

TRIBAL INITIATIONS AND SECRET SOCIETIES

BY
EDWIN M. LOEB

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INTRODUCTION

In 1926 I had the opportunity of investigating and publishing a report on the Pomo Indians of California, including a survey of the system of tribal initiations and secret societies as found among these natives.¹ The particular form in which the tribal initiation took place among the Pomo I called "Ghost ceremony." In conclusion, and on the basis of comparative anthropology, I classified certain elements in the Pomo Ghost ceremony as being original, or of great antiquity *in loco*. These elements were: (1) the use of the bullroarer, (2) the impersonation of ghosts, (3) the "death and resurrection" initiation, and (4) the mutilation by cutting.

I now propose to point out the very wide distribution of these particular traits in connection with tribal initiations and secret societies, as these occur throughout the world. In doing this I shall have to restate certain of the four points. The first trait, the bullroarer, can invariably be recognized and is identical in principle, wherever found. The second point I have changed to read "the impersonation or representation of spirits." By the "death and resurrection" ceremony, I imply that the candidates assume a moribund condition and are brought to life again. In certain cases this ceremony occurs in recognizable but vestigial form. The fourth trait,

¹ Pomo Folkways, present series, 19:149-405, 1926.

mutilation by cutting, is merely the particular Pomo form of a widespread custom connected with tribal initiations, the giving to the candidate a permanent bodily mark in indication that he (or she) has passed the initiation and has become a full-fledged tribal member. This particular trait is by far the most indefinite of the four. In the first place, mutilation, or some such form of personal adornment as tattooing, is widespread in areas where tribal initiation is not found. Secondly, the making of a tribal mark often passes into, or is combined with, some form of ordeal, or "test of manhood."

In using the term "tribal initiation" I refer to associations formed by all adult males of the tribe. In certain regions women have tribal initiations in evident imitation of their male brethren. Secret societies may be for men only, for men and women, or for women only. They are invariably exclusive. Masks and entrance fees are the usual concomitants of secret societies; grades are common.

OCEANIA

Australia, as is well known, furnishes the best example of tribal initiation, as distinguished from secret societies. As Lowie expresses the case: the men form a secret society to which every woman is ineligible.² Tribal initiation in Australia is especially for the men, yet in the central region women have analogous rites.

The bullroarer is commonly used through the known regions of the continent, and is almost invariably held sacred and secret from women and the uninitiated. Among the Bunurang tribe of Victoria, however, the bullroarer is well known and is used for a child's plaything. In this region there is no initiation other than the freeing of the boy from food taboos.³ In southeastern Australia the roar of the bullroarer represents both the voice of thunder and that of a "High God" who supervises initiation rites.⁴ Among the Yuin, the bullroarer is the voice of the high god, Daramulun. Elsewhere in the southeast the bullroarer is only the voice of a deputy of the high god. Among the Kurnai, the bullroarer and the high god are both named Tundun. In the center and north of Australia there is found a belief in a spirit connected with the bullroarer, but this belief is not taken

² R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 263, 1920.

³ A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of Southeast Australia*, 613, 1904.

⁴ Howitt, *op. cit.*, 538.

so seriously as in the southeast.⁵ In all these regions the use of the bullroarer is disclosed to the candidates when they are fully initiated, as well as the name and functions of the spirit connected with it. This disclosure forms the kernel of the Australian initiation mysteries. Throughout the regions mentioned there is an exoteric myth that the being who is connected with the bullroarer swallows the boys and disgorges them again.

As a rule, little attempt is made by the Australian initiators to personify ghosts or spirits. Among the Yuin, however, the man who knocks out the teeth of the candidate represents the spirit, Darumulun, and is clad in a complete suit of charcoal dust to further the illusion.⁶

The making of a tribal mark is of great importance in the eastern and central portions of Australia. On the eastern coast the rite consists of the knocking out of teeth; inland, circumcision is practiced, and in the center of the circumcision-area subincision is found.⁷ On the west coast the tribal marking sometimes deteriorates into the tying of a string tightly around the biceps of the youth, while elsewhere in Australia there is no mark made at all, the neophyte being subjected merely to ill treatment and hardships.⁸ It should be noted that almost any method of tribal marking may easily combine an element of ordeal or manhood test. Thus the boys in southeastern Australia, who were noted for loose conduct before the initiation, found that the loss of their teeth involved considerable and intentional extra suffering.

