Zuñi Indian woman who was said to be suffering from two worms, mother and daughter, which had been cast into her magically by the sister of a witch who had touched her on the abdomen when working beside her (381 p.295). Another Zuñi woman became worried because she could feel no movement although well advanced in pregnancy. The medicine man "declared that she was not carrying a child but a serpent." This preyed on her mind and made her ill physically and psychologically but she got relief when, less than six weeks later she was delivered of a healthy boy (46 p.295). The abnormal psychological state of these women was due more to the suggestions of the attendants than to the real mental condition of the patient.

Death of Mother during Pregnancy.

We have seen how the wife of the King of the Bakitara, when pregnant, was isolated in a special house, usually that of the royal gatekeeper, until a new house was built for her. If she happened to die there,
"her body was taken by the gatekeeper to the but of an agricultural peasant and buried there, and the peasant continued to live in the hut until he was sure the body had decomposed, after which he might destroy the hut and move away." (313 p.250). The agricultural people were looked upon as the serfs of the pastoral people so this burial and the continued residence of the owner of the hut may have served to prevent the spirit of the departed woman from molesting the king's household. Among the common people of Kitara if a woman died during pregnancy the foetus was removed and buried in a separate grave from the mother (16 p.250). Adultery on the part of a woman was likely to cause her death and the death of her child (16 p.262). It is the custom of the Wahehe of Tanganyika for a woman who dies when pregnant to be buried near a river, far from the village. "When the corpse has been laid in the grave all the mourners go away except the old women and one very old man. The latter then props the corpse up in a sitting posture and slits the stomach open with a razor, taking care not to damage the foetus, which he extracts. If the woman dies in the early stages of pregnancy the foetus is placed to her breast; if near parturition it is buried in a separate grave." When the corpse has been sewn up and covered, the other mourners return, the grave is filled in, and a goat is killed and eaten (181 p.54). The women at the southern end of Lake Nyasa commonly die when labour is unduly prolonged. Stannus says: "The duration of labour is from one hour to five days, ending in death. Mortality is high." When the mother dies the baby is removed through the abdominal wall after the mother has been laid in the grave, and both are buried together "the reason given being that, if this is not done, many other women would die in the same way. Caesarean section is never performed." (372 p.310 sq.). If the husband should commit adultery during the pregnancy of his wife, they believe she would die, so in any case where the woman does die the fidelity of the husband is suspected (16 p.305). Griffiths states that a woman of the Nyika who dies when pregnant always has an operation performed in the grave (145), but he gives no details. This is probably also a case of Caesarean section.

Death of a pregnant Dagaba woman in Ashanti is believed to be due to her having committed adultery. The infant is removed and mother and child are buried separately (294 - II, p.417). When an Isala woman dies before delivery the infant is removed by Caesarean section and examined for any deformity. If found to be abnormal it is buried in the bush (15. - II, p.499). Captain Hartry was told: "If a (Mampuriga) woman dies during conception (?pregnancy), we knock down the wall at the back of the compound, and bury her in the bush" (15. - II, p.462). In certain districts of Nigeria the Ibos in such a case remove the child by Caesarean section but do not bury it, but the mother is buried (396)
In the Central Provinces of India if a Gond woman dies when pregnant, her abdomen is opened before burial so that the infants' spirit may escape. (331 - III, p.84). The souls of Khond women who have died while pregnant are considered malignant spirits, and no attempt is made to bring them back (16 - III, p.470). One branch of the Kharias consider such spirits evilly disposed and say that they go about at night screaming and crying. From large trees on the roadside they "pounce down on people who do not offer sacrifice. They frighten and sometimes kill the unfortunate wayfarer" (67). Roy states that when such a woman is buried, special incantations are repeated at the grave and the spirit is invited to come back home (328 - I, p.302 sq.) This invitation is undoubtedly given in order to please the spirit and to prevent it doing any harm to the relatives left behind.

In Southern India we find the same superstitious dread of the spirits of women who die when pregnant and the natives dispose of the bodies in some way different from normal. The Madigas always burn the bodies instead of burying them (405 - IV, p.322), and so do the Malayalis (16 - IV, p.426). On the other hand the Nambutiri Brahmins purify the body seven times with a mixture of several things including cow-dung and cow's urine, which are always considered pure, then the abdomen is opened four inches below the umbilicus. Should the child be found alive it is carefully tended and brought up, but, if it is dead, it is put back in the uterus with a piece of gold and some ghee (16 - V, p.219). The Izhavas bury all women who have died during pregnancy, just the same as they do with those who have died of some contagious disease (16 - II, p.418). They are all looked upon as a danger to the community. The Paraiyans believe that such cases within their caste become "exceedingly malignant ghosts and haunt the precincts of the village where they have died (16 - VI, p.102.).

According to the Hindus of Benares any sufferings of a pregnant woman may be due to the malignant spirit of some woman who has died in childbirth - a churil. To counteract any ill effects, certain objects, including a doll, are put into a small paper palanquin and carried round the patient's body or head, three or four times and the spirit is requested to leave the woman. The doll was said to be employed for the spirit to play with, but Hildburgh suggests that it was "probably intended to represent the victim, and to supply the offender with a substitute for the application of her attentions." The palanquin and its contents are then taken to cross roads at night and left there. Anyone who tramps on the palanquin becomes the new victim of the churil. (169). Longworth Dames appends a note to this article quoting Crooke. The earth where the woman died is removed and mustard seed is sown there to attract the spirit and to prevent its return to her former home (74). The ghost of a
Kolarian woman who dies while pregnant is believed to haunt her relatives, and a priest is called in to drive it out of the village (87). Bondo women dying thus also become churils and do not go to "the Supreme Being." They must be buried and their graves must not be visited (100 p.204 & 210). Throughout India the death of a pregnant woman is greatly feared. The Muria call her the Old Bee Woman because they say "she comes upon a man with the ferocity and speed of a swarm of bees." Special precautions are taken when she is buried. The body is interred between two streams because it is believed she cannot cross water. An iron nail is driven into each corner of the grave and the body is covered with thorn-bushes (99 p.169 sq.).

"It is said that when a (Shan) woman dies pregnant, her soul passes into torment, and her husband has to enter a monastery and become a priest for a certain time to secure her release" (450). When a Lepcha woman dies during the last months of pregnancy the foetus is removed and placed on her lap before burning or burial (138 p.289).

When a Goajira woman of Colombia dies in her first confinement her husband demands the return of the purchase price on the grounds that unsound goods had been supplied (437 p.109).
Artificially induced abortions and premature births can now be considered. According to H. Basedow these are "rare among the unsophisticated tribes" of Australia but he mentions a case where a woman at Fowlers' Bay roasted and powdered black beetles and rubbed the powder into her armpits, and over her breast and pubes, hoping to induce an abortion (14 p. 64). W. E. Roth says that in certain districts of Queensland the method adopted is to wind thick twine very tightly round the abdomen. This is combined with punching by hand or stick upon the more palpable and apparently firmer portions of the unborn child as recognised through the abdominal wall (322 p. 183). The Arunta simply tie a belt tightly round the waist (133 - IV, p. 166).

The Sinangulo of British New Guinea dislike children born out of wedlock so they frequently attempt to induce abortion by "violent exercises, especially jumping or applying hot stones to the abdomen, or lying prone while another woman stands on the patient's back." It is successful only before the fourth month, before the bones are formed, while the child is rare, i.e., blood (343 p. 302). A Mafulu woman must not have a child until married and must first give a pig for a village feast. If pregnant before this she must have an abortion induced. The abdomen is struck with a heavy stone mallet and a tight cane abdominal belt is worn (444 p. 176 sq.). In the region of Humboldt Bay in New Guinea abortions are sometimes induced to allow women freedom to work in the gardens (334). Among the neighbouring islands abortions are frequently induced. The usual method employed by the Kiwai Papuans is to tie a rope very tightly round the waist. Another method sometimes employed by them is to make the woman lie with her abdomen on top of a husked coconut, or stone, which has been heated on the fire (219 p. 229). On the Murray Islands both medical and mechanical means are adopted. The leaves of certain trees are chewed and the juice, mixed with coconut milk, is drunk. If medical means fail the abdomen is beaten with large stones, or "the woman would be placed with her back against a tree, when two men would take a long pole, and, taking either end, would place it against her abdomen and by sheer pressure crush the foetus." The woman frequently died from this treatment (150 p. 107). On Dobu in the Northern D'Entrecasteaux Group an infusion made from the leaves of the purple convolvulus is given and seems to be successful. Sometimes pressure with the hands on the woman's abdomen is resorted to (207 p. 106). The root of Excoecaria Agallocha, smoked and then chewed is also used on Dobu (110 p. 239 sq.).

The natives of New Britain in the Bismarck Archipelago employ a plant which is used extensively throughout the Western Pacific Islands. This is
accompanied by vigorous kneading and shampooing of the abdomen (40 p. 33 sq.). The Shortlands group of islands appear to have professional abortionists. The leaves of a certain creeper growing near the seashore are given to the pregnant woman. Then a hot stone wrapped in leaves is applied over the navel for several hours (26 p. 34). On Eddystone Island one method employed is by striking the abdomen with a stone. They also rub a heated meka leaf over the belly and hold tingi leaves under the vulva (301 p. 77). Abortion was once commonly practised on the Gilbert Islands but is infrequent now. The method was by pounding the abdomen with a billet of wood (402 p. 211). Women in the Loyalty Islands usually induce abortion when the expected child is illegitimate. They drink certain medicines and carry very heavy loads for several miles, or leap into the sea from some high rocks so that they strike the water face downwards (151 p. 180). In the New Hebrides abortion is attempted on Malekula by drinking large quantities of very hot coconut milk, or by jumping from a tree (77 p. 233). On Espiritu Santo they drink infusions of the leaves of Dracaena and other plants (7 p. 288). It was stated by Williams (443 p. 154) that many Fijians killed their unborn children by mechanical means, but no details were given. The subject, however, is very fully discussed by Basil Thomson, who says the non-mechanical method is by the administration of vegetable substances either chewed or infused in water (402 p. 220). Abortion was commonly resorted to in Samoa in former years. The reasons given were: "shame, fear of punishment, lazy unwillingness to nurse, a dread of soon being old-looking." The method adopted was simply pressure, which sometimes caused the death of the mother also (419 p. 79). In the Mitchell Group foeticide was commonly practised in order to keep down the population, and for the same reason it was employed on St. Augustine Island (26 p. 292). On Nias, drugs were employed in former times, combined with trampling on the girl's abdomen (401). In Hawaii infusions of herbs were given and massage along with violent abdominal movements employed. Among the plants used to make the infusions were Piper methysticum, Hibiscus tiliaeus, and the pineapple plant. The usual mechanical methods were simple pressure or rubbing the abdomen from the ribs to the thighs (75 p. 162).

In the Philippine Islands when a Bontoc Igorot woman does not wish to have a child to bring up she simply presses the pregnant abdomen and strokes it downwards with her hands (206 p. 60), but in the Davao District of Mindanao the midwives have certain secret medicines which they administer (59 p. 101). The women of North Borneo sometimes use an infusion of tuba root. If a Papar woman has an unlucky dream during pregnancy she will induce an abortion (332 p. 73). In former times an unmarried Tambunan woman would induce an abortion or strangle her infant at birth (46 p. 140). A certain variety of Plumbago is commonly used in Borneo
to produce a miscarriage. It is mixed with the root of henna, or of a sacred plant called Champak (189 p.206). Lumboldt found that the scarcity of children among the Murrungs of Central Borneo was due to the frequency of induced abortion among the women. He says that "massage as well as abortifacient herbs are employed for the purpose". (232 - II, p.428).

Induced abortion is common in the Malay States, chiefly among unmarried girls. Drugs used. When induced before the third month it is considered no crime but after that it is a sin. The punishment is meted out "on the day of judgment, both to the mother and to the person who has given the drug; they will be forced to eat the foetus between them with "salt" or "bitter water", and devour them in turn" (3 p.65). If a Jukun woman got rid of her unwanted child before birth, her husband had the right to punish her, and if she died as a result, he was not charged with her murder. Any unmarried girl who procured abortion was despised (358 - II, p.23 sq.). The Vendidad suggests that the method of procuring abortion amongst the early Persians was by "water and plants" (i.e. by a vegetable infusion), and says that all who assist in bringing about the abortion are to be considered guilty of a crime (452 - XV, p.9 sqq.).

It is stated in the "Institutes of Vishnou" that killing an embryo of unknown sex is a crime of the highest degree. After the commission of such a crime due punishment is meted out to the criminal. Then "after having undergone the torments inflicted in the hells, and having passed through the animal bodies, the sinners are born as human beings." As punishment, "a criminal in the highest degree shall have leprosy..." (201 - XXXVI.31 & XLV.52). In spite of this warning we find abortion practised in certain parts of India. In the Central Provinces a Kurmi woman is sometimes given papaya fruit to eat and a drink composed of ginger, sugar, bamboo, leaves and milk all boiled together. She has massage applied to the abdomen by one who is supposed to be expert at it. Russell says that the papaya "may be eaten from some magical idea of its resemblance to a foetus." (331 - IV, p.68). When an unmarried Chenchu girl becomes pregnant she has an abortion induced in another village (120 p.132). Abortions are very common among the Miria of Bastar State. One recipe is a mixture of gur, ashes and the strongest mahua spirit, another is gunpowder given in mahua spirit, evidently with the idea of blowing out the child. A third recipe given is to administer in liquor the ashes of a mahua tree which has been struck by lightning (99 p.465). The Reddis know of an abortifacient but it would appear that it is seldom used unless to save the mother's life (121 p.132). An unmarried Kuki girl is not allowed to have a living child but cohabitation is permitted so long as the lover
is serving in the house of his prospective father-in-law. If pregnancy occurs an old woman is employed to kill the child before birth by striking over the head with a flat stone (153 p.94). The Ao Nagas kill an unwanted child (usually illegitimate) a few days before the expected time of birth. They steady the head through the abdominal wall and hit it sharply with a stone (196 p.172 footnote 1). The Angami method is by twisting and squeezing the abdomen (46 p.171). The Rengma Nagas give a draught of very strong onions pounded up with warm water. They also employ very strong aperients (262 p.116) Shakespeare says that among the Lushei Clans in Assam "abortion is not infrequently resorted to when a widow who is living in her late husbands house, and therefore... expected to remain chaste, finds herself enceinte" (352 p.2). The Nagas of Manipur know of certain astringent jungle herbs which they administer in order to procure abortion (182 p.136). Bathing in hot sulphurous streams is the only method known to the Lepchas of Sikkim (138 p.173). The Kamfohal of Siberia produce abortion by shock or by mechanical means, the latter frequently cause the death of the mother as well as the foetus. (72 p.129).

In East Africa the Masai have a method of procuring abortion in cases where pregnancy is undesirable. A medicine man supplies a stick of special wood which is inserted into the vagina. It is said to be an absolutely certain abortifacient (222). The method employed by the Turkana is most brutal. While the girl lies on her back someone pounds her abdomen with his fist. The result is a long illness often ending in the death of the girl (102). The Suk, a kindred people, seldom practise abortion (11). Several abortifacients are known to the Ba-ila, and are said to be quite efficient. Chewing the leaves of a certain bush is said to be enough. A decoction made from the roots of the castor oil plant and the Bushinga bush is sometimes administered warm. (359 - 1, p.250). Roscoe gives several remedies used by the Banyankole. One is fumigation with a certain herb which induces sickness and is said to be invariably successful. (314 p.121). The Queen of the Bakitara was always one of the king's half-sisters, so she was never allowed to have a child. Whenever she found herself pregnant she was obliged to procure abortion (313 p.316 & 140). When a Busoga woman had a grudge against her husband she sometimes tied to procure an abortion or she killed her child at birth (315 p.120). The rules of the Baganda were very similar to those of the Bakitara. (312 p.85). Stannus says that, among the tribes at the Southern end of Lake Nyasa, women frequently take medicine to produce abortion when the periods are overdue (372 p.295).

Among the Bushmen of South Africa, when an unmarried woman becomes pregnant, the foetus is got rid of by someone treading on the woman's abdomen (337 p.115). The Hottentots also induce a miscarriage when a pregnancy
is illegitimate. Schapera says: "The principal abortifacient is the inspissated urine and foices of the rock rabbit or Dassie... A decoction of this, boiled and strained, is taken in large doses, if necessary for several days in succession." They sometimes employ a certain thorn bush pounded and boiled. Another method is to bind the abdomen tightly with leather straps. (337 p.260).

Throughout West Africa abortions are very commonly induced, and especially in Nigeria. Here, Tremearne says, "medicines would be used by unmarried girls and by women who have borne several dead babies." (415). The Mbula commonly induce abortion when the final marriage payment has not been made before the conception of the first child (253 - I, p.58). When a Kilaα girl is pregnant by a man other than her fiancé the parents try to induce abortion either by massage or by medicine (46.- I, p.204). The Margi of Adamawa use "the juice of the boiled bark of the Balanites aegyptica tree, and a strong laxative made from the sticky substance produced by a certain species of fly (46.- I, p.231), but the Chamba use the fruit instead of the bark of B. aegyptica (46.- I, p.396). One clan whose emblem is the crocodile think that eating the flesh of a crocodile will induce an abortion. (46.- II, p.167). Many other tribes in the same area have similar ideas. The 'doctors' of the Ibibios in Southern Nigeria give secret draughts to women to terminate early pregnancies (385 p.211). Pregnancy before betrothal is considered by the Kwottos a good reason for inducing abortion (449 p.263). The Mumuye and Chamba tribes massage the abdomen, compressing the foetus between iron rings worn on the fingers. Sometimes they give an infusion of herbs mixed with honey (252 - II, p.74). Administration of herbs is the only way practised by the Bassa-Komo (53).

Cureau states that criminal abortion is unknown among the primitive tribes of the French Congo (71 p.156), but the Rev. J.H. Weeks says that, in spite of the great desire of all Bakongo women to have children, abortion is sometimes resorted to, chiefly "when her hatred towards her husband more than counterbalances her longing for children; or, when she is desirous of shielding an illicit lover." They generally employ the juice of manise leaves, or take a large dose of common salt (433 p.108). The Ba-Huana drink very hot water, or employ an infusion made from a certain root (410). Hatred of her husband is considered by a Bangala woman sufficient reason for inducing abortion. She drinks an infusion of certain bitter leaves (431).

Among the Zuño Indians of New Mexico fallen women frequently induce abortion to rid them of an unwanted child (381 p.296). A similar excuse is given by the Chiriguano of the Gran Chaco (51 p.235), while the Guaycurus say it is because the unborn child has no known father (46. p.248). The Mbayas are said to
practise abortion to such an extent as to threaten the complete extinction of the tribe (16 p.251). In spite of their love for children, the Mantaguayos of the Gran Chaco practise abortion by striking blows on the pregnant woman's abdomen (16 p.251). A Cherán woman of Mexico sometimes induces abortion when she has two or more children and cannot afford to have any more, also in the case of illegitimate pregnancy. Four plant remedies are employed, artimisia, iris root, and two others, but one of these is sometimes said to help to cure sterility (17 p.164). The Araucanians of Chili sometimes induce abortion by administering a decoction made with alum, soap, 'setting of grindstone', and a certain plant. They are ground and well mixed. This should be taken during the first month. (161 p.9). The Campas of Peru use as an abortive the baked and powdered fruit of the mirity palm (52 p.190).
3

PREPARATION
for
CONFINEMENT
and
CONDUCT
of
LABOUR
PREPARATION FOR CONFINEMENT

When it is realised that a woman is going to give birth to a child it is customary for certain preparations to be made for the treatment and general care of both mother and child. The choice of the person who is to attend the birth is often considered very important, and in many cases the place of confinement also must be carefully chosen and prepared for the event. The mother may receive special attention, but the amount of care taken in these matters is very variable and in some cases may be entirely absent.

Choice of Attendant and Payment

Among the backward tribes of Australia the women appear to help one another as much as they can, but, having no knowledge of anatomy or physiology, they have developed no art of midwifery. D. F. Thomson says that the Wik Monghan Tribe of Cape York Peninsula choose as attendant a female relative of either parent (404).

In Northern New Guinea the Orokaivo generally choose a woman but occasionally a male 'doctor' is called in to assist (441 94). The practice of midwifery in Fiji generally runs in families although "any person who thinks she has discovered a new remedy is at liberty to follow the business when so inclined" (402 206). Among the hill tribes of Viti Levu, however, the midwives are more skilful in their management of confinements than those of the otherwise more enlightened tribes of Fiji (46.209). The Bagobo in the Philippines choose two or more women to attend at a birth, one for the actual delivery and another to make offerings to the spirits to make the birth easy and the child healthy (59 100). The Mandaya, another Philippine tribe, have one or two midwives in each district. They are "women past middle life who are versed in the medicines and rites which should be employed at the time of birth" (46.191).

In Malaya, while the houses of the ordinary Sakai are raised above the ground, those of the midwives are at ground level. This is to prevent any demons from getting under the floor. Only women are allowed in this hut; all men must be kept at a distance and children are forbidden to go near it. The midwife herself is exempted from any tribal work and is the only person, apart from the magician, who is allowed to paint white spots on the face (59 E II 7sq). The Besisi in Kuala Langat District are paid for their services two dollars in money or a white jacket. In the absence of a midwife the patient's mother or her husband may attend her (46.115). One branch of the Malayan Sea-Gypsies, the Muka Kuning, pay a midwife four thousand rattans for the first confinement.
three thousand for the second, two thousand for the third, and a thousand for any subsequent birth (III. 18).

The Kacharis of Assam have no special midwives but any elderly woman with experience can give assistance at a confinement. Her services are given free, but when the mother is convalescent the parents give a feast at which the 'midwife' is accorded the place of honour (103 41). The Manipuri Nagas employ some old woman, or the patient's husband (182 143). The Rengma Nagas usually employ the mother, or the mother-in-law, when the confinement takes place in the house, but if labour starts while the expectant mother is in the fields, any experienced woman will attend (262 200). Some of the old Karen women make very competent midwives and are frequently employed in Burma (336). Seven days after the confinement of a Burmese woman, the midwife gets a fixed fee partly in kind but including a four anna bit (451 3).

In dealing with India where there are so many religions and castes, each with its own rules, it is only possible to give a few examples. Referring to the orthodox Hindu code, Katharine Mayo states that "a woman in childbirth and in convalescence thenceforth is ceremonially unclean, contaminating all that she touches. Therefore, only those become dhais (i.e. midwives) who are themselves of the unclean, 'untouchable' class." No woman can act as midwife, if she has had an abortion or if her child has died. These rules only apply to certain sections of the people (250 90). In the Central Provinces, women of the Mahar and Mang castes act as midwives to some castes higher than their own. After attending a woman of the Kumbi caste they break their bangles and put on new ones (331 IV 29). The Gonds never employ professional midwives. The women of the caste look after one another (III 85). Women of the Kundon group of Cherumans act as midwives amongst their own sub-caste, but convey pollution to others by touch (405 II 46 sq). Paraiyan women pretend to have some knowledge of midwifery and are consulted in serious cases. It is said that their "barbarous treatment is but additional torture to the patient." (IV. 102). In Chota Nagpur an Oraon woman generally has two female relatives as attendants (327 125). When a Kharia woman is confined, only the midwife and one or two female relatives are allowed to remain beside her. The midwife must be either a relative or a member of her tribe (328 I 199). The Reddis of Hyderabad employ a relative or an elderly woman known to be an expert midwife (121 109). The Chamars, the tanners and leather workers in Northern India, pay their midwives in kind, usually in the form of barley and rice, and add a small monetary gift of about four pice (33 65).

At the confinement of a Kamchadal woman in Siberia, her mother commonly acts as midwife but any woman may attend. On the other hand the Yukaghir employ recognised midwives, but
sometimes the husband must be present (72 129sq). The Yezidis of Iraq employ an old woman who has received instruction from another of her profession. Up to 1941 "Government midwives instructed in modern methods had not reached the hill villages" (86 208).

Coming now to Africa we can start with the custom of the Baganda, in Uganda. It was the custom here for the husband to choose an elderly female relative to look after his wife until the birth of her baby (312 48). When a wife of the King of the Bakitara grew old she was pensioned off and sent to live with her own people. She was then held in reserve as a midwife who could be called upon to attend one of the younger wives at the time of her confinement drew near (313 154). Sometimes a sister of the King's mother was chosen as midwife (ib.156). The Bagesu employed the husband's mother or aunt (315 24). The Lango of Uganda employ any experienced woman as attendant in a confinement, provided she is not too old. Provided there are no complications she is paid a pot of beer. If the placenta does not come away of itself it is expressed by pressure on the fundus and the midwife, in such a case, is given a he-goat in payment (86 140). When a Lendu woman is in labour the only men allowed in the hut are the husband and a witch doctor, but they are not allowed to help in the delivery unless there are complications (211 II 553). The Ja-lam custom is for female neighbours to attend, and a goat is killed for their benefit (ib. II 792). Mrs. Routledge was told by a Kikuyu midwife that usually the goat was given without the skin, but, if the attendant lived at a distance, the skin was added as further payment (324 148). After the birth of a Sufi baby the midwife becomes its godmother and has certain duties to perform in this capacity (18 22).

A midwife is usually booked beforehand by the Ibos of Nigeria, and one or more other women are usually present to assist. If possible, the young woman's mother is one of them (13 172). The Ibibios generally have elderly experienced women at hand to render assistance (385 204). Sukun midwives in Northern Nigeria belong to a professional hereditary class (254 360). The main duty of a Jawara midwife is to divide the umbilical cord. No payment is given to her but she receives a piece of goat flesh at the naming ceremony (252 II 75).

The Lambes of Northern Rhodesia employ women who are already mothers. These instruct younger women in their art. It is said that the elderly midwives have considerable skill and are able to turn a child in a case of malpresentation (82 131).

In Eastern Bulgaria the twenty-first of January is known as "Midwives' Day", and special celebrations are held. Men generally remain indoors on this day for, if caught by the midwives, they must pay forfeit money. The women visit the
midwives and offer them gifts. Certain ceremonies were performed in a case mentioned by Miss Olive Lodge in which various fertility rites were accompanied by obscene songs (227).

The midwives in the Colombian Andes are said to be excellent in dealing with normal presentations but in abnormal cases the infant mortality is high (107 57).

**Choice of Place for Confinement and Preparation of Women**

Tribal rules frequently determine where a woman must be confined and also her preparation for the event. As in most of the foregoing sections Oceania may be considered first.

In New Guinea the Mafulu make their women, when due for their confinements, abstain from food for a day or, at most, for two days before their delivery (444 288). At Mawata on Kiwai Island a small hut is erected in the bush shortly before birth and the woman occupies this after bathing in the sea. No woman may be confined in her ordinary house since contamination with the blood would lead to misfortune for the other occupants, and especially for the men. A bed of grass is provided on the floor of the hut (219 230sq). Ada Gege, one of the Solomon Islands, was formerly used as a maternity station, but when men went to live there, a new place had to be found. A flat outcrop of rock of very limited size, surrounded by mud and mangrove, was chosen, but, as there is no platform on which a hut can be erected, the place is often awash at high tide, then the expectant mother must go to higher ground among the mangroves (204 104). On New Georgia, another of the Solomon Islands, they build two houses in the bush, one for the expectant mother and one for the old woman who is going to attend her (364). On the island of Mala a birth must not take place in a village. The expectant mother must prepare her own shelter, collect firewood and store some food which must not come from her own village (186 71). On the Loyalty Islands a woman chooses some place in the bush for her confinement. This she weeds and makes a hollow in the ground. The spot chosen is near the sea, as this is most convenient for bathing (282). As soon as it is realised that a woman of the Hill People in Fiji is going to have a baby, preparations are made for the confinement. Quantities of firewood are collected and turmeric is stored. For the baby, small mats are got ready for it to lie on and clothes are prepared (31 169). In New Zealand the Maori built special maternity huts outside the village. Some distance from each of these another hut was erected for cooking food for the women. The cook lived midway between the two but did not come in contact with the expectant mother. Everything necessary was carefully prepared beforehand (32). An
important part of their ante-natal treatment was the care of
the breasts and nipples of the woman (240 116).

At Nikko in Japan women offer inscribed pieces of wood
at the San no Miya to ensure safe delivery. These are
inscribed in Chinese characters which mean 'fragrant chariot'
and are used in the game of Shōgi, and, as one is only
allowed to move forward in the game, it probably indicates
"the applicant's desire concerning the straightforward path
of the child (or, perhaps, course of the birth)" (166). The
natives of Car Nicobar have special birth-huts which are often
situated close to their mortuaries but some belonging to
richer families are on the beach (246 116). If they live far
from the beach, the woman and her husband go to a ceremonially
clean house near the birth-house. Before the onset of labour
they make sure that nothing belonging to the patient is shut
up and that all knots are untied (440 116 sq).

Before a Malayo-Siamese birth firewood is collected.
Prickly leaves and the calcined shells of the king-crab -
the smell of which is objectionable to earth spirits - are
suspended beneath the floor of the house (3). The Sungkai
Senoi and the Semang Senoi construct a small leaf hut on
the ground near the woman's house, since it is taboo for a
woman to be confined in an ordinary house (106 222). This
is probably to guard against the attention of earth spirits.
In Assam one branch of the Angami Nagas place all food and
drink outside the house before a birth takes place (196 214),
and so do the Kacha Nagas (16 Footnote 1). A Rengma Naga
woman retires to her husband's house on the onset of labour.
No male may be present (262 200). It is the custom among the
Ngente, one branch of the Lushai clans in Assam, for a woman
to prepare 'baby's beer' about three months before her
expected confinement. This must not be taken out of the
house but must be kept and drunk in honour of the child on
the day of its birth (352 133).

In India certain branches of the Kharias screen off a
portion of the veranda of the house with bamboo and leaves
as a lying-in room. This is occupied for a week or so before
delivery. No man is allowed to enter it (328 I 204). The
Chitars of the Central Provinces consider it important for
woman's first child to be born in her husband's house, or in
that of his father, but never in her father's house (331 II
434). Niar women should be confined in a special house or
in part of the varanda screened off with bamboo (16. IV 136).
Katherine Mayo says that in most parts of India there is no
preparation for a confinement but the expectant mother "may
and does toss into a shed or into a small dark chamber what-
ever soiled and disreputable rags ... fall from the hands of
the household during the year." (250 91).
In ancient Egypt an expectant mother wore various amulets as a protection against evil spirits and recited incantations in order to obtain the help of the benevolent goddesses who presided over childbirth (44 30). Sir H. H. Johnston stated that a Baganda man would borrow his neighbour's house or build a temporary shed near his own hut and to this his wife would go for her confinement a few days before the expected date of the baby's birth. Any woman who was considered an expert in midwifery would attend her (211 II 689). According to Roscoe it was also the custom for the expectant mother to have daily massage applied to the lower parts of the body until the commencement of labour pains. Butter was used for this massage (306). In Kenya a Turkana woman retires to her sleeping apartment about four days before the birth of her child and, in one section of these people, the expectant mother is supposed to abstain from drinking water (102). Shortly before the time of delivery of a Kamba woman all arms and iron are removed from their hut, as their presence would bring a curse on the child (177 160). The wife of a Shilluk king is sent to some distant village when she is four or five months pregnant and remains there until her child is weaned. For each pregnancy she is sent to a different village (350 48). The Azande choose the place for their confinement by oracle but for the first it is usually her husband's homestead (36 577). The Bari on the upper Nile have a curious custom. Capt. Bramley states that: "When a woman is about to be confined two sticks, with a bit of string tied from two trees about six feet from the ground, are put on each side of each path leading into the village in order, according to the native account, to keep out the evil spirits." (29). When a Lugwari woman is near the time for her confinement and not well "the husband may kill a goat on the advice of the medicine man. The latter in such a case takes some blood and smears it on the threshold of the hut to prevent death from coming in" (238). Before the birth of her child a Jukun woman collects sufficient firewood to last during the time of her confinement, and most of the husbands pray to their deities to grant their wives easy deliveries (254 359).

In Northern Rhodesia it is tabu amongst the Ba ila for a woman to give birth to a child in a hut. If this were to happen, the husband could enslave her and her children, and everything in the hut would require to be destroyed. A birth usually takes place in a shelter some distance from the woman's home, or in an enclosed place on the verandah of her home (359 II 7). When about eight months pregnant a Mashona woman retires, along with her midwife, to a specially-built hut where they are isolated. To communicate with her the husband must stand away from the hut and call to the midwife (45 196).
A woman of the Efap tribe in the Central Cameroons, does no heavy work when pregnant and prepares no food. About three months before her confinement she is given an infusion made from the leaves of a vine and palm-wine or water (241). A Congo woman removes to a hut a short distance outside the village when it is recognised that she is pregnant, and she remains there until her child is weaned (429 289). The Ba-Huana in this region prepare for labour by fasting (411).

In Nigeria, among the Asaba section of the Ibo, before labour starts, a woman must confess to the head of the family all the men with whom she has had connection or familiarity. The omission of any names increases the danger of labour and may even cause the woman's death (276). The Ibo generally choose a midwife but make no other preparation for their confinement and this is kept secret. It is suggested that this secrecy is to "delude evil spirits as to her location" (449 245).

About the fifth month of pregnancy the Hausa begin to store up firewood for bathing the mother during the hundred days following the birth of her child. During the sixth month various pungent condiments are collected and beaten up, Meek reports, but he gives no particulars of their subsequent use (252 II 74). In this same volume the pregnancy customs of several other Northern Nigerian tribes are mentioned.

In Chili an Arawacian woman seldom remains in her house for her confinement as this would cause trouble in the family. A temporary shelter near a stream is chosen for the event and the husband together with the woman's mother and her children are present and sometimes there is also a midwife or a friend (161 12).
1. Australia and Oceana

Basedow gives a minute description of a birth among the Larrekiya in the Northern Territory of Australia. The young woman was sitting on the ground with her legs stretched before her and her body sloping backward, supported by her arms on the ground. An old woman sat behind, holding the young woman round the waist and pressing against her buttocks with the knees. Massage was applied to the abdomen with warmed hands. Neighbouring tribes in Central Australia make the woman "squat on her toes, with her buttocks resting over her heels," in the third stage. When the placenta has come away the cord is "cut with a sharp fragment of shell or splinter of rock, or pinched off with the finger-nails, or even bitten off with the teeth." (14 63sq). The Arunta are generally confined in the women's camp. If labour begins when the tribe is on the march, one or more of the older women remain behind with the woman in labour, and, after the child is born, they all resume their march (368 II 467). The Fuhlayi have a peculiar ceremony which is observed at a confinement. The grand-parents request the child to come forth. If it does not obey, then some other woman must try to induce the baby to enter the word "by descanting on the glories of it." If this does not suffice to attract the infant "an old woman has to produce what she calls a wi-mouyan - a clever stick - which she waves over the expectant mother, crooning a charm which brings forth the baby." After the birth of the child an old woman presses the mother round the waist to expel the placenta. Drinks of cold water are given and water is sprinkled over the woman. When the placenta has come away, "two logs are laid horizontally, some stones put in between them, then some fire, on top of leaves of eucalyptus, and water is then sprinkled over them. The patient stands astride these logs, an opossum rug all over her, until she is well steamed, After this she is able to walk about as if nothing unusual had happened." (375 39sq).

In South Australia a woman leaves the encampment of her tribe when her confinement is due but all unmarried men and boys must remain in their own camp. If a woman does not keep strictly to the place reserved for her she is scolded or severely beaten by her husband (256, quoted in 363 I 46). During parturition an aboriginal woman of Victoria stands "against a tree or stump, while another woman assists in the delivery." If the child is born when the mother is on a journey, it is rubbed with sand, and the journey is resumed (50 in 365 II 243). Another report states that the woman and an attendant go to a rudely constructed shelter outside the main camp. The infant is rubbed with dry grass and placed in a net or rug lined with grass. The cord is tied and the baby
is powdered with a dry fungus (363 I 46sq). W. E. Roth describes a birth among the Yaroinga. The young woman "lies on the ground upon her back, with open thighs and drawn up knees; her two hands are clasped behind her head, while an old gin appointed to attend holds her down by the neck and head to prevent her raising herself." The child, when born, is placed on the right of the mother and the cord is cut, then tied with oppossum string (322 182sq). Presumably all pulsation in the cord has ceased before cutting and the ligature is applied to prevent any subsequent haemorrhage. The same authority describing a confinement among the Kalkadoon says that the patient sits on her shins and kneels over a shallow hole, with her knees well apart. "She either throws her body backwards, or strongly forwards, so as to rest on her hands, or ... may grasp some overhanging branch." Between pains a thick cord is tied round her and some other woman squirts water from her mouth over the patient's abdomen, then applies massage. Painfulness is treated by smearing perspiration from the woman's armpits over her nose, forehead and face. The child is allowed to drop into the hollow in the ground (322 185). Lumbholts simply mentions that a Queensland woman goes a short distance from the camp and, when the child is born, she washes it in a brook and returns to camp "231 134). After the birth of a Wik Mongkan baby the woman in attendance gently shakes the cord and mentions names until the delivery of the placenta. The name mentioned the moment the afterbirth is delivered becomes one of the names of the child (404). After the expulsion of the placenta, the Arunta put hot earth on the woman's abdomen and divide the cord with a stone knife. Hot ashes are put on the child's navel to dry it and the placenta is buried. (304).

Confinement customs vary considerably throughout New Guinea. In the neighbourhood of Port Moresby all the friends of both parents assemble as onlookers. These people are said to "contend for the child as soon as it is born" (419 347). Round the mouth of the Warri Gela River the tribes choose as midwife the nearest female relative of the patient. The latter sits in a squatting position holding a rope suspended from the ceiling. The midwife sits behind her clasping her tightly round the waist. The cord is cut as soon as the child is born, (presumably after being tied). As soon as the baby is washed it is handed to the mother (147 206). A Koita woman (squats on a coconut husk grasping a rope which hangs from the rafters." A sister, or some other woman, sits behind her, supporting her and clasping her firmly round the waist. Two other attendants each press an abducted and flexed leg of the woman against the abdomen. The mother of the patient receives the child as soon as it is born (346 84). The custom of the Sinangolo of the Rigo District is very similar (343 301). A male doctor is sometimes
summoned in a difficult case amongst the Orokaiva. He applies massage or punches the back and blows into the ears of the woman in labour. This blowing into the ears is an attempt to drive out any demon that may be afflicting the patient and causing the delay (441 94 & 296). For her confinement an Ipi woman returns to her parents and is cared for by female relatives. Her husband goes to his communal club and must avoid any work in case he should cause the death of his child prior to, or at the time of birth (185 64). Among the Kiwai Papuans, in the Fly River District, confinements may take place in the open or in a screened-off portion of a room in the house. The woman's spirit is believed to sit on the verandah of the house and a medium is sent for to drive the spirit into the woman's body and allow the baby to be born (299 28, 62, 297). A Kiwai woman is sometimes given 'medicine' to help her to have an easy and successful confinement. This consists of "a cassowary's anus and part of a swampy feel... which is so slippery that it cannot be held in the hand". She is delivered in a sitting position, and her attendants stroke her abdomen downwards. To keep her warm the attendants apply warmed stone or bark to her abdomen and back. After sunset she returns to the communal house where her place is screened off with mats (219 230sq). The Mailu women of Southern Papua carry on with their usual work until the onset of labour pains. The woman then sits on a palm-leaf mat and is supported by female relatives who hold her tightly round the waist, pressing gently downwards. Just before the birth of the child she kneels on the mat. If the labour is slow the attendants jerk the patient up and down. No ligature is applied to the cord, which is cut after all pulsation has ceased and usually before the delivery of the placenta. When there is a long delay they apply a ligature on the maternal end of the cord and make the woman bathe in the sea. On her return she lies on her back before a big fire and the abdomen is bound tightly with a piece of cane or string (355 95sq). When a woman on Murray Island is in labour, it is the custom for the husband to go into the sea and keep diving until the child is born. This is supposed to relieve the labour pains of his wife. When the child is born the man is complimented by the midwife on his valuable assistance! (149 VI 106). At the beginning of labour in the Trobriand Islands the expectant mother squats on a raised bedstead with a small fire under it, but before the child is born, she sits on a mat on the ground with her legs apart and knees drawn up. She leans back, resting her hands on the ground behind her. A female relative stands behind pressing downwards on the woman's shoulders and sometimes thumping her vigorously. The infant is not handled in any way until the birth is complete (244 195). On the occasion of a first confinement the husband sleeps on the verandah of the house
but may move about freely during other confinements (346 704). No man is allowed to witness a birth on the island of Dobu in the D'Entrecasteaux Group but a pantomime given humourously by some men for R. A. Fortune has been described by him (110 346). On one of the larger islands, however, certain plants are used to help delivery which is generally easy. If there is much pain the old people sing to the woman some special song. The woman is delivered in her own hut assuming a sitting posture and leaning back against a friend or relative (207 105).

Among the women of New Britain childbirth is so easy no midwives are required. The squatting position is adopted "sitting like a frog." The cord is cut with a splice of bamboo and tied in a knot (40 35). No birth is allowed to take place on the Island of Mala in the Solomons. Just before the birth of a baby the mother goes into the bush and must fend for herself for forty days after the birth of the child. Owing to the hardships endured, the mother sometimes commits infanticide (188 71). In the South-East Solomons, births took place in the open just at the rear of the house. The woman lay on a mat and a shelter was erected over her, in which she remained for two days (203 75). In the case of a first child on Mala a woman stands by to tell the mother what to do. The cord is cut with a sharp piece of bamboo but no ligature is applied (204 104). Immediately on delivery, a mother on San Cristoal is given cold and hot charmed water to drink, and the baby is washed in cold charmed water (112 178).

No man may be present when a woman is in labour in Seniang, on the island of Malekula, New Hebrides. The husband walks rapidly up and down outside the hut in order to assist in the delivery. The woman squats upon her haunches and she is raised a little above the ground in order to let gravity assist. When labour is slow, an infusion made from a certain leaf is given. They say the infant smells this infusion and wants to come quickly. An infusion made from a certain creeper is given in Lagalag and Lambumbu. When the newborn child is a boy, the midwife makes a bag with a large leaf, inflates it and claps her hands on it to make a loud report. If the child is a girl no signal is given (77 234 sq). On Tanna, women sit during delivery and attend to themselves throughout (143 129). It was the custom in New Caledonia for delivery to take place at the doorway of the hut and friends assembled in a circle outside (419 340). Delivery also takes place in public on Lifu, in the Loyalty Islands, but the husband is not present (295). Here a woman kneels on the ground, holding a stout rope suspended from a branch of a tree. Sometimes a friend kneels behind the woman in labour while the latter clasps her attendant round the neck during the pains (151 175).
A Fijian woman adopts a squatting posture at the commencement of labour pains, but when near the time of delivery she lies back, supported by two friends who sit behind her supporting her shoulders. The midwife sits in front and determines the presentation by a digital examination, and, finding everything normal, awaits the delivery of the child. When the baby is born, if it does not cry, the cord is compressed at a distance from the baby and the blood squeezed upwards into its body. No ligature is applied before dividing the cord, but it is left long, measured as far as the child's knee with leg extended - and is then cut with a mussel-shell or with a bamboo knife. The portion attached to the child is wrapped in bark-cloth which is changed occasionally (402 210). One of the early missionaries to Fiji said that the women "suffer little in parturition, and the aid of a midwife is rarely needed, and when given, is rather injurious than otherwise" (443 150). In Western Viti Levu a temporary hut is put up in a yam garden. Dried grass covers the floor and lines the basket for the new-born infant. As a rule there is no attendant, because anyone carrying away a blade of grass, stained with blood could injure, or even kill, the woman by magic. Before returning to her village the mother burns the hut and all its contents (402 210). Among the hill tribes of Fiji female relatives and a midwife go to the expectant mother's hut, and her husband goes to the large communal hall. A man remains outside the maternity hut listening to the proceedings within, which he reports to the husband. When the child is a boy, his arrival is greeted with a shout "Anoint, anoint the male!", but if a girl, the women shriek with laughter. The cord is divided two or three inches from the umbilicus (51 139sq).

A Tongan woman gets up immediately after the birth of her child and bathes in a pond or river. She is not dieted (428 105). On Niue, or Savage Island, a sitting position is adopted for delivery, while the midwife applies pressure to the abdomen. "The umbilical cord was formerly severed with the teeth rather near the child; it is now cut long with scissors, and coiled down without tying" (401). At a Samoan confinement prayer was offered to the household god of the father's family; but, when unusually prolonged, to the mother's family god. (419 78sq). Childbirth was usually easy. Mother and child were bathed in cold water, often in the sea. Household duties were frequently resumed within a few hours of birth (40 45). During a delivery on the Gilbert Islands the midwife sat behind the patient supporting her perineum with the edge of the left foot. The hands applied downward pressure on the abdomen during the pains. The cord was not tied and cut until the placenta came away in case it was drawn up into the uterus (146).

When in labour, a Maori woman kneels with thighs widely
separated. Her attendant squats in front of her and presses her knees against the upper part of the woman's abdomen, and holds her tightly below the arms. The woman in labour clasps her attendant round the shoulders above the arms. When no help is at hand the pregnant woman fixes a pole horizontally and leans against this to apply pressure at the upper level of the uterus (22). It is reported that in some local, unspecified, area a woman's father or grandfather would attend her, playing upon "a flute made from a bone of an ancestor of the woman or her husband." In cases of difficulty a priest renders aid by means of a charm (22). Makereti, a Maori chieftainess, writing about the customs of her people, stated that at the commencement of labour pains a woman's relatives assembled. The patient knelt with her legs apart, while the attendant sat on the ground with her knees up to the chin, pressing on the patient's abdomen, lightly at first, but more firmly as labour proceeded. The umbilical cord was cut with a shell (240 118sq).

2 Asia

Passing on to the Asiatic Islands we can start with the Philippines. A Bontoe Igorot woman continues her ordinary work right up to the beginning of labour. She is attended by her mother, her husband and sometimes an old woman. These may apply massage to the abdomen. The woman stands with her body bent forward, holding on to a support, or like a quadruped with both hands and feet on the ground. Apart from the massage no assistance is given (206 59). When in labour a Bagobo woman leans her back against an inclined board and grasps a rope attached to the roof. The midwives in attendance apply massage to the abdomen. A decoction made from certain leaves, roots and bark is given to the patient. One of the attendants prays to the spirits on behalf of the woman and her child, and offers various valuables. These are subsequently retained by their owner but can never be sold (59 100). In another tribe in Mindanao, the Bila-an, it is the custom at the commencement of labour to make an offering of betel-nut to "the first being", and also to the spirit of the child's grandfather, if deceased. The expectant mother is given a drink prepared by the midwife to aid delivery. The umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo knife (Ib. 143). The Mandaya who also live on Mindanao, give a parturient woman a decoction made from the bark of Erythrina indica. This is supposed to relax the perineal muscles and make delivery easy (Ib. 191).

As childbirth is such a simple matter among the pagan women of Borneo it frequently happens that their children are born out of doors. If at work in the fields the mother retires to a quiet spot and may return to work carrying her
infant. Normally Murut and Peluan women retire to the jungle, returning later with their babies on their backs. If the Peluan woman is delivered in a friend’s house she must pay compensation to that friend (332 71 sq). A Kayan woman, when in labour, grasps and pulls on a cloth suspended from the rafters during the pains. An attendant on each side presses down firmly over the uterus and a cloth is tied tightly round the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from going upwards. Any delay in the expulsion of the afterbirth causes alarm. The patient is lifted up and an axe-head is fastened to the cord to prevent retention of the placenta. The cord is tied immediately after delivery and cut with a bamboo knife (190 II 154 sq). It is said that sometimes, during the confinement of a Kayan woman, a dance is performed to facilitate delivery. The friend who dances carries a bundle of cloth which is supposed to represent the child and afterwards it is laid in a cradle (ib II 185).

The Punan custom is for all men to leave the premises while a woman is in labour (252 II 46), and the only special treatment after the child is born is for the mother to sit with her back to a fire and bear as much heat as possible (190 II 185). Murung women lie during labour with the upper portion of the body slightly raised. The priest-doctor blows on a cupful of water which the woman drinks. The cord is cut with a knife on a piece of ironwood (232 II 427). Penyabong women are always confined outside the house. The cord is cut with a sharp piece of bamboo (ib II 451). A Saputan woman "assumes a lying position and is helped by being frequently lifted up." To hasten delivery of the placenta a certain herb is heated over a fire and rubbed on the abdomen. A species of vine is used to tie the cord which is then cut with bamboo, near the abdomen, and the placenta is hung on a tree (ib. II 433).

When a woman on the Nicobar Islands is due for her confinement she goes to one of the birth-huts which are usually situated close to the mortuary hut. Labour is usually easy but any delay is attributed to something trapping the baby. All fastenings are loosed and traps opened, "Even the racing canoe in the village-hall is lifted up from its resting-place to base it." When the child is born both mother and baby are rubbed with saffron and turmeric, and any clothing used by them is dyed with it (246 118 sq). A confinement occurring in any hut but a special birth-hut, would render the place unclean and necessitate the pulling down and burning of that hut. The expectant mother is shampooed on the onset of labour-pains (440 116 sq).

An Andamanese woman is attended by her husband and some friends. She assumes a sitting position with the left leg stretched out and the right knee drawn up. The latter she
clasps with her arms. The husband supports her back and applies some pressure to the abdomen. Her female friends assist to the best of their ability. The cord is cut with a shell or, in recent years, with a steel knife (245 16). Writing at a later date, Radcliffe-Brown states that the woman is seated on fresh leaves; a piece of wood is placed at her back for her to lean against; her legs are flexed and her knees clasped by her arms. One of the women present applies pressure to the upper part of the abdomen (290 89 sq).

A few examples from Southern India can now be mentioned. A Nayadi woman is confined in a special hut. To help her in labour her husband shampoos his own abdomen and prays that his wife may have a safe delivery. When the baby is born he offers thanks to the gods "for having got the baby out." (405 V 276). The only aid allowed to a Korava woman is for a jar of warm water to be placed beside her just before the child is born. Any medicines required are thrown to her from a distance. Some Koravas believe that the labour pains can be relieved "by drinking small doses of a mixture of the dung of a male donkey and water." Immediately after the birth, the bird-catching Koravas give the mother a dose of asafoetida rolled in betel-leaf. This is followed by a stimulant containing more asafoetida combined with other drugs (ib. III 294 sq). The Kotas have a special hut for their newly-confined women. The baby is born outside this hut and the mother is bathed before being taken inside. Certain thorny twigs are placed in front of the hut. "With each twig a stick of Dodonaea viscosa, set alight with fire made by friction, must be placed. The woman, carrying the baby, has to enter the hut by walking backwards between the thorny twigs." (ib. IV 23). In one hunting caste, the Vettuvans, a woman at the beginning of labour, is put in a hole dug in a corner of the hut and left there alone with some water till the cry of the child is heard (ib. VII 399). For her first confinement a Badaga woman must be on the verandah of her house but afterwards occupies an outer compartment until free from pollution (ib. I 109). In order to ward off evil spirits a Mala woman, during her confinement, must have a sickle and some nim leaves on her cot (ib. IV 369).

In the Central Provinces of India the Kurmis employ a barber's wife to watch a woman during the early stage of labour but, when the time of delivery approaches, the case is taken over by a regular midwife who conducts the birth and remains in attendance until the tenth day (531 IV 70). When a woman of the Mehtar, or Sweeper, caste is in labour she squats with legs apart and holds the bed. The midwife assists by rubbing her back (ib. IV 222). In order to ease labour the Korku untwist a twisted thread before the eyes of the patient. Sometimes they give a drink of water in which the
"husband's left leg, a gun-barrel, a pestle, or a thunderbolt has been washed." These being symbols of power and speed are supposed to force the child out of the womb (Ib. III 583).

W. H. R. Rivers, in his monograph on the Todas, states that, "During delivery, the woman kneels with her head resting on the breast of a man, usually her husband, who clasps his hands behind her neck." Skilled women attend to the delivery. In case of delay all the men and women present lay their hands on the head of the woman and repeat a certain formula or prayer. If this is unsuccessful, water is prayed over and stirred with a certain grass, then sprinkled over the woman. When the baby is born the umbilical cord is held down with a stick and cut with a knife. In case of delay in delivery of the afterbirth, a medicine is procured from the Badagas and given to the woman (300 523). According to Col. Marshall, Toda women have no difficulty in their confinements. No men are present but three or four women are in attendance, one sitting behind the patient, supporting her, the others receiving the infant and assisting in various ways. One old man told Col. Marshall that the umbilical cord was never tied (248 69). In Orissa a Bondo woman is confined in a corner of the living room. She is said to "sit on her knees" (? to kneel and sit on her heels). And sometimes holds a rope suspended from the roof. She is supported by two women who encourage her to cough violently. After the delivery of the child the cord is cut with an arrow if the baby happens to be a girl, but a sickle is used when the infant is a boy. After the expulsion of the placenta the mother and her baby are bathed in warm water, then the latter is rubbed with oil and warmed in front of the fire (100 101sq). The Muria of Bastar State choose the verandah or a cattle-shed for the delivery. It must not take place in the kitchen, nor in the room where the "Pot of the Departed" is kept as this place is too sacred and offerings are made here on special occasions. The usual attendant is the mother of the girl (99 71sq). A Chenchu woman has her usual garments removed for her confinement and has a single cloth tied round her waist. She sits on the ground with her knees drawn up. After the completion of the labour the mother is given some cereal and a vegetable infusion (120 146). In the early stages of labour a Baiga woman walks about and her friends give her abdomen an occasional shake. Just before the infant is born the woman sits on the ground with one attendant sitting behind her, gripping her shoulders, and another in front who puts her feet against the patient's thighs. Her body is rubbed and her back thumped. When the lignor amnii has escaped a roll of cloth is placed under the woman to receive the child. For delay in the expulsion of the placenta they put the mother's hair in her mouth expect-
ing the effort to expel it will bring the placenta away. The mother then stands up while an assistant "covers her own head with oil and rubs her head against the mother's belly till all the blood has flowed out." (oo, 325sq). The Oraons believe that the presence of a man during labour will hinder the birth of a baby and also increase the labour pains. The woman in labour kneels and leans backwards, supported by an elderly female relative. Another woman sits in front and receives the child when it is born. The infant is bathed in tepid water (327 119). Father Dehon remarks that an Oraon woman, the day after delivery, can be seen going to draw water from the village spring, carrying her infant on her back and a pitcher on her head (76). A Katkari woman of Bombay Presidency is delivered on the floor in a corner of her hut. The cord is tied and cut about three inches from the navel (434 102). Oil is sometimes rubbed over the abdomen of a Bishor woman during labour (326 221), and one of their wildest clans, the Kawans, believe that, after the birth of the child, a tiger enters the hut and licks the infant's limbs clean, it then "opens a back-door to a shed for the woman to go out and come in during the days of her ceremonial taboo" (1b 110). Any female friends usually attend the Maiwar Bhils in a normal confinement (160 XLIV). At the commencement of labour the Chamars give a woman some clarified butter and water in which a variety of pulse has been soaked. Offerings are made to various goddesses, and thorny branches placed at the door of the lying-in room in order to protect the woman in labour from evil spirits. At the time of delivery the woman sits on her heels supported by female relatives. Immediately after the birth of the child the mother's face is washed and her hair is let down. "Then the cord is cut and the child is rubbed with dust from a sun-dried granary or with wheat flour, and bathed in lukewarm water" (53 62sq).

The Arakan district of Burma usually have a very easy time at their confinements and resume their normal work next day (119 XLIV 42). In Assam the Gamos vow to make a sacrifice if their child is safely delivered. Rice is scattered on the floor round the woman in labour and incantations are recited in order to keep away any evil spirits. Among the names mentioned in their incantations is that of a fish which probably symbolises the child in the liquor amni (283 98). When the birth of a Bakher infant is imminent, the expectant mother kneels on the floor near the bed and holds on to a rope suspended from a beam above her. One woman bathes the baby in cold water to wake it up, while another attends to the delivery of the afterbirth and then bathes the mother in warm water (277 283). The Ngente of the Lushai Hills deliver their women at the head of the bedstead. Outside the village a sacrifice of a fowl is made by a medicine man. The cock, or hen, must not be white. It is
cooked and eaten by the medicine-man (352 133). One of the methods of delivery adopted by the Sema Nagas of Assam "is for the mother to squat on her heels upon a cloth spread on the ground. A woman steadies her shoulders from behind, another doing the same in front, while a third steadies and supports her knees" (197 233). When in labour, an Angami woman breaks the string of beads she is wearing and allows the beads to fall on the floor. Her head-band used for carrying loads is fastened to a beam and she holds on to this, keeping her knees clear of the ground. After the delivery of the child, but before the cord is cut, she is given rice-beer and the flesh of a hen which has been touched by the child (196 214). Allowing the beads to fall on the floor is probably expected to hasten the delivery and make it easy, by magic. A Lhota woman lies on her side for delivery and is attended by an old woman who is called the "thrower-away of the afterbirth." When there is much delay, the household goods are removed outside the house. In order to deceive any evil spirit that might be listening, a false name is given to the child which is then washed and has a little boiled-rice put in its mouth (360 145). Just before delivery a Rengma woman is given hot rice beer and rice. This is supposed to make delivery easy. No male is present at the birth (262 200). The father should always be present at the birth of an Ao Naga child. If he happens to be away from the house, they believe the child will await his return. The woman squats, supported by her husband and her mother (261 264).

The Lepchas of Sikkim write special charms with Chinese ink on thin strips of paper and these are given to a woman in labour in the form of a pill, coated with butter. The woman is said to squat on the floor, holding on to a rope suspended from the roof. An attendant sitting behind her presses on her breasts and her abdomen in order to aid delivery. They believe that the gall-bladder of a bear relieves the pains (265, 150; 207, 152).

In Malaya, a woman of Perak is said to hold on to a ring hanging from the roof, and to have wooden or bamboo weapons to scare away evil spirits. Spells are repeated for the same purpose (3, 65). Schebesta states that a Semang woman sits under a shelter erected in the hut. She reclines against some bamboos driven into the ground. All men except the husband leave the camp. The midwife applies massage to the abdomen (359 101sq). An infusion from certain plants is administered during labour among the Semang in Kedah. The woman adopts a sitting posture and leans against some solid support. There is no manipulation but the midwife presses the patient's hands on the ground behind her back (358 II 2sq). A Sakai woman lies on her back with a low support under her knees and is attended by two other women, one of whom,
apparently, kneels on the ground and receives the child (Ib II 8). Jakun women, also in Malaya, lie face downwards over a round piece of wood. The husband kindles a fire in front of his wife and acts as midwife. When the baby is born he puts his wife close to the fire (Ib II 20). Among the Sea-Gypsies, or Mawken, of Malaya, delivery frequently occurs on board a boat. The woman is "either supported in an upright position or laid face downwards upon one of the boat's transoms ... temporarily broadened by the addition of cross-pieces." One helper supports the woman's back while another receives the baby and washes it (Ib II 26). When, however, there is a chance of taking the woman ashore for her confinement, the palm-leaf coverings of the native boat are taken off and used as a shelter. Everything is done in public (39 200).

It is stated that when a Siamese woman in Julor, Malay Peninsula, is in labour, her hands are held behind her back by an attendant (3 65) but the reason is not stated. Perhaps this custom was adopted from the Semang. Elsewhere we are told that at a Siamese confinement the expectant mother is given tamarind juice and salt, and is made to lie on a hard wooden bench in front of a charcoal fire. The usual aids for the mother are said to be "domestic medicines, unscientific massage and manipulations." Sometimes Mangala threads are hung round her neck, or grains of rice may be sprinkled on the floor. The cord is tied at the level of the knee with silk which has been dyed indigo, then it is cut on a hard clod of earth with a bamboo knife. The infant is put in a winnowing basket and a picture of Vasuvarna is hung over the basket (427).

The Moi of Indo-China so much dread the malevolence of evil spirits, they erect special huts for the accommodation of their women in childbirth and no strangers are allowed in the village at that time. The special hut in which the woman is lodged is decorated with a tuft of pompelmoose and a piece of charcoal suspended from the roof. It is said that "sacrifices must be offered to conciliate the Spirits, especially if it seems likely that complications are threatening." They first offer an egg, then gradually increase their offer, if necessary, until they reach the extreme value of an ox. The attendants are the nearest female relations. A sitting position is adopted by the woman in labour, and her attendants rub the abdomen with 'tiger's gut', while she leans against the knees of a female attendant. In the north, however, among the Tho, "the woman stands supported by two cords under her armpits." Immediately after the child is born the umbilical cord is tied at the level of the knee with silk which has been dyed indigo. The Tho use cotton thread or a blade of grass as a ligature. The cord is cut with a sharpened piece of bamboo. After the expulsion of the placenta the mother is
given tamarind juice and salt, and is made to lie on a hard wooden bench in front of a charcoal fire. The infant is put in a winnowing basket and a picture of Vassuvarna is hung over the basket (16 65sq). The Cham custom is so similar to that of the Moi that details need not be repeated (Ib 256).

Writing about Tibetan and Bhutia folk-medicines, W. L. Wildburgh says that sometimes charms are used to make delivery easy. As an example he states that "a piece of horn of Hodgson's antelope ... is to be rubbed in water and drunk." (163). M. A. Czaplicka describes the unusual conduct of labour in a number of Siberian tribes. These have been taken from Russian sources. Only two need be mentioned here. When a Yukaghir woman starts in labour, she and her husband and the midwife must loosen all the fastenings of their garments. The woman walks about at first, "then she is placed on the knees of her husband or her father, who squeezes and presses her abdomen on all sides with his arm. Frequently the woman dies under this treatment." (72 131). The Yakuts believe that labour pains are caused by evil spirits. During labour a woman kneels in front of a bar across which she puts her arms. These are held by a man in front while another man holds her shoulders from behind. The midwife kneels in front and presses the abdomen while praying for help to the goddess who is supposed to be present at a birth (Ib. 142).

The Persians, according to Êááí Yásmin, pour barley into the lap of a woman when in labour and having severe pains, and bring a horse to eat it there. For seven days she must be called Mariam, and her own name must not be mentioned. Failure to observe this rule might cause serious illness (27). The chief Yesidi midwife in Iraq told Lady Drower that, at the commencement of labour, the expectant mother hurried into the cellar, which might be occupied by goats and other domestic animals. The woman crouched holding on to an attendant while the midwife applied massage to the abdomen. Behind the woman in labour another attendant sat, ready to receive the child when it was born (86 31). In the country districts of Syria and Palestine where there are no midwives, any woman with some practical experience attends a confinement. "The Jewish women are despised for going to bed when a child is born. It is looked upon as one of the unclean habits introduced by the frenzy." In the towns a special chair is used but the country women simply "sit on the ground, a heap of dust or earth being put beneath her for cleanliness, and some strong woman places herself back to back with her to give support." The Khatib, or religious teacher, must see that provision is made for ritual cleanness." During labour they call upon the Prophet Jonah for help ... (but) when things are at their worst they turn to Allah." They believe that a girl is born less quickly than a boy (136 30sq).

Child-birth is said to be easy amongst certain Hamitic
tribes in Southern Arabia, including the Mahra. A woman works up to a day or two before her child is born. Birth usually takes place in the open under a tree, or sometimes in a cave, "the position being said to be not unlike that taken up by a sprinter for the start of a race." The woman resumes her work next day (389). This description seems to apply not only to the Mahra but to all the tribes of the Qara mountains, for Bertram Thomas says, after recording a conversation with one of his Qara escort, that child-bearing is easy to their women. "She works up to one day before the birth and bears under a tree in the open or in a cave, in the standing position of a quadruped with the assistance possibly, but not always, of one other tribal woman, who may be her mother or sister. She is fit for work the next day." (390 98)

3. Africa

The ancient Egyptians believed that evil spirits were ready to attack new-born infants, so it was the custom for a woman, while awaiting the birth of her child, to wear amulets to protect her and her expected child from such attacks. She also "recited incantations in order to obtain the help of the benevolent goddesses who presided over childbirth. Two of these goddesses were believed to dwell in a special kind of stone, and two tablets made of this stone were laid down on the spot where it was arranged that the birth of the child should take place" (44 30). In the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan a Nuer woman in her confinement is attended by one who must herself be a mother. As pregnant women and their husbands are supposed to carry some evil influence, called thee, which can affect a lying-in woman through her discharge, such persons must not be allowed into the hut (350 221). When a midwife is attending the confinement of an Azande, or Niam-Niam, woman, she asks her the names of all her lovers and whether she has had connection with them during her pregnancy. Non-confession delays delivery which may even prove fatal. When the midwife is a relative of the husband, confession is not expected (Ib. 517).

The Rev. J. Roscoe states that if a Baganda woman "is delivered during the day she is taken out into an enclosure at the back of the house and stripped. She then holds on to a post which is firmly planted in the ground for the purpose and she is delivered from behind, stooping. If she is confined during the night this takes place in the house" (305 119 306 30). In the case of one of the wives of the King of the Baganda, a kneeling position was assumed, one midwife in front held her while a second, behind the woman, received the child. A barkcloth was spread on the floor for the woman to kneel on. When the wife of a chief started in labour she was taken into the garden, or into the yard at the back of the house. She held on to a tree and was supported by one woman, while another received the child (312 51 54).
Dr. A. R. Cook says that, "the cord was cut with a sharp strip of reed, and no ligature was placed round it." (82).

The chaplet of seeds worn by a Banyankole woman during pregnancy was removed when labour started and placed on the neck of a churn until the baby was born. It was then put on the wrist of the infant as a charm. The woman was attended by her mother-in-law and was made to squat on a bed of freshly gathered grass, while holding on to a rope taken from a net used for carrying milk-pots and fixed to a rafter near the door. The midwife cut the cord with an ordinary knife or with a strip of reed from the roof (314 110). When a wife of the King of the Bakitara started in labour "she was stripped of all clothing and stooped near a post of the house. A carpet of a special kind of grass was laid down for her to stand on." One woman supported her from behind while the midwife stood in front. After the expulsion of the placenta a grass ligature was applied and the cord was cut with a "strip of reed taken from the frame of the house." (313 157 sq)

Delivery among the commoners was similar, but if a woman cried out during the pains "her mouth was held or a bark cloth was thrown over her head and she was whipped to make her brave." (Ib 244). The Bagesu management of labour was rather crude. "The expectant woman stood by a post in the house, and one of the assistants held her under the arms and raised her up and down in order to shake the child down and help the birth." (315 24).

It is the custom among the Basabei for the mother-in-law to tie and cut the umbilical cord after the placenta has come away (Ib 71). The Busoga adopt a crouching position for the birth of a child and this usually takes place in the garden amongst the plantains if the birth occurs during the day (Ib 136). For her delivery a Bahima woman stands stooping, supported by another woman who holds her under the arms. The midwife stands behind the woman in labour. The child is laid on a piece of barkcloth or skin, and, after the expulsion of the placenta, the cord is cut with "a strip of sharp wood split from the tube through which they drink their beer" (307). The Bakene custom is similar (309 118 & 310 153). Bateso women sit on the floor leaning back on an assistant kneeling behind them. The midwife stands in front to deliver the child (310 284). The Banyoro summon all women of experience to assist at a confinement. The woman in labour sits on her heels with her knees widely apart. Women support her back and her arms, and the midwife, in front of her, applies massage to the abdomen. (101 83 sq).

Two elderly females are chosen by the Labwar of Uganda to attend a birth. The patient assumes a squatting position and is supported by one of the women while the other attendant delivers the child. The Jie method of delivery is similar (450 204 & 224). Wanderobo and Dodoto women have no special midwives and are attended by female relatives (Ib 215 & 220). The Pygmies of Uganda, the Bambute, are confined in the forest. The umbilical cord is severed by biting (211 II 539).
When a woman of the A-Kamba in British East Africa is in labour she is held by a female attendant in a squatting position while another woman receives the child. To assist the birth a horn of Thomson's gazelle, filled with 'medicine' from two species of tree, is pointed at the woman and lines are drawn on her abdomen with the horn (175 60 & 100). It is considered very unlucky for a Kikuyu baby to touch the ground at the time of its birth. A bracelet made from the skin of a ram, a young ewe, or a female kid, is put on the mother's wrist. This is supposed to benefit the child. If any blood falls on the floor at the time of the delivery, the midwife must bury the soiled earth away from the village for they believe that "if any goat licked that particular spot it would die." (177 154 & 160). A Turkana woman kneels and sits on her heels holding on to an upright support with both hands. Failing such a support she grips the upper part of her legs. One old woman holds her shoulders while another squats behind and applies massage to the woman's abdomen. The former of these women receives the child and cuts the cord. A folded skin is then tied tightly round the mother's abdomen and some wood ash mixed with ghee is rubbed over the abdomen. This is supposed to help the expulsion of the placenta (103). At a Suk confinement the woman assumes a sitting position. The expulsion of the placenta is aided by administering an emetic or by using mechanical means to cause vomiting (11). A Nandi woman sits on the edge of a large stone holding on to a rafter of the ceiling and is supported by an old woman who receives the child. "Immediately after the birth the mother's belt is tied tightly round the waist. If she suffers much, the women outside beat grain mortars with pestles to drown her cries" (184 64). A kneeling position with the body bent forward is that adopted by the Lendu. When any complication arises, a witch doctor is called in to make the necessary sacrifice and anoint the woman's forehead with the blood (211 II 555). Only women are present at the confinement of a Kipsiki woman. A sitting position is adopted. When the child is born, its sex is announced by the singing of a certain song thrice for a girl but four times for a boy (12). In her first confinement a Masai woman stoops supported by other women. During subsequent labours, which are considered easier, she lies on a bed (222). A Yas woman in Nyasaland must confess all the men she has been familiar with, and her husband must confess all the women he has been familiar with. Failure to do this will cause the death of the woman (123). In this tribe and several neighbours childbirth is usually very easy and a woman may work in the fields right up to the onset of labour. If a baby is born in the fields the mother simply picks it up and walks home (375). According to Sir Harry Johnston the different tribes in British Central Africa have very similar birth customs. The women usually stand upright, sometimes holding on to a beam, but sometimes they are supported under the arms by other women (210 406). H. S. Stannus however gives more details regarding confinements around Fort Johnston "The patient sits on the floor of the hut on an old mat naked,
and no assistance is given in cases of difficulty. The duration of labour is from one hour to five days ending in death...

When delivery is complete the woman is washed and a piece of burning wood is placed between her legs and allowed to smoulder for several hours. This is a purification rite. (372).

A Mwila woman of Northern Rhodesia is said to find childbirth easy as a rule. When labour pains begin she is given an infusion made from the roots of the castor-oil plant, which she drinks now and again until the child is born. In the early stages most of her time is spent sitting up but she may lie down for a short time when tired. When near the time of delivery she must sit all the time. It is thought that if she lay down then it would kill the baby. The back is supported by one woman and the knees, well flexed, are held by another who presses her feet against the patient's buttocks. When the pains are more severe, the former attendant comes to the front and pulls on a piece of strong cloth round the patient's loins, while the second attendant blocks the patient's anus with her big toe. In one case described, a midwife "several times put three fingers into the mother's throat to make her heave, the idea seeming to be that this would help the afterbirth to come away." The patient leant forward on hands and knees and the afterbirth was expelled. After the placenta came away the cord was tied and divided (359 II 5). The Basala customs are similar to those of the Ba-ila, except that the former are confined in a hut, and the latter outside (30). When a young wife of a member of the Waduruma tribe in Northern Rhodesia is due for her confinement she goes to her mother's home attended by a midwife and another woman. The birth takes place outside the house in fine weather. For cleansing they use a mixture of wood ash and mungongo leaves powdered together (145). A Mombotto woman in Central Africa lies on her side for her delivery (101 209). In the Nilotic Sudan the one who attends a confinement must be a mother and is usually a member of the family in case an outsider should bring some evil influence into the hut. Pregnant women and their husbands are particularly dangerous and are supposed to affect the new mother through her discharges (350 221). In another tribe in the Sudan, the Jukun, a young woman goes to her parents' house. She sits on a stone or on a bundle of rags and is attended by a midwife. An elderly woman sits behind her and holds her firmly. No food is given until the child is born, but the juice of a certain herb may be given to hasten the delivery. The infant is received on a bed of leaves (254 360).

When a Lamba woman in Northern Rhodesia begins to have labour pains all weapons or agricultural implements which could hurt one are removed from the hut as their presence would bring ill-fortune to the child. No food or drink may be taken by the mother, but water may be sprinkled on her face. Only the midwife and husband may be present at the birth. The cord is tied and cut as soon as the child is born.
a bit of cloth being used as a ligature. The abdomen is bound with a strip of cloth "in order to steady her breathing" and she may have some hot gruel to drink. To ensure an easy birth a charm is worn. "A small horn is cut through at both ends, umusu (i.e. 'medicine') inserted, and the ends closed each with four beads. Holes are pierced near both ends for the insertion of a string. The charm is worn from the neck" (82 132). In Southern Rhodesia when a Mashona woman is in labour a midwife called 'Wabanda, she against whom the mother leans', is in attendance. When the child is born the chief midwife gives a cry in salvation. This is echoed by all who hear it. Men who hear it may approach the hut and salute, but may not enter (45 196 sq). When a first child is born among the Wa-Karanga an opening is made in the back wall of the hut. This is supposed to make the birth easy by sympathetic magic (ib 196). Dr. Barnes gives a full description of the birth of a Ngoni child. In the early stage, the knees were pressed together during the pains but later a young woman sat behind the patient pressing her knees against the latter's buttocks and placing her hands on the iliac crests. A cloth placed round the back was pulled by a woman in front during the pains. Massage was applied to the abdomen. To aid in the expulsion of the placenta the mother got down on her hands and knees and a heavy weight was placed on her back (8). There is seldom any difficulty among the Bechuana. The father must be notified of the sex of the child as soon as it is born (63 132). Among the North-Western tribes of Bushmen a woman leaves her hut for her confinement. At first she sits on the ground with her back supported and knees drawn up, but, just before delivery she lies on her side. The cord is cut with a sharp reed or knife but no ligature is applied. To stop haemorrhage a plaster of mud and leaves is put on the baby's abdomen over the stump. The infant is not washed but wiped with soft grass (337 118 sq). A Hottentot woman reclines on her left side with shoulders and back supported by the knee of an attendant. They believe the child would die if she lay on her back (ib 262).

Among the Edo-speaking peoples of Southern Nigeria the customs vary. At Gwato, when a confinement takes place in a house, no male is allowed to be present. The positions adopted by the woman vary - some kneeling, others squatting supported by another woman, while still others prefer sitting. Some of the neighbouring tribes have similar customs (39). In the Warri District of Nigeria/Woman in labour sits between the legs of an attendant behind her who applies massage to the abdomen stroking downwards and applying pressure (142). Major Tremearne tells of a Kagoro birth as described to him by one who was present. The woman "sat upon a wooden tray, with her knees drawn up, and her back to the wall." The cord was not tied but ash of burnt grass was applied to the stump to stop bleeding. The child and the mother's breasts were washed, but the rest of the mother's body was not washed till
evening, when she had to prepare her own food (415).

P. A. Talbot says a horn is a symbol of virility amongst the Ibo and a large representation of it, when held in the hand by a pregnant woman is believed to assist delivery (386 9). When an Ibo woman starts in labour her "headcloth must be untied and her hair, if in plaits, must be loosened and, if wearing necklaces, they must be removed. If this is not done, the child will be bound and held captive in the womb." Delivery must always take place outside the house (13 171).

A Kwatto woman adopts a sitting position on a flat stone or on a mud-brick wall. Female friends hold her legs apart and support her shoulders (449 245). The genu-pectoral position is assumed by Hausa women in Northern Nigeria, but the neighbouring pagan tribes usually sit on a stone or on a wooden seat with legs held apart by attendants (252 17 75). Writing about the Hausas in North Africa, Major Tremearne says: "In Tripoli, some say that a black line drawn round the wall of which the (lying-in) woman is, will protect her against the bori (or spirits), others say against Ibibio... It is not certain whether the bori while waiting for the child can hide in open pots or not." Precautions, however, must be taken (417 35). Like many other Nigerian Tribes the Katab prefer the sitting position for delivery. They may sit on a stone or on the wooden tray used for carrying loads on the head. "The tray thereafter bears a semi-sacred character and a Katab woman will often swear an oath on her tray saying 'If I did so-and-so may I die with my next child". (253 11 39).

Among the Efiks and the Ibibios when a woman is in labour all locks should be undone and all knots untied to ease the delivery (387 22). An Ibibio delivery must take place inside a house, or at the back, and experienced elderly women must act as attendants (385 204). Edo women infrequently give birth to a child by the roadside and the spot is marked by planting a tree. When delivery occurs in a house, both mother and child are usually washed outside the house (395 63). In the Sokoto Province of Nigeria, a Gungawa woman at the time of parturition has a fire lit under her bed. "From this bed, or 'sudatorium', she is not allowed to stir for three days in the case of a male child, or for four days in the case of a girl." The mother is washed with an infusion of shrubs and the newly-born child is given some to drink (154). The usual attendants at a Bassa-Komo confinement are the mother of the patient, the mother-in-law, and the co-wives. Certain herbal infusions are given to make labour easier. In difficult cases a medicine-man is called in and he may deliver the child manually (53).

Captain Rattray states that in Ashanti a confinement takes place in the room set aside for washing. The floor is covered with dried plantain fibre on which the woman sits with her back to the wall but not against it, for an attendant stands behind her clasping her under the arms with her hands against the women's breasts. Two other women each hold an arm, and a
fourth, sitting in front, places her left foot under the patient so that the big toe presses on the anus, and assists in delivering the child as soon as the head emerges. The cord is cut against a piece of wood (283 sq). When a Nankan woman is in labour the owner of the house makes an offering to the spirits requesting an easy confinement. Another offering is made when labour is over asking the spirits to watch over the child "until a small tree becomes a big tree" (304 I 132). A Kusase woman must be delivered in a yard or in the cattle-kraal. The ground is covered with leaves for the event. The hair of the heads of mother and child are shaved on the day the cord is cut. The child's hair is thrown down in the fowl-house, but that of the mother in the saman farm. The mother and the child are bathed in warm water containing certain leaves. From these leaves the child gets its father's taboos (ib. II 386).

The birth customs throughout Sierra Leone seem to vary very little. As a rule the woman goes back to her father's house for her confinement. The child is usually born in the bush and the mother returns to the back of her house. No man should see her on the road (304 108).

When a woman in the French Congo is about to give birth to a child she is removed to a separate hut which is crowded with other females including her co-wives. No man may be present. The only help given is when her two friends exert pressure on the sides of her abdomen. When the child is born it is left lying between the legs of its mother with the cord unsevered. Mother and child are now sprinkled with a jugful of cold water. The placenta is then expelled by gentle abdominal pressure. The infant is daubed with sand, finely sifted, and washed in tepid water. The newly-delivered mother then cuts the cord with a piece of roughly sharpened wood. No ligature is applied but the stump is "held in position on the abdomen by a fibre knotted into a girilde around the body" (71 156 sq). H. Ward simply states that among the tribes of the Congo "a sitting posture is adopted for the operation of accouchement." (429).

G. C. Ishmael, however, gives a little more detail in writing about the Babinza of the Belgian Congo. He says that while the patient is in a sitting posture, a woman in attendance holds her by the back while two other women hold her thighs. The midwife sits in front to receive the child. After delivery, the mother's vagina is washed thoroughly with warm water before she is put to bed with the infant (202). This description would seem to apply equally well to the Ba-Yaka (409), and to the Ba Huana (410). It is the custom of the Bangala of the Upper Congo for the parturient woman to lie on her back during delivery. The cord is not cut until after the delivery of the placenta. It is not stated whether a ligature is applied or not. The mother is able to walk about in an hour or so. "The midwife who is an expert in her way,
attends the patient and licks the child after birth to clean it." (432)

Among the Eγap in the Central Cameroons labour is conducted by a male accoucheur with female assistants. In the early stages the woman lies in her hut on a rafia-palm bed, but delivery takes place with her in a semi-reclining position. "One of the attendant women sits on a low stool and lifts the patient on her knees and clasps her round the body under the armpits. The other woman then draws her legs down and apart. The native accoucheur presses or kneads the abdominal region in a downward direction." The cord is cut before the delivery of the placenta. The mother usually gets up about the end of the second day (341).

It is a common custom throughout Morocco for the husband of a woman in labour to wash his right foot, or its big toe, and to give the water thus used to his wife to drink. Dr. Westermarck was told that "it makes the delivery easier because the father's baraka is in the water." (Baraka is an inherent power in someone, or something, which is capable of working either good or ill) Other methods of easing labour are commonly used in Morocco. The husband may step over his wife three times in succession. Westermarck suggests that, the foot being an organ of locomotion, this action will hasten delivery by sympathetic magic. For further examples of this type of magic his book must be consulted (436 II 370 sq). When the infant is about to be born the woman in labour pulls on a rope, while an attendant behind her grasps her shoulders. The midwife renders aid and invokes the help of various saints. The umbilical cord is cut at a distance from the child equal to four fingers' breadth (ib. 372). "When a child is born, all married women of the village assemble in the room or tent where the event takes place, partly to assist the mother by their blessings, and partly ... to get a little of her baraka so as to become mothers themselves" (435 364).

4. Europe

As most of the European countries have got beyond the more primitive methods of treating their cases except in out-of-the-way spots, only a few examples need be given. Miss M. E. Durham says that, when she was in Montenegro "the treatment of a parturient woman was most barbaric." They laughed at the idea of calling in a doctor because he had never given birth to a child. The woman in labour was made to walk up and down the hut without any rest. When unable to continue walking alone she was supported by two other women holding her under the armpits. If she were to sit or to lie down, they believed the child would never drop out. When the floor was of stone they covered it with plenty of straw so
"that the child's head might not be broken." No man, and usually no unmarried girls were allowed to be present (94 187) W. Bouser, referring to a statement in the Kalevala that "Marjatta is delivered in a stable ..." says, in a footnote that: "It is still the custom in Finland to repair to the bath house in order to facilitate delivery" (27). Mrs. Clifton describes a birth in County Galway. The woman was confined in her work-dress. As labour was prolonged "her old mother fetched a great missal and the key of the door from the Chapel near by, and laid them on her." Twins were born and the cords were cut with the sheep-shears. (54 352) In Scotland long ago much of the treatment of women in childbirth was based on superstition. An example is given by the Rev. Dr. Fleming who says: "The shirt of our own St. Margaret - 'amisia Beatae Margaretae Reginarum' ... was kept beside her shrine in Dunfermline; and the queens of Scotland still continued, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to clothe themselves in it in their hour of travail" (108).

5. America

In Alaska, old women possessing some skill in midwifery and chosen to attend confinements. Formerly lying-in women were considered unclean and were isolated. E. W. Nelson records a case which occurred in midwinter at a village on the lower Yukon. The woman was put in a little hut covered with snow. Her husband handed her food through a small opening. She stayed in this hut for about two months (268 269).

In British Columbia, women of the Staelis Tribe went to special temporary shelters for their confinements. In winter the period of seclusion was only four days, but in the fine summer weather it was extended to eight days. During the actual labour two elderly experienced women assisted (412). The Stlatlumh also erected a special lodge to which the woman repaired on the onset of labour. She was attended by four elderly women. Visitors to the mother after the birth received presents from the husband (413).