A few more interesting points have been noted by Howitt concerning the rites he witnessed. Among the Yuin a special language is used at the time of the ceremonies, which remains secret to the initiated. Some of the initiators wore semi-masks, or rather their faces were so covered with bark as to render them unrecognizable.⁹ While there is no house used for initiation, yet the grounds utilized, and the sacred figures drawn for the ceremony are strictly taboo to women and children. The use of a scratching stick among the Yuin

⁵ Andrew Lang, "Bull-Roarer," Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

⁶ Howitt, *op. cit.*, 539.

⁷ E. M. Loeb, The Blood Sacrifice Complex, Mem. Am. Anthr. Assoc., no. 30, map B, 1923.

⁸ Lowie, Primitive Society, 264.

⁹ Actual masks are found in northern Australia only, and are doubtless an importation.

novices is especially important for comparative purposes.¹⁰ Webster draws attention to the fact that the Arunta and certain northern tribes change the names of the boys after initiation.¹¹

The Torres Straits islands are divided into an eastern and a western section. The western section uses Australian languages, and practices Australian forms of tribal initiation, while the eastern section is Papuan in language and has secret societies, which, according to tradition, come from New Guinea. In the eastern section the use of bullroarers is reported in the island of Muralug. The actual initiation consists in showing the lads a bullroarer, and instructing them how to use it. Bullroarers are jealously guarded from the women. Elsewhere in this section scourging and mistreatment of youths at time of initiation is reported. The Australian custom of knocking out teeth of candidates is found among the Yaraikanna tribe of Cape York.¹²

In the eastern Torres Straits islands, the cult of Bomai and Malu formed a secret society very similar to that of the Bismarck archipelago. In this cult, which was exclusively for men, there were animal impersonations and the use of masks. Payments for admission and rank within the society remained on an elementary footing. The main secret of the society appears to have been that the participants sat on coconut leaves in imitation of the originator of the cult, the spirit Bomai. To reveal this might bring on the punishment of death.¹³ No bullroarers entered into this cult, but the use of masks was revealed to youths at initiation. Certain of the initiators represented a spiritual being called Magur or Ib. These rushed upon the candidates and pretended to stab and club them. Then the novices were informed that the Magur were not real ghosts, but flesh and blood human beings. Magur was the common name of these initiators, Ib the sacred name. They also disciplined outsiders, and kept the uninitiated in a general state of terror.¹⁴

Taking the Torres Straits islands as a whole, we find the use of bullroarers, mutilation, the representation of spirits, and perhaps death and resurrection, all in quite typical form.

¹⁰ Howitt, *op. cit.*, 595.

¹¹ H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, 40, 1908.

¹² A. C. Haddon, *Rept. Cambridge Anthr. Exped. to Torres Straits*, 5: 215 ff.

¹³ The secret of a secret society need not be a very profound one, provided proper secrecy is maintained. Erna Gunther has shown that the secret of the Klallam society of the Northwest Coast Indians consisted in the fact that "there was no secret," and it would have been death to reveal this secret. (*Klallam Ethnography*, Univ. Wash. Publ. Anthr., 1:287.)

¹⁴ A. C. Haddon and C. S. Myers, *The Cult of Bomai and Malu*, *Rept. Cambridge Anthr. Exped. to Torres Straits*, 6: 281 ff.

Both tribal initiations and secret societies appear common in the sections of New Guinea that have been reported on. Only a few accounts can here be mentioned.¹⁵

Masked secret societies whose members impersonate spirits are found on the Gulf of Papua in British New Guinea. The use of the bullroarer is likewise found in this region. It is said not to possess any supernatural power in itself, but is used as the voice of a malignant god or deity. The disclosure of the identity of the bullroarer forms the kernel of the boys' initiation rites. Boys are subjected to harsh treatment, even to the extent of having to drink the urine of chiefs. I do not find mention made of actual mutilation, or of any form of death and resurrection ceremony.¹⁶

According to Duyvendak, secret societies and tribal initiations are not plentiful in the center of New Guinea.¹⁷ In Dutch New Guinea, but close to British territory, the Kaya-Kaya or Tugeri have masked dances, in which the performers represent animals. At the initiation of boys, the bullroarer is anthropomorphized as Sosom, a mythical giant, who kills the novices, but brings them to life again.¹⁸ Farther inland, in the territory explored by Wirz, tribal initiations are either lacking or non-reported.¹⁹