Mrs. T. E. Stevenson writing in 1883 said the Zuñi Indians of New Mexico had a certain amount of ceremony at the birth of a child. Only the maternal grandmother and two female doctors were present (385 497). Nearly twenty years later, Mrs. M. C. Stevenson gives further details. In one case, two 'doctresses' began kneading the abdomen with considerable force. When a pain occurred the patient turned on her right side and the belt of the 'doctress' in front of her, while the second pressed on the back of the patient. To hasten delivery the midwife held the woman's nostrils and blew into her mouth. Juniper tea was given. In making an examination one of the 'doctresses' inserted her whole hand into the patient's vagina. On the exposure of the head of the infant the woman was turned upon her back and her abdomen was kneaded
vigorously. Two women held her legs while a third delivered
the child, and another divided the cord. The mother mean-
while bit on a white pebble to make the baby's teeth strong
and white (361 298). Sometimes these Zuñi women swallow a
raw bean during labour. They believe that "just as it slips
down with ease, the delivery will be easy. The labour will
be hard if, during her pregnancy, the woman has been subject
to much cold - the waters in her freeze and 'hold the baby
back". Massage is applied to the abdomen and the woman's
head is felt for any sign of heat, indicating that delivery
is imminent. A badger's claw is sometimes put into the
woman's belt. It has been suggested that this might help as
the badger is 'good at digging its way out'. (379). Instead
of a badger's claw the Hopi Indians employ a weasel's skin to
hasten the birth of a child. It is passed four times over
the abdomen in a downward direction (280). For her confine-
ment a Seminole Indian woman retires to a specially built hut
close to her house. During the birth of her child she assumes
a sitting posture and grasps a strong stick fixed in the
ground. When the child is born it is taken care of by her
attendants (237 497). Mrs. M. C. Stevenson describes the
confinement of a Sia woman. At the beginning of labour she
was seated on a low stool with her back to the fire and was
lightly clad. Her father sat in front of her and the mid-
wife on her left with an ear of yellow and purple corn in her
hand. The patient held a medicine stone, given by the midwife
later, the woman knelt on a bed of sand with her back to the
fire, clasping her hands about her father's neck while the
midwife supported her at the back. The sister-in-law "placed
an ear of corn to the top of the sufferer's head and blew up
it during the periods of pain, to hasten the birth of the
child." The midwife then passed the corn down the middle of
the body four times. As this had no effect the midwife
employed another old remedy. The woman in labour was made to
stand over the coals while scrapings from one of the beams
of an old room were burned. A third remedy was then tried:
the fat of a castrated sheep was put in a bowl and placed on
the coals, and the woman had to stand over this. As this
also failed "the woman occasionally assisted herself with a
circular stick four inches in length wrapped in cotton wool."
As all these methods failed they sent for a prominent hómaáte
who gave medicine and blew from her head down the middle of
her body. After a good meal the pains returned and the child
was born. Mrs. Stevenson was then "called to hasten and rub
the father's moccasin down the woman's back; the toe of the
moccasin must be downwards. This was to hasten the passage
of the placenta, which promptly followed." (382 135sqq). The
Cherokees have certain formulae which they recite at confines-
ments in order to frighten the infant out of the womb. The
formula for a boy is repeated first and, if no result follows,
that for a girl is repeated. A recipe given in a certain
manuscript was a warm decoction of a plant which was to be
blown on the top of the mother's head upon her breast and upon
the palm of each hand. The woman is seated while the formula is repeated then the medicine is applied. Part of the liquid is given to the woman to drink (264 363 sq).

In South America the Chibcha of Colombia believe that vomiting can sometimes be helpful during labour so they give for this purpose some soot mixed with a soft-boiled egg at the commencement of labour. This induces vomiting (107 153). The patient is put to bed and the midwife is called and paid a fee of five pesos. She buries the placenta in a field (ib. 198). Sometimes a medicine man is called in. He starts his treatment with "a series of exorcisms and incantations over the woman's uterus, and massage is sometimes applied (457 114 sq). When a Jivar woman in Equador feels labour pains starting she goes into the forest alone and lies down in a spot previously chosen away from her hut. When the infant is born she returns to her work by the fireside (109 107). One midwife in Charan, a Sierra Tarascan village, said the proper position for the mother was flat in bed but others say the kneeling position is best for delivery. The mother may assume the position adopted in grinding corn, or she may hold on to a rope suspended from a beam in the house. Sometimes, the husband, seated on a low chair presses the sides of the abdomen with his knees, but, normally, men are not present. "Sometimes when the pains first start, the patient is laid on a blanket which is then lifted by four persons, one at each corner. The mother is then turned around gently for fifteen or twenty minutes. This is believed to hasten the birth and aid the child to get into the proper position. The midwife may also walk from one side to another, saying, 'I am coming', to hurry the child" (17 166 sq). When the birth takes place in the kneeling position a mat, or clean cloth, is put on the floor to receive the child. The cord is cut after delivery of the placenta. When this is slow in occurring the mother's knees are massaged. The cord is cut about a span length from the umbilicus, that is, measured from extended forefinger to thumb (Ib. 169). The Moche of Peru apply massage to the abdomen, rubbing in camphor to hasten birth. The confinement is usually easy. The woman lies on a bed or reclines. The umbilical cord is cut four fingers' breadth from the umbilicus, then the mother stands up, spreads her feet and shakes herself until the placenta is expelled. The infant is held up by its feet to start respiration (134 137). It was formerly the custom of the Araucanians of Southern Chili for a woman to go out of the village when labour pains began. She went to the banks of the nearest stream or lake and bathed there as soon as the birth was over, returning to a small hut near her home. Now the birth takes place at the girl's home. During labour she kneels and holds a thong fastened to a post. No men are present but the mother is attended by her friends and a midwife (234). An Araucanian woman in Chili is given an infusion of herbs and roots on the onset of labour pains, and in order
to lessen the distress of these pains, the midwife pricks everyone, including children, with a needle. The expectant mother kneels and holds on to two upright poles driven into the ground about a foot apart. Sometimes the woman holds on to a rope suspended from a height. The assistant kneels behind the woman and, grasping her round the abdomen, presses over the uterus with both hands. After the child is born an infusion of herba is given. The cord is cut a 'handstretch' from the navel in Coñaripe, while in Alepue they measure the length of three times the distance from the tip of the thumb to its first joint. Formerly a flint was used for the cutting but now they employ a knife. The stump is plastered on the abdomen with a paste of leaves and a binder is put on. The woman is now made to retch by the midwife pushing two fingers down her throat in order to expel the placenta (ib. 15sqq). For two hours after delivery the mother must lie on her back without stirring, then she walks to the family bathing place and wades into deep water (ib. 20). In the Argentine branch of the Araucanians the mother assists in the delivery which is usually very easy. When slow, the woman kneels and a decoction is sometimes given, or the treatment may take the form of sympathetic magic. For this a small hole is made in an egg and the contents blown through it. An infusion of apio boiled in chicha (fermented fruit juice) is given to hasten delivery of the placenta. "In extreme cases (the woman) ... was given her own urine to drink, hoping that the gagging would eject the placenta." If this is not sufficient she was given the urine of several persons present (ib. 158sq)
THE SECUNDINES

Some peoples or tribes consider the placenta and the umbilical cord of such importance that they have special ways of disposing of them. Some think the placenta the more important while others think it is of less importance than the cord, so these will be considered separately and a brief note will be given on the believed significance of a caul.

1. The Placenta

The natives of North-West-Central Australia appear to have no special method of disposing of the placenta. The Yaroinga simply bury it deep in the ground, while the Kalkadoon either bury it or burn it in the hollow in which the child was born (322 163). It is burned by the Arunta (368 II 478) and either burnt or buried by the tribes of the Northern Territory (14 68).

On the island of Mabuiag, between Australia and New Guinea "the placenta is buried in hard ground to make the child grow strong" (149 197). On Yam and Tutu it is buried where the birth took place and the spot is shown to the child when he is old enough to go there. On Saibai it is enclosed in a coconut shell before being buried (Ib 197).

In the Baniara District of Papua the placenta is fixed to the top of a tree and left there to rot. They think that burying it would make the child weak (236). The Koita put the afterbirth in a clay pot which the mother takes next day to the sea and, wading up to the shoulders, breaks the pot and allows the fragments, with the placenta, to sink (346 65). The Sinaugolo simply place the placenta in a bag and suspend it from a tree (343 203). This method of disposal is sometimes adopted by the Orokaïvo, but they sometimes bury it taking care that the roots of no tree constrict it lest the mother should become barren thereby. If it were to be eaten by a sow, the fertility of the woman would be transferred to that sow, and she, herself might be rendered sterile. When a placenta is buried the father of the child it belonged to will not plant taro too soon lest it should rot as the placenta decomposed (441 94sq). The Mafuli women throw the afterbirth into the river and the Koita drop it into the sea (444 283).

As the afterbirth can be used for magical purposes the Kiwi Pauans bury it secretly. It would be dangerous for anyone to tread on it, and a sorcerer could use it to injure the child or even the parents. If the woman who sees to the disposal of the receptacle which contains the afterbirth buries it under a young guða tree she will render the mother
sterile for the future (219 231). Three days after the birth of an infant on the Trobriand Islands, the mother heats her fingers at a fire and kneads the stump of the cord to loosen it in order to bury it along with the placenta. They are then buried in the garden. It is believed that this will make the infant a good gardener when he grows up (244 196). It is said that in the Northern D'Entrecasteaux group the "afterbirth is secreted by night in the fork of a tree, where it is eaten by the ants and birds" (207 106).

A midwife in the South-East Solomon Islands buries the placenta secretly to prevent it being used for black magic (203 77). One form of their black magic is to bury the afterbirth in the rear of the house, which is taboo to men. Along with it they must bury the skin of an areca nut which the proposed victim has been eating (Ib. 277). Elsewhere the same author says that by taking a piece of a man's food and burying it in the place of confinement along with the placenta the man is supposed to die. This is called "charming by means of the placenta of a male child." (204 117). It is stated that in Seniang on Malekula, New Hebrides, "the afterbirth is buried in a hole in the house, and a fire is lighted on top of this over which the child is rocked to and fro that its body may be hot." (77 235). Among the Hill Tribes of Noemalu district Viti Levu, Fiji, the afterbirth is handed to the maternal uncle who disposes of it according to the occupation of the child's father's family. If the family happen to be fishers, the placenta is deposited under a stone in a deep pool, but if they are employed with woodwork it is placed at the top of a high tree. In each case the place chosen is supposed to help the child in his future occupation (31 170). On Lifu, Loyalty Islands, immediately after a confinement is over the mother goes to bathe in the sea and takes the placenta with her (285), and, although not stated, probably deposits it in the water, as is done by the fishers of Fiji. On the Gilbert Islands there is no special custom except that everything is burned after a confinement as a precaution against enemy magic (146). The Maori always bury the placenta, formerly near the latrine or other avoided place "that the spot might not be trespassed on" (22). In recent years it has been the custom for the mother, aunt, or other close relative to take it to some secret place which has been chosen beforehand and is ready to receive it. There it is buried (240 115). In the Babar Archipelago, the afterbirth, mixed with ashes, is taken by seven women and hung on a citrus tree in a basket. The women are armed with swords to frighten away any evil spirit which might wish to harm the child through this medium. In the Southern Moluccas the placenta is mixed with ashes and hung on a tree (148 126).

The Bagobo of Mindanao, Philippine Islands, put the placenta in a bamboo tube with ashes covering it and a leaf
on top. This is then hung against the side of the house and remains there until it drops off or until the house is destroyed (59 100). Another Philippine tribe, the Kulaman, attach the afterbirth to a strong Molave tree to make the child grow strong like the tree. The one who carries the afterbirth must look neither to right nor to left and must not hesitate as this would produce physical deformities in the child (Ib. 156). The Mandaya, also on Mindanao, prepare special baskets in which to hang placentas against the house (Ib. 191), but the Negritos of Zambales simply throw them away (297).

In Borneo, no special care is taken of the placenta (190 II 155). The Penyahbongs give it to the dogs, the Murungs bury it without ceremony, the Long-Glots let it drop through the floor of their raised houses where it is eaten by pigs or dogs, and the Dakoi throw it into the river (232).

The Adamanese bury the placenta in the jungle (35 90). The unsettled Veddas of Ceylon throw it away but the settled groups bury it in the hut which was specially erected for the confinement (349 101sq). In a note on 'Sinhalese Magic', Hildburgh says that in Ceylon "the placenta, having been wrapped in a piece of matting, and having had yadina (a kind of verse) recited over it, is buried, usually close beside the parents' house. Should the yadina be omitted, the child may become sickly, or ill, or stunted, as a result of injury to the placenta" (182).

The Malayo-Siamese have various methods of dealing with the placenta. It is sometimes wrapped in a cloth with pepper and salt to preserve it, and then buried in a waste place. Some bury it under a banana tree and believe that if the tree flourishes it is a good omen, otherwise it is bad (3 II). In another report we are told that the Siamese place the placenta in a jar and keep it by the fire for several days, after which it is buried by a soothsayer (427).

Among the many tribes in Assam the methods of dealing with the placenta vary considerably. The Khasis keep it in a pot in the house until after the naming of the child on the day following its birth. It is mixed with rice which has fermented and is then waved three times over the child. The father then hangs the pot on a tree outside the village and on his return he is cleansed by having water thrown over his feet (148 124). The Sema Nagas bury the placenta inside the house, under the bed or in some other spot upon which no one is likely to tread. The old woman who does this must wash her hands and face afterwards and may not eat with the rest of the household for three days thereafter (197 233sq). If a dog or a pig were to eat a Memi child's placenta that infant would die. For safety, therefore, it is buried under the floor of the house (Ib. 341). The Lhota Nagas have a
similar belief, therefore they wrap a boy’s afterbirth in rag and wild lemon leaves and hang the basket containing it on a miche. A girl’s afterbirth is wrapped in miche leaves (260 145sq). If any crows or rats were to eat the placenta of an Ao Naga baby, the latter would suffer from abdominal pain. To avoid this, they take the afterbirth to the back of the house, place it in a basket with leaves, and suspend it from sticks smeared with rubber sap (362 100).

The sticks are arranged like a pen rack and imitation snakes are attached in order to frighten crows away. If the infant cries a lot, they believe that the placenta has been invaded by maggots, so the father pours hot water over it to kill the creatures (361 265). The Ngente hang the placenta on the back wall of the house, in a gourd (352 153). The Tikhup restrict the movements of the mother till the placenta has been disposed of, and the house cleaned up. Until then nothing can be taken from the house, not even a light from the fire (Ib. 180). The Lushei place the placenta in one of the bamboo tubes used for holding water and hang it on a tree out of the reach of dogs, but the Lakhers simply keep it in a basket until night then drop it through the floor of the house so that it can be eaten by dogs without being seen by the public (277 387sq). A Memi mother buries the placenta alongside of the birth place and a new cooking place is made by an old woman who brings fresh stones for the purpose (196 343). Another tribe in Assam, The Garos, either bury the placenta or suspend it from a tree in a gourd (285 99).

The Semang of Kedah bury the secundines in a leaf shelter close to the family hearth (358 II 3). The Ulu Kampar Sakai bury the placenta under the house, but the Behrang Senoi “frequently hang it on a branch of a tree, and have the curious belief that within three days it becomes a sealy anteater, the navel-cord forming the animal’s tail.” (106 221sq).

The customs of a few of the castes of India may now be mentioned. When a woman of the Mehtar, or Sweeper, Caste has given birth to a child, a goat is made to pass twenty-one times over the infant and is then taken with the placenta to a cemetery. The goat is killed and buried with the afterbirth. The first part of this rite identifies the goat with the child and therefore must be of the same sex. The killing of the goat serves as a sacrificial substitute for the life of the child (331 IV 223 sq). On the third day after the birth of a Lingayat child a ceremony known as the worship of the afterbirth takes place. The midwife buries the placenta in the outer door of the house and throws certain articles over the grave, including some thread soaked in turmeric water. After certain offerings have been made, a coconut is broken over the grave (405 IV 273). The Malas of Southern India carefully bury the placenta after putting it in a pot with some nim leaves. If any animal should get hold of it they believe the child would develop a wandering disposition (Ib. IV 370).
Bihors of Chota Nagpur wrap the placenta in a leaf and bury it near the threshold of the hut to keep it from being devoured by dogs. The interval between the birth of the child and that of the next depends upon the depth of the hole in which the afterbirth is buried (326 225). Another tribe in Chota Nagpur, the Oraons, bury the placenta along with an old worn-out broom and an old winnowing basket. The significance of this is not clear, but the burying is to prevent the placenta being given to some sterile woman, in which case the fertility of the new mother would be transferred to the woman who ate it (327 120). In Orissa, the Bondo bury the placenta wrapped in a large leaf, at a depth not less than an arm's length (100 102), undoubtedly in order to minimise the risk of it being used in magic. In deciding the name to be given to a Maria child, a lighted lamp is sometimes placed over the pit in which the placenta is buried and another lamp is waved round the infant while names are repeated. When the child puts out its hands to the lamp it is supposed to be due to its recognition of the name just mentioned (99 73). They also believe that "if a man eats a monkey's placenta he will be as active as a monkey and able to jump from tree to tree (Ib. 39 footnote 2). The Chenchus wash a new-born infant on the newly replaced earth covering the spot where the placenta has been buried (120 147).

In Siberia, the Chukchee lay the afterbirth on the ground in a corner of the tent and erect a small tent over it. The maritime Chukchee make this small tent outside their dwelling (36 571 quoted by Crapilicka 72 114). The Koryak place it in a bag and hang it on a pole some distance from the village (72 137). In Sikkim the Lepchas place the afterbirth in a small bamboo container, covering it with cloth and hanging it on a tree out of reach of animals. They believe that burying it would spoil the crops and taking it far from the house would cause a long time to elapse before the birth of the next child (138 208). The Yezidis of Iraq sew up the afterbirth in a white cloth and usually bury it in the cellar. "In the case of a woman whose children die in infancy the afterbirth is sometimes wrapped in a baby's dress and buried at the threshold of the mother's room while the midwife murmurs some words such as 'as thou art buried here, the boy (or girl) will live'" (88 208). The Arabs of Artas in Southern Palestine believe that the placenta is the sister of the new-born infant (141).

Throughout Africa we find great care taken about the disposal of the placenta. The Baganda usually bury it at the foot of a plantain tree, the kind of tree chosen depends upon the sex of the child whose placenta it is. When the child is a boy the tree is one from which beer is made, but if the infant happens to be a girl, the tree chosen is one commonly used as a vegetable. Care is taken to prevent animals from getting the placenta, which is looked upon as a second child
and is "believed to have a spirit which became at once a
ghost" (313 52sq). While the placenta of a child of the
common people is buried by the Baganda, one belonging to a
prince is carefully preserved and remains under the care of
the second greatest peer until the death of the prince when
it is placed in the Royal tomb along with the Prince's jaw-
bones (306 53). The Basoga also bury the placenta at the root
of a plantain tree, the kind depending upon the sex of the
child. In the case of a girl the tree chosen is the one
used as a vegetable, but when the child is a boy they choose
the kind of tree from which beer is made (310). Emin Pasha
reported that the Banyoro bury the placenta of a male child
on the inner right-hand side of the door; that of a female
child on the inner left-hand side (101 84) and this is con-
firmed by Roscoe. When a woman of the Banyankole has given
birth to a child, the afterbirth is buried between certain
leaves and the hole filled up with earth and beaten hard.
The leaves have to be gathered by four healthy children to
ensure that the infant will grow up healthy like them (314
111). The Bahima bury the placenta in the doorway, lining the
hole with sweet-smelling grass (307). It is wrapped up in
bark-cloth by the Bakitara and buried on the right side of
the doorway when the child is a boy, otherwise on the left
(313 158). The Kikuyu scatter grain on the ground, cover it
with grass and lay the placenta on the grass, then cover it
with more grass and strew grain around (324 147 footnote).
Among the Cic section of the Dinkas the afterbirth is washed
and placed in a skin, then buried outside the house. When
the child is old enough he is shown the spot and visits it
occasionally (350 185). In the Sudan the Shilluk bury the
placenta outside the hut on the right of the doorway, but
do not mark the spot in case some enemy might dig it up and
burn it, in which case the mother might be rendered sterile
(Ib. 70). A Lango midwife sometimes has to expel the placenta
by pressure on the fundus of the uterus and for this she is
paid one he-goat. Her ordinary fee is a pot of beer. On
the third day the placenta is placed in a pot-sherd at the
foot of a tree but out of reach of any animal. Removal of
this by an enemy would render the woman sterile (86 104sq).
The afterbirth is buried by the Basala inside the hut near
the doorway and "the midwives and friends stand outside the
hut and lululoo with shrill cries" (30). A boy's placenta
is buried by the Kavirondo on the right side of the doorway
outside the hut, and a girl's on the left side (310). Another
tribe in Uganda, the Labwor, bury the placenta beneath the
grain-store (430 204). In Kenya, the Turkana wrap the after-
birth in a cloth and tie it under a certain bush to protect it from hyenas (102). Another tribe, the Lumbwa,
bury it in cow-dung in the portion of the hut which is par-
tioned off for goats (12). Some pieces of placenta are
put into a small calabash by the WaBarwe and tied up in a
bundle with other 'medicines'. This is worn hanging down the
back of the mother at the birth of the next child (353). The
coastal Bisharin throw the placenta into the sea, or place it in a tree to protect it from birds and dogs. When they have buried the afterbirth, the Beni Ami place a camel saddle over the spot for seven days. After the removal of the saddle they kill a sheep for a feast (372). After the delivery of an Ache wa woman in Nyasaland, the placenta and cord are buried under the mother's sleeping place. This is supposed to strengthen the child later when it crawls over the spot. Formerly the placenta was buried in the rubbish heap. It was thought to be a powerful medicine when dried in the sun and mixed with other medicines, and could even be used to kill people (180).

The A-mambwe on the Nyasa-Tanganyika plateau bury the afterbirth under the floor of the mother's hut (210 416). The Angoni, or WaTuta, usually bury it in an old pot (6). According to Emin Pasha: "The placenta (of Mombuttu twins) is placed in a jar and carried in a great procession to be buried in the middle of a road; after this is accomplished it is customary for everyone when leaving the spot to pluck two leaves, and after spitting upon them, to throw one to the right hand and the other to the left." (101 209). The Mashona bury the placenta outside, but close to, the hut, to minimise the risk of a wizard getting hold of it and bewitching the child. (45 187 footnote). The custom at a Hottentot confinement is to collect the afterbirth and all the blood lost, on the skin on which the mother lay, and to bury everything that could be used by a sorcerer (337 264). In the Nilotic Sudan, the Northern Nuba bury the placenta of a first child under the threshold of the hut (350 589sq). The Azande bury the secundines in an anthill (Ib. 517). The 'official deliverers' of the Labwor bury everything beneath the grainstore (430). A special method of burying the secundines is employed by the Waduruma Tribe of the Nyika. The placenta is buried in the house and the cord is held up while the hole is being filled, so that the end remains above ground. This is to prevent the sealing of the uterus. Half a handful of grain is scattered over the spot by the midwife who says: "May she bear as many children as there are grains here." (145)

It is said that in certain parts of Algeria the placenta of a donkey, salted and dried, is used as a love philtre (170). In Morocco they believe that if an enemy should burn the afterbirth of a cow, its calf will die (436 II 392). One tribe in Morocco throw the placenta and umbilical cord of an infant into the river, along with seven grains of barley, a piece of rock-salt and a little henna (Ib. II 572). Victor Aboya, a native of Ashanti says: "The afterbirth is placed in a small pot (by the Nankane) in which a hole has been knocked, and in this the navel cord (which has been cut a middle finger's length from the navel) is also placed, and the pot is buried at the foot of the kitchen midden." (294 I 132sq). The fibre belt worn by an Igala woman of Ashanti during her
The placenta, is put in a pot with the afterbirth and buried in the midden (Ib. II 498). Among the Edo-speaking peoples of Nigeria there are minor differences in the mode of disposal of the placenta but in all cases it is buried. N. W. Thomas says: "The burial of the placenta in the prescribed position is almost certainly held to be a necessary rite if the mother is to bear any more children, but I cannot recall that this was asserted in so many words." (399). The placenta is kept by the Koramas of Nigeria in an upturned pot buried in the ground. To restore lost fertility the mother digs up the pot and smells the contents (253 II 176). The Ibibios bury the placenta and cord under a plantain or a tombo palm which will belong to the child ever after (385 204). Placenta and cord are put in a pot by the Kwotto, a Nigerian tribe, and thrown into the river. The one who carries the pot must not look to right or left as this would cause the child to squint. When no river is near, everything is buried at the back of the house (449 243) as is done by the Hausa and the Swahili (252 II 75). The secundines of a Bassa child are burned and buried at the back of the mother's hut, and "three mud bricks are placed on top and on these the mother sits and is washed twice daily ... until she is 'cleansed'" (53) In the Central Cameroons the Epyap Tribe bury the placenta inside the hut at the foot of one of the walls (241). Cureau states that in the French Congo it is the custom to expel the placenta by gentle pressure on the patient's abdomen (71).

Among the Tewa Indians of North America the placenta is simply thrown into the river (281). The Laguna Indians look upon the afterbirth as sacred and bury it near the river where it will be washed away. Any other treatment of it would bring the woman ill-health (279 footnote). When a Zuñi woman is delivered the placenta is dropped in the river with a prayer that the mother may have many children (588 298). Hopi Indians are said to throw the afterbirth "down the edge of the north-eastern cliff where dead babies are thrown" (28) A report on the birth of a Sia child states that the father's moccasin was rubbed down the mother's back in order to hasten the delivery of the placenta. After a certain ritual the placenta was laid on a sheepskin and covered with raw cotton. This was then cast into the river and the woman who brought it there said: "Go! and when other women bear children may they promptly follow" referring to the placenta (582 137 sq).

The placenta of a Moche infant in Peru is buried by the midwife in the kitchen floor (134 137). The Araucanians of Chili look upon the placenta as a companion of the child and bury it in the floor at the spot where the child was born, or, sometimes, near the fireplace (131 18). In the Argentine branch of these people the placenta is removed by pulling at the cord which is tied and cut, and then it is buried near the wall inside the house (Ib. 269).
2. The Umbilical Cord

The custom of the Kakađu and allied tribes in the Northern Territory of Australia is to cut the cord with a mussel-shell, dry it, and carry it about until the child is about five years old. It is then thrown into a pool. If it should happen to be burnt before the time for throwing it away the child would become seriously ill and probably die. It is therefore kept in a bag suspended round the neck of the mother (565 325).

The Koita of New Guinea cut the cord with a sliver of bamboo "at a point the length of the child's thigh from the navel." It is neither tied nor twisted and has no dressing applied (346 85), but probably they wait until all pulsation has ceased, or used the bamboo with a sawing motion. The relatively blunt implement used would probably be sufficient to prevent haemorrhage just as with the lower animals which sever the cord with their teeth. In the case of a first-born Wagawaga child, when the stump of the cord separates it is placed in the sheath of one of the leaves growing at the base of a banana tree. The parents give a series of feasts when the tree bears fruit (Ib. 486). Among the Sinangolo in New Guinea the cord is not tied but cut as with the Koita. A few drops of the mother's milk are then applied to the stump, and this, "when it falls off, is tied to the handle of the string bag in which the child sleeps." A girl's cord is buried under a weed heap, but a boy's is "hidden in the axil of a banana leaf." (343 301sq).

On Saihài in the Torres Straits the stump of the cord is preserved along with the mother's most cherished trifles. When the child is a boy he is shown this stump before puberty and it is then given to a pig to eat. This pig is killed later and the boy partakes of the feast (344 197). Another report says the stump of the cord is preserved until the boy reaches manhood when he is called to witness its burial beneath his bed, with the injunction that he is always to live there." (Ib. 197). On Yam and Tutu the stump is worn round the mother's neck and is supposed to soothe the child. Before puberty it is shown to the child who then assists in burying it near the place where the placenta was buried (Ib. 197). Kuni mothers in New Guinea also wear the umbilical cords of their children (444 62). On Mabziag the father fixes the stump in the plaited rope of his dugong harpoon (344 179). The umbilical cord is used by the Kiwai Papuans as a fertility charm in their plantations. A small piece along with a portion of a certain gourd, rubbed with ashes of the dugong, are planted with the first bunch of tendrils (219 88), but sometimes a boy's cord is preserved and used by him as a love medicine when he goes to a dance. His father rubs it with a certain fragrant herb and touches the boy's
forehead, chest and arms with both (Ib. 242). A Kia Kia mother divides the cord of her child with a sea-shell (1 131) At Mud Bay on Goodenough Island in the D'Entrecasteaux Group the cord is never tied. It is held between the big toe and the next and cut with a sharp shell about the instep. With warmed fingers the operator pinches the end a moment then drops it (207 108). Malinowski states that three days after a birth on the Trobriand Islands a kinswoman of the mother heats her fingers and kneads off the stump of the cord. This is buried in the garden with the placenta (244 196).

In the S. E. Solomon Islands the midwife who cuts the umbilical cord and washes the child has the right to adopt it if she wishes (203 77), and on San Cristoval she says to the mother: "I cut this for you." Otherwise, cutting the cord and shaving the baby's head amounts to a formal adoption of the child. (112 178) Customs vary in the New Hebrides. J. W. Layard states that, in South West Bay, Malekula, when the stump of the cord drops off, "the mother breaks off a red cotton leaf ... and dresses the place with the juice which exudes from the stalk. She places the withered cord in a piece of wild cane ... which she inserts into the thatch of her house, where it becomes encrusted with smoke and remains till the house rots." (221) Deacon said that in Lambumbu, Malekula, the dried stump of the cord is worn by the mother in her head-dress until the child can walk. It is then buried in a hole near the village and the child plants a sprouting coconut on top. When this bears fruit the child must be the first to drink the milk (77 238sq). At Seniang and Mewun the mother wears the stump round her neck (Ib. 235) On Lifu, in the Loyalty Islands, a clam shell was usually employed by the midwife to divide the cord, but failing this it is said "she did not hesitate to bite the cord in two with her teeth." As soon as the stump dropped off the attendance of nurse ceased (151 177sq). In one part of New Caledonia a priest cut the umbilical cord on a special stone brought from the Island of Lifu. This was supposed to render the youth stone-hearted in battle. Before the priest there was placed a vessel of water "dyed black as ink, that the boy, when he grew up, might be courageous to go anywhere to battle on a pitch-dark night, and thus, from his very birth, the little fellow was consecrated to war" (419 340). When the stump of a Fijian child's cord separates, a feast is given and a coconut planted for the child (443 151). Among the Hill Tribes of Fiji the umbilical cord of a male child is cut on a reed, but that of a female on a bamboo. The former is symbolical of the male organ and power of penetration, and the bamboo is considered "the emblem of receptivity and of household thrift." When the stump separates it is buried and a coconut tree is planted over it. (31 169sq). In Seanggangga, Fiji, when the stump of a boy's cord separates it is put in a gun and shot away." This is supposed to make him a skilful fisher. Formerly the cords were smeared with
turmeric and after a year or two were thrown into the water (179 213). In Nduketi and Waimun Valleys in Fiji, the cord is cut a handbreadth from the navel. When the stump separates "they put it in turmeric, plant a coconut, place the cord upon it, and then throw the cord away" into water. If it belonged to a girl this would make her good at fishing (Ib. 257). In former days the cord of a Samoan boy was cut on a club to make him brave, while a girl's cord was cut on one of the boards on which bark cloth was beaten out, for cloth-making was the woman's occupation (419 79). The Gilbert Islanders do not cut the cord before the expulsion of the placenta lest the loose end is pulled back into the uterus. A boy's cord is cut on the haft of a lance that has seen battle service (146): this should make him brave in battle. With a sharp flint flake the Maori cut the cord at a distance from the child equal to that from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the little finger. They have an elaborate ceremony when the stump of the cord is buried (22).

Makareti, a Maori princess, writes that, after her first confinement, a Maori woman attends to herself at subsequent confinements, cutting the cord with a shell and tying it with string. When the stump separates it is put in a box and buried in a secret place to avoid the risk of it being used for witchcraft to harm or kill the child (240 150).

In Malaya the Semang use only a bamboo knife to cut the cord which is then buried outside the encampment (359 102). The Mesik branch dry the cord and tie it round the child's neck or wrist in a small bag. This is supposed to protect the child from illness (Ib. 273). The Semang are said to divide the cord at a point measured from the umbilicus to the knee. It is cut on a piece of soft wood (358 II 3). The Sakai employ a special implement in dividing the cord. It is made of wood which is furnished on one side with rough saw-like teeth (Ib. II 9). The Sakai of Ulu Kamper bury the cord under the house and, if the child suffers from any itching complaint, they dig it up. Any ants attacking it are killed with hot water and the placenta is buried in some other place (105). The Malays of Kampong Jalar tie the cord with black cotton thread and divide it with a bamboo knife cut from one side of an internode (5). The Murungs in Malaya use either a knife or a sharp piece of ironwood to cut the cord and the mother remains indoors until the stump separates when a feast is held at which pig and fowls are served and rice brandy drunk (352 II 427sq). In Indo-China the Moi cut and tie the cord after the child has been washed and anointed with coconut oil (16 67).

The custom of the Ao Nagas of Assam is for the father to sever the cord with a bamboo knife while the mother holds it with her toes. Six knives are prepared but only one is used. All of these, when the baby is a boy, are "tied in a bundle and stuck into the thatch over the mother's bed in
order to ward off evil spirits." When the infant is a girl, one of the unused knives is thrown away. When the stump of the cord separates it is wrapped up with a tuft of the infant's hair and preserved in a basket, which is hidden in the jungle when the child is six months old (261 264). The Lhota Nagas preserve the stump in a section of a bamboo used for holding drinking water. They believe that if a dog or a pig happened to eat it, or if it were destroyed in any other way, the child would die (260 143). When the stump of the cord of a Khasi infant separates, a sacrifice is offered, in the form of eggs, to certain water deities and also to a forest spirit. One of the former can cause a disease of the child's navel. Until the cord separates, the parents are prohibited from crossing a stream or washing their clothes lest the child should be attacked by demons (148 124sq). According to Kachari custom no metal must be used in dividing the cord: thin strips of bamboo must be employed and a succession of cuts must be made, seven for a girl and five for a boy, a fresh bamboo knife being used for each cut (103 41). While the Western Rengmas employ the usual bamboo knife, the Eastern Rengmas use a sharp piece of wormwood stem (262 200). The Lakher divide the cord with a bamboo knife between two ligatures. Bamboo being pure, is used for all ceremonial purposes. When an illegitimate child is born, the father has to pay, amongst other things, "H dao to cut the umbilical cord." This appears to be symbolical, because the only legitimate method of cutting the cord is with bamboo (277 385 & 278sq). The sign for postpartum purification among the Garos is the separation of the stump of the cord, after which the mother and the infant are both taken down to a stream and bathed (263 99).

In the Central Provinces of India the custom of the Halba caste is to burn the cord in the lying-in room. In the Northern Districts, however, it is used as a cure for sore eyes in the child. When a woman has only female children she may try to obtain the cord of a male child and swallow it. This will enable her to bear a son and the mother of the boy, whose cord has been swallowed, will thereafter only bear girls (331 III 197). The Kawars, a primitive tribe in the Chhattisgarh District believe that a boy will become eloquent if his umbilical cord is buried in the council place. To make him a first class business man it must be buried in the market place; but to make him grow pious, it must be buried before a shrine. A girl's cord is usually buried in a dung-heap so that she may become fertile, just as the dung-heap swarms with life (Ib. III 396). When a Kori woman has had the misfortune to bear only girls, the cord of the last child is buried in an earthen pot at a place where three roads meet. This will ensure that the next child will be a boy (Ib. III 547). A method of ensuring the birth of a child adopted by women of the Mehtar caste is to obtain from a midwife a piece of the cord of some new-born
infant and swallow it. (Ib. IV 232). The cord of a newly-born infant is carefully guarded on account of this, probably because it is thought that the fertility of the mother would be transferred to the one who swallowed the cord and the new mother would become sterile in future. The Gonds say that the number of swellings on an umbilical cord foretells the number of infants to be expected. A dark swelling inclining downwards means a boy, while a reddish one inclining upwards means a girl. Burying the cord will make the child grow fat. A Muria Gond father remains impure after the birth of a child until the stump of the cord drops off. He is not allowed to sow grain nor thresh it, but he may reap his crop (Ib. III 65sq). The stump of an umbilical cord can not only render a Kurmi woman fertile, but it also has the power of influencing the child's destiny. It is therefore disposed of in some auspicious place (Ib. IV 72). The Mala consider the dried cord an excellent remedy for sterility (405 IV 371). If a Korava infant in Southern India has the umbilical cord round its neck at birth it is believed that the father or the maternal uncle will die. To avoid this the father or uncle will kill a fowl and wear its intestines round his neck, then, bury them along with the cord (Ib. IV 492). When the stump of a Baiga child's umbilical cord comes off "the mother ties a ring of chhindi palm round both the child's feet and places a thorn on its head" (99 226sq). The significance of this is not clear.

The Bishors of Chota Nagpur cut the cord on a copper coin, using an arrowhead or razor. The stump is buried outside the threshold. If any animal happened to eat it the child would die, it was believed. If buried too deeply, however, the infant will be long in teething. The nearer the surface it is buried, the sooner will the teeth appear (326 226sq). They say that blackish knots in the cord indicate the number of male children the woman will bear, and reddish-white knots, the number of female children (Ib. 221). For a Bishor infant to sneeze before the cord is cut means that "whenever this child sneezes at the commencement of any undertaking, or a hunting or other expedition, the undertaking or expedition will have ill-luck," whether he be a partner to it or not (Ib. 586). The Oraons say that white knots on the cord indicate sons and dark ones daughters.

The stump of the cord is buried under the threshold of the hut (327 119sq). A Kharia midwife cuts the cord on a small copper coin which she keeps as her reward. The disposal of the stump varies throughout the caste but if it separates before the sixth day it is kept till then and buried with some ashes under the threshold of the lying-in room (328 199 & 207). The house of a Bondo woman in Orissa is defiled after a birth and, when the stump of the cord has separated, must be purified by offering a pig or a fowl to the household god. Till this is done the mother must not touch the cooking pots (100 100 & 102). In Bastar State the Muria generally use an arrow for cutting the cord and, when the stump...
separates, it is thrown into the pit containing the placenta and the pit is then filled in with rubbish and earth (9971). The Katkaris of Bombay Presidency carefully preserve the stump of the cord when it separates and, at the time of the next monsoon, throw it into running water. Sometimes it is taken to a Hindu aint who burns it with black turmeric and, after certain magical rites, puts the ashes in an amulet which he ties on the body of the child, to protect it from evil spirits (434102). The Chamars, leather workers in Upper India, bury the cord in the house, near the door, for protection against evil spirits. If any woman were to eat it, the child would die, but she would obtain children. A witch would cast her spells on a child if she had its cord (5364). Katherine Mayo says that in Benares the cutting of the cord is only done by the lowest in the caste system. "The end of the cut cord, at best, is left undressed ... In more careful and less happy cases, it is treated with a handful of earth, or with charcoal, or with several other substances, including cow-dung. Needless to add, a heavy percentage of such children as survive the strain of birth, die of lock-jaw or of erysipelas." (25094sq).

The Veddas of Ceylon cut the cord with an arrow. They do not preserve the stump, but dress it with ashes on cloth (349101). E. H. Man simply says "the umbilical cord (of an Andamanese infant) is severed by means of a Cyrena shell (now a steel blade is often used) (24518), but, writing a century later, Raddcliffe-Brown, states that "the umbilical cord is severed with a knife, formerly of cane or bamboo, but in these days of iron" (36101).

Three days after the birth of a Lepcha child a necklace is hung on its neck and to this the stump of the umbilical cord is attached when it separates. If the stump comes away before three days they believe the child will die young, but taking longer than a week means that the child will grow up foolish (138291).

In Siberia, a Chukchee woman is supposed to cut the umbilical cord herself after the delivery of her child and she, herself, must dispose of the placenta. If she should accept any help she is mocked for the rest of her life (72135). The Gilyak, also of Siberia, use special knives for cutting the cord (Ib. 137). When a Siberian Eskimo child is born the mother cuts the cord with a sharp stone scraper such as is normally used for dressing skins. This one however is reserved for dividing the cords of subsequent children, and is kept safely by the mother in her clothes-bag (Ib. 134).

The Yezidis of Iraq tie the cord with white or blue cotton thread and apply some lotion or dry coffee to the stump (68208). Writing about the natives of Palestine, Mrs. Goodrich-Freer says: "The Christians make a fantasia
at the time of cutting the navel-string, and it is then that some old woman walks round the child, beating a pestle into a mortar to strengthen his nerves that he may not grow up timid. They also make a feint of throwing him from a height, they approach him with a knife, and so on, for some purpose" (138 62sq).

J. O. Dörsay, writing about the Sioux Indians of North America, says: "When the navel-string is cut, a small bag is made of deer-skin, cut in the shape of a small tortoise ... In this bag is placed a piece of the navel-string and sweet-smelling leaves ... The infant has to carry this bag on its back. Part of the navel-string is buried, and when the child is large enough to get into mischief they say, 'He is hunting for his navel-string.'" (84 482). The Sia wrap the cord in a wad of raw cotton. On the sixth day this is removed and the stump of the cord comes away with it. If the umbilicus is dry it is rubbed with a bluish-gray pigment and covered with cotton cloth. When there is any sign of suppuration "the mother milks a few drops from her breast upon the umbilicus and applies fresh pigment." (382 134 & 142). In Arizona the Hopi Indians apply fine ashes on the umbilicus when the cord separates. The stump of a girl's cord is tied to a stick used for stirring corn-meal when cooking, so that the girl may become a good cook. A boy's stump is tied to an arrow to enable him to shoot rabbits, and then it is put on the roof of the house (280). The Laguna Indians bury the cord under the floor of the house near the grinding-stones, in the case of a girl, but a boy's cord is buried in the middle of a field, to help him with agriculture (Ib. Idem). The usual procedure of the Tewa Indians is the same as that of the Laguna Indians (281).

In South America the Araucanians of Chili preserve the stump of the umbilical cord. If they failed to do this they believe the child would lack courage (161 17). The Araucanians of the Argentine also preserve the stump and when dried and powdered they give a little in water to the child when sick (Ib. 269).

3. The Caul

Superstition regarding the caul is widespread throughout the world. In our own land sailors, until recently believed that carrying a caul with them to sea would save them from drowning or from shipwreck. Among many of the more backward peoples there is still much superstition regarding children born enclosed in the membranes. In Borneo, the Kayans dry and preserve such membranes. After drying, the specimen is reduced to a powder then mixed with 'medicine' which can be administered to the child in later years (190 II 155). Among the Malayo-Siamese at Kampong Jalor, a boy born with a
caul is supposed to be very lucky, and the caul is therefore preserved. When the boy is circumcised he is given a piece of it in a banana to eat (3 II a). The Burmese consider that a child born with a caul should be able to "gain the patronage of any great person he may address." (431 2sq). While the Todas have a special name for the caul, 'the umbrella,' they do not appear to attach much importance to it (300 324).

In Northern Rhodesia the Ba-ila seem to consider the caul of some importance, treating it in the same way as the placenta but not preserving it. It is buried in the hut (359 II 10). The people living at the Southern end of Lake Nyasa, near Fort Johnston believe that a caul is due to the father of the infant continually wearing a hat (372). When a Lamba baby is born with a caul it is given a special name (82 132). Whether this is because a caul brings special luck or not, is not stated by Doke, but the fact that a special name is given would appear to indicate that it is of some importance and probably a sign of good fortune. It is considered lucky by the people of Tangier and pieces of the membranes are used as charms both for the child and for the father (436 II 400). Written charms are worn by the Shlôh, or Mountain Berbers in Morocco, to prevent any bullets from entering the body. In some cases this charm is enveloped in a piece of the caul of a new-born infant of the person for whom the charm was made (Ib. I 209). Among the Hausa of West Africa the caul is "covered with sugar and dried in the sun, and the whole or small pieces of it may be sold." Midwives therefore try to get hold of one when attending a confinement as it brings the possessor great luck. "A person having a piece of a caul will not fail in anything, and even if he does evil he will succeed in it, and escape punishment." But, unlike the belief of European sailors, it will not save him from drowning (417 100). An Igara child in Northern Nigeria who is born with a caul gets the special name of 'Yabi' (246 II 81), but whether it is considered lucky or not is not mentioned. The Bassa-Komo, however, also of Nigeria, say that "children born with a caul are believed to have evil propensities; they are held to be ill-tempered and sinister of character" (53). Hottentot children who are born with a caul are supposed to have prophetic powers. If the child is given the caul to eat while it is young, it is believed it will grow up clever and may even become a seer (337 265sq).

An Araucanian child in the Argentine, when born with a caul, is believed to grow up very intelligent. The caul is dried and stored or buried in the house (161 269).
4

ABNORMAL

LABOUR,

STILL BIRTHS

and

MULTIPLE BIRTHS
Delayed labour may be due to inertia or to some pathological condition in the uterus, or to abnormality in the bony pelvis, but the more backward peoples are seldom able to distinguish the causes owing to their lack of knowledge of anatomy, physiology and pathology, therefore we must consider together any delays due to these causes.

It is stated that, amongst the Aborigines of Central Australia, "If there be any difficulty in childbirth the husband, who is at his own camp, without saying anything, strips off all his personal adornments, and empties his bag or wallet of knick-knacks on the ground. Then a man who is Mura to him (that is a blood and tribal relation of his wife's brother), without in any way referring to the matter, takes his girland, and proceeding to the Erlikwirra (i.e. the women's private part of the camp), near to which as a general rule no man may go, ties it tightly round the woman's body just under the breasts, and then returns to the husband's camp. Not a word is spoken, but if after a time the birth of a child is not announced, the husband, still quite unadorned, walks once or twice slowly, at a distance of about fifty yards, up and down the Erlikwirra with a view to inducing the unborn child to follow him, which it is said rarely to fail to do (367 466sq & 354 146).

In a case of delayed labour, the natives living at the mouth of the Warri Gela River in New Guinea make the husband sit beneath the house, which is built on poles, and unfasten his perineal band. This is considered an infallible remedy. In some cases a wise woman "makes passes over the sufferer, uttering a jargon meanwhile" (147). The husband of a Koita woman opens any boxes in the house, unties his hair and removes his armlet. If this does not improve matters the woman's brother does the same. As a last resource a medicine woman is called. "She chews aromatic bark and spits the fragments over the labouring woman's abdomen, and then embraces her tightly. She is well paid, but if the patient dies the fee is returned (346 85). In a case of prolonged labour, a Mailu medicine man brings a coconut water-bottle, chews betel-nut and betel-vine leaves or fruit along with cinnamon bark and lime, then spits over the mouth of the bottle. The head and body of the woman are then anointed with the contents and the medicine-man retires (335 95). The Sinangolo employ a female specialist who "relieves the pains by mystic passes and unintelligible mutters, anon pouring water over the sufferer's head" (543). The natives of Tchambuli in South-West New Guinea believe that the presence of hostile spirits in a house can cause labour to be prolonged. When this occurs the patient is removed to a house at the other end of the village. She usually kneels between the knees of a female relative,
lying down to have a little sleep between the pains (251 188)

When labour is slow on the Murray Islands a sorcerer is called in. He takes some sacred object and places it in the sea. Sometimes the midwife tells the husband to stand in the sea till his legs feel cold, then the baby would be born.

(193). Difficult labour on the Trobriand Islands is supposed to be due to evil magic brought about by chilling or paralysis of the uterus. A curative spell is recited over certain aromatic leaves and the woman's body is rubbed with these. Sometimes they are placed on her head and thumped with the fist (244 195).

Ceremonial defilement is believed to be the chief cause of difficult labour in the South-Eastern Solomon Islands (203 251), but it can also be caused by bathing when the tide is coming in. By way of treating the woman in labour "the old women dance holding a section of a bamboo which is first advanced towards her and then taken away. The fact that the bamboo used to cook yam mash in must be split in order to get the food out probably explains its use herein" (Ib. 275). Among the people of Lau in the Solomon Group difficult labour is attributed to some man other than the husband having slept on her kaure (pandanus mat), or having cohabited with her. If the suspected man confesses, the labour ends satisfactorily (204 109sq). Undue delay in labour on the Island of Lifu in the Loyalty Group is attributed to lack of courage on the part of the woman and she is punished. Delay in spite of this shows that someone has sinned and someone has to confess (151 176). Witchcraft was the supposed cause in New Britain and prayers were offered to dead ancestors. One form of witchcraft was to obtain some of the woman's urine. "This was put into a small bamboo with leaves, earth, etc., with accompanying spells or incantations. The orifice of the bamboo was then closed with gum, and the effect of this was supposed to close up the mouth of the womb." (40 35). In Fiji a woman who has slept the night before with her husband "may not enter the house of childbirth." If she sees a woman about to give birth to a child labour will be arrested (179 225). Makeneti, a Maori chieftainess, writes: "In the case of a difficult birth (amongst the Maori) a karakia (i.e. an incantation) was repeated by a Tohunga (i.e. one who attends to material and spiritual requirements). The first karakia repeated over a difficult birth was repeated over Hine-te-iwaiwa (one of the Kings who personified the moon) ... It was often repeated over a wahine rangatira (i.e. woman of rank) when having difficult birth" (240 121).

The method of dealing with a case of delayed labour among the Dyaks of Borneo is described by H. Ling Roth. One of the manangs, or medicine men, "takes charge of the proceedings in the lying-in chamber, the remainder set themselves on the ... common verandah. The manang inside the room wraps a long loop of cloth around the woman, above the womb. A manang
outside wraps his body around in the same manner, but first places within its fold a large stone corresponding to the position of the child in the mother's womb. A long incantation is then sung by the managa outside, while the one within the room strives with all his power to force the child downwards and so complete delivery. As soon as he has done so he draws down upon it the loop of cloth and twists it tightly around the mother's body, so as to prevent the upward return of the child. A shout from him proclaims to his companions on the ruai his success, and the manang who is for the occasion personating the mother, moves the loop of cloth containing the stone which encircles his own body a stage downwards, and so the matter proceeds until the child is born alive or dead, usually alive, or until all concerned become assured of the fruitlessness of their efforts." (320 I 98sq).
The quotation is from F. W. leggatt. The Veddas of Ceylon have no medicine men, so have to call in a Sinhalese demon dancer in any case of serious complication during delivery (549 102). The Nicobarese think that a delayed labour is due to something or other being trapped and a search is made for the cause of the trouble. Doors and boxes are opened, logs turned over, and even the racing canoe is lifted up to ease it (246 119). These precautions are often taken beforehand to prevent trouble, and knots are untied. Any heavy object is lifted up "in order to lighten the load of the spirit and set the infant free" (440 117).

At the time of a Moi confinement in Indo-China, the villagers and the friends of the woman make offerings to the spirits, starting with an offering of an egg. If this proves insufficient to bring about an easy and satisfactory delivery, they gradually increase the value by offering a chicken, then a goat, then a pig, and, in cases of extreme difficulty, an ox might be sacrificed (16 67sq). Fowls are used as sacrifices among the Lushai-Kuki class of Manipur to propitiate the spirits inhabiting streams, mountains and forests. These spirits are believed to cause all trouble including difficult childbirth, and a fowl is killed and divided. The head is put at the upper end of the village with seven rolls of cane and at the lower end the remaining portion of the fowl is placed along with five rolls of cane. The woman is then given some water to drink. This procedure is called "to open the stomach with a fowl". (352 81). The Kukis associate difficult labour with the python. It is considered a water deity and sacrifices are offered to it in such cases (182 137). One section of the Garos, the Akawés, bring a goat into the house and place its body in contact with that of the woman who is having a difficult labour. The priest blows a fine spray of water over the patient and says 'puisrang' or 'good luck'. Another section of these people, the Abengs, plucks some of the hairs of the goat and burn them close to the woman. The goat is then lifted up and promised as a sacrifice to the spirit afflicting the woman, if he ceased to
trouble her (283 99). If a Lakher woman is having a hard time at her confinement, some woman who always has easy labours is called in. This woman gives a boiled egg to the patient saying "May you give birth to your child as easily as I always do" (277 384). The egg symbolises an easy birth. In cases of simple delayed labour the Lhota Nagas put the household goods outside, but in cases of great difficulty "the father either makes a fire with a fire-stick and fumigates the woman, or exchanges drinks of hot 'rohi madhu' with her. Occasionally the father spits on his fingers and puts a little of his saliva on the woman's stomach. This is regarded as an infallible remedy in cases of difficult delivery." (260 145). The Ao Nagas open up any baskets or boxes in the house and offer a fowl or a pig to the responsible evil spirit. Sometimes hot fomentations are applied to the abdomen (261 266). When there is considerable delay in the birth of a Rengma child, the mother is given "a piece of very smooth kind of bark or a little soap creeper to chew, in order to make the child come away easily" (262 200).

In India where child-marriages are so common one must expect a very high percentage of difficult labours. For particulars of some of these Miss Kathleen Mayo's book should be consulted (250). A few other cases may be mentioned. The Kaniyans in Malabar and in Travancore use charms. The special yantram used to relieve the woman in labour is drawn in ashes of cow-dung on a new cloth and tied round the woman's waist (405 III 194). The Koravas of Southern India believe that delay, or other difficulty in labour, is "due to an ungratified lust of the woman before she is confined. This is generally something to eat, but it is sometimes ungratified lust. In cases of the latter kind, the Korava midwife induces the woman to mention her paramour's name, and, as the name is mentioned, the midwife gets a pinch of earth into the woman's mouth with the idea of accelerating delivery (Ib. III 490). To help in a case of delayed labour the Gonds give draughts of water from a swiftly flowing stream. Sometimes they give a woman in labour a necklace from which hangs a piece of wood from a tree which has been struck by lightning (251 II 84). Both these treatments are examples of contagious magic, the speed of the stream or of the lightning being transferred to the child. Another example is found among the Rawats of Chatisgarh where, in a case of delayed labour a line of men and boys from the woman's house to a well pass a vessel of water from hand to hand between the well and the house. The quicker this is done the shorter will be the duration of the labour (Ib. II 27). When there is undue delay in the birth of a Kumbi child, the woman in labour is given "hot water and sugar, or camphor wrapped in a hard-leaf', or they put a few grains of grain into her hand and then someone takes and feeds them to a mare, as it is thought that the woman's pregnancy has been prolonged by her having walked behind the tethering-ropes of a mare, which is twelve months
in foal ..." Another method of treatment is to take an unopened flower and place it in water. As the flower opens so will the womb (Ib. IV 29). Pressure and massage are employed by the Kurmis who also use magical methods of treatment. Water in which her husband's feet have been dipped is sometimes given to a woman to drink (Ib. IV 70). The Mehtars sometimes give a drink of water which has been shaken up in the barrel of a gun soiled after having been discharged, supposing that the speed of the bullet will increase the speed of the child's delivery. In some cases abdominal pressure is employed, or the woman may stand holding a grinding-stone on her head (Ib. IV 223). The pressure of the grinding-stone is supposed to help to expel the child.

Delayed labour is rare amongst the Katkaris of Southern India, but when it does occur, the dried placenta of the black-faced monkey is placed on the head of the woman, then passed down her body. This is said to be such a powerful remedy that, if allowed to remain on the head too long, the child will be expelled with such force that there is grave risk of severe uterine prolapse. If this remedy should fail, however, the woman is handed over to the barber for surgical treatment (434 105asq). In cases of difficulty the Bimbors employ certain magical rites. If these fail a ghost-finder is consulted and offerings are made to the offended spirit. All vessels are uncovered and filled-in holes or cracks in the floor are opened up again. When the difficulty is thought to be due to adultery the midwife names, mentally, all the possible offenders and as soon as the guilty one is mentioned the child is born. As a final attempt to relieve, a vow is taken to make a proper sacrifice in order to induce speedy delivery (326 219asq). The Oraons believe that difficult labour is due to some evil spirit or to the evil eye. The woman is told to cough, but if this is not enough, fried rice is given to all present. Frequently mentioning the frying-pan is sufficient. Roy describes another curious treatment adopted by the Oraons. "If there is in the neighbourhood a tamarind tree which was ever singed with lightning, a man goes to such a tree, stands against it and strips off a portion of its bark where it touches his waist. The man now goes with this bark to the door of the lying-in room which is forthwith closed against him, thrusts one end of the bark through a hole in the door, and remains standing there holding the other end of the bark with his hand. The woman has to fasten her gaze on this bark to facilitate delivery. As soon as delivery takes place, the man is informed about it and takes out the bark, for, otherwise inversion of the uterus is sure to occur." (313 116). The Hill Khariars Simply rub oil over the abdomen and offer prayer to the deity. When the confinement is over, another offering is made (314 I 199). Pressure and massage applied to the abdomen is the method employed by the Chenchus of Hyderabad. Sometimes hot fomentations are applied (130 146). The Reddis believe that delay in birth is
due to some deity, so they smear the patient's forehead with ashes and worship that deity. A chicken is sacrificed after delivery (121 109). When there is considerable delay in the birth of a Baiga child, "a virgin girl brings water from the river, and this is passed from hand to hand along a line of men and thus to the roof. The parturient woman stands beneath and three mouthfuls are poured into her open mouth." They have several other magical methods of dealing with cases of delayed labour. One of these is to warm the woman with a piece of burning wood, which has been taken from a tree that had at some time been struck by lightning. (98 226) The Muria of Bastar State also believe that the bark of a tree which has been struck by lightning is a very valuable remedy in these cases (99 26). Ghosts are sometimes responsible for difficult labour. Verrier Elwin was told of a case among the Bondo in Orissa. The patient was a primipara. The Dissari, or Shaman, whom they consulted said the ghost of a man from another area, and a complete stranger, had 'caught' the woman when she went to draw water from the well in their area (100 208). One of the Mappilla Tangals, or priests, who lived on one of the Laccadive Islands, was a person of great sanctity. On one occasion, hearing the cries of a woman in labour he prayed that the women on the island might be spared such pains in future. Since then women from the neighbouring islands go to Kavarathi - the priest's island - for their confinements (405 IV 464).

When labour is very prolonged among the Bemba-Jakun in Malaya, the woman is made to lie prone, and a fire is kindled near her in order to excite pains. After the birth of the child the woman stands over a fire to hasten the delivery of the placenta (358 II 16 footnote 2). In Sikkim charms are written by the Lepchas on a thin strip of paper with Chinese ink and this is given to a woman in labour to swallow in the form of a pill coated with butter, but if the labour is tedious the woman has a charm tied on the crown of her head, as a method of expediting delivery (265 150). They sometimes wave a live chicken over the woman, especially when some ante-natal precaution has been neglected. A difficult labour is sometimes due to helping another woman in like trouble. A priest and a lama are called in to find out the cause of the difficulty. When this is discovered, steps are taken to counteract the cause (138 57). Throughout Nepal used railway tickets are employed as charms to hasten delivery (265 151).

Among the Yezidis of Iraq when labour is difficult and unduly prolonged, the stick of the Baba Sheikh is procured and the woman in labour is gently beaten with it seven times. Hot drinks are also given to her (88 51sq).

Passing on to the 'Dark Continent' we find that in a case of delayed or difficult labour among the Turkana in North-West Kenya, two men hold a goat high above the ground while
the husband of the patient cuts its throat. His wife must then crawl under it four times allowing the blood to drip on her. This, they think, will remove all difficulties and prevent further complications (102). In Tanganyika the Wahehe give an infusion of certain roots to a woman having a difficult time in labour. She must then move away a few yards to another spot (179). Delayed labour among the Baganda was attributed to adultery on the part of the woman and she was made to confess the name of the man concerned. He was heavily fined. If she died, the husband was fined for failing to look after her (312 55). The Yao held similar beliefs, but the husband also was made to confess any misconduct (123). The Ba-Il 1a of Northern Rhodesia give the name of bapuka to various creatures, real or imaginary. One such female mupuka, known as Chibumba, lives in the uterus and moulds the foetus. Its struggles to prevent the birth of the child are the cause of labour pains. When it lies near the internal os, labour is much delayed and medicine must be obtained from a diviner to force it to relax its hold (359 I 227sq). Another tribe in Northern Rhodesia, the Lambas, send for a native doctor in any case of delay. He announces that the child is someone who died long ago and wishes to be re-born. Once the diagnosis is made the child is born and is given the name of the ancestor whose re-incarnation he is believed to be (82 135).

The Azande of the Nilotic Sudan believe that any misconduct on the part of a woman during pregnancy will lead to delay in labour unless the woman confesses the names of all her lovers. This confession must be made to the midwife before delivery, unless her husband's mother, or relatives, are in attendance. If this confession is not made the delivery will be fatal (350 517).

In a case of delayed labour the Jukun of Nigeria consult their divining apparatus to determine which deity or ancestor is causing the delay. When this is known, the husband performs the necessary rites, promising further rites when the wife has been safely delivered (254 360). The Ibos employ a 'doctor' who gives medicine or treats by manipulation, using a hook to pull back the posterior wall of the vagina. He may even make a posterior incision if necessary (13 172sq). The Asaba section of the Nigerian Ibos say adultery on the part of a woman during pregnancy increases the risk during labour and may even cause the woman's death if not confessed (§76). In an article dealing with the Kagora and neighbouring tribes of Nigeria, Major Tremearne says "if the birth be very difficult or delayed a medicine man will be called in. He will shade his eyes so as not to see the woman's face, and insert his hand - no instruments are used" (415). In cases where help cannot be procured the woman often dies (142). For prolonged and difficult labour among the Kilbas of Northern Nigeria, the afterbirth from a former confinement is dug up and left exposed. This hastens delivery and ensures expulsion of the
placenta (253 I 208). Hausa treatment consists in giving a charmed drink and placing a charm on the woman's abdomen (417 99). To avoid a bad confinement they sometimes put the dried placenta of a cat into a vessel of water and give this to the woman to drink. At the third mouthful, it is said, the child will be born. Inhaling the fumes of a burning snake is considered a good remedy (418). A delayed and difficult labour in Ashanti may occur when the husband's ntoro is cruel. This ntoro has been translated 'spirit' and would appear to be a spiritual essence which is transmitted through the wife to her offspring. To treat this certain leaves are squeezed over the head and abdomen of the woman. If this treatment fails the woman is asked to name the man with whom she had committed adultery subsequent to her having become pregnant (293 57).

In South America, a Goajira medicine man of Colombia resorts to exorcisms and incantations over a woman experiencing difficulty in labour, and he applies poultices made from various vegetable substances. He then places a heavy stone on the abdomen over the uterus. Massage is also applied and a most objectionable mixture is given (437 114sq). The usual method of treating delayed labour adopted by the Chérán is by pressure on the abdomen. Water in which a bezoar stone has been boiled is given to the patient. Sometimes hot chocolate is given. For dry labour, prickly pear leaf roasted is opened and rubbed with oil, then placed on the abdomen and coccyx of the patient (17 167). The Argentine branch of the Araucanians give a decoction. Another method of treatment is to blow out the contents of an egg through a small hole made in the shell. Sometimes the attendant will put his hand into the vagina and take hold of the child's head (Ib. 268 sq).
ABNORMAL PRESENTATIONS

Some of the delayed labours included in the last section may have been due to abnormal presentations but the people amongst whom they occurred would not be able to recognise the cause of delay. Here we only consider the cases definitely recognised or recognisable.

Professor Seligman reported that among the Sinangolo of New Guinea, abnormal presentations are rare, but "two footling presentations were ... said to have occurred within recent memory" (343). Malpresentations are believed by the Fijians to be due to the woman having committed adultery (402 209). On the Gilbert Islands the midwives are said to be expert at dealing with mal-presentations (403 211). When a Maori woman is more than seven days in labour it is supposed to be due to an entangled umbilical cord which brings about a leg, or an arm, presentation. In some cases the attendant attempts to shove back the presenting limb. Children born thus are supposed to grow up forward and disobedient (23).

When a Mèdara child in Southern India is born feet first the maternal uncle must not hear the child crying until after a certain ceremony, but after a Brahman has recited certain mantrams he may see the reflection of the infant's face from the surface of oil (406 V 87). The Gonds have no special treatment for abnormal presentations, but an infant born feet first can cure pains in the back by touching the sufferer with the toes of the left foot (331 III 87). In the case of a cross-birth among the Bhils the presenting parts are sometimes hooked or amputated as with their Hindu neighbours (160). The Bondo say a face presentation is most fortunate. The child will have plenty to eat since it has bowed to the earth (100 102). A foot presentation is called a 'cow-birth' by the Muria of Bastar State and is considered unlucky. It is commonly fatal to the mother. A bundle of burning grass should be waved round the child to protect it (99 73). The Chamars of North India believe that a breech birth foretells the death of one of the parents, or that the child will be killed by lightning. Like the Gonds, they believe backache can be cured by the touch of the child's feet (33 69). The Lepchas of Sikkim say a breech birth is always unfortunate. It is fatal for the baby and usually for the mother also. It is due to the parents taking food out of the bottom of a packet instead of from the top (138 267).

The Turkana in North-west Kenya believe that no child can be born feet foremost. In transverse presentation vigorous massage is employed in an attempt to induce a vertex presentation and if this is unsuccessful they say both mother and child will die (102). Another tribe in Kenya, the Kipsika or Lambwa, consider a footling so disastrous, they kill the
infant. Even the mother is defiled and may only drink milk from cows specially reserved for her use (12). Among the Wahehe of Tanganyika a footling birth requires a ceremony similar to that observed for the birth of twins but no present of a cow is made (179). A foot presentation is disliked by the Baganda and is called Nakimu, a term of reproach (306), and, at one time, the child was strangled as it was likely to grow up a thief, or a murderer, or might even kill its parents (312 54). A crossbirth generally caused the death of the mother and was believed to be the result of adultery. The woman had to confess the name of the man who was responsible for her pregnancy (306). A medicine-man was sent for to turn the child but if he could not manage this, he did his best to save the woman's life by destroying and removing the baby (312 54). Transverse presentations are usually successfully turned by the Banyankole* and cases of death are practically unknown (314 110). The Bahima consider footling births unlucky as the child is sure to turn out a worthless man (307). The Bakitara dislike foot presentations which betoken death of the parents or of some member of the clan. To avoid this the midwife cuts the bottom of a basket and passes the infant through, head first. In the case of crossbirths they try to replace the presenting limb and to bring down two legs. If this cannot be done the child is dismembered (313 158). The Busoga consider a footling birth very serious for the parents and a medicine-man must give medicine to save them. Cases of cross-birth are treated as amongst the Bakitara (315 131), and so are those occurring among the Banyoro (101 84). A breech presentation among the Labwor of Uganda is treated as an ordinary birth but the child receives the name of Odioch. The Wambehe, however, consider that the child will be lucky throughout life (430). Formerly the Kikuyu used to suffocate every child born feet first and to throw the body away (177 154). The Kamba spared them. Such a person stepping over anyone brought bad luck unless he stepped back again (Ib. 158). They cannot get partners in marriage as it was believed the offspring would be born dead (175 61). A transverse presentation among the Lango is invariably fatal to both mother and child (86 140). The Wa-Giriana another infants born feet first, otherwise their crops will wither and their cattle die (9 22). The Wa-Sania allow such infants to die in the bush (Ib. 32) probably owing to the same belief. In cases of abnormal presentation among the Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia the midwives bathe their hands in certain medicines and attempt to turn the baby when a crossbirth is diagnosed (359 II 7). Lambe midwives, also in Northern Rhodesia, are said to "have considerable skill and are able to turn the child if it is not presented correctly" (82 131).

* They are even perform version on their cattle in cases of malpresentation (300 82).
In West Africa the Bankanse and Ashanti consider it unlucky for a child to be born feet first. The parents are never again allowed to eat beans from a second crop. Medicine is given to both mother and child (294 I 289). The Dagaba give the child a special name, Tulle (Ib. II 417). In Nigeria, the Ibibios try to correct any abnormal presentation, and some of their famous native doctors are said to be very skilful in such manipulations (385 211). Formerly these infants were allowed to die and the mothers were driven into the bush (Ib. 205). The Ekap tribe in the Central Cameroons treat abnormal presentations with a certain infusion, followed by internal manipulation. "Cases have been known of unsuccessful delivery, more particularly when the feet have emerged first. In such cases delivery has been impossible, and both mother and child have died" (241). In the Congo an infant that has been born feet first is always called Nsundi, whether a boy or a girl (433 115).

In the village of Cherán, in the Sierra Tarasean, all abnormal presentations are manipulated by the midwife. After smearing lard on her hand she brings down the legs, taking care to keep the arms by the side and the chin well down (17 167).
RETAINED PLACENTA

It is said that retained placenta is rare but not unknown among the Koita of S. E. New Guinea and, as no treatment is known to the natives, the mother and her child are invariably lost (346 85). The natives of Mabuiag in the Torres Straits believe that their sorcerers can cause the placenta to be retained. A figure is made to represent the expectant mother and a flexible creeper is twisted several times round the figure. They then simply mention the time the woman should die (344 197). On the Island of Mer in the Murray Group, for delayed expulsion of the placenta a woman would bathe in the sea. Failing a satisfactory result, she returned home, took nothing but a drink of water that day and bathed again at sunset. If still unsuccessful she bathed again at sunrise. Failure this time meant death at sunset (193). In cases of retained placenta on the Trobriand Islands, a stone is tied to the placental end of the cord, a certain formula is then repeated and the woman is made to stand up. No other method of removal is known (244 195sq).

Although there are no professional midwives in New Britain the Rev. George Brown says that an attendant at a confinement "sometimes removed the placenta when adherent" (40 35). The method and the result are not stated. A Māori woman is made to lie in a shallow running stream when the placenta is retained and an attendant stands on her abdomen, first on one foot then on the other until the placenta and all retained blood have come away (240 115sq). The complication most dreaded by the Fijians is retained placenta. Sometimes it is removed manually, but not in the coastal areas. They give cold drinks or infusions of herbs and sometimes apply poultices. They are afraid to remove retained membranes so simply tie them down under a bandage of bark cloth. A rise in temperature is common (402 208). The midwives of Nimé tread on the abdomen to expel a retained placenta (401). It is said that in one village on Samoa retention of the placenta is very common in these days although it was rare formerly (40 46). The Midwives on the Gilbert Islands are reported to be exceptionally clever, and are able to remove a placenta manually when it does not come away naturally (402 211).

When a Lakher woman in Assam is unable to expel the placenta she is given an infusion made from a certain creeper which is crushed before being infused. Three or four doses a day taken at intervals of two to three hours often give satisfactory results (277 170). When there is much delay in the expulsion of the placenta, the Bishors of Chota Nagpur suspend the root of a certain plant from the woman's neck (326 223). The name of the plant and the reason for its choice are not stated.
As has been mentioned under the heading 'Abnormal Presentation' the medicine man of the Bakitara is most skilful in handling abnormal births. In the case of retained placenta he is called in to deal with the case. He takes hold of the umbilical cord and follows it up into the uterus then gently freeing the placenta, he withdraws it from the uterus (313 234). For treating cases of delayed labour and retained placenta the Hottentots give the mother a certain plant (*Mesembrianthemum edule*) stamped and reduced to a pulp (337 412).
OTHER COMPLICATIONS

In addition to malpresentations, the Ba-ila recognise other complications during labour. One of these they call 'the breaking of the Kavhwi', which is said to be fatal, but Smith and Dale who report this say "We are not sufficiently acquainted with anatomy to say what the Kavhwi is" (359 II 7). It is possible that this may be rupture of the uterus. Ordinarily the uterus is called 'izhadilo', and after the birth of a child medicine is sometimes given for the 'ifu' which really means the upper part of the abdomen. Any special sites get special names in Ba-ila anatomy. Examples are given in the section on anatomy. The common site of 'breaking', or rupture, is at the lower uterine segment and it is quite possible that the kavhwi refers to this site. Several different kinds of pain after childbirth are recognised by them. One is treated with an infusion made from certain roots; a second is relieved by giving the woman a drink of water into which some 'stone-dust' has been put; the treatment of a third type is to soak soiled menstrual rags in water and make the woman drink the solution, or to make her inhale the fumes from such rags when burning in a potsherd (Ib. I 239).

Contracted pelvis is very common amongst the Baganda and in recent times Caesarean sections have been carried out (62).

In a case of perineal laceration among the Banyankole a medicine-man is sent for, but, as no man but the husband is allowed to enter the house, he has to pass the medicine through a tube in the wall. A hollow is made in the ground and lined with plantain leaves. In this the woman sits and washes with the 'medicine' supplied by the medicine man (314 112).

Referring to abnormal parturition among the Bantu, D. Campbell uses the term 'abortion' but appears to be describing a case of dystocia due to uterine prolapse. He says "When a woman is pregnant and the pregnancy is advanced, and after a time the womb prolapses and she becomes very ill", the midwives call in a doctor. After divining which ancestor is about to be reborn, he requests that individual to 'come out gently from the womb'. The birth then takes place (47 226sq). It is uncertain whether this really refers to a prolapse of the uterus or to a delayed labour, as the African terms are so highly idiomatic.

When a Mashona woman has been confined, care is taken to prevent the admission of any visitors who may have had pain after their confinements as they are likely to cause the patient to suffer like themselves. If, however, one
does get in to see her, the new mother must be safeguarded by having her toe pinched (45 259).

For various troubles associated with parturition the Hottentots give an infusion of leaves of Rhus sp. A remedy more frequently administered for female ailments is "the condensed urine and foeces of the dassie (or Cape Hyrax). Boiled and strained the liquid is given in dry confinements, during parturition generally, and for irregular menstruation" (337 412).

Post-partum pain appears to be very common among the Lepchas, and is usually associated with scanty lochia. As a preventive the woman is given "hot soup, fish boiled in butter, and other hot food immediately she begins to feel the labour pains; and if it cannot be treated at once it is thought that the woman will die." (385 209).

In Montenegro a woman generally starts work about the third day after her confinement. As a result, prolapse and other displacements of the uterus are common, and, occasionally, a case of severe haemorrhage may occur and even end in death of the woman (94 188).

The Zuñi in America commonly suffer from perineal tears at their confinements. Abscess of the breast is common and is sometimes opened with the patient anaesthetised with Datura stramonium, a powdered medicine being sprinkled over the wound before dressing. An infusion of juniper twigs and berries is given to induce copious lochial discharge. An infusion of corn smut (Ustiligo maidis) is given in cases of haemorrhage (381 236sq). The people of Cherán in Mexico, say that an eclipse is due to a struggle between the sun, the moon, and the earth and "the defeated element is said to devour part of a foetus causing adhesions between various parts and the womb and making birth difficult" (17 163).

For post-partum haemorrhage the Moche of Peru use a douche containing rumilanche and a little iodine in boiling water, and an infusion of certain herbs is given by mouth (134 137). The Araucanians of Chili treat their cases of post-partum haemorrhage with an infusion made from a plant called ngalungalau which grows in streams (161 15).
STILL BIRTHS

Sir Baldwin Spencer tells us that the Kakadu of Northern Australia believe that, when a child is still-born, its death is due to the snake Numarji having caused the spirit of the child to leave the mother's body when she was bathing. Going into water when a strong wind is blowing, therefore, forbidden during pregnancy (365 323 sq). At Kemaia, a fishing village in South-east New Guinea, the Sinangolo try to revive still-born infants by rattling in their ears the shells used as sinkers for fishing nets. If this fails to revive the child, it is put in a basket along with the placenta and hung on a tree (343). The Orokaivo of Papua think that the spirits of infants that have been stillborn survive as little creatures who inhabit sago swamps (442 273). Formerly on Murray Island a still-born infant's body was dried and hung up in the wind. Sometimes it was painted (193). In Fijl such births are supposed to be due to adultery (402 210). A Maori still-birth was formerly believed to be due to the mother having broken some law of tapu, or else it was due to witchcraft (240 116).

When a child is still-born among the Long-Glats of Central Borneo, the body is wrapped in a mat and placed in a hollow tree (232 II 439). It is reported that in the Philippines, a still-birth among the Bontoc Igorots of Luzon is washed, then wrapped in cloth and buried close to the house (206 60).

A still-born Burmese infant is wrapped in a cloth with a piece of iron and "at the burial some member of the family says some such formula as: 'Never more return into thy mother's womb till this metal becomes soft as down'". (451 2). The Semang of Perak believe that the souls of infants are carried by soul-birds which live in a certain species of tree. If a woman in labour does not eat the soul-bird, her child will be still-born or die shortly after birth (358 II 4). A child who dies before birth becomes a dangerous spirit, according to the Blandas section of the Jakun, and requires a special charm to drive it away (Ib II 14). The Lepchas throw still-born infants into the nearest river and on their return a priest waves some thorny plants over them (235 306). This cleansing is followed by a similar cleansing of the parents "with a live animal which will later be sacrificed, in order to prevent the devil which has caused the death causing another" (138 230). If expectant Lepcha parents were to see a solar, or a lunar eclipse their child would be still-born (Ib. 284). When the child of Angami parents is born dead it is buried inside the house in the presence of the father. If the latter should be away from home the burial is postponed until his return (196 216). A still-born Lakher baby is
put in an earthenware pot, or simply wrapped in a cloth, and buried outside the village by the father (277 388).

In India when a Chamār infant is still-born it may either be buried or cast into a river. In some parts of the Central Provinces, however, it is put in an earthen pot and buried in the courtyard (33 69). Sometimes it is buried below the doorway and after the burial a feast must be given. This method of disposal of the infant is believed to increase the chance of the mother having another child (331 II 413). The Gonds put a still-born child in an earthen pot and bury it in a heap of refuse to protect the body from witches who have special power over the spirits of such children. Russell suggests that the "real reason for burying the bodies of such children close to the house is probably, however, the belief that they will thus be born again in the same family" (Ib. III 85). The Baiga believe that secretion of milk during pregnancy will lead to a dead-born infant (98 224). The Bondos sometimes bury these infants inside the house, near the hearth, and the father offers a fowl in the name of the ghost. Burial of the child directly under the hearth does not require any accompanying offering (100 103). When a Chenchu midwife diagnoses the death of an infant before birth, she attempts to remove it. There is no ceremony (120 147 & 154). A still-born Toda baby is buried, along with the placenta, two or three days after delivery and the mother goes into the seclusion hut (300 334). Katherine Mayo says that syphilis and gonorrhoea are among the main causes of still-births in India (250 106). At Henebedda in Ceylon a pregnant Vedda woman avoids eating two kinds of yam which are purgative and are believed to bring about still-births (349 102).

It was the Zoroastrian rule that, after a still-birth, the mother must be isolated in the cleanest and driest part of the house, and kept thirty paces from fire and water on account of the impurity. She must be given draughts of cows' urine mixed with ashes. Then the milk of mares, cows, sheep or goats might be given also meal and wine, for three nights. She must then wash her body and her clothes in cows' urine and water. The clothes are permanently polluted and in future can only be worn by one who is ceremonially unclean (653 V, viii 45-49).

In Kenya the Turkana simply throw away all infants born dead (102). Among the Bakitara of Uganda an iron hoe was beaten by the midwife in an attempt to waken any child that seemed to be still-born (313 243). When a child of the Banyankole died at birth, the mother was given special medicine to enable her to have a living child at next birth (314 118). An infant of the Bagesu which died at birth was simply thrown into the bush (315 25). At the Southern end of Lake Nyasa still-born babies are buried in the refuse
heap. The women there believe their husbands must be syphilitic (372). A still born infant is used by the Yao for magical purposes. A wizard digs up the body of a newly buried still-born infant and, taking out the liver and the heart, mixes them with ground-nuts, roasts the mixture and gives this to his pupil to eat (123). A still-birth occurring among the Lambas of Rhodesia, affects the whole village and all must drink a special infusion. Another medicine is smeared over the body and the feet. The infant and placenta are buried in some secret spot (82 132sq). Certain tribes of the Bahrel Gazar drive three small wooden pegs above the graves of still-born infants (350 487). The Azande bury such infants under the verandah of the hut in which the mother gave birth to the child (Ib. 518). The Wadurma tribe of the Nyika bury all still-born children in the house (145 273).

Major Tremearne says that in Nigeria cold water is thrown on the face of a still-born infant and shovels and other implements are beaten to make it hear. If there is no sign of life in half an hour, the baby is buried (415). Elsewhere in writing chiefly about the North African Hausa chiefly of Tunis - he says the still-born children are treated as if they could not be "brought to life" and are buried accordingly (417 100). He also suggests that, while the Kagoro tribe say that the beating on iron is to make the child hear, "there may be some notion of the magical properties of the iron" (414 239). Several tribes in Ashanti simply bury still-born infants in the kitchen midden, usually in a pot (298 II 418). The Kusase bury the infant near a path and place a potsherd over the ear to keep out the earth (Ib. II 387).

In America during a Cherán woman's pregnancy, it is believed, if the father were to kill an animal, it will enter the foetus through the nose and the infant would be still-born (17 166).
MULTIPLE BIRTHS

The frequency of multiple births varies among the different peoples throughout the earth and the reception given to the infants is just as variable. They may be hailed with joy or regarded with dread partly because they are looked upon as something unnatural, and partly because of the difficulty in rearing them as is the case in dry and desert lands.

Sir Baldwin Spencer says that in Central Australia twins are extremely rare and are considered unnatural. Therefore they are immediately killed (367 52). He suggests that this dislike of twins may be due to "anger that two spirit individuals should think of entering the body of the woman at one and the same time, when they know well that the mother could not possibly rear them both," and also due to the dread of anything uncommon. (368 59 & 366 I 202sq).

H. Basedow suggests that twins may be more frequent than suspected. The aborigines believe that one must be the result of the evil spirit's witchcraft and, on account of the harm it can do, "is destroyed, usually by one of the old women in attendance, who places a red-hot coal in its mouth or smothers it with sand." (14 63sq). A woman of the Euahlayi tribe said if she had twins she would put her fingers round the throat of one and kill it. The father only acknowledges one of twins as his child. Exposure to a whirlwind, or staring at the moon, may be the cause of twins (275 51sq). R. Brough Smyth says that twins are frequent occurrence among the aborigines of Victoria (363 I 78), and he mentions one case of triplets. According to Carl Lummolitz twins are very rare in Queensland (251 134). H. W. Thomas confirms these reports on multiple births in Australia (393 177).

When a woman of the Bamiara District of Papua rejects the advances of a lover, the latter takes a piece of string from her rami and buries it along with a small stick. This will make labour difficult and will probably cause the woman to bear twins (226). If an Orokaivo girl in New Guinea has rejected a lover and married someone else, the man makes a pigment of lime and certain blue berries which always grow in pairs, and applies a stripe to each cheek. When he knows that the girl has seen this he scrapes it off, wraps it in a leaf, and puts it in the bulging nest of a certain species of ant. This will cause the girl to bear twins. F. E. Williams says: "In this case we may recognise at least two symbols, the twin berries standing for the twins, and the bulging siribo (i.e. ant's nest) for the aggravated tumescence of the woman's pregnancy." (41 186sq). Twins born to an Ipi woman are considered a great calamity and always lead to infanticide. The Namau, however, consider twins an advantage to the tribe, especially when they are both boys, as this would strengthen the fighting power of the tribe (185 64).
Twins are well treated by the Koita who recognise that the tendency to bear twins may be hereditary, even when one or two generations are missed (346 86). Professor Seligmann writes "In many parts of British New Guinea twins are very much disliked, the unfortunate mother is regarded as being like a dog and one of the twins is almost invariably killed, but twins are not disliked among the Sinangolo" (344 V 198 footnote). Twins occur frequently among Mundugumor women. When both are boys, or if one is a boy and the other a girl, one is killed and that one is always a boy. When both are girls they are both spared but one of them is adopted (251 137).

Multiple births are rare on the Western Islands in the Torres Straits but Professor Seligman mentions the case of a Moa woman giving birth to quadruplets. The cause of these multiple births is supposed to be excessive intercourse and hence the disgust of the people is so great that one of the twins was formerly buried alive on the sandy beach. On Mabulag twins could be caused, it was believed, by a magician twisting a certain creeper round the neck of a wax figure, which had been given the name of the pregnant woman, and crossing the loose ends in front of the figure's neck. They can also be produced by the pregnant woman touching a branch of a certain parasitic plant (344 198). According to the Kiwai papuans there are several ways by which a woman may bear twins. One is due to the splitting of the semen into two portions. Another is due to the woman eating bananas from a tree with two bunches. A woman who bears twins is likened to a dog or to a pig. One of the infants is sometimes strangled (219 229). Bellamy appears to be responsible for the statement made by Prof. Seligman to the effect that "A woman who has twins or triplets is compared to a pig and is ridiculed." This refers to the Trobriand Islands (346 705). Twins are born occasionally among the Murray Islanders although the matter is kept secret and one of them is destroyed. The parents would be ashamed to admit that two children had been born at one confinement, as they would be considered no better than dogs (150 110). The natives of the Northern D'Entrecasteaux Group of Islands do not appear to object to the birth of twins. They may be due to the mother having eaten two bananas which were joined along one side, or to have caught her foot on blades of grass tied together. "A commoner method of producing twins is to lay side by side upon some track the two halves of a small green fruit called bwaibu... Twins will result if the woman merely steps over them. If the bwaibu split into quarters, and these be laid out two and two, the woman will conceive four children, but she will die of miscarriage." (207 106sq).