In German New Guinea, initiation rites are stressed while secret societies appear rare. The Bánaro live in the center of German New Guinea, on the Töpfer river. As is common in New Guinea, special houses are set apart for religious rites; these usually are labeled "temples." Among the Bánaro, each hamlet has a religious house, known as "ghost house." Women are admitted to the ghost house only under special circumstances. Both flutes and bullroarers are thought to represent the voices of spirits, and are taboo to women. The Bánaro practice an extremely ceremonial representation of ghosts in boys' and girls' initiations. Boys have an extreme form of mutilation practiced upon them, as thorns are pressed into their urethras. In place of a death and resurrection ceremony, the idea of rebirth is

¹⁵ A general summary may be found in H. Webster, *Totem Clans and Secret Associations in Australia and Melanesia*, Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst., 41, 1911.

¹⁶ C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, 260 ff., 1910; E. W. P. Chinney and W. N. Beaver, *Notes on the Initiation Ceremonies of the Kopo Papua*, Jour. Anthr. Inst., 45: 69 ff., 1915; J. Holmes, *Initiation Ceremonies of the Natives of the Papuan Gulf*, *ibid.*, 32: 419 ff., 1902.

¹⁷ J. P. Duyvendak, *Het Kakean-Genootschap van Seran*, 168, 1926.

¹⁸ R. Pöch, *Vierter Bericht über meine Reise nach Neu-Guinea*, quoted in Webster, Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst., 41: 495, 1911.

¹⁹ Wirz, *Anthropologische und Ethnologische Ergebnisse der Central Neu-Guinea Expedition 1921-1922*, quoted in Duyvendak, *op. cit.*, 169.

symbolically carried out. Girls are sealed in a cell in their homes for nine months. At the end of this time the "womb" is broken open, and the girl washed and born into the life of the adult. Boys at puberty are sealed up in the ghost house.²⁰ The boys' initiation rites of the Yabim, Bukaua, Kai, and Tami of German New Guinea have often been described in popular form. While in Australia the belief is found that the bullroarer is a mythical being who swallows the candidates, among these New Guinea natives the myth is enacted in dramatic form, and a hut is erected in imitation of the monster. The bullroarers represent the voice of the monster and the marks from circumcision, made at the time of swallowing, his bite. "It is highly significant," writes Frazer, "that all these tribes of New Guinea apply the same word to the bullroarer and to the monster, who is supposed to swallow the novice at circumcision, and whose fearful roar is represented by the hum of the harmless wooden instruments. Further—in three languages out of the four the same word which is applied to the bullroarer and to the monster means also a ghost or spirit of the dead, while in the fourth language (the Kai) it signifies 'grandfather'." The point really is, that these natives have combined the four traits: the bullroarer, impersonation of spirits, death and resurrection, and the making of a tribal mark, into one unified dramatic representation.²¹

While the Bukaua of Huon gulf practice the Balum cult, or boys' tribal initiation, as just described, the neighboring Melanesians of Tami island have become converted to the Duk Duk secret society of the Bismarek archipelago, here called the Tago cult. The Balum cult does appear, but in weakened form. All the married women among the Tami know the secret of the bullroarer, and it has lost something of its sanctity.²²

New Guinea as a whole is intermediate between Australia and the Bismarek archipelago and Melanesia in its forms of tribal initiations and secret societies. Where secret societies exist, they usually are difficult to distinguish from men's tribal initiations.²³ No elaboration of grades, or graded system of payments is to be found in the region.

²⁰ R. Thurnwald, *Die Gemeinde der Bánaro*, 20 ff., 1921.

²¹ The original material for these tribes is given in R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, 3, 1911. Summaries of the initiation rites are presented in R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, 1924, and J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (one-vol. ed.), 694 ff.

²² Bamler, the original investigator of the Tami, claims that the bullroarer cult came to the Tami after the arrival of the Duk Duk cult. (G. Bamler, *in Neuhauss, op. cit.*, 3: 507.)

The criteria for the presence of true secret societies here are the elaborate use of masks, and the exclusiveness of membership in the cult. The societies never have developed far above their original purpose, that of initiation, and ceremonials exist for the sake of initiation, rather than initiation for the sake of ceremonials. As is the case everywhere else in Oceania, secret societies are entirely male in membership. The four traits which I am tracing stand out more clearly in New Guinea than elsewhere in the world, illustrating the closeness with which the initiation rites and secret societies here have maintained their original forms.

The natives of the northeastern parts of the Gazelle peninsula are familiar with two secret societies, the notorious Duk Duk, and the less well-known, though more important, Ingiet. The two organizations have no connection with each other, the Duk Duk being a comparatively recent innovation, while the Ingiet is very old.²⁴ The Duk Duk is the more specialized and Melanesian in form of the two, and probably comes from Bougainville, where the society is called Ruk Ruk.

The Ingiet approaches being a tribal society, since the majority of adult men are members. Only a small fee is necessary for entrance. Novices receive new names and gain the privileges of the marawot, or lodge, from which women and children are excluded. The Ingiet association really consists of a number of minor groups, each with its magico-religious and dramatic ceremonies, and each with a presiding officer or magician. A man who has been initiated into all the different Ingiet enjoys a high position in native society, while non-initiates are called "a mana."²⁵ Details are lacking concerning the initiation of youths, but Parkinson mentions that a pretense is made of stabbing the initiates.²⁶ Parkinson denies the existence of a secret society in this region. Nevertheless, among the neighboring Baining, of the Gazelle archipelago, the characteristic symptoms are to be seen. Figures appear who represent ghosts, and the initiates are made to fast and are whipped with rods. No secrecy is made at the time of the fashioning of masks, or at the time of performances.²⁷

²³ The difficulty in distinguishing between tribal initiation and secret societies is well illustrated in the district of Elema, on the Papuan gulf. Masks are worn by the initiators, who represent the mountain god, Kovave. Boys are regularly taken into the cult at the age of ten, when they pay a pig for the privilege of initiation. The cult appears to be directed against the women and the uninitiated men, for illegitimate boys are ineligible to initiation. This case shows the easy transition between an inclusive boys' tribal initiation, and an exclusive men's secret society (J. Holmes, *op. cit.*, 420).

²⁴ R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, 598, 1907.

²⁵ Webster, *op. cit.*, 501.

²⁶ Parkinson, *op. cit.*, 601.

²⁷ Parkinson, *op. cit.*, 631.

The Duk Duk, which coexists with the Ingiat in the Gazelle peninsula, is also found in Neu Lauenburg, side by side with the latter association. As with the Ingiat, there are very few adult males who are not members; boys, too, may be entered by their relatives. Initiation, it is said, makes men of them, for the uninitiated are laughed at and spoken of as "women."²⁸ A number of the members, however, impersonate women in their masks and clothing. Some old women are allowed entrance to the society, being no longer considered female. There is no doubt that the Duk Duk members represent spirits, who make their appearance in the various localities, according to lunar periods. On the neighboring Santa Cruz islands the name Duk Duk means the ghost of a dead person, duka.²⁹ The grass clothing and masks are carefully kept from the sight of women and uninitiated; part of the initiation consists in the raising of the masks and allowing the novices to see that the performers are human, and not spirits.³⁰ The best known element of the initiation consists of the severe beating which the novices receive. While this is in progress the women relatives remain at home, mourning in their huts. The novices themselves do not go through a death and resurrection ceremony. The Duk Duk, or male element of the society, however, is said to die after each periodic visit to a community. The Tubuan, or female element, is considered immortal.³¹ A branch of the Duk Duk exists among the Sulka tribe of Cape Orford, New Britain. Here the women and non-members believe that the masks are really ghosts, which occasionally devour women and children. A bullroarer is used to warn non-initiates when a masked figure approaches, and this is said to be the voice of the ghost.³²

The bullroarer is also connected with the Ruk Ruk of northern Bougainville. The youths here, during initiation, go to a hut in the woods, where they are supposed to consort with ghosts. When the novice returns from the hut he is forced to wear a balloon-shaped hat. It would be death for a woman to see a novice without a hat. The bullroarer is used to give warning of the approach of novices.³³

In Melanesia, secret societies are found in the Torres and Banks islands and in the northern New Hebrides. In New Caledonia there are faint indications that such societies exist. In the Santa Cruz group, in Utupua, there is an organization similar to the Banks

²⁸ Webster, *op. cit.*, 502.

²⁹ H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, 376, 1902.

³⁰ Parkinson, *op. cit.*, 583.

³² Parkinson, *op. cit.*, 636.

³¹ Parkinson, *op. cit.*, 584.

³³ Schurtz, *op. cit.*, 378.