Twins are said to be born frequently on New Britain. When they are of the same sex both are allowed to live, but
if of opposite sex the female is strangled and sometimes both are killed. This is because they "have violated the laws of class relationship or might do so in after life." In the Shortlands Group of the Solomon Islands twins were always killed (40 35sq). The Solomon Islanders dislike twins on account of the extra work entailed in rearing them. One was usually delicate and if it died a coconut was placed beside it and called the other twin to deceive the ghost. If a woman's shadow falls on certain rocks she will bear twins. Triplets are disliked (203 77sq). On the island of Lau in the Solomon Group "boy twins are known as 'quiet twins', a boy and a girl as 'squalling twins'." Triplets have been known to occur (204 106sq). The natives of Mala, another of the Solomon Group, dislike twins and generally kill one or both (186 108). They are rare on Humphrey Island (Ib. 275sq). Turner states that they are also rare in Samoa (419 82sq). The Rev. Dr. Brown states, however, that twins are fairly common on Samoa and sometimes triplets are born. These are disliked but never killed (40 47). When a Maori woman is more than seven days in labour the attendants suspect twins, and certain ceremonies are performed. A case is mentioned in which twin boys became famous chiefs. After a limb of the second child had presented twice and had been put back, the woman was taken to the sacred place of the village and certain religious rites were performed. Here the second twin was born first (22 136). Maketiki, a Maori princess, said she never heard of triplets among her people, but twins were sometimes born (240 120).

The Saputans of Borneo welcome twins, provided they are of the same sex, but, if of opposite sexes, one is given away. The father decides which one is to be kept (222 II 432). Their neighbours, the Murungs, occasionally have twins but no details are given by Lumholtz. On Luzon the Bontoc Igorot believe that one of twins is the offspring of the spirit of an ancestor. This infant, which is supposed to be the quieter of the two, or the larger, is at once put in a jar and buried alive (206 60). Multiple births are rare in the Nicobar Islands and are "regarded as a misfortune and as reflecting on the chastity of the mother." They believe that twins cannot grow up together so it is customary to kill the younger at birth (246 120). On the Andaman Islands twins are rare and are not favourably received. No case of triplets has been recorded (245 13).

Entering the Asiatic mainland through Malaya we find both Malays and Siamese consider twin births lucky though they are rare. On the other hand triplets are accursed. Formerly the reigning raja in Malaya killed all triplets born within his territory because it was believed that one would in time become a Raja and the other two his ministers (3 65). The Sakai are said to dislike twins on account of the
increased risk to the life of mother and infants. One group, the Behrang Sakai, avoid eating double bananas as these might cause them to give birth to twins (106 222). In former days the Rayans kept only one of twins, usually the boy when the babies were of opposite sexes. The other was allowed to die in the jungle. Their reason for doing this was because it was unlikely that both could be reared, and the loss of a newly-born infant would be felt much less than one who was older (190 II 156). The Semang believe that the soul of an individual takes the form of a bird which must be eaten by the expectant mother, otherwise her child will be still-born. Twins then are due to the mother eating the soul-bird with an egg (358 II 6). Schebesta says he never heard of more than two children at a birth among the Semang (339 102).

In Assam the Khasis consider the birth of twins as a visitation from God for some transgression and if the infants are of opposite sex the event is regarded as particularly serious and the case is treated as one of marriage within the clan (148 127). Gertrude M. Godden refers to the Naga custom in her area of throwing away in the jungle all twins (135). This fortunately is not the custom of most Naga tribes. The Angami Nagas do not object to them but, if both are boys, they consider the event as a matter for congratulation. They must both be treated exactly alike. Triplets are very rare (196 217). Twins occur among the Sema Nagas more frequently than among their neighbours. The event is considered unfortunate and some believe that the parents will die soon afterwards (197 262). The Ao Nagas also believe that the birth of twins foretells the death of one or other of the parents. Triplets are unknown among them (261 267). The difficulty in rearing twins makes them unpopular among the Western Rengmas. Twin-bearing is considered contagious and women hesitate to borrow anything from a woman who has borne twins (262 205). The day on which twins are born among the Memi is regarded as a general holiday. Twins are always helped first at any meal (196 341 sq.) While twins are considered bringers of luck to the Nagas of Manipur, the belief of the Kukis is just the reverse. "At Liyai they said that twin boys brought prosperity to the whole village, while the luck was confined to the parents if twin girls were born. But a twin birth of a boy and girl brought misfortune, a belief which is found in many parts of the world" (182 133 sq). The Mishmi say that when twins are of the same sex, one is sure to die (153 102). While the Lakhers, another hill tribe of Assam, dislike twins they have no superstitious beliefs about them (277 386). Their dislike of them is probably due solely to the trouble involved in rearing them.

Twins are well received by the Reddis of Hyderabad for they are supposed to bring good fortune. They should never
be separated (121 111). Eating a double fruit, or taking food off double leaves can cause the birth of twins according to the Muria of Bastar State. When a woman, returning from her post-menstrual bath, passes a man holding a baby, she will have twins. When the infant is a boy the twins will be both males, but when the child is a girl the twins will be of opposite sexes (89 72). The Bondo of Orissa say that twins have been friends in a former existence and have arranged to be re-born together, but they are not favourably received (100 102). Multiple births are rare among the Bhils of the Deccan (180). Moplah fishermen attribute them to the stimulating properties of their fish diet. (405 IV 459). They bring good luck to the Muduvars of Southern India and are always given special names. The older is called Lutchman or Lutchmi according to sex, and the younger is Raman or Ramayi (Ib. V 92 & 86). When twins are born among the Kawars "a metal vessel is broken to sever the connection between them, as it is believed that otherwise they must die at the same time (331 III 396sq). The Kurmis of the Central Provinces say that twins of the same sex will survive, but, if of opposite sexes, one will die. They must always be kept separate, and the mother must sleep between them (Ib. IV 73). The Chamāras think that twins of the same sex are fortunate, but twins of opposite sex are considered unlucky (33 70).

The Lepchas in Nepal say that twins of the same sex are lucky, but when of opposite sexes they are unlucky unless the girl is born before the boy (265 211). Morris records one case of Lepcha triplets, none of whom survived the age of three months (Ib. 288). In Siberia the Kamchadal say it is essential to kill one of twins (72 150) but give no reason why this should be so.

Two cases of twin births are mentioned in the Bible. The first was the case of Rebekah's children (Gen. xxv 22) which appears to have been normal, and the other was the case of Tamar's twins (Gen. xxxviii 27sq). In this latter case the first infant was a crossbirth and an arm presented. When the limb was replaced the other child was born first.

Coming now to Africa we find that the Banyoro in Uganda consider twins lucky, especially when they are of opposite sexes. If they happen to be boys the mother and her family must make offerings to the God of plenty to remove his ill-will; if both are girls, the father and his family must do this. Triplets are considered unlucky and the woman together with the children and her parents are put to death. The father of the children has his eyes gouged out for he must never look at the king again and bring evil on him (311 187). After the birth of twins the Banyoro isolate the parents for a week. The hut door is blocked and food is handed through a small opening (310 46). Emin Pasha said
that rich gifts are given to the mother of twins and festivities are held in her village. The infants get special names. "The placenta of living twins is placed in a large earthen vessel in a miniature hut, hastily erected in the yard, where it remains during four days, and is then carried in procession to another large hut built in high grass, and there left. But should the twins die, they, together with their placenta, are left in an earthen vessel in the hut of the mother until decomposition sets in" (101 69sq). The Bageu beat drums with a special rhythm when twins are born. The parents and infants are isolated in a special hut for three days and their food is handed to them through a small opening (308). A medicine man sacrifices a fowl and on the third day the heads of the infants are shaved and their nails pared (315 25). After the birth of twins a Baganda mother is not allowed to return to her home until the completion of certain ceremonies. A service of thanksgiving to the god of plenty is held and, until this is done the word 'twins' must not be mentioned. The midwife is expected to remain till after the ceremony. The mother is considered a blessing to the whole community (306). Dr. A. R. Cooke reports that "Twins have occurred in every forty pregnancies" in Uganda (62). Whenever a midwife attending a Basabei woman's confinement realised that there twins "no one else might speak in the room until they were born. A medicine-man was then summoned and a woman who had had twins was sent for to cut the cord" (315 122). The announcement of the birth of Bakene twins is made by the father beating a drum. The door of the hut is closed and an exit made in the back wall. The parents wear cowries on their foreheads. The father receives food and beer at each hut he visits and must bring back some for his wife. Failure to observe this custom would lead to illness, or even death, of the infants (306). In most clans of the Bahima the father of twins announces their birth from the doorway of the kraal, but the Abatwa clan desert the kraal and send the mother and twins to her parents. A new kraal is made and the mother and infants return here when the latter have cut their first teeth (307). Twins were not welcomed by the Banyankole but were always well treated (314 117). Twins of opposite sexes caused great rejoicing among the Bakitara. If of the same sex, it showed the god favoured the parents of that sex, and the other parent had to make offerings to avert calamity. In the case of royal confinements silence was demanded until the infants were born in case one might die. The mouths, eyes, and ears of the babies were cleaned, but the cords were not cut until the medicine man came to do it. He then gave permission for them to remove the infants and wash them (315 161sq). The Kavironds of Uganda consider twins very lucky and the Awa-Wanga celebrate the birth of twins by an obscene dance (171 26). The latter believe that a woman who has borne twins has an evil influence over her environment. For instance, if she happens to look at a cow in calf
its milk will dry up (91). The Labwor of Uganda regard the birth of twins as a fortunate occurrence and erect a special shrine for the unbiilical cords (430). Twins are considered sacred by the Bambwa and at their birth the paternal grand-mother has to cut the cords. The family and any friends with them are sprinkled with blood. A goat is killed and, after its blood has been used to cleanse the party ceremonially, it is eaten at the feast which follows. Any quarrelling among those present would harm the twins (315 1652aq). The birth of twins among the Lango is a cause of rejoicing as it brings luck to the whole village. The placenta and cord of each child is put in a separate new pot which is then sealed with clay. Two drums are beaten every evening and the girls of the village dance and sing. The father 'flutters' a white chicken, then eats it himself. A young cock and hen are similarly 'fluttered' and let off alive. The twins and their mother wear cowry necklets and wristlets (66 146aqq). When the firstborn children of Kikuyu parents were twins they were usually killed, but sometimes the first was spared. If twins occurred after the first pregnancy they were not killed. Triplets were considered very unlucky and one at least was killed, sometimes all three (324 194). The usual method of killing the infants was by stuffing grass in their mouths. They were then thrown out into the bush (174), now, however, they are given away to a member of their father's clan (177 154).

In Kenya, the Kipsiki or Lumbwa, say that one of twins must always be a boy. The mother must drink the milk and blood of cattle specially allotted to her by her husband (194 66 & 12). The Turkana of the Baringo District, East Africa, consider twins unlucky and frequently allow one of them to die. A necklace of cowrie shells is fastened round the neck of each infant and this must be worn for life to avert the ill-luck of a twin birth (90). In the Kalosia District if a death occurs among the Turkana after the birth of twins they believe this happens because two other human beings entered the world together and "as this is unnatural, an extra death must naturally follow." Only one infant is kept by the parents; the other is not killed but simply handed over to someone who is willing to take it (102). On the birth of A-Kamba twins two goats are killed for a feast and no other rite is observed, but in former times when the infants were of opposite sexes, the female was buried alive (175 61). The mother of twins is considered unclean for the rest of her life by the Nandi. She can only partake of the milk and blood of a cow allotted for her personal use. Before entering anybody's house she must sprinkle a calabashful of water on the ground (184 66). Twins are considered unlucky by the Suk. A feast is given then the fates are propitiated and a prayer is offered on behalf of mother and children. The omission of this would lead to the death of the infants and to ill-health of the mother (90)
The parents are confined to their huts for three or four days. Anyone beating the infants on the head is fined a black goat (11). The Wawanga of British East Africa believe that a woman who has borne twins has an evil influence on her environment. For instance, if she happens to look at a cow in calf, its milk will dry up (91). Their neighbours, the Kamalamba, have complicated rites to observe before it is considered safe to leave twins alone in the house (Ib.)

In South Tanganyika the Wa Yao welcome twins but the Makonde dislike them and use charms to prevent their occurrence. They are never killed but are always treated alike. If this were not done, it is believed that one of them would die (458 283). In the same region when a Wahehe woman gives birth to twins, both parents and all other relations who are at hand take medicine, even the infants are given a little well diluted. The father then takes, or sends, to the Sultan a white fowl which the latter takes to the house of spirits. The father, kneeling outside the door, blows a little white flour on it. The Sultan gives a cow to the father to assist in rearing the twins. The custom is the same for triplets (181). Twins are uncommon among the Bakaonda of Northern Rhodesia, but when they do occur they are always treated alike and receive a present from the chief (255 49). In North-East Rhodesia the Wawemba have no objection to twins but the parents smear themselves with ashes and remain in the bush until a medicine-man rubs a certain pounded bark over the mother. This is to prevent the breasts becoming excessively engorged (64 18). It is said that Ainamwanga and Awiwa parents in North-East Rhodesia, after the birth of twins, "have to perform a certain indecent ceremony before the older women" (Ib. 55). No description of this ceremony is given but it is highly probable that it is somewhat akin to that performed by the Baganda after the birth of twins. The tribes at the Southern end of Lake Nyasa dislike twins but when they are born they are cared for and always treated alike (372).

The reception accorded to twins varies very much among the Lugwari of Central Africa. Formerly the Marucha they were left to die in the bush. In Terugo, however, they were welcomed in spite of being considered a bad omen. If both survived, a bull was sacrificed to save the parents' lives, but, if one of the twins died, the parents were considered safe. "The mother remained in the house four days if both infants were boys, but only three if both were girls. When the infants were of different sexes, the mother came out on the third day with the girl and on the fourth day with the boy." (238). The Shilluk welcome twins and called them "children of God," and give them special names (350 71). The Acholi consider twins a menace to the lives of the parents and also of the older members of the family. They bring bad luck in hunting. In spite of this they are not disliked. If one of the twins dies, all danger is removed (Ib 120).
In one Dinka tribe male twins are considered a danger to the mother, and female twins to the father. If they are of opposite sexes the male will protect the father and the female will protect the mother. This will ensure the safety of both parents. The Bor section of the Dinkas believe that twins are sent by their deity Nhialic, and not by ancestral spirits as other children are, so they sacrifice a calf of the same sex as the infants, and if of opposite sexes a bull calf is sacrificed (Ib. 165 sq). Nuer beliefs are similar to those of the Dinkas (Ib. 227). The Azande consider twins bringers of good fortune but one is expected to die within a few weeks (Ib. 518). When twins of the same sex are born to Magungo parents on Albert Nyanza a general celebration is held throughout the village (101 17). The Monbuttu consider them bringers of good fortune (Ib. 84). It was formerly the custom of the Bawenda to kill twins as they were supposed to bring misfortune to the whole country (142).

At one time the Bechuana used to kill one of twins - the weaker if they were of the same sex, but when of opposite sexes, the female was killed (41 65). In recent times, however, they have been welcomed (83 271). A Moshona father must kill twins at birth. They are choked with hot ashes, put in a pot and placed by the side of a pool where the pot would be washed away (45 199). Writing about Bushman customs, I. Schapera says: "Among the Auen and the Heikua one of twins is invariably killed by being buried alive by the mother or one of her attendants immediately after birth." When the children are of opposite sexes, the boy is killed. The Kung bury both alive but the Naron are believed to allow both to live (337 114 sq). Hottentots regard twins as unlucky but do not kill them now, but in former days one was buried alive or left in the bush. When the mother cannot rear both, some relative assists (Ib. 266).

In the region of Lake Chad the Buduma offer a sacrifice when twins are born and give a feast (398).

Women on the Lower Congo do not like twins so one is usually starved to death. When it dies a roughly-shaped piece of wood is placed beside the remaining baby to represent the one that has died, so that the living child may not feel lonely. If this second child dies this piece of wood is buried with it. Twins are always buried at cross roads (433 116). In some parts of the Congo, however, twins are welcomed and considered a good omen (429). On the Upper Congo the Bangala observe special rites. Three days after their birth the mother takes the first born on her right arm and the other on her left and dances in front of her house before the villagers who sing over and over again "The twins cry for you." The mother must repeat all her greetings twice and use both hands when eating (432).
The birth of twins is regarded as an omen by the Babinza of the Belgian Congo, especially when both survive. The mother is suspected of witchcraft (202). Each section of the Lugwari tribe in Central Africa has its own belief regarding twins. Some consider them lucky, others unlucky. Some believe that the survival of twins will mean death of the parents, but this danger ceases if one of the twins dies. It is then sealed in a large pot to keep it from killing the remaining twin and the pot is buried in an anthill, or put in a marsh (238). Among the Egyptians in the Central Cameroons multiple births cause rejoicing. The infants are under the special protection of the head chief and each wears a special leaf on the forehead. The father wears an ornament in his hair (241). In the Niger Coast Protectorate twins were always killed and their mothers were driven out of the town and left to die in the bush because it was supposed that the women had been unfaithful to their husbands (142). The Ovia Society in the Edo areas of Nigeria ordain that twins must be killed and until this is done no person in the village may light a fire or eat. As blood must not be shed the infants are suffocated. The parents must not see the twins. In Usen, however, the children are not killed. The mother has her head shaved and may return to town after three months (397). Without mentioning any district or tribe, Major Tremearne says that among the Hausa in Nigeria: "Twins are said to be very lucky but triplets are not known." (415). Elsewhere he says "Twins are supposed to have a special power of picking up scorpions without injury" (416 94), and among the Hausa of North Africa: "Twins and triplets are not common, but they are lucky" (417 101). According to Le Compte de Candi, throughout the Niger Delta each district has some woman who can be employed to kill twins. Her method is crude and cruel. "She takes each child by the feet and the back of the neck and breaks its back across her knees." The bodies are placed in an earthen pot and left in the bush to be devoured by wild animals. (48). C. K. Meek mentions several tribes in Northern Nigeria among whom infanticide is common at twin births. To take a single example, the Yoruba allow only the first child to live and a doll is made to represent the dead child and thus prevent the remaining child from feeling lonely (252 II 78). Thirty one tribes are mentioned by Meek, who consider twins with disfavour, and of those who consider them propitious Meek mentions seven and adds that there are many others (Ib. II 77sq). When a Margi woman gives birth to triplets, two are left in an ant heap to die (Ib. II 79). In Lagos the Yompas consider twin boys unlucky but twin girls are lucky. When one is a boy and the other a girl the ill-luck is neutralised. The second twin is considered the older. When triplets are born the third is called 'the servant of the twins' (396). If one of twins dies, a wooden doll is given to the living child to look after, but, if both die, two figures are made and the mother must treat them as if they were living infants (258).
Many quotations are given by H. Ling Roth regarding the treatment of twins by the natives of Benin. Most are unfavourable and record the killing of one or both, and at Bonny the mother also was put to death (321 35sq). In the Cross River region of Southern Nigeria twins are thought to be the product of an evil spirit. The mother is driven out of the village and is not allowed to draw water from the village stream. The infants are either drowned or cast into the bush and left to die (282 36). Formerly the Ibibios killed both mother and infants. Sometimes the mother's life was spared after she sacrificed a duck, a goat and a tortoise to the Earth Deity, but she was exiled and the infants were killed. They were put in an earthenware pot and thrown into the bush (365 205). Double yams and double plantains are not eaten by women of the Ibibio in case they bear twins. One is always believed to be the offspring of a demon. Mrs. D. Amaury Talbot says one case of triplets has been recorded (387 23sq). Near Atiabang in Nigeria there is a town of refuge for women who have borne twins and have been driven out of their own community (385 325). The Asaba section of the Iboos, formerly threw twins away considering such births as purely animal in nature (276). The Bura of Northern Nigeria dislike twins, regarding them as "reincarnations ever ready to take offence and die," with a view to being reborn somewhere else (253 I 156). According to the Ngizim of Bornu, however, they are considered lucky and are supposed to be blessed with magical powers (Ib. II 255). If Kwotto twins survived till puberty it was believed that one of the parents would die, so it was the former custom to poison one and to make an image of it. When the living twin was fed this image was put to the other breast. This avoided any danger to the mother during the lactation period. After weaning all danger was past. The first-born twin was considered the junior and the surviving twin was believed to possess supernatural powers (449 245sq). Bassa-Komo twins in Nigeria were supposed to hate one another (53). The former custom of the Jukun was to kill one or both of twins, but nowadays they are well treated. Any misfortune of the parents, however, is attributed to them. The parents wear double bracelets — perhaps for some magical reason (254 356). Hausa twins are supposed to be much more intelligent and cunning than ordinary children (417 101). Major Tremearne says: "There seems to be no doubt that the fear of twins is due to their rarity, a double birth being regarded as strange and even terrible ... Some of their power to injure ordinary mortals seems to be connected with the idea of Negative electricity" (418), but it is not quite clear what he means by this. In Ashanti only royal twins are killed, others, if boys, become elephant-tail switchers at court, or, if girls, the king's potential wives. "In both cases they must be presented at the court, and carried there in a brass basin as soon after birth as possible. A woman bearing triplets is greatly honoured". (293 66) As soon as Nankane twins are born, a
'doctor' sacrifices a fowl and a guinea pig over a calabash and prays for them (294 I 289). Another tribe in Ashanti, the Wala, forbid the whipping of twins. "Sacrifices are made to an ancestor, asking health for the twins" (Ib. II 455). In Liberia girls are considered more valuable than boys, so the Kru custom on the birth of twins of opposite sexes is to kill the boy. Sir Harry Johnston says: "When triplets or quadruplets are born, the natives probably destroy them all, as it is thought a horrible reversion to beast customs." He mentions a case of six children being born alive at one birth (212 II 1050). Among the Mende of Sierra Leone twins get special names; the first is called Sao and the second is Jina. A child born after twins is called Gbei, the name given also to the third of triplets (259 216). In North Africa twins are welcomed by the Moors. The woman who announces the birth has to trill six times, but when both are boys, only three times, or one may be reported to be a girl (436 II 403).

In the colder regions of North America twins are uncommon, according to L. M. Turner who writes about the Nenenat in Hudson Bay Territory (420 271). In an article on Siouan cults, J. O. Dorsay says the Teton believe that twins are supernatural and must come from Twinland. They must therefore be treated politely and tenderly. They are lucky but their mother is considered unfortunate (84 482). The Indians at Laguna think that twins are due to witchcraft. "A witch will make two balls of earth wet by urine and will roll the balls in the direction of the woman who has urinated." This ensures twins (279). Twins and triplets are rare among the Zuñi Indians and "are attributed to embraces in immediate succession" (261 298). Generally among the Hopi Indians of Arizona there are no superstitious beliefs about multiple births, but at Hano it is that a pregnant woman going with another man will bear twins (280). At Santa Cruz a girl of the Tewa Indians should not pass a dog lying down in the house, nor any weapon lying on the floor as she then runs the risk of bearing twins. To avoid this, the dog should be chased away, or the girl should walk round him, or round the weapon (281). It was a common custom among many of the South American Indian Tribes to kill one of twins. The Mojo husband, however, killed both, believing that only beasts could bear more than one at a birth (52 107). In Chili the Araucanians say that if a pregnant woman were to eat an egg with a double yolk she would bear twins (161 12).
MONSTERS

Here we include all infants which exhibit some physical abnormality which, even when slight, might be looked upon as a danger to the parents or to the community, or simply regarded with disfavour.

The Sinangolo of New Guinea believe that deformity in an infant may be due to cohabitation during pregnancy or to non-observance by the mother of the necessary food tabus during her pregnancy (345). Among the Papuans of Kiwi Island deformed children are killed at birth by the mother or by someone whom she authorises to do it (219 232). When a Maori infant had any deformity it was expected to grow up mischievous but was treated as an ordinary child. Deformities are rare among them and when an albino child is born it is thought to have a supernatural origin but is treated as any other child (240 122).

In India, when an Oraon baby was born with teeth, it was believed to be a danger to the parents so they killed it by making it swallow a quantity of salt. A baby girl with molar teeth out of line was destined to be a widow and therefore she usually remained a spinster (327 121). Sometimes it was rumoured that a woman in Chota Nagpur had given birth to a baby horse or to some other type of monster. Then a woman from each family in the village would beg food from neighbouring villages. After cooking and eating this they returned to their own village. A party from each village that had been visited followed their example. This was supposed to drive away the devil spirit which had produced the monstrosity (328). The Malis of the Central Provinces of India say that any man who steals turmeric will be reborn with six fingers on his hand. (351 IV 186). In Southern India the Koyis believe that children born with any deformity or blemish, such as hare lip or moles, are incarnations of deceased relatives (405 IV 55). Thurston describes a monster born among the Gaudas, "On its head was a red protuberance like a ball; round each of its forearms were two or three red bands; the eyes and ears were fixed very high in the head; the eyes, nose, and mouth were abnormally large." The infant was considered a 'devil-child' and, for safety, the mother was removed from the house and the child cut in two, each portion being buried in a separate grave (Ib. II 271sq). Maduvar women are said to give birth occasionally to children resembling animals. The mother usually dies but, if she happens to survive, she is said to eat the monster. In any case the child must be killed (Ib. V 92). When infants of the Konga Vellala caste are born blind or lame the parents hand them over to a caste of beggars (Ib. V 85). In Northern India the Chamars think that, when an infant is born with teeth, some calamity will over-
take the family, or one of them will die. In order to avoid this the maternal uncle brings silver teeth which he throws over the house so that they fall at the front door (33 70).

In Africa the Ba-ila believe that a certain mupuka moulds the child in utero but tries to prevent its birth in order to devour it. This accounts for such deformities as hare-lip, malformed ears, etc. (359 I 228). The son of a Baganda chief was born without arms and legs, when he died he was revered as the god of plague and a temple was raised in his honour (312 309). Dr. A. R. Cook, working in Uganda recorded "only one monstrosity (an anencephalic infant) in 2,233 confinements" (62). Hermaphroditism is rather common among the Banyoro according to Emin Pasha (101 84). Sir Harry Johnston stated that deformed or defective children in British Central Africa are almost invariably killed (210 417). Deformities and monsters seldom occur among the Lango but J. H. Driberg mentions a "male with a double set of nipples, another with a sixth rudimentary finger growing at the base of the thumb, and another with six toes." He also refers to reports of a few other cases including one of Siamese twins (86 141a).q. The Wawanga bury all monsters in swamps, possibly with the idea of preventing the ghosts haunting the village (91). The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia believe that a child born with harelip or any other deformity has been bewitched. A footling birth gets a special name by which the child is known throughout life. A baby born with teeth is considered lucky (82 132sqq). According to the Waduruma all albinos, hermaphrodites and children born with teeth are "the progeny of a spiritual agency, and would bring calamities upon the land if they lived. They were therefore strangled at birth and buried in the house" (145). All monstrosities among the Jukun are looked upon as "begotten by an evil spirit", and are left in the bush or in a cave to perish (254 366). All errors of dentition are looked upon as monstrous by the Ba-Kaonde of Northern Rhodesia. A child cutting its upper teeth before the lower is thrown into the river (255 50).

The Bechuana look upon children born with teeth as monstrosities and kill them accordingly (41 64). They killed imbeciles and deformed children in former days by putting them in a pot and smothering them with hot ashes (63 371). When a Mashona infant shows some malformation or any physical disability the midwife gets the father to kill it (45 201). Misshapen or deformed children were considered, by the Hottentots, to be bringers of bad luck and were buried alive in the den of some animal, or exposed to be devoured by beasts of prey. To allow them to survive would bring bad luck to the whole community (337 266).

After long residence in the French Congo, A. L. Cureau found no evidence of monstrosities. This he attributed to
the "brutal neglect which makes congenital defects ... almost impossible to find" (71 156). It is reported that the Ba-Mbala do not allow monsters and cripples to live but bury them alive (406). They report on the same fate of abnormal Ba-Huana infants and say that "the frequency of occurrence of such infants is probably due to the early age at which children indulge in sexual intercourse" (410). Among the head-hunters of Nigeria, Major Tremearne says a child may be thrown into the water if it is an idiot or physically helpless, but this is not done as a rule until the child is between the ages of two and four (415). The Katab rule was to abandon such infants in the bush (253 II 40). Among the Bassa-Komo in the Igalal Division of Nigeria any kind of abnormality in infants, including even albinism, is looked upon with disfavour but the child is not killed. It is supposed that it will grow up bad-tempered or with evil propensities (53). In Ashanti, the Dagaba consider it most unlucky for a child to be born with teeth and, when this occurs, they are extracted so that the father may not see them (294 II 417sq). Among the Kusasae any child born with teeth was formerly killed (Ib. II 387). A deformed Lober infant had to be killed by a blood relation of the mother during the absence of both parents (Ib. II 449). Isala customs differ according to clan. Some bury the infant alive if born with a tooth (Ib. II 479), while another branch of the same clan bury at once any infant born feet first (Ib. II 480). Any born with only one eye or one ear was formerly killed (Ib. 499). N. W. Thomas states that in Sierra Leone a child born with teeth, or "any other monstrosity" is buried at once. A child is said to have been born at Lungi in 1914 with three legs (394 II 111).

In most European countries the birth of monsters is recorded in medical journals of the country in which the birth occurs. In some out-of-the-way places, however, few records are kept. Miss M. E. Durham states that in High Albania "all descendants of a common male ancestor rank as brothers and sisters, and their union is looked upon as incestuous and in the highest degree horrible." The offspring, they think, are usually deformed, or blind, or deaf (93).

Dr. Elsie Parsons says that the Indians of New Mexico think that congenital deformities are due to "parental indiscretions" (278). If a Zuñi baby is "born with a twisted mouth ... like some kachina mask, a bit should be scraped from the mask and set fire to, (and) the baby held ... over the smoke." At Hano they think that albinism is produced by eating the white leaf of corn (280). All monsters among the Chiriguano in South America were destroyed at birth. This includes all types of deformity (51 235).
DEATHS DUE TO PARTURITION

There are few records of Australian aborigines dying in childbirth. Lumpholtz says that in Queensland such occurrence is very rare (231 154). On Kiwai Island the natives attribute any death occurring during labour to sorcery or to some neglect on the part of the husband who must pay compensation to the woman's parents. The woman becomes a dangerous spirit, particularly to her husband, who is afraid to go out hunting for some considerable time. The baby's spirit is also feared (219 233 & 281). On Goodenough and Fergusson Islands in the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago when a woman dies in childbirth her infant, whether dead or alive, is buried with her (207 106). This custom was usual in former times throughout New Guinea (444 178 footnote). On the Island of Mala in the Solomon Group no birth may take place in a village. On the onset of labour the woman goes into the bush unattended and unprovided for. Mortality is therefore high. When the mother dies the infant is left to die also. The whole tribe would fall under a curse if either were touched or buried (186 72). The Rev. W. O'Ferrell reported that on Santa Cruz: 'If a woman die in childbirth her husband must pay for her again to her relatives: (1) he pays to the woman's relatives from whom he bought her; (2) he pays his own kinsman for the child that is dead because his kinsman helped him to buy his wife, for they desire that children should be born to their relatives.' (270). It is a Marquesan belief that a woman dying in childbed would go to heaven (447 II 57). R. W. Williamson states that, according to Radiguet (291) women who died in childbed went to heaven in company with gods of the first order, warriors who had fallen in battle, suicides, and the aristocratic class of chiefs (447 II 40).

If a Kayan woman in Borneo dies in labour all the males flee from the house, but if this occurs at night they climb up among the beams of the roof in terror and do not come down until the woman's body has been removed from the house. Her soul goes to the 'lake of blood', in company with the souls of people who have died a violent death, and thenceforth live in comfort without working (190 II 40 & 155). It was formerly the custom of the Sea Dyaks of North Borneo to kill a baby by burying it alive, or simply allowing it to die, when the mother had died in giving birth to it (320 I 100). When a Saputan woman dies in childbirth other women do not care to suckle the infant unless paid from one to three gongs (232 II 432). The Muruts believe that when a woman dies in giving birth to a still-born baby, the latter will become a porcupine (332 221). They also think that, when a pregnant woman dreams of travelling upstream, this foretells her death in childbirth (Ib. 238).
When a Sakai baby and its mother in Malaya both die during the confinement, the child is placed on the mother's breast and the two are buried in a common shroud (358 II 11). The Lushei of Upper Burma class deaths in childbirth with violent deaths from accidents or from attacks by wild animals and the woman may not be buried within the village (352 86). When such a death occurs among the Anal, food and drink and various utensils are deposited in the grave and a feast is provided by the husband. Old men place the first stones and earth in the grave and the young men complete the filling in. A dance follows (Ib. 164). Several tribes in Manipur say that such graves should be dug only by old men (182 147sq). A special compartment in heaven is reserved for Tangkhul women who have died in childbirth (Ib. 161). When a Lakher woman dies during parturition all the village must abstain from work during the next three to five days. The body of the deceased must be taken out of the house through a hole specially cut in the back wall of the dwelling and never through the normal doorway (277 406sqq), and no-one is allowed to leave the village till the sixth day. The body is buried beyond the village boundaries (352 145). The Sema custom is to remove the body by the back door and bury it behind the house. All the woman's belongings are thrown away and the husband's personal property must remain untouched until after the next harvest (197 234). The Angami Nagas remove the woman's body through a hole made in the side of the house, and bury all her belongings with her (196 218).

In India the Nambūtiri Brahmans use the bones of a woman who has died in childbirth, along with the fur of a black cat in practising their magic (405 III 218). The Gonds believe that the spirit of a woman who dies during, or soon after, delivery, becomes a churel and tries to wreak vengeance on men (331 III 84). The Kurmis also believe that the spirits of such women become churils and, in order to render them unable to harm the living, they tie the hands with cotton thread before burial, and place themns over the grave (Ib. IV 77sq). The Chamārs with a similar belief drive metal nails under the finger nails and toe nails of the dead woman and dust powdered chillies in her eyes (33 69).

In Siberia when a Chukchee confinement ends fatally for the mother the infant is usually smothered and buried with her (72 135).

The Rev. J. Roscooe says that among the Baganda: "If a woman dies in childbirth her relatives fine the husband because they say they did not marry her to two men, and he allowed by negligence someone beside himself to have connection with her. He has to pay two women or two cows, two goats, two hoes and two bark clothes" (306). The same author says the Bakitara custom was for the relatives of the dead
woman to give another wife to the husband. In the case of
death during a first confinement no compensation was given to
the husband unless the woman was staying with her relatives
at the time. In this case the marriage fee was returned and
another wife given to the man. When both mother and child
died they were buried in separate graves (513 250). The rule
of the Basabei was that the husband paid a cow to his wife's
relatives (515 85). Emin Pasha stated that the Banyoro per¬
formed a caesarian section when a woman died in childbirth.
Failure to do this was punished by the chief who exacted
heavy fines. Many women died from haemorrhage (101 84). If
a Kamalamba woman dies in labour the one who assisted at the
birth is given a black sheep (91). If a Suk happens to
kill a frog or a lizard during his wife's pregnancy, they
believe she will die during delivery (18 26). Among the
people at the South end of Lake Nyasa women usually die when
labour is prolonged (372). The natives of the Bondé country,
Tanganyika, kill an infant when the mother has died during
labour, and at one time the husband could be sold if he did
not pay the fine imposed by the relatives of the woman (73).
In a paper dealing with the native tribes of North-Eastern
Rhodesia, J. C. C. Coxhead says: "If a woman dies in child¬
bed it is at once attributed to an act of adultery on her
part. The husband cuts out the unborn child, which is buried
by itself." (64). This seems to refer to the Wawembé. When
an Acholi woman in the Sudan dies during her first confine¬
ment the husband must pay a fine of fifteen sheep to his
wife's father (350 120). Among the Azande, in the event of a
woman dying before her child is born the latter must be
removed from the uterus and buried separately (Ib. 518).
Prof. Schapera says that when a Bushwoman dies during a con¬
finement another woman may suckle the child, but usually
it is "buried alive with its mother, especially among the
wilder bands" (337 114).

In the region of the Upper Congo River, the Bangala
make no attempt to save an infant when the mother dies during
her confinement (431). In the region of the Lower Congo a
living infant is buried with the dead woman who has just
given birth to it. If any attempt were made to rear it and
it died the woman who brought it up would be held responsible
for its death, by the relatives (433 117). In the Niger
Delta the usual custom is to kill the child when the mother
dies during her confinement. When the child is spared some¬
thing must be done to prevent the woman's spirit from coming
back to fetch it. A piece of plantain stem round which the
fruit clusters, is forced into the uterus of the dead woman.
This is to deceive the spirit of the mother who will think
the child is still in the womb (48). P. Amanry Talbot says
Ibibio women who die in childbirth "are thrown into a piece
of bush reserved for such ... The wraiths of these unburied
persons ... are deemed to bear an enmity against all living
people, but especially against their particular towns or
families. on whom they often send fever, sickness, or acci-
Another Nigerian group, the Kalabari, a sub-tribe of the Ijaw, carry the corpse of the dead woman at night secretly through the back doorway of the house. As such a body is accursed, it must not be seen by young maids or pregnant women. The use of any of the deceased woman's property would lead to sterility in the one who used it, so everything that belonged to her must be destroyed. When a woman of the Bassa-Komo tribe in Northern Nigeria dies during labour a medicine-man is called to perform a Caesarean section but no attempt is made to save the life of the child. If the child were left in the womb they believe it would torment the mother in the under-world. The Hausas make no attempt to save an infant when the mother dies in her confinement probably because they believe that the mother would return for her baby and would become a revengeful spirit. In Ashanti the Lober believe that unfaithfulness on the part of the woman will lead to her death in childbirth. A Kusase woman, also of Ashanti, is not given a proper funeral if she dies in childbirth, but is simply buried in the bush. Her husband must not attend her funeral or see her grave, for this would cause his death. He must bathe for three days with certain leaves and shave his head on the third day. When an Ashanti woman dies in labour the child must be removed by Caesarean section. "All pregnant women in the particular village go out and cut a budding plantain leaf and entering the compound where the body is lying, point the shoot at the corpse," and order the spirit to be gone. The custom of the Mende in Sierra Leone is for a woman who dies during her confinement to have the bed on which she lay placed on the grave. Sometimes it is broken. When the baby also dies it is buried in a separate grave close by.

In the more backward European countries it is not easy to get statistics or any particulars of deaths due to confinements, but Miss M. E. Durham says the deaths due to childbirth in Montenegro and Albania must be numerous. When a Goajira woman of Colombia dies in her first confinement the husband demands a return of the bride price "on the grounds that unsound goods were supplied."
THE PUERPERIUM
**THE PUERPERIUM**

Immediately after the delivery of the placenta a woman of the Buahlayi tribe in Australia is steamed with water which is sprinkled over hot Eucalyptus leaves. She is then allowed to walk about just as if nothing had happened. Each night for the next month she lies on a steam bed made of damped Eucalyptus leaves. Anything she touches becomes unclean and unfit for use. At the end of three months she is allowed to return to the camp of her tribe (275 39).

The Sinawgolo of South-East New Guinea keep their women in the house for about a week after the birth of a child, and for about a month they work in the garden but must not touch food with their hands. Sharpened sticks are used like forks when eating (343). Another tribe in New Guinea, the Waga Waga, restrict the mother's diet to a mixture of boiled taro and the fruit of a tree called okioki, for at least a month (346 487). A Papuan woman of Kiwi Island remains within a mat enclosure for a fortnight and is kept warm by having a heated stone or piece of bark applied to her abdomen and back. The husband supplies all food, water and firewood but does not see his wife till the end of the puerperium, except for the single occasion when he inspects his new-born child (219 231aq). A Dobuan woman goes to her mother's house for her confinement and there she and her infant lie naked on a long bunk for about a month. Under the bunk a fire is kept constantly burning. This treatment is called 'roasting the mother and child' (110 273). After her delivery a young Koita woman is washed daily by her mother. "Green bamboo leaves ... are worn under the petticoat to retain the lochia", but they have no absorbing power, so the vulva is cleaned over a large shallow pot with hot water (346 86). A Trobriand mother remains in her parent's house for a month. Malinowski says: "Soon after delivery, a string is twisted by the tabula and tied round the mother's chest. Some magic is associated with this, but unfortunately I never learnt what it was nor ascertained the meaning of the ceremony" (244 196). Bellamy says that a woman in the Trobriandis will not drink cold water for three months after delivery (346 704).

On New Georgia in the Solomon Group a woman remains in the bush for twenty-five days after her confinement (364 407). The women of Manahiki, or Humphrey's Island, must be fed by others for the first ten days after the birth of a child as the handing of food before then is taboo (419 276). On the twentieth day after the birth of a baby on S. W. Bay, Malekiul, the father of the infant gives his wife a mixture compounded from the juice of sugar cane and a certain leaf mixed with the liquid from a young coconut. This is supposed to make her strong (221). Immediately after the birth of an infant
on Lifu in the Loyalty Group, the mother goes to bathe in the sea and drinks some of the sea water. She then goes to a temporary hut on the beach and lives there until the child is able to crawl. Her breasts and loins must be kept carefully covered. A special small door is made so that no one can see her leaving or entering the hut except her attendants (151 117). The women of Ninoe generally have a very easy time at their confinements and frequently walk four or five miles on the day after delivery (401). On the Gilbert Islands, as soon as a woman can stand after her confinement she is anointed with oil and given water to drink, then she goes alone to the lagoon to bathe. For three days after the birth she has to remain in the north end of the house - the place where the baby was born (146). For the first ten days after a birth on Fiji two women from the father's family and two from that of the new mother act as attendants, unless the family are very poor. The woman is fed on a vegetable diet during this time but she avoids sea-fishing because they believe that getting her legs wet with salt water would spoil her milk (402 212). Among the hill tribes of Fiji the women are generally confined to the house until the fifth day but sometimes go out the day after delivery. Among the higher classes they generally remain in the house for a full month (26 209). A Samoan woman generally gets up about the third day (419 81).

Among the tribes of Central Borneo the lying-in period is usually very short but varies from fifteen minutes after the expulsion of the placenta, as one finds among the Penyahbongs, to seven days among the Murungs. The latter bathe three times a day and are put on special diet, chiefly vegetarian, consisting of rice and any fruit except bananas (232 II 427). Half an hour after delivery a Dyak woman generally sits up with her back to a fire. This is generally continued for several days and causes more discomfort than the actual birth through scorching and blistering. Several folds of bark cloth are employed to support the abdomen (320 I 99). After the birth of her child an Ot woman is fumigated with certain kinds of wood mixed with earth from an anthill. This is repeated several times to arrest the loss of blood. The woman resumes her normal work next day (15, II appendix 197). The lower class of Kayan women do not lie up for more than twenty-four hours but the upper class rest for several days. Threads are worn on the thumbs and great toes for seventeen days and all heavy work is avoided. For several days after the birth, the woman's body is washed with an infusion made from a certain weed (150 II 157 & 114). On the Nicobar Islands a husband usually attends to his wife during the puerperium. Mother and child are bathed in hot water and rubbed with saffron, which is also used to dye the clothes. Isolation lasts from three to six months (246 118 sq).
Starting on the Asiatic mainland at Kampâng Jalor in Malaya we find the newly-delivered mother with plasters of herbs applied to the breasts and also to the forehead in order to prevent fever. Cloths soaked in hot water are wrapped round a large stone and placed against the abdomen just above the pelvis. The newly-delivered mother is then roasted in front of a large fire, and the treatment is repeated at intervals during her forty days seclusion (3). Among the Negrito tribes of the Malay Peninsula, Jehehr women during their puerperium must avoid flesh and fish for four days, also the cabbages of palms and all tubers. Certain other tribes (e.g., Kintak Bong and Menik Kaien) avoid salt, flesh and fish for ten days. Any nursing mother must avoid eating the flesh of the bamboo rat, to prevent her child from resembling this animal. Bathing is also forbidden (106 174sq). One tribe of Sakai allow all kinds of food except chillies which must be avoided for six days, but another forbid salt and cabbages of palm trees for several days, and withhold fish and chillies for two months. Among the latter tribe the midwife must be present when animal food is first eaten (16 221sq). Cold water must not be drunk or even washed in, but the mother may move about freely within five or six hours of delivery (358 II 9sq). Certain sections of the Jakun (viz; the Mantra and the Besis) 'roast' the mother after her ceremonial bath "to drive away the evil spirits who are believed to drink human blood whenever they could find it". (IE. II 18). The Oranghaut mother washes herself in the sea half an hour after delivery and resumes her normal duties in a few days. For about a month she wears a cloth sarong, or skirt, in place of the usual loincloth (16 II 26).

When a Moi, or Karen, woman of Indo-China has been delivered of her child she is kept at an even temperature with a fire in her room, mild stimulants are given to her and she is rubbed all over with ginger. She is given "a concoction made from the horns of a young stag." In about ten to fifteen days she is allowed to go about (16 67). A Burmese
woman, immediately after her child is born, is rubbed with turmeric and roasted at a big fire. She is given a draught of medicine, the composition of which is kept secret, and frequent doses of turmeric are administered. On the seventh day she is steamed over boiling water in which tamarind twigs and other herbs have been immersed, and a blanket covers her. In half an hour a cold bath is given and she goes to bed (451 1sq). The Karens of Burma also use turmeric externally and internally (336).

After the birth of her first child, the Angami Nagas feed a woman on the flesh of a hen along with rice and rice-beer during the first ten days, but after subsequent confinements five days are considered enough. Although the woman occupies the same room as the rest of the family, she has a separate hearth built for her (196 214). The Sema Nagas also feed the mother with chicken, but it must be of the same sex as the baby. The period of seclusion is ten days for a first child, but for subsequent children the period is six days for a boy, but only five for a girl (197 233). The treatment employed after delivery by the Nagas of Manipur is rather heroic. The mother is "made to sweat profusely by being wrapped in hot water blankets until faintness ensues; this is repeated two or three times and on the third day, the woman is allowed to go about as usual (182 142). This appears to be the custom of the so-called "Luhupa" branch, which are really the northern section of the Tangkhuls (ib. 33). Among the Old Kuki, each clan has its own period of puerperal uncleanness, terminated by a sacrifice (352 160). At the end of ten days the Tarau kill a cock for a male child and a hen for a female, then they purify the house (ib. 174).

Only a few examples need be given from India and Pakistan. A Kawar woman of Chhattisgarh must take neither food nor water for the first three days after the birth of a child and only on the fifth day may she partake of her normal diet. On this day her house is purified (331 V 396). The Ghanwars, a primitive tribe inhabiting the hill country adjoining Chota Nagpur, also starve the mother during the first, second, fourth and fifth days after delivery, but on the third day she is given a warm concoction to drink (ib. II 494). Dhobi women are allowed only sugar and dates for the first few days. Impurity lasts seven days after the birth of a boy, but only five after the birth of a girl (ib. II 521). The Kurmis keep a lighted stove under the bed of a lying-in woman and burn in it coriander seeds. The infant is waved in the smoke and the mother is given the seeds to eat. Raw asafoetida is put in the mother's ear and some is half-cooked and given to her to eat. Dried and half-cooked cow-dung mixed with water is given daily to her for a month (ib. IV 70a). Several hours after delivery a Mehtar woman is given some coconut and sugar. She remains in her
room with a fire constantly burning and the door kept shut. After several days she gets her first bath. She is given a hot drink made from thirty-six ingredients including various condiments mixed with clarified butter and sugar (16.IV.223). In Mysore, a Golla woman occupies a small shed outside the village for a week, or sometimes even a month, after the birth of her infant. No member of the caste can attend her, so, in case of illness a Nayak woman is employed. A forest Golla woman is isolated for ninety days. Her husband occupies a hut near her but must not come in contact with her, otherwise he will be outcasted for three months. On the fourth day she has water poured over her and on the fifth day her hut is removed ten yards nearer the village. Other removals towards the village take place on the ninth, fifteenth, and thirtieth days, after which she puts on clean clothes and goes to the temple where a purification ceremony is performed (405 II.286sqg). To protect a mother and newborn infant the Fanwar Rajputs lay a plank of ebony along the door of the room in which the birth has taken place (316.IV.345). Russell suggests that the sparks given off by ebony would be considered good for frightening evil spirits. During her puerperium a Bishor woman is not allowed to pass through the doorway of her hut. For her to do this would cause the death of two members of the family. A new doorway is made, therefore, at the end of the hut which has been partitioned off as the lying-in room (326.222). During the first three days after the birth of an Oraon infant the whole house is considered ceremonially unclean and none but members of the family may take a meal in it. The mother gets massage morning and evening for three days or more, mustard oil being used for this purpose. Something made of iron is generally placed by the bedside close to the mother's head as a protection against the attacks of evil spirits (327.123sq). The post-partum uncleanness is supposed by the Khumas to last for nine days after a birth. Only female relatives and children are allowed in the lying-in room. Food and water are brought to the mother but she does all the cooking herself. No member of the family may partake of fish or any kind of flesh for nine days following the birth (328 I.20). There is a custom among the Todas reported by Frazer and Achariyar, that "women in child-bed may drink milk only after three months in the case of a first child, and after one month for subsequent births." They must first eat a small quantity of buffalo dung along with a small amount of a certain bark, pieces of a certain species of grass, and butter-milk (117). Before leaving her seclusion hut a Toda woman smears her head and face with ashes and covers her head with a loose mantle. She must take care to turn her face away from the heavenly body called Keirt, which is near the sun. The child is also protected from the influence of Keirt by the shade of a leaf umbrella (300.324). The Chamaras of the Central Provinces make an
offering of gur to their sainted dead before a newly delivered woman is given any food. The first food is given on the fourth day and consists of a cake of linseed or sesamum with an infusion of various spices. Some iron object is kept under the mother’s pillow to protect her and her child from evil spirits. On the fifth night the whole household watch over the child and much noise is made with drums and music. The lamp must be kept burning, otherwise the child would die (33 64sqq). A Baiga mother must remain in the house until the stump of her child’s umbilical cord has separated. She must lie on the ground and no winnowing fan may be brought near her. She is also forbidden to touch the wall with her hand (98 226). In Hyderabad a Reddi woman is given a certain bark to chew two or three days after her confinement. This is supposed to prevent fever and afterpains (121 109). Oil is thrown under the bed of a Jat woman after delivery. Green grass, as the emblem of prosperity, is also put there and is given by friends to the father of the new-born child, when a son, in congratulation and indicating their good wishes for the infant. The mother is presented with grain for good luck, also some weapon and the handle of a plough to protect her and her child against witchcraft (357). Among the non-moslem tribes of the Hindu Kush, the women go to the Nirmali house, a kind of maternity building set apart for confinements. Here they remain for twenty days when the infant is a girl, but for twenty-one days after the birth of a boy. Then, after a ceremonial ablution, they go home and are allowed to rest for a further period of twelve days before resuming ordinary work (302 596).

In Sikkim a Lepeha woman remains in the house for three days after her confinement. She starts work in the house on the fourth day, and is able to work in the fields on the seventh day (265 203). For retention of lochia they give the woman hot soup and drinks, and fish boiled in butter. When this treatment does not bring away any clot they say the woman will die (138 287).

Dudley Buxton states that in Inner Mongolia a woman is confined to her yurt for thirty days after the birth of her child and no visitors are allowed to see her. Her period of "unoleness" may last much longer and sometimes as long as two years." (46). M. A. Czaplicka, quoting various Russian authors, states that in Siberia the Kamchadal give after confinements a soup made from fish and a plant called hale. After a few days the women begin work (72 130). A Yakughir woman is given massage by the midwife after the child is born. She is then made to walk about a little before lying down "to allow the bones disjoined during the birth to come together again." Next day she is permitted to walk outside the house but must not touch anything in the house until after the third day. The midwife washes her on the fourth day and she, in turn, must wash the hands of the
midwife and wipe them "with fresh shavings of willow or with a piece of newly-prepared reindeer skin." The woman is next purified by standing over smoke from burning dried grass and shaking her body in it. She may then resume normal duties but her uncleanness lasts for forty days (16.131sq). A woman of the Reindeer Chukchee tribe has her hips bound tightly with a cord which is kept on for three days in order to allow her bones to resume their normal position. On the fifth day the ceremony of blood-painting is performed. Mother and child are brought to the place of sacrifice behind the tent, a reindeer is killed and its blood is smeared on the faces of mother and child and other members of the family. Until this ceremony is performed the woman must not leave the tent, otherwise a violent snowstorm would result (16.134). On the birth of a Yakut infant the old woman in attendance pours fat on the fire and, offering a prayer of thanks to Ayisit, requests a continuance of such favour. The mother must lie on straw in her yurta for three days, during which time no man may enter it. At the end of this period she returns to her normal sleeping place (16.143).

A Yezidi woman in Iraq lies in bed after her confinement for seven days. Lady Drower says that in order to protect the woman "from demoniac attacks, the shaikh's stick is put beside her in the bed, and a sieve into which a hair is presented by a shaikh is threaded. Into this sieve is placed the knife which cut the umbilical cord, and the bed and sieve are surrounded by a knotted rope. Below her pillow some Shaikh Adi dust is put, together with a seven-holed blue button, a black bean and a pair of scissors. A light is kept burning at night. The mother's diet must be hot and sweet, well seasoned with pepper, cloves and raisins and cooked with plenty of dinn (melted sheep's butter). If a visitor visits the woman lying in, he or she must eat something beside the bed or evil will follow" (88 208sq).

In Africa, the Acholi of the Nilotic Sudan restrict the activities of their women during the puerperium but each village has its own rules. In some cases the mother "may not look in the inside of a hat, in others she may not eat porridge flavoured with ardeb fruit.... At the end of the period (which is three days in the case of a female child and four in the case of a male), the mother calls her women friends together for a meal and generally formally commits the previously forbidden act" (180 120). In Uganda it was the Baganda custom for a log of wood to be put on the fire immediately after the birth of a child and for it to be kept burning for nine days during which time nothing could be removed from the house, nor could the house be swept or cleaned. At the end of this period the remains of the log were thrown on waste ground to remove all evil from the dwelling (312 52sq). Bagasuku women are attended by their midwives
for three days after their confinement, then the house is swept and the mother is washed and resumes her ordinary duties (305). The Banyankole keep a fire in the hut for the first four days after a birth. When the child is a boy the father gives to his wife as a waist-belt, the thong which is used for tying the legs of a restive cow, but in the case of a girl the belt is made of bark-cloth. A new doorway is made at the back of the hut to give the mother private access to the back yard. She is bathed with an infusion of a certain grass and massage is administered. She wears a belt which is tightened daily. The women of the agricultural class smear themselves with clay after ten days and, when this is dry, it is rubbed off and the women bathe in water and oil themselves. Among the pastoral people the women do no work and must not touch the milk pots during the puerperium (314 315sq). During the lying-in period of a woman of Kitara, or Bunyoro, a fire is kept burning near her bed, and no fire may be taken from it to another house. A wife of the king is confined to bed for ten days in the case of a child of either sex, but when the child is not of royal parentage the lying-in period is four days after the birth of a boy, but only three days after the birth of a girl (313 156 & 213sq). The Bakonjo also keep the mother in bed for four days when the child is a boy, and three days for a girl. On the fourth day the woman is washed and her head is shaved. The house is then cleaned and new grass is laid on the floor (315 142). For the first ten days after the birth of a Lendu baby the mother remains in her house and is forbidden to arrange her hair. On the tenth day she sits in the doorway with the infant on her knee and the child is given its name (211 II 553). A Lango woman is strictly dieted after her confinement. During the first three days she is fed on gruel, certain vegetables are added during the next three days, and on the seventh she is given her ordinary diet. Salt is forbidden during the first three days after the birth of a girl, and during four days after a boy. The first meal to be eaten with salt must be cooked at a fire which has been kindled with a fire- stick, and the salted food is used also to anoint both mother and child after the former has had her ceremonial bath. The period of seclusion is terminated by the husband killing a goat at the door of his wife's hut. The woman would die if this were omitted (86 141).

In Kenya, a Suk mother must not use her hands when eating until the sixteenth day after her confinement. On this day she undergoes a ceremonial washing and is then considered clean. For a time she wears a leather support round her abdomen (11). The Masai consider the blood of their cattle an important article of diet and when a woman has been delivered of a baby she is given some to drink. It must be the blood of a young bull when the infant is a boy,
but a young heifer's blood is given when the child is a girl (222). The seclusion period for a Kipsiki woman is four days for a boy and three for a girl but there are further restrictions for two days longer. For six days after the birth she must not touch food with her hands. In eating, a spoon of rafia palm is used and a plate of skin. At the end of this period there is a purification ceremony (12). A Wa-Sania mother remains in her house for three weeks after the delivery of the first child. After subsequent deliveries she remains indoors for two weeks, or, after the third, for only one week. Her diet during her seclusion consists of honey and hot water. If she has to go out of the house she covers her face with a cloth. Her husband remains with a friend until the period of seclusion is over and a female relative looks after his wife (9). For the first four days after the birth of a child, the Wawanga mother is confined to her hut but her husband sleeps with her on the fourth night and early on the following morning sweeps the hut and puts the sweepings in a basket, then "she and her husband proceed to the river, where her husband selects a spot in the long grass for her to deposit the contents of the basket." The husband walks in front of his wife both going and returning. When the confinement is not the first, the woman goes alone (91). The A-Kamba keep a woman with her new-born infant in her hut for twenty days. During this time massage is applied daily to her body (175 61).

A birth among the Ba-ila of Rhodesia must not take place in a hut so a special shelter is built for the purpose in the forest. Within half an hour of delivery the mother carries her infant back to the house. The lying-in period is six days. The male relations congratulate the woman and present her with bracelets or leglets. When the woman comes out of her hut for the first time she places a medicine receptacle by the door. Anyone going in or out of the hut must jump over this in order to take away all disease and thus protect the child (159 IX 11). A Lamba woman in Northern Rhodesia is confined to the house for one day after delivery and next day she bathes in the river. She is not allowed to make porridge, however, for a whole month (82 134).

S. S. Dorman says a Bechuana woman remains in seclusion for two or three months after her confinement and, as there is much feasting during this period, she usually becomes very fat (83 67sq). A newly delivered Hottentot-woman is kept as warm as possible in order to make her perspire. This is continued for several days and only the skin on which she lies is changed occasionally. They believe that, if she were to touch cold water, it would cause her death. The fire-drill must be used to light her fire which is kept burning until the stump of the baby's cord separates. This fire must not be used for cooking. Breaking these rules would cause the death of the child (337 263). A Bushman
woman returns to camp as soon as the birth is completed, and carries her infant in her kaross. If she belongs to the Mboron tribe she resumes normal work at once, but if of the Akan or the Heikum tribe she does not start work for a week or longer (26 114).

In West Africa we find that a woman in the French Congo simply binds her abdomen tightly after delivery and goes about as usual. Sometimes her body has camwood ointment applied (71 157). In Sokoto Province, Nigeria, a woman, for her confinement, is put to bed under which a fire is kept burning to make her sweat. She must not stir from this for three days after the birth of a boy, or four days when the baby is a girl. She may then leave her room but continues to sleep in the sweat-bed until the end of seven days from the birth. She washes daily at dawn, away from the communal watering places for the next three months, during this time she may drink only gruel mixed with ash water but without salt (154). Among the Mandinka of Northern Nigeria each family has its own particular animal taboo, but in one family a woman must not look at the sun for ten days after the birth of a child. At the end of this period her father makes her grasp his spear and, covering her eyes with his hand, he draws her to the door of the hut. Turning her to face the sun he withdraws his hand and allows her to look at it (253 I 559). To prevent undue distension of the abdomen after childbirth, a Katab woman wears a string of rolled palm leaves as a bandage (26 II 40&55). The Mambila avoid using cold water during the puerperium but sprinkle the mother with hot water for forty days (26 II 255). Hot fomentations are applied to the abdomen of a Jukun woman after delivery and massage is given morning and evening. She has bandages wound round her abdomen in order to assist the organs to resume their normal positions. Her husband may not receive anything from his wife's hand until the lochial discharge has ceased, and she must not do any cooking, but she is allowed to grind corn (254 361sq). For a week after delivery a Chamba woman has massage applied to the abdomen with an infusion of leaves of Bauhinia reticulata (252 II 76). The Hausa and Fulani have the abdomen sprinkled with hot water twice a day for forty days, and once a day for a further sixty days (252 II 76). For fourteen days after his wife's confinement a Kwato may not take any food prepared by her. If he partook of any, they believe his eyes would suffer (449 246). During the puerperium an Ibo woman occupies a small shelter at the side of her house. After four weeks this shelter and its contents are thrown away (13 172). In Ashanti, a Nankans woman remains in the house for four days after the birth of a girl, but only for three days when the infant is a boy (234 I 133). Seven days' confinement to the house is the Mandingo rule in Liberia but the mother may not leave the village for forty days (212 II 1050). The
custom in Morocco is for the mother to remain in bed for seven days after delivery and to do no work on the eighth day. Most of their treatment consists of trying to counteract witchcraft or to protect the mother and the child from the evil eye and, perhaps, to protect others who might come in contact with her (436 II chap xix).

Miss M. E. Durham says that in Montenegro: "Three days after the birth of a child a woman is supposed to be fit to go out and fetch and carry wood and water as usual" (92). Elsewhere she states that she has known this severe work to cost the wretched woman her life, violent haemorrhage being caused (95). Usually the women who are neighbours bring presents of food immediately after learning of a birth, and, if the child happens to be a son, "a whole crowd of men come next day and rejoice and drink rakia." For forty days the woman is considered unclean and must not bake or cook food. Owing to the heavy work done by Montenegrin women after their confinements, uterine prolapse and other displacements are very common (94 188).

The period of seclusion after a birth among the Salish Indians of British Columbia is four days, or some multiple of four, according to the weather, four being the Salish mystic number. Seclusion in the summer was longer than in winter (412 & 413) - the tribe referred to being the Stlalhul and the Stlaluh. In the United States a Tewa Indian woman lies up for three days after the birth of a baby and on the fourth day she gets up for the naming of her child. For the next fortnight she is allowed to drink only boiled water and during the next fortnight the water is simply warmed. For a month after the birth of a girl, or for forty days when the child is a boy, the woman does not sleep with her husband (261). During the first eight days after her confinement a Zuni woman lies on a blanket spread over a three inch bed of hot sand. She lies on her face to prevent the milk from sinking back into her body. A hot infusion of cedar is administered to promote the flow of the lochia. It is prepared by the baby's paternal grandmother who also keeps the sand-bed hot as well as the stone pressed to the Mother's abdomen. (279). After delivery, a Hopi Indian woman is warmly covered to ensure abundance of milk. Her food consists of corn and wheat only, prepared by the paternal grandmother morning and evening. Salt and meat are forbidden and her only drink is an infusion of juniper. On the fifth day the mother's head is washed and she is given a sweat bath. During the remaining period of the puerperium various rites are observed, and on the twentieth day the final washing and naming of the baby terminates the lying-in period (280).

A Sia woman is confined to the house for three days and, from the fourth till the tenth she spends half her time reclining and is allowed to do some sewing but no housework. On the
morning after her delivery she is given an infusion made from freshly gathered cedar twigs. She drinks this infusion for a few months (382 lijsqq).

Col. Church tells how, during the campaign against Maximilian, the army allowed the wives of their soldiers to accompany them. "En route, one of the women gave birth to a child. A companion put it in a shawl over her shoulder, and the mother continued trotting along, and reached Durango with the rest." The same author in his notes on the Patagonians says that, after her delivery a "mother is able to travel on horseback the same day or the following one, and the child is most tenderly cared for by the parents" (51 292). A Cherán mother remains in bed for eight or even up to fifteen days. She then bathes and is specially dieted for the next five days, after which she bathes again. All restrictions are over after forty days and the mother is allowed to go out (17 168).
Apart from the general treatment of the mother during the puerperium there are often special restrictions imposed upon the father or, sometimes upon both parents, for the sake of the child, or on account of the effect of the puerperal state upon the environment.

In New Guinea a Koita father must abstain from chewing betel during his wife's period of seclusion following delivery, and he must also observe the same taboos as his wife, otherwise the child will become seriously ill (345 86). A Kiwai Papuan must not go out fishing or hunting while his wife is in seclusion during the puerperium. It is believed that his wife's soul might "follow him and frighten away all the fish or game, or cause some disaster to befall him". This can be prevented, however, by the man putting his tobacco pipe near her after smoking it and telling it to remain there until his return (219 272).

A. B. Deacon reported that, in the Mewun district of Malekula, New Hebrides, "There is an interesting tabu which is not reported from elsewhere. After the birth of a child, both parents avoid coming in contact with a cycas and a native orange; should they fail to observe this rule, their baby's belly will swell up and it will die. The child, too, must be kept from such contact." (77 236).

On the birth of a Sema Naga child the whole household are forbidden to eat certain things such as wild vegetables and the flesh of any animal which has been killed by a wild beast. No members of the household may work in their own fields or go to the granary but may work in other fields. This prohibition lasts for ten days after the birth of a first child but after subsequent births the period is reduced to six days for a male child and five for a female (197 233). In Manipur some villages have their own tabus. At Toloi after a birth the father must stay in the house for ten days although the mother may go out even on the day the child is born, but the common Tangkhul rule appears to be isolation of the father for six days after the birth of a boy, and for five days after the birth of a girl (182 177 sq). During the first five days after a Lamgang birth the father of the child must not eat the flesh of fowls although there is no restriction in the mother's diet (352 162). In Sikkim a Lepcha woman must not touch the ground for three days after her confinement and the husband must not do any heavy work. If he were to lift stones or cut trees, this would cause his wife to suffer from after-pains (138 289).

After the birth of a Dhanwar infant in Bilaspur all men in the house are rendered impure for six days. This impurity
is removed on the sixth day by the men shaving (331 II 494)

A Kusār husband also remains impure for six days after the

birth of a baby. During the period of his impurity, he may

not worship the gods, nor go hunting or shooting nor go any

distance into the forest (35, III 326). After a birth among

the Birhors of Chota Nagpur the whole settlement is in a

state of taboo for a week and no sacrificial feast can be

celebrated. Among the family in which the birth has occurred

the period of taboo is extended to three weeks or even

longer (326 227). The Savaras, a Kolarian tribe of the

Central Provinces of India, make a man live and eat apart

from his wife for six months, or even up to a year after she

has given birth to a child. He is not even allowed to take

a drink of water from her (67). Oil and green grass are

thrown under the bed of a newly delivered Jat woman of

Hoshiarpur, the oil being used probably to satisfy the

demons of the earth and the green grass as the emblem of

prosperity. Friends give grass to the father of the child

by way of congratulation. The mother is presented with

grain for good luck, also some weapon and the handle of a

plough to protect her and her infant against witchcraft (357)

In Siberia a Koryak woman is not allowed to remove

her shoes in a strange house for a whole month after her

confinement, and certain food taboos must be observed for a

whole year (72,137).

Among the Nandi in East Africa a woman must not touch

food with her hands for a whole month after her confinement,

but must use a stick from a certain tree to convey the food

to her mouth. She washes her house each day with water and

cow-dung. Her taboo is ended after she has washed her hands

and arms in the nearest river (184 65). In Ashanti it is

the custom of the Nankane for the father of a new-born

infant to take a fowl of the same sex as the child and to

present it to the mother's relatives without indicating in

any other way the sex of the baby, and no questions are

asked (294 I 133). A similar custom is observed amongst

the Isala. When the father of the child takes the fowl

(which must be white) to the village of his mother's brother,

he must do this in silence and must not look behind him. On

the third or fourth night the mother of the infant climbs

on to the flat roof of the house and the child is handed up

to her and returned. After repeating this three or four

times, according to the sex of the child, the infant is

bathed on the roof with certain "medicine," and taken back

to the hut (26,II 498).

Certain restrictions are imposed upon a Siouan father

after the birth of a child of his. He must not bridle a

horse. If he were to fasten a lariat to the horse's lower

jaw the infant would die in convulsions (84 511).
The curious custom known as "the couvade", or "the hatching", may be mentioned here. In its complete form the father of the new-born child is treated as if he had given birth to the baby, but there are many customs observed during the puerperium which may have been derived from an original couvade. Some of the customs already described may have arisen from this belief. A few of the more obvious cases may now be mentioned.

E. Thurston, quoting an article by the Rev. J. Cain, says that among the Yarakalas, when labour pains start the woman "informs her husband, who immediately takes some of her clothes, puts them on, places on his forehead the mark which women usually place on theirs, retires into a dark room where there is only a very dim lamp, and lies down on the bed... When the child is born, it is washed, and placed on the cot beside the father. Asafoetida... and other articles are then given... to the father. He is not allowed to leave his bed, but has everything needful brought to him" (405 III 492). This description is also quoted verbatim by R. V. Russell (331 IV 606). A man of the Sonjara caste in Bilaspur lies in bed for six days after the birth of a child but his wife goes to work, coming home at certain times to feed the baby. The man takes no food for three days and on the fourth is given ginger and raw sugar. By the beginning of the twentieth century this custom was not regularly carried out (ib. IV 511). When an Aboor woman is confined her husband remains in bed "pretending to experience the agonies of childbirth," but the wife goes to work in the fields (153 96). S. H. Han states that in some of the Mucos-Bar Islands a modified couvade is observed (246 118). A Dyak father is confined to the house for eight days after the birth of his child and his diet is restricted to rice and salt (320 I 97). This last example and some of the many cases in which the father is treated after the birth of a child, are probably derived from a form of the couvade.

In the New World the Caribs of the West Indies observe the couvade. The mother goes about her normal work after giving birth to a baby, but the father takes to his hammock and neither eats nor drinks for the first five days, then up to the tenth day he is only given a drink which is equivalent to beer. After the tenth day he eats only cassava for a whole month. A feast is held at the end of forty days (421 294). R. Coelho, who studied the Black Caribs of Honduras believed that "the couvade is but a part of a unified worldview as it regards the interaction of the spiritual realm and the everyday life of man" (57).

In French Guiana when an Oyana woman has been delivered of a child she gets up immediately after the birth but her
husband goes to bed with the infant which only leaves him to be suckled by the mother. The man remains in bed for four days and nights, then he gets up and the baby is taken by the mother (76 48).

After giving several examples of the oouvade drawn from different parts of the world, E. B. Tyler wrote: "It shows us a number of distinct and distant tribes deliberately holding the opinion that the connexion between father and child is not only, as we think, a mere relation of parentage, affection, duty, but that their very bodies are joined by a physical bond, so that what is done to one acts directly upon the other". One remarkable example he gives "in the practice of the Tupinambas of Brazil, who would give their own women as wives to their male captives, and then, without scruple, eat the children when they grew up, holding them simply to be of the flesh and blood of their enemies." (421237sq).

Ruggles Gates explained the custom of the oouvade as due to the sickness of the husband being caused by the exhalation of oestrin by his wife while pregnant (128), but as pointed out by M. Luhran, only massive doses, much in excess of amounts given off by women during pregnancy, can produce symptoms in the male, and such symptoms differ from those of pregnancy (229).
POST-PARTUM PURIFICATION

On the Island of Seibai in the Torres Straits a woman who has borne a child may return to the communal house after her purification which is carried out three days after delivery. Fresh water is brought to the place of confinement and, after ceremonial ablution, the hut in which the birth took place is destroyed (344 200). A woman of the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago undergoes purification usually four days after her confinement. Her brother breaks a coconut over her head with a stone and allows the milk to run on to her. After this she bathes and mixes with other people (207 107). About a month after her confinement a woman of Lau, in the Solomon Islands, washes herself, shaves her head, and burns her hair. Her old clothes and cane armlets are removed and fresh ones put on. She is then given a bundle of sticks from certain trees which are symbols of stability and these she breaks and throws away the pieces as she proceeds to her home, making sure that one fragment is left to be thrown away at the door of her house (204 106sq).

In Malaya one branch of the Sakai hold a three day purification ceremony in the hut of the newly confined woman. She is bathed in water poured from a long bamboo (106 222). The Lushais in Assam hold a purification ceremony seven days after the birth of a child. A cock and a hen are sacrificed just outside the hut to terminate the woman's uncleanness, after which she may leave the hut (352 61). A more complicated rite is observed by the Garos of Western Assam. A. Playfair stated that "a long bamboo is forced through the roof of the house into the main room, close to the wall of the sleeping apartment, and through the floor to the ground beneath. At the foot of this bamboo, in the house, a sambasia or sacrificial altar, is erected." The mother and infant are taken down to a stream and bathed, then the baby's head is shaved except for a small lock on top. After the priest has prayed, the father takes the altar and a fowl to the roof of the house, cuts the head of the fowl and allows the blood to drip down the bamboo on to the floor. The fowl is thrown to the ground, then it is cooked and eaten where it fell. The beak and crop are offered to the gods on a piece of plantain leaf. (263 99). The Kacharis consider a woman unclean for about a month or six weeks after her confinement. She, and the house and its contents, must be cleansed by the village elder who sprinkles holy water over her and over the house (103 42). Most of the Naga tribes of Assam have no purification rites. A Rongte mother is simply sprinkled with water by the priest who mutters charms at the same time (352 147), while the Rongte and Taran simply purify the house (16 174).

The Bishnoi in the Central Provinces of India practise
infant baptism. By this rite the house is purified (331 II 340). Between the fifth and the twelfth day after a birth, the Gond mother is purified and the child named. They are both washed, then rubbed with oil and turmeric. The house is whitewashed and then purified with cow-dung. At the purification the women present sing and the infant receives from each of them a small coin worth about a farthing (ib. III 856q). Meat is avoided by Savara parents until after the post-natal purification. The priest pours drinking water into the hands of mother and father, then takes some himself. This is followed by a feast for relatives and friends (67). The Badagas consider that the sight of the crescent moon is sufficient to free a lying-in woman from pollution (405 I 109). The Cherumans, another South Indian caste, remove the pollution of childbirth by sprinkling the feet of the mother with a mixture of cow-dung and water, and applying milk to her head (ib. II 47). Bathing mother and infant in tepid water is considered by the Koragas sufficient to remove pollution. This rite usually takes place on the sixth night, and, after the bathing, a name is chosen for the infant (ib. III 435). The Nayars carry out their post-partum purification on the fifteenth day. The woman is sprinkled with a mixture of oil and the five products of the cow, together with gingelly seeds. She then bathes and sits near the tank or river. Water from the tank is poured over her from a copper vessel twenty-one times and she bathes again to complete her purification. The infant is purified by the father or uncle sprinkling it with a few drops of water (ib. V 434). The Tiyans have two ceremonies to go through, somewhat similar to the last, and not until fifteen days after the second can the woman touch any cooking vessels (ib. VII 71). The courtyard and floors of an Oraon house are ceremonially cleansed by the application of cow-dung diluted with water, clothing is boiled in water mixed with ashes and most of the lying-in room is washed. The first time the mother goes to the village spring she must put three marks of vermillion mixed with oil on the stone or wood that marks the site of the spring. To omit this would offend the spirit of the spring and the water would have an offensive smell or small hair-like plants would grow in it (327 1256q). The normal Kharia custom is for the mother and infant to undergo ceremonial purification by bathing and anointing the body with turmeric paste, but Hindu customs have been adopted by those living amongst or near Hindus (326 I 200). Other castes and tribes of India have somewhat similar customs.

Writing about the Yezidis of Iraq, Lady Drower says: "On the seventh day after birth the mother gets up, takes a hot bath and then goes with her friends to running water or a spring and throws seven handfuls of seven grains boiled in water (like a bride), and then crosses the water and eats porridge with her friends." (66 32). "Even after seven days' purification described ... the mother is not considered perfectly free from pollution until forty days have passed,
and before her purification she should not be visited either by a menstruating woman or a woman who has just had a child until the latter is forty days old, or an accident will happen to her babe." (ib. 209).

In Uganda post-partum purification is carried out among the Bahima after separation of the stump of the umbilical cord. The hut in which the confinement took place is cleaned and fresh grass laid on the floor; the mother is washed, her body is smeared with a sweet-smelling brown earth, and she is given new clothes. Her friends may then visit her without risk to herself or to the baby (ib. 307). The Rev. J. Roscoe says, when one of the wives of the king of the Baganda had completed her nine days' isolation she washed and the house was swept and cleaned. The log which had been placed on the fire as soon as the child was born, was thrown on waste ground. That evening the King had to jump over his wife. When this was impossible, owing to the King's attendance on State duties, one of the hereditary chiefs took the wife's girdle and having placed it on the ground, the King jumped over it (ib. 55). The common people had a similar custom but the wife sent the sponge with which she cleansed herself to her husband, and he also washed with it. The husband, his wife, and the midwife then had a meal together and, to end the taboo, the man jumped over his wife (ib. 55). Similar treatment was followed in the case of royal wives in Kitara. For the wives of commoners, however, there was some additional treatment. After the woman had thoroughly washed, her nails were pared and all the hair on her body, even to the eyebrows, was shaved off. She then shaved the baby's head and pared its nails (ib. 245). The purification of the Bagisu was very similar (ib. 24sq). The only purificatory rite observed by the Kipsikis of Kenya consists of washing the hands and arms up to the elbows, six days after the birth of a child (ib. 312). A Lango woman is purified by the midwife ceremonially anointing her with salted food on the forehead, xiphisternum, shoulders and knuckles of fingers and toes. The baby is also anointed." This ceremonial takes place after she has bathed and returned to the dyeka (i.e. courtyard), and the two taken in conjunction clearly mark the end of a period when she is ceremonially unclean, and as such spiritually dangerous to society". (ib. 141)
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THE

NEW-BORN INFANT
Among the Australian aborigines in general the old men know the places inhabited by the different ancestral spirits, and every new-born infant is looked upon as a re-incarnation of some old ancestor (366 I 283). The child is rubbed all over with sand and dried, then placed on a curved sheet of bark on which it can be carried about during the first few months. In the central region of South Australia the Alurija smear ochre, ashes and fat over the infant’s body as a protection against hot wind and flies. The Kolaias of Western Australia rub the child with some of the mother’s milk and sprinkle it with charcoal. The Arunta also apply charcoal to the skin and singe the child’s hair with a firestick. A strand of human hair tied round the hips of a baby on Sunday Island, protects it from malign spirits. Warm ashes spread on the cradle protect the infant from cold at night (14 64 sq). In Victoria the aborigines powder the new-born infant with a certain dried fungus, and “after a time it is laid on its back and a dry stick is placed over the chest to prevent any misbehaviour.” When a birth occurs near the sea-shore the infant is covered with sand up to the neck and after a few hours is cared for by the mother (363 I 47). The Bushlayi Tribe say that when a baby happens to be incarnated from a coolabah tree there will be a leaf of this tree in its mouth. This must be removed otherwise the infant will return to the spirit land. Immediately after removal of the leaf the child must be bathed in cold water. Hot gum leaves are pressed against the nose of a new-born baby in order to make it flat which is considered a sign of beauty (275 52). In Queensland a baby is cleaned with sand after birth but sometimes ashes or mud may be used. A Kalkadoon infant is simply “taken out of the shallow rut into which it was allowed to fall, any sand that may chance to be on its face and mouth is removed with leaves; otherwise it is neither washed (n)or cleaned. Subsequently, however, the infant is smeared from top to toe with iguana fat, which is renovated continuously during its early years, while, at intervals, some powdered ashes are rubbed on the head over the areas of the fontanelles” (522 165).

In New Guinea the Koita new-born child is washed daily in warm water by one of its grandparents. After a few days gentle massage is applied to the limbs, passive movements of the joints are carried out, and “the head is stroked from before backwards, with one hand, both laterally and over the vertex, while the occiput rests in the hollow of the other” (346 85). Another tribe, the Wagawage of the Southern Massim, have a similar custom (254 49). A nubetube baby sleeps in the hollow of its mother’s arm. It lies on a petticoat and is covered by a mat (354 491). Between the Moorhead and Wassi-kussa Rivers in the South a woman, immediately after delivery, warms her hands and rubs the baby’s body to protect it from evil spirits. She then anoints it
with a mixture containing ginger and cork bark ashes to make it grow strong and healthy (233). In the region of the Warri Gela River an infant which seems lethargic after birth has sinkers of a fishing net shaken over its head to rouse it (147). Just after the birth of a Māiu baby the cord is gently squeezed in a direction away from the child to prevent the blood flowing back. The infant is bathed in the sea and, on returning to the house, fresh water is poured over it and it is dried over a fire (335 96). On Kiwi Island, at the mouth of the Fly River, New Guinea, immediately after birth an infant is washed in water into which scraps of a certain fossil wood have been put. This is supposed to enable it, when grown up, to carry heavy loads without bending. The infant is then laid on sweet-scented herbs beside the mother. This is to make it a favourite with the opposite sex. Scrapings from a shoot of a certain tree are also used to make the child fruitful (219 231). The Rev. Dr. Geo. Brown says: "In Kirimina (South-Eastern New Guinea) a mother always lifts up or presents her child to the first full moon after its birth. This is done in order that it may grow fast, and that it may talk soon." (40 37).

The first food given to a new-born infant in New Britain is the juice expressed from a coconut. This probably acts as an apatent. The baby is wrapped in a warm banana leaf and the sheath of a coconut blossom serves as a carrying cradle. In the Shortlands group, any infant that was allowed to live had its limbs and body pressed in warm taro leaves, while the fingers were drawn out and the nose pressed into the shape they considered most beautiful. A child thus treated was never destroyed (40 36a). In the South-East Solomon Islands a priest sacrificed a pig as a burnt offering on behalf of the infant and was supplied with special food which he had to eat alone in his own house (203 106a). On Malekula in the New Hebrides, after a new-born infant has been washed, it is swung from side to side over a fire, and then handed to the mother. A small stick is inserted into each nostril and pressed against the septum to make it straight (221). In the Lagalag district of Malekula, a few days after birth the infant is carried backwards and forwards between two trees, passing it over a fire and touching one of the trees each time. A formula, which is not properly understood, is then uttered and the child’s name is mentioned for the first time. To make the child a fluent speaker when grown up, the midwife in attendance pulls the infant’s tongue out and allows it to slip back (77 238). In former days a new-born infant on the Loyalty Islands was placed in a banana leaf without any previous cleaning. A well chewed piece of coconut was then thrust down its throat by the midwife with her finger, in order to cause retching. This was done twice to enlarge the throat, and thus enable the child to swallow food (295). Instead of using water to clean the child warm, soft wood ash was employed. The baby’s head was pressed into what was considered the proper shape and any mucus was sucked from the
nose and mouth (151 177sq). During the first three days after the birth of an infant on the Gilbert Islands, a bonfire was kept burning on the east side of the house and the united families of the child's parents danced about it in order to induce the soul of the child to take up its abode in the little body (146). In former times when an infant was born in Samoa the nurse moulded its head according to their idea of beauty. "The child was laid on its back, and the head surrounded by three flat stones. One was placed close to the crown of the head, and one on either side. The forehead was then pressed with the hand, that it might be flattened. The nose, too, was carefully flattened. Our 'canoe noses' as they call them, are blemishes in their estimation," (419 79sq).

When a Fijian infant is born it is washed in cold water, then it is given a little of the juice of the candle-nut tree to make it vomit. Chewed, roasted coconut or plantain is dropped into a cup. A small roll of bark-cloth is dipped into this and given to the infant to suck (402 211). Among the Hill Tribes of Viti Levu a male infant is laid on the grass underneath mats in order to make him grow up hardy, but a girl is placed on a mat to make her proficient in all feminine duties. The first bath is given on the third day when the infant is a boy, but a girl is not bathed until the fourth day. After a complicated ceremony at the time of bathing the baby is given its name. The proceedings vary amongst different tribes (31).

The Maori also have complicated ceremonies. The stump of the cord is examined daily and the child is washed with a sponge or tow. The water is warmed by putting hot stones in it. Three ceremonies are performed: first a greeting of welcome; then baptism of the infant; and lastly, after the separation of the stump of the cord, the disposal of it. This last has already been described (22). Makatei says that, after the cord has been cut, the infant is held upside down and shaken in order to get rid of any secretions from its mouth and nose. Any secretion that remains after this is sucked out by someone in attendance. If the child does not cry when it is born, it is shaken. The purification ceremony following the separation of the umbilical stump is usually held on the seventh or the eighth day (240 125sq).

On account of the high infant mortality among the Oma-Sulings of Central Borneo, infants are not given names until after the first eight or ten days. A hen or a pig is then killed and the blood is applied on a leaf to the arms of the infant (232 II 457). The Duhoi, in South Western Borneo, bathe the infant in the river about the seventh day after birth. The blood of a fowl, or of a pig, is smeared on the forehead and chest of the child on their return from the river and the infant is named. A wristlet is then placed on each wrist (28 II 155). Another tribe in Borneo, the Kayans, think the baby should cry as soon as it is born. If it does not do so its nostrils are tickled with a feather (190 II 155).