Islands Sukwe. Secret societies are found in the British Solomon islands in Florida. Rivers states that the secret societies occur in the more backward portions of Melanesia.³⁴

Little attempt has been made to organize the secret society material from this region into a historical scheme. While Codrington mentions three separate cults in the Banks islands, the Kwat, the Tamate, and the Sukwe, yet Rivers has overlooked an investigation into the difference between the functions of the first and second, and has merely found a connection between the second and third.³⁵

In my opinion, judging from the scanty available evidence, the Kwat cult is the oldest of the three, and is essentially a tribal initiation. In the island of Araga, northern New Hebrides, the institution is called Kweta. All boys are initiated into the Kweta, none are allowed to grow up without initiation and the assumption of the adult malo (clothing). The Kwat of the Banks islands differs from all the Tamate societies in having no permanent place of abode, and in being based essentially upon a sacred dance. Moreover, it alone of all the societies of the region retains the four essential rites of true tribal initiations. It is for this reason especially that I ascribe the greatest antiquity to the Kwat cult.

The Kwat is the only cult in Melanesia proper for which a death and resurrection ceremony has been reported.³⁶ Moreover, this ceremony takes the form of the devouring of the candidate by a monster, as in New Guinea and Ceram. In the Kwat cult of the Banks islands an enclosure in a retired place is made by a fence of reeds, the two ends of which overlap to form an entrance. This is called the shark's mouth. In Ceram and New Guinea the candidate is said to be swallowed by the monster. In the Banks islands, however, this feature is not mentioned. The candidate is not allowed to wash during his stay in the enclosure. Upon his release he is washed, and reborn (?).³⁷

The taking of a tribal mark is a prominent part in the Kwat cult. In Aurora, lighted coconut fronds are placed on the back of the candidate. These leave a permanent mark on the flesh; according to

³⁴ W. H. R. Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, 2:207, 1914.

³⁵ Rivers knew that the Kwat was not counted as a Tamate society by Codrington, but since his own informant told him that it was a Tamate society the matter was dropped. (Rivers, 1:87.)

³⁶ Rivers has placed a most surprisingly inaccurate interpretation on his own data. He believes that the beating of the candidate and the destruction of the candidate's property in the Tamate societies represents the idea of death and return to life. On the other hand, he has failed to note the actual "death and resurrection" ceremony on which he himself reported (1: 113) for the Kwat cult.

³⁷ In the New Hebrides a new name is assumed (Codrington, *Melanesians*, 87).

Codrington, the mark of membership in the society. Elsewhere the mark of membership is merely the privilege of wearing a certain kind of flower. In the Banks islands the bullroarer is not used in any of the secret societies, being too well-known, but is replaced by the werewere, the rubbing of a stick on a flat stone. This is true in the Kwat cult also, and here, as usual, the sound is thought to come from spirits. The hats in this society are thought to be the work of spirits. The dance is considered so sacred that in the olden days a mistake in performance might entail the penalty of death.

The Matambala society of Florida, Solomon islands, is said by Codrington to be another branch of the Kwat.³⁸ The form here is evidently more that of a tribal initiation rite than a secret society, since there are no entrance fees. The initiated form a permanent body, although there is no set time for initiation. The bullroarer is used as the voice of the spirits. As a mark of initiation the candidate is burnt on six places of his body with a fire stick.

Perhaps next in order of antiquity in the Banks islands and in northern New Hebrides are the Tamate or ghost societies. These societies have taken on a specialized function in the region, that of protecting the property of their members. It is in the largest and most important of these societies, the Tamate Liwoa, that we encounter the most typical initiation rites. Here the elder members make use of the werewere as substitute for the bullroarer. Whipping takes the place of actual mutilation or the imposing of a tribal mark. The variety of flower worn in a member's hair, however, is sufficient indication of membership in a Tamate society.³⁹ Furthermore, the candidate of the Tamate Liwoa undergoes all sorts of trials during his probationary period of a hundred days. No idea of death and resurrection is to be found, but the idea of rebirth is suggested by the fact that the candidate becomes black with dirt during the period of his seclusion, and is then washed.

The Sukwe, or social club, is the third of the cults in this region, and perhaps the youngest. There is little that is religious in the Sukwe, and that little is an obvious borrowing from the Tamate societies. Thus the members of the higher ranks of the Sukwe are permitted to sound the werewere, and Rivers believes that this is the chief religious link between the two cults. Socially, a man is limited to the lower grades of the Sukwe until he has joined the chief Tamate society, the Tamate Liwoa.⁴⁰

³⁸ Codrington, 94.

³⁹ Codrington, 75.

⁴⁰ Rivers, 1: 98, 126.

Fiji, so far as is known with any degree of certainty, furnishes the eastern limit of tribal initiations and secret societies in the Pacific. The Nanga rites were confined to a few Melanesian tribes of the interior of the island of Vitilevu.⁴¹ The cult, called Mbaki, as distinguished from the stone enclosure, or Nanga, in which ceremonies were held, was in the nature of a tribal initiation. Thomson emphasizes the fact, however, that the society was intertribal in nature, uniting in a common cult the several tribes which participated. All boys were initiated into the cult, and no masks or disguises were employed. On the other hand, the society had three grades: the newly initiated, the adult men, and the directing priests, and had ceremonials other than initiations. There were no entrance payments. These facts place the cult as a tribal initiation with certain additional features common to secret societies.

Essentially the Nanga was the "bed" of the ancestors, that is, the spot where their descendants might hold communion with them. It is even possible that chiefs were at one time buried within the Nanga. The Mbaki rites held within the Nanga included the initiating of youths, the presenting of first fruits, the curing of sick, and the winning of charms against wounds in battle.

In the initiation rites, the death and resurrection ceremony was of the greatest prominence. This is somewhat strange in view of the fact that rites of this nature are of quite minor importance in Melanesia. The initiation of youths took place once a year, and the youths were by this means admitted to man's estate, and brought into communion with the ancestral spirits who controlled the destinies of their descendants. During the first four days of the initiation the members indulged in feasting. On the fifth night the priests and some of the adult members played the part of dead ancestors. They smeared themselves with the blood and entrails of pigs, and lay down in a row. The novices were made to crawl under this row of "dead men." Then the "ancestors" suddenly burst out with a great yell, and, coming to life, rushed down to the river, where they washed off the blood and filth. In this ceremony we have the initiators and not the initiated undergoing the death and resurrection ceremony. This ceremony, moreover, is combined here with the representation of spirits.

⁴¹ My remarks on the Nanga rites are based on Basil Thomson, *The Fijians*, 146 ff., 1908.

No use of the bullroarer or substitute is reported from Fiji. No tribal mark or other form of mutilation is reported, although the above mentioned ceremony must prove something of an "ordeal." Circumcision is common throughout the Fiji islands. According to Fison, circumcision sometimes takes place in the Nanga territory as a sacrifice for the recovery of a sick chief, and the foreskins are taken to the Nanga.⁴² Fiji forms an exception to the remainder of Polynesia and Melanesia by having the true Hebrew form of circumcision. It is possible, although incapable of proof, that circumcision was introduced to Fiji in connection with the Nanga rites.

The western limit of the system of tribal initiations and secret societies is found in the island of Ceram, a large island of the Moluccas. Ceram is divided politically as follows. East Ceram is separated politically and culturally from the remainder of the island. Western Ceram is divided into the Patalima, the people of five, and the Patasiwa, the people of nine. The Patasiwa are again subdivided into the Patasiwa putih (white) and the Patasiwa hitam (black). The designation "black" refers to the custom of tattooing. Only the male members of the Patasiwa hitam are tattooed, and this is done at the time of initiation into the tribal society, the Kakean, and is a mark of membership and of manhood.⁴³

While the Kakean appears to be an importation from New Guinea or Melanesia, yet there is no certain linguistic or anthropometric evidence that the people of western Ceram are not Malaysians.⁴⁴ If the institution was imported, it must have been in ancient times. Today the Kakean is a political unit to which not only all the pagan males of west Ceram belong, but also the Christians and Mohammedans.

Everywhere in Ceram there are puberty ceremonies for both boys and girls, and the two sexes are kept separate until maturity. Boys and girls first assume the adult loin cloth at the time of puberty. Boys are circumcised, and both boys and girls have their teeth filed. Other ceremonies which are performed on girls at puberty are non-Malaysian in character and resemble those of New Guinea. Thus at the time of the girl's first menstruation she is sequestered in a hut

⁴² Quoted in Thomson, 157.

⁴³ W. H. Rassers, *Religionen der Naturvölker Indonesiens*, Arch. für Religionswissenschaft, Heft 1-2, 187 ff., 1927.