On the Nicobar Islands an infant is rubbed with saffron and turmeric just after birth and any clothing is dyed with tur-
meric. Special wood must be used for the fire and after its first bath the baby is rubbed with coconut oil (246 119). The water for the bath of the Nicobarese infant must be heated in a specially prepared coconut shell. If all the rules laid down were not followed strictly the infant would suffer from convulsions (440 120). An Andamanese baby is washed in cold water immediately after birth and its skin is scraped with a shell, usually the one which was used to cut the umbilical cord. A few days later it is coated with clay (245 90). This coating will probably protect the child from insects. The custom of the Sinhalese is to hang some garlic at the wrist of the infant a few days after birth to protect it from devils and from worm diseases. Devils are attracted to infants by the smell of blood. A small pellet made from the ashes of some 'medicine', mixed with a little gold is fixed to the forehead of the child just above the nose. This also protects the infant from the attacks of devils and other possible misfortunes (162).

In the Malay peninsula the brachycephalic type of head is considered the ideal by both Malays and Siamese so, when a new-born infant has a long head or a high one, it is the duty of the midwife to mould it with her hands morning and evening so that the child's companions later in life may not mock him (3). A Burmese infant's head is not washed until the day of the naming ceremony which is usually about a fortnight after birth. A Brahmin astrologer is consulted about the fortunate day and hour (451 3). The Khyens people of Arakan wash the new-born baby in clear rice water (119). After the umbilical cord has been cut a Sakai baby is "washed with 'merian' water", wrapped in a cloth, and handed back to the mother. An infant is often given a quill of a young hornbill to suck in order to bring good luck (358 II 811). A few days after the birth of a Mantra child its head is shaved and the juice of certain leaves is given while a charm is repeated (1611 16), but the Jakun proper bathe the infant in the nearest stream and fumigate it over a fire on which incense has been thrown (1611 20). On the birth of a child among the Orang Leut as much noise as possible is made to scare away any malignant spirits that may be near and might attack the mother and child. As soon as the cord is cut all risk appears to be over (1611 26). On the birth of a boy the Siamese place a book and a pencil under the pillow, but for a girl a needle and thread are used (427).

Among the Kondhs of Southern India a baby's body is warmed either directly at a fire or by the application of the mother's warmed hands. This is repeated frequently during the first four or five days after birth. When the stump of the cord has separated "a spider is burnt to ashes over a fire, placed in a coconut shell, mixed with castor oil, and applied by means of a fowl's feather to the navel", the body is smeared with a mixture of castor oil and turmeric, and the head of the child is shaved except over the anterior
fontanelle (405 III 393). In the Central Provinces, where they are known as Khondas but belong to the same Dravidian caste, the mother shaves the child's head on the sixth day and bites the nails short, then "she takes a bow and arrow and stands with the child facing successively the four points of the compass. The idea is to make the child a skilful hunter when he grows up." (331 III 466). When a birth occurs among the Jangams, a caste of Saivite beggars, a priest washes his feet and rubs the bodies of those present with the water. The house is also sprinkled with it to purify it. The great toes of the priest are then washed in water and the symbol of Siva which he wears is dipped into the vessel. Each person present, including the priest, sips a few drops. A new lingam is now dipped in the water and tied round the neck of the child for a few minutes. It is then taken off and kept safely until the child is old enough to wear it (26 III 225). After the purification of a Gond mother and her new-born child a winnowing pan full of kodon (a small kind of grain) is procured and the child laid on it. The mother then ties this with a cloth under her arm (26 III 66). The Malas of Southern India have a similar custom (26 IV 369). It is also found among the better class Chamars. In this caste the nurse in attendance announces the birth by making a mark on the door with cow dung. The infant is branded on the abdomen on the sixth day, using a heated sickle. This is supposed to prevent the baby from catching cold (26 II 413 sq). After the umbilical cord has been cut the Chammar infant is rubbed with dust from a sun-dried granary or with wheat flour, and bathed in warm water (33 63). Bharas infants are branded on the day they are born to enable them "to digest the food they have taken in the womb." (331 II 247). Writing in 1863 about the Jats of Hoshimwarpur, Sirdar Gurdyal Singh said: "As soon as the child is born, the midwife takes it away from the mother and if it is a male says a girl is born, and if (it is) a girl then says 'pathar' (stone) is born." The midwife washes the child with water into which is thrown some silver before the midwife gives it back to the mother. For a day and a half the mother does not suckle the child (357). The modern custom is to announce the birth of a Jat boy by hammering on a brass dish, but on the birth of a girl only a winnowing-fan is used. When a few days old, the infant is taken out of doors and made to bow to the sun (331 III 235). Kathleen Mayo says "the first feeds (of a new-born infant) are likely to be of crude sugar mixed with the child's own urine" (250 90), but actually it is the urine of a calf that is given to the infant. When an Oraon baby is born enveloped in the membranes it is taken, after being washed, to a manure pit on which it is laid by the woman who carries it, and another picks it up to take it home. A similar custom is observed in the case of an infant which is born after one or more previous babies have died at birth. On account of the contact with the manure heap it will not be molested by evil spirits (327 120). A Birhor baby is given a little goat's milk before the mother is allowed to feed it herself. The
goat's milk is not repeated as it is supposed to make children quarrelsome (326 379). The birth of a Kharia baby is announced by striking on the thatch of the lying-in room and also on a metal vessel. After the baby is bathed in tepid water the midwife applies massage to its limbs (328 I 205).

In Manipur, a Tangkhul infant has chewed rice put in its mouth immediately after birth and it is then immersed in very hot water. This is to make it hardy and to prevent it suffering from pains in the back and limbs in after life. (182 142). As the spirit of a new-born Lushai baby does not feel quite at home for the first few days and so remains perched on the parents, the latter have to keep as quiet as possible for the first seven days after the birth in order to avoid injuring it (352 81). A Rengma mother dabs a little saliva on the forehead of her new-born baby and says: "It is mine". The child is then washed. The Eastern Rengmas put a little rice in the infant's mouth and wish it health, wealth and happiness. In the Western group the father cooks a fowl of the same sex as the child and the mother eats this. A small pie is placed on the infant's forehead or in its hand. The parents speak to no stranger for ten days (262 203sq). A new-born Lakher baby is bathed in cold water to wake it up. It is then given some warm water to drink to clear the stomach. Next day a warm bath is given (277 383sq).

In Nepal a new-born Newar baby is washed in oil and wiped with a cotton towel. This, along with the clothes upon which the mother lay, is put in a basket in a corner of the room and an offering of parched corn, salt, sugar-cane and ginger is made to it (269 176). Another tribe in Nepal, the Rais, prepare certain food after a birth and offer it to the gods and evil spirits, but this appears to be as much for the sake of the mother as for the infant (182 240). In Sikkim all pre-natal precautions must still be observed during the first three days after the birth of a LepeHa baby. The infant is called a rat-child during this time. A lama casts its horoscope on the third day. Three threads, one black, one white and one red, are attached to the infant's wrist. The red one has a snail's shell attached to it and this is later fixed to the child's necklace where it remains as "a refuge for the baby's soul when the baby is sleeping." (138 291). As soon as an infant is born in the Hindu Kush it is put to the breast and an old woman repeats the names of its ancestors. The name mentioned when the baby begins to feed is the one given to it for life (302 596). This suggests a possible belief in re-incarnation. A Chinese father fasts on the birth of a child and, when the latter is a boy, a bow should be placed on the left side of the door, but, when the child is a girl, a handkerchief must be placed on the right. The child must not be carried for the first three days, then, in the case of a boy, archery is practised (267 II 16). It is said that a Tibetan mother licks her new-born infant instead of washing it. Three days later the child's body is well smeared with
butter and exposed to the sun for several days (303).

In Siberia a Kamchadal infant is wiped with a certain species of grass immediately after birth, then wrapped in some more grass. The whole community rejoices and take turns of nursing the baby (206 quoted in 72 129). The Koryaks keep a new-born infant indoors all winter as a rule but, if it is necessary for the mother to go into some other person's house, she keeps her child under her coat the whole time (70 137). The Buryats summon a shaman who orders a special shaman's staff to be prepared. This he places across the threshold of the hut, then ties an amulet round the infant's neck (72 140). The Uriankhai, also of Siberia, have a curious custom which is described in translation as follows: "Among the Uriankhai (Tuba) in the Ulukhem district, when the first children die young, the newly born is hidden under a cooking cauldron, on the top of which is placed ag-prenya (an ongon /, i.e. a fetish/ made from the skin of a hare) and also a figure representing the child, made from barley-meal. Then the kam (shaman) is called, and begins to shamanize over this figure. According to the Uriankhai ... the figure then comes to life, its abdomen is cut open, the blood begins to flow, and the sufferer cries. Then its body is cut into three parts and buried far away from the house. This ceremony will protect the child from death" (72 140 quoting 266 27 in translation).

To protect a drowned infant from death, it is stolen by relatives soon after birth and hidden under a cauldron where it is kept for three days but attended to well. An image of grass is then made and thrown into the tent of the parents, who, when they see it, pretend it is their child and bury it. Any evil spirit which might wish to harm the infant is thus deceived and the safety of the child assured (36.140). The Altaians hang an arrow and a branch of a thorny plant over the cradle of an infant boy to protect him from evil spirits (36 141). Among the Yakuts of Siberia a new-born baby is brought before a blazing fire. The old woman in attendance washes it by squirting water over it from her mouth - the only bath it gets - then fresh cream is smeared over it (380).

The Yezidis of Northern Iraq place a new-born infant in a cradle and keep it there for three days, someone being constantly in attendance. The child is bathed with warm water from the pool of Sheikh 'Adi and, until this is done, the infant is called unclean (159). During the first seven days of the baby's life it is liable to attract the attention of an evil fairy who may "substitute a changeling for the human child, or harm the mother and babe" (66 32). The infant has some pitch put on its head. When no sign of life appears "they take a flat loaf of household bread ... sprinkled with a little milk from the mother's breast and a little blood from the cord, and fan air towards the child ... if the child breathes, the bread is put away carefully, and kept always in a safe hidden place. The infant is washed with soap and warm water, a little collyrium is put on its eyelids
and it is swaddled tightly" (26 Appendix B203).

The superstitious Jews and Arabs in Palestine believe in a female demon, known to the Jews as Lilith and to the Arabs as Kerine, against whom newly-born infants must be protected. "The Jews attach verses of the Psalms to the wall in spots which she would be likely to pass to gain access to the newly-born child, and the Muslims use verses from the Koran and other amulets for the same purpose." The danger lasts eight days when the infant is a boy, but a girl is in danger for twenty days. Seventeen names are written down to form an amulet which is used to protect infants whether Christian Jewish or Muslim. Blue beads, garlic and alum are commonly used and the child may be well salted. Children are poorly dressed to protect them from the evil eye (136 66sq).

It is the custom of the Baganda to place a spear in the hand of a newly-born male child to make him a good hunter and brave warrior. When a girl is born a knife is employed in order to render her expert in household work. The infant is washed daily and rubbed with butter. Adultery on the part of the parents before the child's naming ceremony will cause its death (306). When the infant is born it is laid on a plantain leaf and the midwife washes out its mouth and blows up its nose to start respiration. Sometimes a large thorn is put in the infant's mouth in order to render its breath sweet (312 51sq). A Bahima midwife also puts a large thorn in the mouth of a new-born baby to make its breath sweet and applies massage to the limbs and body. When the child is a boy the gate-posts of the kraal are used for the fire, but only ordinary wood is used when the child is a girl (307). The pastoral branch of the Banyankole wash the infant with urine from a little girl of five or six years of age. The circlet of seeds worn by the mother on her head during the last month or six weeks of pregnancy is tied on the child's wrist and the baby is wrapped in bark cloth (314 110). For a whole month a Bawenda infant remains in the place where it was born. Here it is surrounded by little sticks to protect it from demons. When it is four days old it is named by the witch-doctor who makes cuts on the body and limbs, and rubs some kind of medicine on the child to make it strong (139). If a woman of the Kavirondo loses several infants just after birth, the next is placed on the road at dawn and a neighbour picks it up and brings it back to the mother, pretending it is another woman's child. For this good office she is presented with a goat (211 II 748). As spitting is complimentary among the Masai, every new-born infant is given this greeting (35 II 633). The A-amba formerly had the same custom but now a friend who sees a new-born infant spits on his hand (175 61). A Makonde infant is wrapped in bark-cloth after being washed, its ears are anointed with oil to aid hearing and the prenum of the tongue is cut to enable it to speak well (438 281). The Ba-ila take great care that no pregnant woman comes into the room in which a new-born infant is lying, otherwise the
child's skull would split. To prevent the possibility of such a calamity the infant is given an infusion of leaves of the castor-oil plant. Warning to possible trespassers is given by hanging a string made from palm-leaf in front of the hut (359 II 10). The Wagogo of Tanganyika take the child out of doors on the fifth day after birth. When the child is a boy the midwife takes various agricultural implements and, carrying the infant on her back, initiates it into their various uses. When the infant is a girl she is initiated into duties which will fall to her when grown up (60).

In the Sudan, the Azande have a special smoke ceremony which is carried out when the infant is from three to six weeks old. Special leaves are burned on a fire made at the entrance to the hut and the baby is smoked over this fire. Magical rites are carried out at the same time. This makes the child strong (350 517sq). After washing a new-born child the Lugwari of Central Africa smear its skin with a mixture of ochre and butter or oil. They sacrifice a fowl or a goat to preserve the infant from all ills. It is kept indoors until the skin darkens. This takes about two weeks (238).

The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia do not consider an infant a human being until the completion of one full moon after its birth. It must not be touched by its father during this period (82 134). A Mashona husband is often suspicious regarding the legitimacy of a child which his wife has just given birth to. He then dashes a log to the ground just outside the hut in which his wife has been delivered. If the child happens to cry he considers this proof of his wife's infidelity, otherwise he accepts the child as his own (45 197). When the Bechuana are afraid of a newly born infant being bewitched, a witch-doctor is called in and he sprinkles certain medicines on the baby to protect it (83 270). A new-born Hottentot baby is cleaned with a dry skin and rubbed with fat. Burned ostrich egg-shell is mixed with fat and applied to the forehead, the temples, and the nose of the infant. "The fontanelles are also thickly smeared with it, to prevent the entry of disease." The Cape Hottentots are said to rub their new-born babies with moist cow-dung. When this falls off the infant is cleaned with the juices of the Hottentot fig, in order to "make it nimble and fleet of feet". (337 262sq).

For the first day after the birth of a Bakongo baby, some woman other than the mother nurses it for one day after it has been washed. When the infant is a girl, the first man to drop a bead in the pot of hot water which is always by the side of the fire during the first two days after her birth, can claim her as his future wife (433 112). A custom found in the French Congo is for one of the women present at the birth of the child to daub its whole body with sand before washing it. This enables her to rid the infant com-
pletely of the vernix caseosa, (71 157). In the Central Cameroon wood ashes are used instead of sand. The infant is then washed in warm water and well anointed with a mixture of palm oil and casswood powder. "A thick necklet made of grass or cloth is sometimes used to prevent the infant's head from 'rolling about'" (241). For the first two or three days after its birth, an Ibo infant in Nigeria is given nothing but a little water to drink as the milk of the mother is supposed to be unfit for the child during those days. The baby is washed in cold water and shares its mother's bed, (13 173 sq). A Jukun midwife squirts water from her mouth over a new-born baby to make it breathe freely and grow fast. The child's lips and the mother's breasts are washed and the child is suckled. It is also given a decoction of certain leaves and roots, and the head is anointed with oil (254 361). Among the Gungawa, or Islanders of Yauri in Sokoto Province, Nigeria, a decoction made from certain parasitic shrubs is given to a new-born baby to drink and the mother is bathed in the same infusion (154). In Ashanti a new-born infant must not be washed in boiled water as boiling 'kills' the water and this would injure the child. The naming of the infant takes place on the eighth day and, if called after his grand-father, the latter spits into the baby's mouth to strengthen his spirit (292 54). Various customs are found among the Dagaba, some of which are shared with neighbouring tribes. On the third day after the birth of a child the hut is swept and all rubbish thrown away at cross-roads. The mother is then allowed out of the hut in which she was confined. When the stump of the umbilical cord has separated and the scar has healed, certain relatives visit the hut when the infant is left alone and steal it, leaving certain articles as notification of what has happened. The mother follows when she discovers the absence of her infant and remains in her mother's village for about ten days, or, in some cases, until the child is weaned (294 II 411 sq). In a Mandingo village a woman attending a birth shouts to the people outside the sex of the infant as soon as it is born. On the eighth day the mother and her child are allowed out and the father provides a feast. The baby is washed and clothed and its head is shaved and covered with a small cap in full view of the people, but it must not be taken out of the village for forty days (212 II 1050). In Sierra Leone the Temne offer a sacrifice on the threshold when a baby is born. The father places a sheep's horn and some cloth there. He chews some kola and spits it on the child's forehead praying that it may have long life and become famous. A cap is made for the child in order to hide the head from any witch who might be near. Another method of protecting the child is to stick a knife in the door of the room in which the child was born (394 109). In the same region a Susu father puts in the mouth of his new-born child kola and 'alligator' pepper, in order to 'open its throat' (25 111).

In Montenegro and neighbouring Balkan regions a new-born
infant is transferred to a cradle with thick, heavy coverings. Miss E. M. Durham says: "Nothing can be better fitted slowly to asphyxiate the child, and that many have gradually died for lack of light and fresh air I do not doubt." (26 186). The same writer says that in Albania, on the birth of a baby, neighbours take offerings of eggs to the mother, an even number for a boy and an odd number for a girl. An egg is broken over the child's face to protect it from the Evil Eye. The purpose may be either to make the infant unrecognizable or hideous. A cradle is used to carry the baby on the mother's back. "There is a wooden grating - a ladder of laths - inside the cradle, on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress" (36 191sq).

Among the Eskimo of Hudson Bay the infant is not washed until six or eight hours after birth. Suckling is then started at once. The child gets no water to drink until it is old enough to help itself (420 196). A Nenénot baby is given no nourishment until the third day, and no water is allowed to touch it. It is wrapped in skins and cloth lined with sphagnum moss which is changed every other day (46 271). The Eskimo of the Bering Strait give an infant the name of the last person who died in the village. If born away from the village, it is named after the first object the mother looks at after its birth (268 269). The face of a Teton baby of either sex is painted with vermilion. Neglect to do this would make the baby bleary-eyed or cause some kind of sickness. When the infant is a boy, a brave and good man is chosen to breathe into his mouth to give him like virtues. A girl is similarly treated by a carefully chosen good woman, who will thereby convey her virtues to the child (64 482). The Mandan tribe, which is another branch of the important Siouan family, choose someone to give a name to a new-born infant and pay a fee for this service. The child is held up and made to face the different directions of the sun when the name is proclaimed. It is cradled in a leather bag suspended from a crossbeam in the hut (65 241). The Laguna Indians rub ashes in the form of a cross on the forehead, chin and legs of an infant when it is about a day old, for they believe that witches dislike ashes. The Zunis have a similar custom (278), but prior to using the ashes they bathe the child in water to which the warm suds of yucca root have been added and offer a prayer at the same time (383 545). If a Zuni infant does not begin to breathe soon after birth, the attendants press its nostrils, and breathe into the mouth, apply massage to the chest, and move the arms which are held outward and above the head (361 293). Dr. E. C. Parsons says "At once after birth, a (Zuni) boy is sprinkled on the penis with cold water that the parts may be small, and a girl has placed over the vulva a gourd cap, that the parts may be large ... After a baby's hot cedar bath he or she will be rubbed all over with ashes to keep the body depilous for life. Hair on the body is disliked." During the first eight days both mother and child lie on a blanket spread over hot sand.
baby has a box placed at the back of the head to keep the blanket off its face. The box is "rapped smartly on the ground ... that thereafter the child may be inattentive to noises - an instance of inoculative magic to which the Zuni are much addicted." The head of the baby must lie to the west. Leaving the baby alone is risky as some family ghost might come and hold the child. This would mean death in four days or so (279). The Sia bathes a new-born infant in a yucca bath then water is squirted over it from the mouth of the attendant and the child is rubbed with the hand. A complicated religious ceremony then follows (382 138).

In Peru a Moche infant is held up by the feet to start respiration. In cases of difficulty the infant is laid on its stomach and a newly-hatched chicken is placed on the child's buttocks. It is believed that when the chick pecks, respiration starts. The baby's eyes are bathed with boracic lotion and its ears are cleaned with a tooth pick and cotton (134 137). In Argentina the Aranoanian infant has its face moulded but the head is not touched (161 270. As it is very cold high up in the Andes a new-born Chibcha infant in Colombia is usually completely wrapped up both out-of-doors and indoors. It is bathed every third day, but care is taken not to wet the head. This soon is covered with black scurf which must not be removed as that would cause abnormal development of the child. The god-parents are called and the child is baptized soon after birth in case it should die (107 198sq).
DEATH OF THE NEW-BORN INFANT

We have already considered some of the special customs associated with still-births. Here we can review cases of death among the new-born infant who, commonly, are not yet looked up as part of the community.

On Santa Cruz and Reef Islands the natives believe that, when a young baby dies, its spirit returns to dwell with the parents, and will help the father to become rich (270).

The Lushei of Manipur say that the first man, Pupawla, shoots at those who have died after him, but he cannot shoot a first child that has died shortly after birth. This first infant is something out of the ordinary and is simply buried under the house without ceremony. Any subsequent infant that dies shortly after birth is honoured with a complete funeral (352 86). A Kolhen baby that dies within ten days of birth is buried under the eaves of the house and is regarded in the same way as a first child among the Lushei. (354 156). The Lakhers have a similar belief about first babies but bury the infant anywhere without ceremony (25 223), but any baby after the first is buried by the father outside the village, sometimes in an earthenware pot, but sometimes simply wrapped in a cloth. The whole village avoid all work for one day. Failure to rest on this day will cause the young paddy to die soon after germination, just as the infant died soon after birth (277 366). Among the Sema Nagas an infant that dies shortly after birth is buried in the front room of the house without any cloth wrapping, but usually enclosed in bamboo bark. The period of genna (i.e. restriction of activities) is three days (197 134). A Memi baby dying within five days of birth is wrapped up in old clothes and placed in a pot which is then buried under the spot where the birth took place (196 340 342).

 Vaughan-Stevens reports that, when the first-born child of a Jakun woman dies, if it happens to be a boy, the woman's undergarment must be a khin cloth of tree-bark, and this must be worn for a full month after the death of the child (358 II 24). A Koyi child dying within a month of birth is buried close to the house, "so that the rain dropping from the eaves may fall upon the grave, and thereby cause the parents to be blessed with another child in due course of time." (405 IV 52). Normally the Koyi dead are cremated. When a first-born male infant dies among the Paraiyans they bury it near, or within, the house to prevent any witch or sorcerer from removing the body in order to use it in magical rites (26 VI 109). In former times children of Chamars who died shortly after birth were placed in earthen pots and buried in the courtyard or under the doorway to protect them from witchcraft and to enable them to be reborn in the same family. In the north they were sometimes buried in the walls of the
houses (33 69). When a Gond infant dies it is buried at the root of a mahua tree, or butter-tree, from which it can derive nourishment equal to that of its mother's milk (331 III 91). Lady Drowes writes that when a Yezidi woman in Iraq loses several children in infancy the afterbirth of the next "is sometimes wrapped in a baby's dress and buried at the threshold of the mother's room while the midwife murmurs some words such as 'as thou are buried here, the boy (or girl) will live'" (88 208).

In British East Africa, if a Wa-Sania child dies before it is eight days old, the women simply bury it in the house and no male takes part in the proceedings. Girls under eight days old are buried in the left half of the house as one enters the door, and boys are buried on the right. When the infant is over eight days old, it is the custom for males to wash and bury the boys, while females wash and bury the girls (9). When a child of the Banyankole dies at birth, the mother is given medicine to make sure that the next baby is healthy, and when several have died in infancy, the next is taken away and is given a charm to wear. The parents are not allowed to see it until it is grown up (314 118). Among the Bakilera, a twin which dies before being brought before the relatives and named is put in a new cooking pot and covered so as to avoid contact with the clay which was used to fill the pot. After the usual birth festivities the pot is taken along with the placenta and deposited in the forest but is not buried (313 297). A Bageau infant was simply thrown into the bush when dead, but in the case of a twin, a small hut was constructed over the burial place of the placenta and the body placed in it. One drum only was beaten daily instead of two as is the usual after the birth of twins (315 26). Emin Pasha stated that Banyoro twins who had died were put in an earthen vessel along with the placenta and left in the hut of the mother until decomposition set in. When this occurred they were deposited in a miniature hut in the yard. The house in which the birth took place was burned (101 65). When a Kamba woman loses her infant her breasts must be ceremonially purified by a qualified elder. Failure to have this done would cause any future child she might bear to die of mukwaj, which means a curse (176).

Among the Kusasae of Ashanti, twins which die in infancy are believed to have been fairies and are buried in the bush. Other infants are buried in an ordinary grave near the path; the ears are covered with potsherds to keep out the earth when the grave is filled in, and a stone marks the place where they are buried. It is usually near a path to enable the infants to find their way back to the compound to get food. Burial far in the bush would cause the infants to lose their way (294 II 367). In one of his books on Ashanti, Captain Rattray says: "Should the infant die before the eighth day, the attitude of suspicion and distrust, which one notes struggling with maternal love, turns to genuine anger. The
little body is whipped (sometimes it is mutilated by having a finger cut off); it is wrapped in sharp cutting spear-grass (Penisetum purpureum); is placed in a pot and buried in the village midden heap, which was formerly the women's latrine." The parents shave their heads and dress in white, and partake of ground-nut soup as a sign of joy (293 59sq).
The child soul

The ideas about the child soul held by the Australian aborigines have already been considered under the heading "New Born Infant". The natives of the Andaman Islands "believe that every child which is conceived has had a prior existence, but only as an infant. If a woman who has lost a baby is again about to become a mother, the name borne by the deceased is bestowed on the foetus in the expectation that it will prove to be the same child born again" (245 sq). This is confirmed by Prof. Radcliffe-Brown who further states that in the North Andaman the people believe that "it is when the green pigeon is calling that the soul of a baby goes into its mother" (36 sq).

The soul does not grow old, so the soul of some ancestor can be re-incarnated in the body of an infant descendant. It is a common belief of the Kamars in India that a child born within six months of the death of any member of the family, or of any near relative, must be the re-incarnation of that relative and is therefore given the same name without distinction of sex (331 III 326). This shows also that the spirit is regarded as sexless. While the Khonds have a custom of bringing back the soul of any adult after death this is not done in the case of infants who die before the separation of the stump of the umbilical cord because they are considered to have scarcely come into existence, and Sir Edward Gait records that one of the causes of female infanticide was the belief that the souls of girl-children thus killed would not be born again (II. III 469). The Oraons believe that infants are re-incarnations of some ancestors; which ancestor has come back to earth is determined by dropping grains of rice into water. The first grain represents the child; the others represent the ancestors who are named in a definite order. When any grain touches the first, the ancestor just named is believed to be re-incarnated in the child, who is therefore given that name (II. IV 307). According to the Dombs of Vizagapatam children are born without souls, but later, the souls of certain ancestors take up their abode in the little bodies. In order to decide which ancestral soul has become re-incarnated, the infant is given a chicken bone to hold while the names of certain ancestors are repeated. On mentioning the name of the ancestor who has been re-incarnated the child drops the bone and there is great rejoicing (405 II 161). In North Malabar the Pulayans, or Chavars, "think that infant spirits "haunt the earth, harassed by a number of unsatisfied cravings." They are "held in mingled respect and terror ... and worshipped once a year with diverse offerings." (II. II 56). The Lakheras of Assam believe that a child possesses a soul before birth. A pregnant woman therefore is forbidden to cross any big river lest the spirit of the river should seize the soul of the unborn child which
would then be born with bad health and would probably die. They suppose that at birth an infant's soul can fall through the floor of the house on to the ground and must therefore be tempted by some savoury food which is put in a basket which is then drawn up into the house by the father. The full details of the proceedings are rather complicated but described in detail by N. E. Parry (277 382 sqq).

In Siberia the Yukaghirs say that the spirit of some ancestor enters the body of a child while still in utero (72 130). The Koryaks have a somewhat similar belief. The Supreme Being places the soul of some ancestor in the mother's womb. These souls are hanging on the cross-beams of the house of the Supreme Being. The duration of life of the person so re-incarnated is indicated by the length of the strap which is attached to the soul's neck or to its thumb (ib.136).

It is a common belief throughout West Africa that an individual can be re-incarnated as his or her grandchild. Writing about the Hausas, Tremearne says that they believe that the "souls of every living thing go to Allah ... some say they cannot return and enter the bodies of descendants, although the bori (a kind of second soul) can do so, but the better opinion is that the soul can become re-incarnated in the grandchild, while a few say it can enter even a child of the deceased" (417 96). The Nankans of Ashanti think that some spirit children do not wish to be re-incarnated and, if this does occur, the child will die unless, soon after birth, the cause of any weakness is discovered and a sacrifice made (294 136). The Rev. J. H. Weeks says that on the Upper Congo, among the Bangala, every family has a reserve for unborn children. This may be a tree, or a pool, or some special spot. The deceased members of a family supply their special spot with children, which will be given bodies and be born as members of the family (431).
LUCKY AND UNLUCKY CHILDREN

The good or bad luck of a Maori infant is believed to depend upon the phase of the moon and its appearance at the time of the child's birth. The first day of the moon is a fortunate one and a child born on that day is very lucky. Should labour start on the night of the twenty-eighth day of the moon it is important to observe its appearance. The presence of a halo indicates that the child will possess undesirable qualities but a clear moon, or one that is pale red, indicates that the child will be good and will possess all desirable qualities (22).

In India the Rawats of Chhattisgarh think that when three children of the same sex have been born it is unlucky for the fourth child to be of the opposite sex. To avert misfortune the infant is covered with a basket and a fire of grass is lit all round it. A brass pot is smashed on the floor to symbolise the death of the infant. When the baby is taken up again it is considered the fifth in the family. In this caste, when a midwife attends the birth of a boy after having attended that of a girl on the same day and in the same quarter, it is believed that the boy will fall ill from contagion of the girl communicated through the midwife. "To avoid this, on the following Sunday the child's maternal uncle makes a banghy... and weighs the child in it against cowdung. He then takes the banghy and deposits it at cross-roads outside the village. The father cannot see either the child or its mother till after the Chathi, or sixth-day ceremony of purification." (331 II 27sq). Good or bad luck is dependent on the season in which a boy or girl is born to Gurao parents. When the infant is born in what they consider an unlucky season, they tie it between two winnowing fans with a thread wound many times round them. A cow is made to lick the child, which is then supposed to have been born as a calf. Thus the evil omen of the infant's birth is removed from the child (26 III 176sq). When a woman of the Joshi caste has lost several infants, a bad name is given to the next to avert the ill luck and to "remove the enmity of the spirits hostile to the children," (26 III 279). The Kawars of the Central Provinces consider four consecutive children of the same sex unlucky. The fourth is called titura if a boy, or tituri if a girl. They say "A titura child either fills the storehouse or empties it." To avoid ill luck "oil and salt are thrown away, and the mother gives one of her bangles to the midwife" (26 III 397sq). Some Kunbis believe that when a child has been born during an eclipse it is liable to suffer from lung disease. In order to avoid this "they make a silver model of the moon while the eclipse lasts and hang it round the child's neck as a charm" (26 IV 29).

In Travancore the festival of Maam is considered so
lucky that a girl born under the star Regulus on that day is supposed to be truly "born with a silver spoon in her mouth" (405 II 59). The Korawas, a fairly widely spread caste throughout Southern and Central India, are notorious thieves. They say that a child born on a night of the new moon when the weather is 'strong' will grow up an expert thief (2b III 492). A Brahman priest is consulted by the Kelasie of South Canara to decide whether a child has been born lucky or unlucky. When unlucky, the barber is asked to offer something to the tutelary deity or (to) the nine planets, or to propitiate the village deity, if it is found that the child is born under its evil eye" (ib III 272).

The Birhors, a jungle tribe of Chota Nagpur, believe in lucky and unlucky children and decide the fortune of a child in the following way as described by S. Ch. Roy: "On the day of birth - or on the following morning if the birth has taken place at night - the men of the tanda go out with their nets for a hunt with a view to testing the future luck of the new-born babe" (326 225). Presumably the child's luck will be shown by the degree of success in hunting on that day.

In the Punjab it is believed that the birth of four children of the same sex is a calamity and some misfortune will follow, such as a death, or loss of property, or some injury. There are several remedies or preventives which can be used to avert the evil effects of such a birth. For example, the father may pour a quantity of ghee down the gutter of the room in which the fourth child was born; or he may break a brass tray in the centre and pass the child through the gap. A painted and scented horse-shoe attached to the bed also protects both mother and child (318 I 743sq).

In Africa the Banyankole think that a child born during the days when the moon is waning will never be lucky, but a child conceived during the increasing moon will be lucky (314 110). Many tribes lay great stress on the order of eruption of the first teeth. The Basabei consider it a sign of bad luck when the upper teeth appear before the lower. When this occurs it is taken as an omen of the impending death of one parent. A goat must be killed and offered to the god, and the contents of the stomach smeared over the whole household, including the child, after which a medicine-man must break the teeth of the parent whose life is in danger (315 74). It is considered most unlucky if a Kikuyu child were to touch the ground at the time of its birth. A ram, a young ewe, or a young female goat is killed and a skin bracelet is made for the mother to wear, but this is for the sake of the child (166 154). After the animal has been killed "the midwife comes out and takes the contents of the stomach in her two hands, and while the infant is on the ground anoints its stomach and chest; then takes it up, washes it, and puts the same on its forehead and lips, allows it to remain there, and gives it to
its mother" (324 150). This is supposed to avert the ill-
luck. When a Kamba child is born feet first they believe
it will be unlucky throughout life. When the child is a
male, his wife will die; and in the case of a girl her future
husband will die. This, however, can be avoided if "the
prospective husband, before he commences to pay for his
bride, sends her mother a present of an axe" (168 159).

The Nankanse in Ashanti consider a child born feet first
most unlucky. The parents are forbidden to eat the second
bean crop, and mother and child must both be treated with
medicine (294 I 289). When a Dagaba child is born with a
tooth, this must be pulled out before the father sees it. A
footling birth is also unlucky (II 417 sq). In Morocco
the Igliwa, a tribe of the Shloh, say a footling birth
renders a boy smart and it is lucky to be born with a caul
(436 II 400).

In America a Zuni baby born when the moon is full will
be healthy and will be blessed with long life, but one born
at the time of the new moon, or when the moon is on the wane
has poor prospects for the future (279).
THE FIRST-BORN CHILD

Special customs are often observed on the birth of a first child in a family. The following brief notes give a few examples from the South Seas and from Africa where such customs are observed.

Starting with New Guinea we find the rite observed by the Koita takes place when the infant is three or four weeks old. Prof. Seligman says that the child "is decked with as much New Guinea finery ... as possible, and carried by its mother, similarly decked, to her mother's house. She is accompanied by her sister-in-law who walks behind carrying an empty pot (hodu), a spear, a petticoat and a firestick. The child's father stays quietly in his own house. The infant's mother and her sister-in-law sit down in the house of the child's grandmother, smoke, yarn and chew betel. Presently the infant's yaiya, i.e. the wife of its maternal uncle, strips the ornaments off the mother and child, and these with the spear, pot and petticoat go to the raimu (i.e. maternal uncle) and wahia (i.e. grandparents and elders) on the maternal side. These relations keep some, but give the rest away to their clansmen. In reality they do but repay such of their clansmen as have helped them to make up the precisely equivalent return present which should be given before the mother and child leave the house, and which will be divided among the infant's father's relations." (346 71sq).

Before the actual birth of a first child among the Northern Massim of New Guinea, the father sleeps in the verandah of his house. He is allowed to see his child immediately after its birth (46.704). On the birth of a first child among the Waga Waga however, the father must go to stay at the club-house, where he remains for six-months and is carefully dieted. He may eat fish and yams, but must abstain from many kinds of meat and vegetable food which might induce illness in the infant. A first-born child has also certain food restrictions imposed until the age of two or three years. These are rather similar to the father's tabooed articles of diet (46.467sq). Only the first-born child of a chief has any special ceremony at birth among the Maful of British New Guinea. The women of neighbouring communities are invited and come in dancing dress and fully armed. After a demonstration at the chief's house and club-house they are feasted with vegetables and the flesh of pigs (444 156). The Kuni have a similar custom but not confined to celebration of the birth of a chief's child. It is observed after the birth of the first child in any family. They make an attack on the house and on the village club-house with darts (444 157 footnote). On the birth of a Mekeo woman's first child the people of the village sing all night, and next day the father of the child kills a pig or a dog for them to have a feast (445). A first-born baby on San Cristoval in the Solomon Islands is buried alive. They
say he will never be strong or clever, and besides, they can never be certain who his father is. The mother's husband, whether the father or not, buries the child and, placing a large stone on the grave, stamps it firmly down. Sometimes the first child of a chief, or of a rich man, is spared (112 117). Among the Lau people of the Solomon Islands, the first-born son of a chief is spoken of as a 'living root'. (204 108).

R. W. Williamson states that: "In the Society Islands, the first-born child of a chief succeeded immediately on birth to his father's title and estates, and even the sanctity which attached itself to the holder of the title and the right to the homage of the people passed forthwith from the father to the child, and the birth of the child was the subject of a solemn religious ceremony at the marae" (i.e. the temple) (447 I 35).

The first-born among the Semites was considered sacred as we can see by the sacrifices and offerings mentioned in the Bible. We are told that the King of Moab "took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall" (2 Kings III 27). It was pointed out by Robertson Smith that "in old times when exceptional circumstances called for a human victim, it was a child, and by preference a first-born or only child, that was selected by the peoples in and around Palestine" (360 464).

There is a custom among the Mbula of Northern Nigeria which allows the relatives of a woman who has given birth to her first child to claim that child if the father has not completed his marriage payments (253 I 58). When a Zumu woman gives birth to her first female child the husband must pay her maternal uncle five gowns and eleven pieces of cloth. This is because "a man receives no bride-price for his sister (so) it is right that he should derive some advantage from one of her children in order to help him to provide a wife for one of his sons" (26 I 77sq). Several other Nigerian tribes have similar customs relating to the first-born female infants. The Katab rule is for the first two to be claimed by the wife's family and payment must be made for the return of one - the second. In the case of the first child of the first wife no payment is made as the father had to work for the mother's parents, but in the case of the first child of a second wife payment must be made for its return to its parents (26 II 35 sq). In the Bormu province of Northern Nigeria there are slight tribal variations in custom. The first child remains with the mother's parents "for a year (Mgamoyaya) or until it is weaned (Janga). At one time the first child seems to have been reckoned as part of the bride-price. When a second child is born the first is bathed in the water in which the second had been washed (26 II 277). When the first child of Kwotto parents has been named, this name, whether belonging to another person, or a thing, must
be avoided in all conversation. The child is usually handed over to a paternal uncle who henceforth acts as the adopted father (449 251a). Amongst the Bassa-Iomo of Northern Nigeria "a first-born son is not cherished if the father has no brother, as it is supposed he will be impatient for his father's death in order that he may succeed to his property. The first-born son is invariably handed over to the paternal grandparents to bring up." (53). In the majority of the Baganda clans it was thought that, when the first-born child of a chief was a boy, his father would die, so the midwife generally strangled it and announced that the child was still-born. This saved the life of the chief (312 54).
INFANTICIDE

The custom of killing new-born infants is very common throughout the world, each tribe, or people, practising infanticide having some very definite reason for the practice. When an Australian tribe is threatened with starvation a father must decide whether one child must be killed to save the life of another (14 21). If an Arunta mother considers she is unable to rear a child, the infant is killed immediately after it is born. It is believed that such a child may be born again under more favourable circumstances. It may then have the same mother or a different one (368 I 39). S. Gason mentions several tribes in South Australia among whom infanticide is fairly common especially in the case of unmarried mothers, and all infants that appear to be delicate or deformed (126). In Port Lincoln District, South Australia, when several babies were born in rapid succession the youngest was usually killed. The aborigines on the Lower Murray River often killed and ate the youngest infant. At one time the natives of Gippsland frequently buried their new-born babies alive in the sand (363 I 51sq). C. Lumholtz states that in Queensland in times of scarcity of food the Aborigines might eat their children (231 134). F. Gillen wrote in the report on "The Horn Expedition": "A mother with a child of eighteen months seldom undertakes to rear a girl infant; she considers that she cannot attend to two babies at once, and calmly sacrifices the last arrival by choking it with sand" (153 IV 166).

N. W. Thomas in summing up the reasons given for infanticide among Australian aborigines, says that "in some cases the child was troublesome to carry, especially if there were other young children. In times of scarcity children naturally suffered with the adults, and showed more signs of privations; their condition was put down to the influence of magic, and they were set outside the camp to die. Near Adelaide the children were regularly eaten in times of famine; very occasionally the sacrifice of a child seems to have been part of the ceremonies attendant on the initiation of a medicine man" (393 177sq).

In New Guinea among the Mafulu people a child born to an unmarried girl is invariably killed and when a married woman has all the children she wishes, the next is killed. Another extraordinary reason for infanticide is that "a woman must not give birth to a child until she has given a pig to a village feast; and if she does so it will be a matter of reproach to her" (444 176sq). Father Chabot told R. W. Williamson that a woman of the Kuni people "killed her child so that she might use her milk for suckling a young pig, which was regarded as being more important." (36 177). When an Crokaiwo infant is found to be abnormal at birth, it is strangled and buried. It is believed that some, but not all, illegitimate children were killed in the same way. (41 95 & 135). In the
region of Milne Bay in the extreme south-east of New Guinea, children, especially when they were illegitimate, were sometimes killed and eaten (346 551). Among the neighbouring islands infanticide was common. In order to conserve the food supply the Murray Islanders limited the number of their children by killing at birth all above what they considered they could provide for. Female infants were more frequently killed than males. The method employed was either by crushing the head between the hands, or by strangling with a cord (150 107sqq). On the island of Mabuaig, unwanted female infants were simply buried in the sand (149 196). Girls were unpopular on the Trobriand Islands and when three girls were born and no sons, the last girl was sometimes killed (346 705). Malinowski, however, who worked on Kiriwina says "girls are quite as welcome at birth as boys, and no difference is made between them by the parents in interest, enthusiasm, or affection. It is needless to add that the idea of female infanticide would be as absurd as abhorrent to the natives" (244 25).