⁴⁴ Duyvendak, *op. cit.*, 21. I am using Duyvendak as a source for my material on the Kakean society, since he has summarized all previous works on the subject. The best account given in English is *The Kakihan Society of Ceram and New Guinea Initiation Cults*, by A. B. Deacon (Folk-lore, 332 ff., 1925).

especially built for the occasion, and is fed by a trusted woman. She is not allowed to speak. She is not allowed to scratch herself with her fingers, but must use a scratching stick.

The social unit in Ceram society is the *soa*, a group of related people. The house father comes into contact with the family *nitu* (ghosts) but not with the higher spirits. The chief of the *soa* is called in for this. Every *soa* of the *Patasiwa hitam* has its own *baileo*, or clan house, in which the voices of the ancestors can be heard. The *baileo* is also used for the council of the shamans (*mauwen*), and for the storage of sacred apparatus used in the initiation ceremonies.

The shamans are of the true inspirational type, being possessed by spirits. They are the ruling element of the *Kakean* society. In some villages the shamans have the rank of chief as well as that of curer. The "*mauwen*" means to "reveal the future."

The *Kakean* society is composed of three parts, which bear the names of the three rivers flowing through the region: *Eti*, *Tala*, and *Sapalewa*. At the head of each division is a council under a leader, *ina-ama*, mother-father.

Besides the *baileo* in the villages, each district erects special ceremonial houses (*tutuë*) in the bush. These houses are built with great ceremony, and are kept shut (*tutup*) when not in use. Women and children are, of course, kept away from their vicinity. There are two entrances to the *tutuë*, one for adults, and one for the candidates. The entrance for the candidates is called the "crocodile mouth," and the youths at the time of initiation are supposed to be devoured by this animal. There is nothing, however, about the structure to suggest a crocodile.

The nature of the rites, as they occur inside the *tutuë*, has never been revealed. The kernel of the entire initiation consists in letting the initiate die, and bringing him back to life again; into a new form of life, the *Kakean* life. In the beginning of the new life the initiate is taught new rites and duties. He now bears a sign of his new position in his tattooing.

When the *tutuë* is built, the youths who are to be initiated are first assembled in the *baileo*, under charge of the shamans. Their bodies are rubbed with *kurkuma*, and they are given daily baths in the river. In the evenings the sound of bamboo flutes is heard from the *tutuë*. These are believed to be the voices of spirits, and the women and children remain indoors.

When the proper day has arrived the novices are conducted to the tutuë. They enter through the so-called crocodile mouth, while the terrifying noise of the flutes is heard.⁴⁵

The next day the women are shown bloody garments, and are told that the youths are dead and will not return. The novices do return after some time, however, reeling and acting strangely; and wearing the black tattooing of the society. In their hands they bear sticks decorated with peculiar designs. The youths remain in their dwellings, where for the time being they are speechless and without knowledge. They have to learn everything anew. During this time they are as taboo as the girls are in their individual puberty rites. They cannot touch their heads, but must use a scratching stick; they cannot comb or cut their hair, and they are under food taboos. When the youths are again normal, they are taken out into the bush and are taught the useful arts of life, as the hunt.

After the novice has undergone the puberty rites, he is received into the society of the young men, that is, into the Kakean order. It is not known whether or not there are various ranks within the order.⁴⁶

From the material here presented on Oceania as a whole, it would appear beyond question that all of the tribal initiations and secret societies have a common point of origin. This is not only proved by the diffusion of the four factors with which we started our inquiry, but also by the additional factor that in Australia, Melanesia, New Guinea, and Ceram, the candidates undergo the death and resurrection ceremony in the specific manner of being devoured by a monster. It is also evident that the secret societies of this region have developed from secret tribal initiation rites. On the margins of the region, that is, in Australia, Fiji, and Ceram, the secret societies are nothing but tribal initiations, they include all the adult men of the tribe, masks are not used, there are no entrance fees, and grading within the cults is but little developed.

⁴⁵ I am not certain about the translation of the word "bamboekoker." According to the dictionary, this is a bamboo tube. Perhaps bamboo cooking vessels are meant. If these are blown through, they might serve as flutes.

⁴⁶ From the fact that there are no fees for entrance into the society, and because of its inclusive character, I hardly think that there is any extensive process of grading within the cult.