In former times on Ulawa, one of the small islands in the Solomon Group, it was the custom to strangle all unwanted infants at birth, but twins were allowed to live although they imposed a heavy burden on the parents (203 93). On another of the Solomon Islands, Mela, custom does not allow the birth of a baby in a village, the expectant mother must go into the bush where no provision is made for herself or for the child. This custom is the direct cause of infanticide in many cases (186 72). On Malekula, in the New Hebrides, infanticide was commonly practised at one time. The child was simply buried alive (77 233). Illegitimate infants, or those born in time of war, on Savage Island or Niue, were frequently killed. In the case of the wartime babies, they were often put in an ornamental cradle and set adrift upon the sea (401). While S. H. Ray says that on Lifou in the Loyalty Group "infanticide does not seem to have been practised" (295) Mrs. E. Hadfield states that children are sometimes killed for eating, especially when a man is head of a very large family and he takes a great longing for animal food (151 168). At one time it was a very common custom to kill baby girls on Vanua Leva, Fiji, because they were useless in war. Babies over one or two days old were never killed. The method employed was to compress the nostrils and keep the infant’s mouth shut by holding up the jaw with the thumb (443 154sq). It was once the custom on Tahiti to suffocate any unwanted child immediately after birth. A piece of damp bark cloth was laid across the infant’s face (75 163). In former times the custom of infanticide was not infrequent among the Maori when the father of the child was dead, or even when the husband had insulted his wife (22).

The Kayans of Borneo are exceeding fond of children and the only circumstances under which infanticide is practised is in the case of the birth of twins. It is considered
essential to kill one in order to preserve the life of the other. The twin which is sacrificed is simply exposed in the jungle. When they are of opposite sexes the girl is generally killed (190 II 156). In Tambunan in North Borneo the mother of an illegitimate child would strangle it at birth. The custom of the Marudu Dusans was "to kill the child and hang it up on a tree in the jungle, the spot being held accursed" (332 140). When a Sea Dyak woman dies in childbirth the infant is blamed and is buried alive in the same coffin as the mother. Nudup children, also in North Borneo, when born idiots, or deformed, are said to be "nipped in the throat and so killed" (320 I 100 sq).

Coming to the Asiatic mainland we find that the Angami Nagan were accustomed to kill all infants of unmarried mothers as soon as they were born. Delivery generally took place in the jungle. In the Kesami branch of the tribe the infant's feet are pierced with thorns "to prevent its visiting and haunting the mother in her dreams." To allow such children to live would prevent the village from having any success in hunting or war. (196 217) When an Ao Naga woman gives birth to an illegitimate child she kills it by stamping on its neck. (261 266). If a Lushei woman dies at the time of her confinement her infant is buried alive with her, for it is considered most unlucky for any other woman to rear the child (352 82).

It is convenient to deal with Madagascar here before going on to the mainland of Africa. The Malagasies believe in lucky and unlucky days, and babies born on one of the latter were drowned in a shallow dish filled with luke-warm water. An infant born on a day which was unlucky for one parent only was not killed in the Bara tribe, but, if unlucky for both parents, the infant was buried alive in an anthill. All Sakalava children born on a Tuesday were put to death (355 79 sq).

Bakongo women in West Africa sometimes suffocate their children, but it must be done before the infant cries otherwise it is treated as murder (433 113). In the French Congo infanticide is rare except among the Fans who kill any weak or crippled children and also one of each pair of twins (71 158).

In the Niger Delta both twins and their mother were killed and if a woman happened to die in childbirth, her infant was killed and buried with her, because there was no milk for the child (385 205). Illegitimate children of Kilba women in Northern Nigeria were killed by immersion in hot water, or by giving them a draught of charcoal water. Such a child, if allowed to live would cause disaster in the mother's family (253 I 204). If a Fali girl of the Wuba district, Nigeria, bore a child before going to her husband's home, or before the final tribal marks had been incised, this child was killed being regarded as illegitimate (25 I 303).
Among the Ngamo of Bornu the birth of an illegitimate child must take place outside the village and the mother of the youth who is responsible is compelled to drown it (26 II 277sq).

It is a common custom for the Eskimo of the Behring Strait region to kill female children at birth as they will be unable to contribute in obtaining food for the family. The infants are taken out naked to the graveyard and their mouths are filled with snow so that they may die quickly (268 289).

In South America the Abipones, or Callages, of the Gran Chaco will only rear two children. All others are killed to save trouble (247 242), but Col. Church says "the parents were glad to rear other children so soon as the first two were able to take to the war-path." He also states regarding the first two that one was cared for by the mother, and the other by the father (51 264). The last named author says that the Mataguayos sometimes kill a small infant when the mother dies, "so that it may continue to receive milk" (26.261). The Guayourus kill the children of unmarried women because they have no known father (26.249). Deformed infants are invariably killed by the Chiriguano, and only one of twins is allowed to live (26.120). If a Mojos Indian, who had a baby, died, the child was buried with the mother, and in the case of twins, one was killed in order to allow the other to get sufficient nourishment. Sometimes both were killed because the father considered that only beasts should have more than one at a birth (26.102 & 107). Occasionally they buried infants alive (26.108). The Lengua Indians consider it advisable to allow an interval of seven or eight years between the births of two infants. Any born within this time would be killed by them. Col. Church suggests that the probable reason for infanticide among these South American tribes is to regulate the population to suit the existing food supply of the district (26.295). When the first child in an Arancanian family of Chili is a female she is sometimes killed (161 9). Formerly any children in the Chilian branch of the Arancians that were born crippled or idiots were killed, and so were illegitimate children (26.33)
INFANT FEEDING

(a) Lactation

As the subject of lactation is a big one only a few examples of special interest need be given. In order to promote the flow of milk the Alurida and the Arunta in Australia "burn sticks of Mulga and stroke the breasts with the charred ends." The infant is not weaned until it is three or four years of age, but while very young, perhaps only a month or two old, it may be given a large bone to suck (14b 65 sq). When it is found that a woman of the Baahlayi Tribe has not sufficient milk to feed her child, "she is steamed over 'old man' Saltbush and hot twigs of it (are) laid on her breasts," (275 39). On Murray Islands a child is usually not weaned until it begins to bite hard with its teeth. To wean the child the mother applies a decoction of chillies and water to her nipples (150 105). Mundugumor women in New Guinea suckle their children standing and women who have never borne children can successfully suckle infants, inducing lactation by drinking coconut milk (251 136).

A nursing mother on the Loyalty Islands sometimes rubs her breasts with the leaves of the wild fig tree, and takes large quantities of coconut in order to increase the quantity of her milk (151 179). Women of the Solomon Islands, while nursing babies abstain from eating crabs, the flesh of sharks and also porpoises as all these are apt to produce sores on the heads of their infants (204 109). They are also forbidden to catch certain fish or to eat birds for the same reason (38 125). B. C. Thomson says hard work and low diet are possible causes of deficiency of breast milk among Fijian women. The breasts are oiled and steamed, painted with turmeric and kept warm with bandages of bark-cloth. They are given spinach and shellfish to eat and water in which they are cooked to drink (402 212 sq). For the first three days after her confinement a Fijian woman does not feed her own child so it has to be suckled by another woman or fed with the juice of sugar-cane (443 150). In former times a Maori woman had her breasts massaged and the nipples manipulated during pregnancy as this was believed to promote the flow of milk. As a rule the child was suckled until able to run about, but at an early age it might get some ordinary food which had been well masticated by the mother (240 115a 136). An infusion of a plant called kohekohe is sometimes used to stop the secretion of milk (216).

On the day following the birth of a child a Bismarck mother is given an infusion of a certain leguminous plant to hasten the flow of milk. When this fails, the husband offers a libation and promises a further offering of cow's milk to the god when the milk appears (326 224). The Crambe give
urid lentils to a lying-in woman to hasten the flow of milk (327 124). When a Mehtar woman finds that her milk is running dry she is given a certain little fish found in shallow pools. It is believed to have fallen down with rain. After boiling, the fish and the water are given to the woman to consume. The association of the fish with liquid probably suggests the return flow of milk (331 IV 223). The Kachhis of the Central Provinces starve both mother and child for the first day and on the second day they give the baby a little urine from a young calf, and the mother is given half a coconut with a little sugar. On the evening of the second day the mother is given a cake made with hot spices and herbs and begins to suckle her child (26.III 287). The Kurmis also give the infant the urine of a calf mixed with honey, for the first five days after birth. The mother begins to suckle her child after her bath on the third day when the baby is a girl, but not till the fourth day when the baby is a boy (26.IV 71). Lactation is not started among the Chamaris until the third day. Prior to this the baby is given urine of a calf in which some medicinal root has been boiled (26.II 413). A Dhobi infant gets only castor oil and honey for the first two days and suckling is started on the third day (26.II 521). Garlic is given to Sinhalese nursing mothers in order to keep away all evil spirits and to promote the flow of milk (162). The Vedas of Ceylon do not allow nursing mothers to eat the fat of the monitor lizard nor rilawa flesh as they are apt to produce purging and would kill the infant. The fat of the spotted deer also spoils the milk, and if the mother eats mora fruit they believe the child would get worms (349 102).

It was the custom in ancient Egypt to suckle a child for about three years (44 31). In Modern Egypt a nursing mother sometimes wears a bead of milky agate to ensure an abundance of milk (167). This is probably an example of sympathetic magic, the milky colour of the agate suggesting milk. Bageau infants were generally breast-fed for two or three years, or until the mother became pregnant again within that period (315 25). If a Bakyiga infant died while still being breast-fed and the mother continued to have swollen breasts, she got relief by suckling a dog (16.50). After a Dinka woman has been delivered of a child, the breasts are squeezed and the first few drops of milk are allowed to fall on the ground, then the infant is put to the breast (69). J. H. Driberg says: "Milkless (kango) women are given a secret drug to drink, and their breasts are scarified, with the result that milk is eventually secreted. Should a suckling mother be struck with a branch of the tree epoba, it is believed that her supply of milk would run dry." (86 141).

In Nigeria a nursing mother among the Katab smears her body with red earth to ensure good milk. The custom is common throughout Nigeria. Probably the custom is meant to ward off evil influences (234 II 40). The Ngangis have the same custom (26.I 233). An Ibo infant is given nothing but
but water for the first two or three days after its birth although the grandmother may attempt to suckle the baby during these days. They consider the first milk secreted unfit for consumption and are said to test it "by its reaction to leaves and ants" (13 173). P. A. Talbot tells of an Ibo woman who, fourteen years after the birth of her last child was able "to produce milk to nourish unfortunate waifs, such as twins or motherless children." Her milk on analysis was said to be of excellent quality. The same author says that among the Ibibio similar cases are found (385 210sq). Prof. I. Schapera says: "Among the Hottentots of Little Namagualand the milk of the mother's breast is not regarded fit for the child until about the third day after birth. Till then the baby is given goat's or cow's milk, unless another woman can be found, already weaning her own child, who is able to give it her breast. Failing the latter resource, the artificially-fed baby, when at last put to its mother's breast, is often too weak to suck with success." (337 262).

Oyana infants in French Guiana are only suckled for a very short time (76 48).
Examples of wet-nursing can be found at times among virgins, men, and elderly women who have not borne a child for many years. An interesting case of artificially induced lactation has been recorded from Alligator River district in Australia. "The mother of an infant of tender years having died, a younger sister of the deceased, who had no children, volunteered to adopt the helpless mite. The foster-mother diligently treated her breasts with a pulp made by mashing Eugenia leaves with ashes and sufficient water to make a paste; and heated stones were placed over the breasts at frequent intervals. The mammary glands and their surrounding tissues were at every opportunity plied with the fingers, and the babe's lips were as often put to the nipples. Within a short time, fluid formed in the breasts; and the child was suckled. The fluid was said to have been more watery than milk, but, nevertheless, made good nourishment for the child."

(14 20). When a Kiwi woman is unable to suckle her infant, another woman takes the child and nurses it. When she returns it to its parents she receives a present (219 233). In Fiji if a woman after delivery is unable to nurse her infant, or if she dies, another nursing mother is sometimes requested to give the infant a feed, but few are able to do this. "In Thakaundroove a woman who is not nursing (a child) sometimes takes the place of the mother. She is fed on spinach, and is oiled and tended like the real mother, and in course of time, if the child continues to suck her breasts, the milk comes, and the child is reared."

(402 213). Temporary suckling of a Raro child by a woman of a different clan is reported from New Guinea (34.5 255).

In Assam when an Angani Naga woman dies in childbirth, the infant is sometimes fed on rice pulp. There is a case on record where the father suckled his infant daughter and reared her successfully, and "cases of the suckling of orphaned children by quite old women seem to occur from time to time among the Lhotas" (56 216). One case is reported amongst the Lhota Nages in which the father successfully suckled his infant daughter from the time she was fifteen days old (26.217). When a Lakher mother is unable, through illness, to suckle her child another woman may undertake to do it for her (277 387). The women of one branch of the Ahirs in the Central Provinces of India and Berar, are known as the Wet Nurse Ahirs and, being a pure caste, can act in this capacity for many of the higher castes (331 II 25). When a wet-nurse is required by the Kumbis, even a low-caste woman or a Muhammadan may be employed (36.4.30). Although Semang women in Malaya usually have little milk to spare, yet, when a nursing mother dies, her infant will be suckled by another Semang woman who is nursing a child of her own (339 102).

Among the Wa-Sania of British East Africa, when a
nursing-mother dies her infant is handed over to one of her female relations to suckle (9). In the event of the death of a nursing mother among the tribes at the Southern end of Lake Nyasa, the infant’s grandmother is expected to suckle the child, or, failing her, this duty is undertaken by a maternal aunt (372). The case of an Ibo woman who sometimes acted as a wet-nurse has already been mentioned (385 210sq). Similar cases are found among the Ibibio who may suckle infants even ten or fifteen years after they had nursed their own last child. Even grandmothers of sixty or seventy years of age may suckle their grandchildren (385 210).

F. A. Talbot says "Among the Kalabari ... the ability to produce milk, almost at will, is regarded as an ordinary attribute of womanhood." (26 210 footnote).

(c) Artificial Feeding

Total artificial feeding of infants is less common among the more backward peoples than the giving of supplementary food when the mother’s milk is not considered sufficient for a baby. Both total and partial artificial feeding will be mentioned.

When a mother on the island of Lifu in the Loyalty Group, found or considered that she was not giving her infant sufficient nourishment, "she fed him with the bitter juice from very young coconuts. She was careful to open these nuts with a piece of new wood; then, to prevent her little one from having sore eyes, she threw the wood, the husk, and the kernel of the nut into the fire." (151 175). In the Shortlands Group, an infant only four or five days old was given cooked bananas which had been chewed by the mother, and the dew which had collected on the taro leaves was given as a drink (40 37). Basil Thomson reported that in Tonga "children are generally reared safely by hand upon a diet of cooked breadfruit made into a liquid with coconut milk". He mentions one case in which the infant was reared on sugar cane (402 214). As a substitute for the mother’s milk the Fijians sometimes give infants water in which the stalks of the taro have been boiled. This food is sweet and mucilaginous although not so nutritive as mother’s milk (ibidem). In New Guinea the Koita give their infants roasted banana four to six weeks after birth. Soon after this they give other vegetable food and well-cooked fish (346 86).

Although children of the Ao Nagas are not weaned until they are about three years of age, yet, while they are still very young, the mother may feed her child with boiled rice which she has chewed well and dropped into the infant’s mouth (261 267). Lhota Naga infants are given a little meat within a month of birth. The flesh of the bulbul is preferred "because this bird twitterers so much that by eating it a child will soon learn how to talk." Bat’s flesh soup is given to
an infant when the mother is unable to suckle it properly (260 147). When a Lakher woman dies after delivery the baby is fed on rice and sugar cane. The mortality in such cases is very high (277 387). Benua infants in Malaya are sometimes given hog's grease to supplement their normal diet from about the third or fourth day after birth (358 II 19). N. W. Rockhill reports that Tibetan infants "are fed on parched meal mixed with soup, the greater part of them getting no milk" (303). If a Tibetan mother dies "a relative or maid-servant acts as foster-mother, and only in default of these is cow's milk used". (454 196sq). When an Arab woman in Palestine has insufficient milk to supply her infant, she adds pomegranate juice to the infant's food "for it is the apple of Paradise and must be good." Honey is also frequently used (136 62).

Normally an infant of the Ba-Mbala is suckled for about a year and a half. Solid food is started at four months. "A small quantity of kato is pushed into its mouth; the child usually protests vigorously and tries not to swallow it, but it is compelled to do so by having more crammed into its mouth" (408). This Kato or Gato consists of manioc leaves prepared with palm oil and native pepper. Writing about the French Congo, A. L. Cureau says that, while he is uncertain when coarse food is first given, he believes that "smoked fish, and, above all, manioc are given to the child very early." (71 160). When an infant in Liberia is three or four months old it is given pellets of pounded banana or mashed manioc (212 II 1052). Among the Baganda artificial feeding begins at the end of a few months and consists chiefly of "ripe banana boiled, or steamed, and mixed with milk; the mixture was plastered into the child's mouth as it howled and gasped for breath" (312 59).

In French Guinea, Oyana babies are weaned early. Yam puree is given first, seasoned with a little red pepper (76 48).
In Australia the Euhahyi believe that all babies are under the patronage of the moon, so, at the time of the new moon the mothers make a white cross on their babies' foreheads and dab white on their cheeks and chins. Neither mothers nor babies must look at the full moon, because this would cause the infants to suffer from thush. To make the babies sleep well, the mothers rub on the babies' heads a red powder obtained from the joints of the needle bush tree. Crying a great deal is supposed to be due to evil spirits in the babies, so these must be smoked out over burning Budhha twigs, Massage is applied at night to the babies' joints and their mouths are kept shut "lest an evilly-disposed person should slip in a disease or evil-working spirit." For the same reason they will not allow the baby to lie on its back unless they cover its head (275 52sq). If a new-born infant on Malekula in the New Hebrides happens to come in contact with a cycas, the plant must be dug up and the root destroyed completely, to safeguard the child. In one district an infant must be washed in 'medicated' coconut milk on coming out of doors for the first time (77 236). The Maoris lay great stress on physical fitness and a new-born infant has massage applied to its head, arms, legs and body; passive movements are applied to the joints and the nose is gently moulded (240 134). It is considered unlucky to give a child a name during the first few years of its life, according to the Klemantams and the Sea Dyaks of Borneo. To do so would draw the attention of evil spirits to the infant (190 I 79).

In order to safeguard a new-born infant against evil spirits, the Lushei of Assam hang offerings of food under the verandah of their house, and a sacrifice must be offered within seven days to ensure good health for the child. When several children have died, the next is taken to a friend's house and purchased, as if it were a slave. In this way the evil spirits are deceived (352 61sq). Within a week of its birth a Chamor infant is branded on the abdomen with a hot tinkle to prevent it from catching cold. Rubbing the limbs with castor oil is supposed to prevent convulsions (331 II 413sq). In order to make a Cond infant grow fat the umbilical cord is buried in a manure heap (26 III 82) and for the protection of the child, its mother has the image of the cradle goddess (Jhul-an Devi) tattooed on the place where the test against her when she is going about (26 III 127). A few days after birth a Mantra child in Malaya has its head shaved and when it is ill it is rubbed with lime and turmeric (358 II 16). Both Jakun parents must avoid eating certain fish and animals until their child can walk. Breaking this rule would cause the infant to suffer from 'swollen stomach' (26 II 21). Thin Kawar children are weighed against moist cow dung, believing that they will swell out as the dung dries up (331 III 401). It is believed by the Kurmis that a child born during an
eclipse will suffer from lung trouble, so a silver model of the moon is made immediately and hung round the child's neck to protect it (16 IV 72). A Yezidi baby is kept in the house for forty days and must be dressed in the cast-off clothes of other children. Anything yellow brought into the house might give the infant jaundice, while anything red will cause fever (88 209).

The Baganda do not allow an infant to sit upon the floor until it is two months old. The grandfather then makes it sit on a piece of bark cloth near the door and a feast is held (312 II). The Banyankole do not allow an infant to touch the ground with the soles of its feet until it is four months old (314 124). To ensure good luck and satisfactory growth, a Busoga baby is brought out to see the first new moon after it is a month old (315 124). Great care must be taken in referring to an infant among the Bakongo. If you say the baby is fat they think you want to 'eat it' in spirit, and the infant will die soon; if you call it a fine child, the evil spirit will kill it. It is given charms to protect it from illness. Small traps are placed round the house to catch any creature, representing an evil spirit which might harm the child (435 116 sq). A Nankane infant is kept in the warm room in which it was born until it is able to crawl. Then some woman pretends to steal the child and takes it out for the first time or it is allowed to crawl out itself. As a further protection the child is held up to the sun by some man specially chosen (294 I 133 sq). Special pots with human faces are made by Hona women in Northern Nigeria. These are intended as abodes for spirits that might be ill-disposed towards their infants, and food is placed on the lips of the pots for the use of the spirits (253 II 402).

Among the Zuni Indians of New Mexico there is a curious custom which is supposed to enable a child to speak well. A mocking bird's tongue is cut out and held for the baby to lick. It is supposed that the bird's tongue will be renewed and that the child will be able to talk (279). In Chili the Araucanians take great care to make sure that an infant is protected from wind until the fontanelles are closed, and the mother moulds the baby's head with her hands (161 19).
7

STERILITY,

CONTRACEPTION,

and

EUGENICS
STERILITY

(a) General Beliefs and Customs

The people of Lau in the Solomon Group look upon sterility as so infectious that no barren woman is allowed to plant coconuts. A woman who has several children is employed and, when she is planting the coconuts, her children must climb on her back (204 240).

In the Central Provinces of India the Koltas have the following custom to ascertain if a barren woman is likely to have a son. During the Puajuntia festival in Kunwar they put a living fish in a hole in the ground which has been filled with water. "The woman sits by the hole holding her cloth spread out, and if the fish in struggling jumps into her cloth, it is held to prognosticate the birth of a son." (331 III 541). The Chenchus of Hyderabad consider that sterility is due to disfavour of the gods, and try to discover which deity must be invoked in order to remove the curse (120 145).

It is believed in Uganda that a sterile woman will prevent a garden from yielding fruit (306 568 80). When a barren Na-Luo woman dies, acacia thorns are inserted into the soles of her feet and then broken off. Wailing then ceases (172). It would seem that such a woman becomes a malignant spirit and the thorns are probably inserted to prevent her return. Wailing ceases as soon as she is rendered harmless. The Awawanga have a custom of deflowering every young virgin who dies; "this is always done by the forcible insertion of the pointed bulb of spathes which cover the immature flowers at the lower end of a growing bunch of bananas. If this is omitted, it is believed that the sisters of the deceased will not be found to be virgins on their marriage." (172). When a Nankane man is impotent he will often allow his wife "to have intercourse with other men in order to raise up seed for him" (294 I 113 footnote).

(b) Causes of Sterility

A possible cause of relative sterility among the Arunta of Australia is the mutilation carried out on males - the operation of subincision - but the natives have other explanations. They say that if a young girl tries on a man's hair waist-band in fun, this will cause cramping of her internal organs and prevent the ability to expand as required during pregnancy (368 I 39). The Gogodara in Western Papua give marsh tortoise to women to eat in order to induce sterility (235). The Arapesh in S. W. New Guinea believe that sterility can be induced in any woman by certain relatives using a definite curse. This can be revoked only by the one who
pronounced it (251 114). Young women on some of the Eastern islands in the Torres Straits chew leaves of three different trees or shrubs and swallow the juice. By continuing this treatment for some time sterility is induced (150 107). On Mabuiag something called gab is buried in a termite's nest and left there to rot. This produces temporary sterility (149 197 footnote). If the receptacle containing the afterbirth of a Kiwai woman is buried under a young guda tree, the mother will bear no more children (219 231). It is stated that in Fiji many women "produce sterility by drinking medicated waters prepared for the purpose" (443 154).

If wood from a 'mela' tree is burnt at an Angami wedding, or if the bride, or bridegroom, happen to touch it, barrenness will result, which will necessitate a divorce (196 191). The Lakhera believe that ill-feeling between her brother and herself can cause sterility in a woman (277 380). Part of the marriage price of a Western Renga Naga woman is a large unsharpened spear-head. The omission of this part of the bride-price will lead to sterility (262 72). If a cloth stained with menstrual blood of a Halba woman, in the Central Provinces of India, happens to be burned instead of being buried, the woman will be rendered sterile (331 III 196). When the first menstrual period of a Parivaram girl ends, the pots she used must be broken to prevent rain-water from collecting in them, for this would render the girl childless (405 VI 157). Apart from physical disability, the Muria believe sterility may be caused by a witch slipping some evil magic into the bride's dress or hair when she puts tika on her forehead (99 70).

When medicine fails to correct apparent sterility in a Bakitara woman, a medicine man makes both husband and wife sit naked on a black cloth and gives them medicine to drink. If within an hour one of them passes urine, that one is believed to be the cause of the barreness (313 248). The Basabei believe that infertility is due to the action of some ghost (315 71). According to the Lango, eating the flesh of the Duiker can cause sterility (86 203). We have seen how the Ba-ila believe that a mupuka is responsible for the secretion of semen. Another mupuka called Chibumba inhabits the uterus and its failure to close the orifice and to mould the semen is the cause of barreness. If any medicines administered fail to stimulate this mupuka, permanent sterility results (359 I 226). A certain bark which is taken by men in the Nyasa region as an aphrodisiac is believed to make women sterile (372). In the Sudan, the Jukun believe that, if the Sky-god or the Earth-deity prevent wives from having children, then there is no remedy, but when some minor deity or ancestor is to blame, libations are offered and prayers made in the hope that the sterility will be cured (254 354). There is a sacred grove in the Nilotic Sudan which only authorised Bari priests may enter. Anyone else attempting to go there will be rendered sterile (350 301).
Some Ibos in Nigeria believe that if a woman eats eggs she will not conceive (1170). When an Ibibio woman is found to be barren it is believed that she must have been a disobedient daughter (385 26). The Kalabari of Nigeria think that if a maid or a pregnant woman sees a corpse of one who has died in childbirth, this will render her sterile. Likewise, anyone making use of any of the belongings of such a person will be afflicted with sterility (386 63). For a Hausa girl to sleep on the skin of a lion or a leopard will render her sterile for an indefinite period (416). The Labwor of Uganda say “a woman will be rendered barren if anyone steals her kilt ... and that she will remain barren until the kilt is restored to her” (430).

The Aramuqians of Chili believe that natural sterility is always the fault of the woman, but it can be produced in the male by roasting ”the testicles of an infant in a heated pot, an act called koftun.” (161 8). The Campa Indians of Peru employ certain herbs to make a douche to render their women sterile. The infusion is blown into the vagina by the medicine man. The treatment lasts three months and renders the woman sterile for two years (52 92). The Goajira of Colombia sometimes induce sterility in their women with a remedy called jaguape which is kept secret (437 118sq).

(c) The Cure of Sterility

It is stated that certain women among the SinaHgolo tribe in New Guinea are able to increase or to diminish the fertility of other women who consult them. Prof. Seligman wrote: "The operator seated first in front and then behind her patient makes passes over the latter's stomach, muttering charms and expectorating chewed arecna nut over her patient's abdomen." (343). A woman on Kiwai Island who wishes to have a numerous family will eat a spider mixed with sago or coconut kernel, or rub a spider on her abdomen. In order to increase the number of children in a village, spiders’ eggs are crushed and put in the well from which the people get their water supply (219 226). Despised, childless women on the Trobriand Islands sometimes resort to a medicine man who treats them with incantations and an infusion made from some native root (346 704). In Seniang on Malekula women desirous of offspring go to a sacred stone where Malnggil Veo keeps spirit children, and pray to be granted offspring. In Lagalag, the husband of a childless woman gets a mushroom and puts it in a small coconut. This is then buried in a hole beneath his wife's bed (77 232). The 'wise woman' of the Gilbert Islands treats her client by manipulation of the uterus, both externally and internally, while the woman is standing in water up to the waist (146). Elsdon Best writing in 1914 stated that a priest was consulted when a Maori woman appeared to be sterile. He cut a leaf in the form of a child of the desired sex and, after invoking Io to make the woman fertile,
he placed the leaf on the woman's abdomen and, after further invocations, wrapped the leaf in a piece of pliable bark and deposited it at some tapu or forbidden spot (22). In more recent times Makereti, a Maori princess, stated that a woman who was sterile stood astride the placenta of a newly-born infant in the hope of conceiving thereby (240 120sq).

We have seen how clay-eating is common during pregnancy but in Borneo, women of the Tuaran group eat a dark red clay to induce fertility. It is supposed to act best when taken about the time of the menstrual period (332 72). A childless Andamanese woman sometimes eats a certain type of frog, cooked, in the hope of bearing a child (36 90). The devil-dancers of Ceylon have special complicated ceremonies which they carry out in order to induce fertility in a sterile woman. After a play performed by the devil-dancers, a doll is presented to the patient which she keeps until pregnancy occurs. Another method of treating sterility is by giving certain 'medicine' to the woman, accompanied by a complicated ceremony (162). The friends of a childless Japanese woman sometimes present her with a doll during the festival of certain phallic divinities in the hope that this may make her fruitful (166).

On the Asiatic mainland the Malas of Southern India consider dried umbilical cord an excellent remedy for sterility (405 IV 371). In a case of sterility the Muduvars give the husband the flesh of a black monkey, and the wife takes a mixture of herbs and spices (165 V 92). The Gonds believe that if a woman worships Buro Deo and fasts, then, 'immediately after the next monthly period, walks across the shadow of a man, she will become pregnant. Another remedy is to pray, naked, to a saj tree on a Sunday night. (331 III 85). If a woman were to swallow the ashes of a cloth stained with the blood of a fertile woman, the Halbas believe that the fertility of the latter would be transferred to the former, but the hitherto fertile woman would become barren (165 III 196). A remedy for sterility employed by some Kunbis is to set fire to someone's house at night. The spirit of some insect burned will enter the womb of the woman who does this and be born as a child (165 IV 32). It has been suggested that this may be the origin of a similar custom in the Panjab where a woman who is sterile may burn seven thatched roofs on successive Sundays in the hope of bearing male offspring (68).

Barrenness of women in Behar is treated with bathing in the local hot springs and drinking some of the water (425). In order to obtain a son a Chamari woman sometimes steals and swallows a piece of the umbilical cord of a newly-born boy, thus transmitting the mother's fertility to herself. The mother then becomes sterile (33 60). The Lepchas of Sikkim believe that the adoption of a child sometimes, but only temporarily, cures a previously sterile woman (265 220). In order to cure her sterility a Kangchadal woman in Siberia will sometimes eat spiders so that she may gain their fertility (72 129).
Miss W. S. Blackman describes a method of curing sterility in a Copt in Egypt. A partial vacuum was produced in a jar inverted over the abdomen of the woman who was anxious to have a child. When the jar was pulled away, the loud pop was believed to be the wind which had been causing her sterility and which had thus been withdrawn from her abdomen (25). A certain Nuer woman was sterile until her husband gave her a frog to eat. The son thus born was able to ensure fertility in previously sterile women by sacrificing a bullock and anointing them with his saliva (350 232). The Monbuttu believe that certain roots can cure sterility and impotence (101 209). One method adopted by the Bakitara was to give the childless woman an infusion of herbs after menstruation had ceased and to tie a knotted string round her waist and resting over the pubes (313 268). Childless Busoga women "would stand on ant-hills and call upon the gods to help them, promising substantial gifts in return for a child" (315 105). Certain herbs are given by the Lango in cases of sterility, but J. H. Driberg adds "there is no evidence for believing that, as is the practice with certain tribes, the dispenser of the drug relies more on his own virility than on the magical properties of the drug in removing the woman's alleged infecundity" (86 139). After casting magical stones to see if the omens are favourable, a Kikuyu medicine-man anoints the face and ears of the sterile woman with a powder made from quartz and gypsum (376 252). To enable a childless Wahehe woman to conceive she is given the pounded leaves of a certain shrub mixed with water. It is sometimes taken by the husband also (181). Sterility is treated by the Ba-ila with infusions made from the root of certain trees (359 I 276). In Southern Rhodesia the Wamanyika also have certain medicines which they believe can cure sterility (354), and the Lambas of Northern Rhodesia administer a kind of gruel, made by mixing certain stamped roots with meal and heating. This is hung above the doorway and some is taken every day (82 264).

Coming to the West side of Africa we find Bakongo women trying various charms to induce fertility. Failing these, they go to the head of a certain secret society who gives them the juice of some secret plant in palm oil. This they drink and remain with the society for many months during which time they are supposed to die and then to revive fit to bear children (433 107). When a sterile Hausa woman "follows the bori", she will, on four Thursday nights, burn a candle to Jato, who will then cause her to conceive. A charm is sometimes used by the Hausa consisting of certain pounded fruits mixed with "the shell of an iguana's egg and the pollen of a male palm tree." Some of this should be given to both husband and wife to eat in the evening." The woman should sleep with the remainder of the egg in her vagina" (418). Another North Nigerian tribe, the Bolewa, bathe a sterile woman in water which has been used to bathe a rival wife after her confinement (253 II 277). The Ibibio believe that many natural objects are capable of inducing fertility, especially when...
acting along with the Thunder god. Abassi Ma, his consort, "more than all the other manifestations of Eka Abassi, is thought to have the power to remove the curse of sterility from barren women, or send new babes to desolate hearths." (387 17). There is a sacred pool at Ikotobo visited by barren women who are bathed there, then they partake of a sacred meal (385 22 sqq). Partaking of the offerings placed upon the sacred stools in Ashanti is supposed to cure barrenness (292 106). In Sierra Leone sterile Mende women make offerings to the spirit of a river expecting thereby to be rendered fruitful (259 261). In Algeria a Shawia remedy for sterility consists of inserting into the vagina a stem of garlic wrapped in cotton and leaving it there over night. At dawn it is removed and intercourse takes place (170).

In former times a childless Bechuana woman made a wooden doll which she decorated with rows of coloured beads and carried about with her, supposing in this way to render herself fertile (79 270).

In America the Hopi Indians have a special ceremony in which old women carry dolls and sterile women sprinkle them with meal in the hope of becoming mothers. The meal is sprinkled towards the doll of the sex desired (280). Sterility appears to be common among the women of Cheran in the Sierra Tarascan but the professional midwives are said to give herbal remedies to cure this. They also anoint the body of the sterile woman with puma grease and give some of the flesh stewed to the patient. Purging with the bulb of the white lily is also employed then, in three days, a bath and, after a sweat, cooking oil and salt are rubbed in (17 164). The Goajira of Colombia have a secret remedy for inducing sterility in the female and are able thus to limit their families (437 118 sq). In Chili the Araucanians believe that natural sterility is always the fault of the woman but their specialists know of some medicine which can make a woman sterile (161 8).

(d) Relative Sterility

Miss W. S. Blackman says that when an Egyptian woman's children have died and there is no prospect of further offspring the woman "will lie down between the lines on a railway track, remaining in this position while the train passes over her. One of the reasons given for this practice is that when the mother is thus frightened her karineh will come to her with the soul of her dead child and cause it to re-enter the mother" (24). In Northern Nigeria the Kuruma inter the placentas and umbilical cord beneath an upturned pot. When a woman hopes for further offspring but is disappointed she digs up one of these pots and smells the contents, believing this will cause her to bear another child (253 II 176). The procedure at Ganda is to dip "a chicken bone into a pot of water in which neolithic axes have been placed. The chicken
is then pressed against the woman's body, and the spirit which has been preventing childbirth passes into the chicken, which immediately dies (II 374).

Montenegrin women frequently have no more than one child and Miss Edith Durham suggests that too early hard work after their confinements causes severe displacements and other complications (94 188).
CONTRACEPTION

Australian aboriginal women appear to have the power to eject the semen after coitus (305), but whether this is a contraceptive measure or not is uncertain when we consider their alleged ignorance of the real cause of pregnancy. It is stated that marsh tortoise is given to a Gogodara woman in New Guinea in order to make her sterile. "The carapace and head of the tortoise are removed, but she is expected to eat the remainder - bones as well as flesh" (235). Another New Guinea tribe, the Mafulu, give women certain herbs for the same purpose (444 177). To prevent conception the women on Kiwai Island tie a rope tightly round the waist when having sexual intercourse and wash thoroughly afterwards in order to avoid pregnancy (219 229). C. G. Seligmann says: "Temporary sterility is supposed in Mabuiag to be produced by burying something called gab in a termite's nest, where it is left to rot; to remove the effect of the charm the gab is dug up and thrown into the sea" (344 179). On Murray Island the women chew and swallow the juice of certain leaves - three different species are used. When this has been continued for a long time it is supposed to render women proof against pregnancy (150 107).

A. C. Rentoul reports that women on the Trobriand Islands seem to have the same ejaculatory power as the Australians and employ this as a contraceptive measure (298), but this is denied by some authorities (125). Many women on New Britain have no children and this is believed to be due to eating certain leaves (40 38). On the Solomon Islands also several substances, both vegetable and mineral, are believed to produce sterility when eaten (301 77sq). W. G. Ivens says the custom was introduced from Fiji to the Solomons and says a first draught, prepared from convolvulus is given then, a week later, an infusion of several other plants is given (203 92). It is stated by B. Thomson that certain herbs are used by the Fijians to prevent conception "but," he adds, "the belief in their efficacy is not general" (402 223). The Maori had a certain ritual which was believed to render a woman sterile. The exact procedure, however, was kept secret (22). In Central Borneo the juice of a certain vine is drunk by some Murung women after the morning meal and the husband and wife abstain from water for the remainder of the day. The wife is rendered sterile but the husband can have offspring by marrying another wife (232 II 426).

At Kampong Jalor in Malaya drugs are taken to prevent conception but they are not frequently used (3). N. Annandale, who reports this, does not mention the names of the drugs. On account of the difficulty in obtaining food the Semang limit their families by means of contraceptives in the form of certain herbs (339 102). Some Hindu, Arab, and Abyssinian women seem to be able to eject the semen after coitus just as the Australian aborigines can (28). The flower of the katala (Flacourtia sp.) is believed by the Baiga in India to make a
woman barren if eaten by her. They also say if a placenta is laid on the ground with the foetal side upward, the mother will not conceive again (98 220). Special white garlic, dried and powdered, when given in a little tobacco to a Muria girl at her first menstruation, is supposed to render her infertile for several years. They have some other methods of achieving the same end (99 464sq). The Kamchadal in Siberia make a drink from a certain grass which they believe can make a woman sterile (72 129). In the Talmud contraception is advocated under certain conditions - "a minor lest pregnancy prove fatal, a pregnant mother lest abortion results, and a nursing mother lest she become pregnant and prematurely wean the child so that it dies" (58 180).

Among the Banyankole "methods of a magical nature were sometimes adopted by an unmarried girl, who had gone wrong, to prevent conception; she might urinate into a hole in an ant-hill or take the spear of a visitor in the house and, removing the blade, urinate into the socket and replace the blade." (314 122sq). In cases of successive complicated confinements with death of the infants the Ba-ila take steps to kill chibumba and thus render the woman sterile (359 I 229). A certain drug used by the Azinba Jan act as a contraceptive and women who have taken it remain sterile unless they are given another drug to counteract the effect of the former (2). It is said that at the Southern end of Lake Nyasa, medicine is taken and a cord tied round the loins to prevent pregnancy but true sterility is not produced (372). The Waduruma of Northern Rhodesia take care to prevent conception when a woman's life has been threatened in previous confinements. A piece of the last placenta together with some magic medicine, is put into the empty shell of a wild palm nut, which is then buried and a prayer is offered that the woman will bear no more children. This is believed to ensure future sterility (145). The Bida and the Nupe of Nigeria are said to employ certain drugs, and also appliances such as medical belts, to prevent conception (205). It is said to be very uncommon for any Hausa girl to become pregnant in spite of the great lack of morality among them, but, Tremearne says "it seems certain that some regular drink is taken before and after each act to prevent trouble arising." (417 106). Elsewhere the same author says: "One mixture to prevent conception is the dried and ground root of the fidili with henna in equal parts (418). To prevent conception a Dagaba woman in Ashanti is beaten with the branch of a tree called gaa (294 II 423). As children mean so much to the Moors, contraception is never practised intentionally, except by an enemy. "Among the Ait Sâdden ... water which has been used for the washing of a dead person is secretly given to a woman to drink in order to make her infertile. In Andjra a woman is for the same purpose made to eat some bread into which has been put a piece of honeycomb containing a few dead bees" (436 I 575).
The only people we need consider in this section are the Maori. They have not only developed methods of acquiring and maintaining individual physical fitness but have also evolved a definite system of eugenics in order that their race may be maintained in such a state.

Infants that showed signs of inherited disease, or of great deformity, at birth were given what is euphemistically called the "Peaceful Death". Slightly deformed children were allowed to live but were not allowed to have any offspring when grown up.

When the young people reached puberty they were given instruction about matters of sex, great stress being laid on the question of marriage. Before betrothal they had to undergo a strict medical examination to make sure that they were physically fit. Betrothal took place when they were about fifteen years of age and lasted for ten years. A second examination, more strict than the first, was carried out at the end of the betrothal period; this time the young man was included in the overhaul.

Physical perfection of the father was considered more important than the physical state of the mother. A man who was a cripple, or deformed, or defective in any way was not allowed to have children. If a woman married such a man, her offspring must be begotten by some other man who was physically perfect, otherwise both husband and wife were considered wrong-doers (509 578).

During pregnancy the Maori considered diet very important; the best possible food was given to the expectant mother, in order to ensure a strong healthy baby. Ante-natal care was satisfied as far as possible. Such food was supposed to be required by the infant (240 111).

The confinement was generally easy as one would expect when such precautions were taken regarding parentage and antenatal care.
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