AFRICA

The secret society system of West Africa is extremely complex. The idea is perhaps better developed here than in any other portion of the world, either because the basis for this kind of organization lies more deeply rooted in antiquity, or because the mystery and power, the appeal to vanity and to arrogance, strike a more responsive chord in "Darkest Africa" than elsewhere. In Oceania, secret societies are exclusively male; in Africa they are male or female. In Oceania the societies exist in the main for the sake of initiation; where the society takes the form of a club, as in the case of the Sukwe, we have an anomaly. In Africa, on the other hand, the uses to which secret societies are put are of a most varied nature. Frobenius states that African secret societies cover all the motives of social life. The Egbo prevents despotism and control by the merchants. The Purah tends toward unification of political control. The Mumbo Jumbo keeps wives faithful to their husbands. The Billi educates good husbands, citizens, and soldiers. The Javhe, finally, prevents a change being made from native to European conditions.⁴⁷

Without attempting to describe the West African system in general, I will pick up the threads of my argument as they are to be found in this region, and then pass to the New World.⁴⁸

The bullroarer plays an important part in both the initiations and the ceremonies of the societies of West Africa. As usual, where the instrument is a ceremonial utensil, it is believed to represent the voice of spirits and the sight of it is tabooed to the uninitiated, especially to women. In southern Nigeria the bullroarer is believed to be the voice of the juju.⁴⁹ In the Oro society, the principal emblem of the society is the bullroarer; both a large one and a small one are used. "On hearing either, all women and non-members at once retire to their houses; in olden days any caught outside were immediately put to death."⁵⁰ Since the bullroarer seems to be generally taboo to women in West Africa, it is only natural that some substitute should be used

⁴⁷ L. Frobenius, *Die Masken und Geheimbünde Afrikas*, 230, 1898.

⁴⁸ R. H. Lowie discusses the same regions in Africa, and from approximately the same sources. His interests are mainly political, but a good general description of the societies is presented (R. H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State*, 1927).

⁴⁹ P. Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, 3: 758, 1926.

⁵⁰ Talbot, *op. cit.*, 759.

in the women's societies. In the Gabun region, which lies on the equator, there is a society composed entirely of women, which Nassau believes was originally formed for the purpose of protecting females from harsh treatment by their husbands. The distinctive instrument of this society is a somewhat crescent-shaped piece of board, which is slightly concave on one side. It makes a clear but not musical note.⁵¹

Death and resurrection ceremonies are common in the initiation ceremonies of West Africa. In most cases, however, detailed descriptions are lacking. Thus Talbot writes,

In some of the powerful societies, such as the Ekkpe and Idiong among the ancient Semi Bantu, there is no doubt that the initiation is long and complicated, and that there is a regular system of training and of revelation of mysteries. A cleansing, a sham death, a visit to the world of ghosts, and an opening of the inner vision seem to be the principal features.⁵²

One of our best sources of information on the subject of West African tribal initiation is furnished by Westermann, who studied the Kpelle of Liberia. The Poro cult is said to be the oldest of the region, and is in reality a men's tribal society. Entrance to this society is obtained by entrance into the Poro school, into which boys are taken between their seventh and fifteenth years. There are three different kinds of training in the school, depending on the position the youth is intended to fill.

The Poro association has a head, or grand master. This man is thought to be a spirit, for if a boy has been taken into the bush by the society, it is said that a spirit has abducted him. The grand master is known by the members of the society to be a human being possessing certain peculiarities. He alone is immortal—that is to say, his death is kept secret and his successor is secretly chosen.⁵³ He also has the power to kill people and bring them to life again. A death and resurrection ceremony is held at the time of initiation, when the grand master kills the boys and brings them back to life. After this the mark of the order is scarified on the back of the candidate. Outsiders believe that the grand master swallows the boys, and that those who die from the scarification remain in the body of the devil (the grand master). Entrants into the school receive a new name and are thought to enter a new life.

⁵¹ R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, 248, 1904.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, 757.

⁵³ The same fact is related of the head of the Maidu Indian secret society (R. B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, *Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, 17: 326).

Among the Kpelle there is a counterpart of the Poro, consisting of a women's tribal society called the Sande. This society also has a spiritual head, and a tribal scarification. No mention is made of a death and resurrection ceremony.

In the Poro, then, we find three of our four traits, death and resurrection, the representation of spirits,⁵⁴ and the use of a tribal mark, scarification. Scarification is rather unusual as a tribal mark in West Africa, tattooing or circumcision being the common procedure. While the Poro boys are circumcised, the scarification is added for the sake of better identification.

The relationship between tribal initiations and secret societies is well illustrated by the Kpelle. The Poro is not only the oldest society but the most powerful. The Sande is the next in rank. Men have to enter the Poro in order to gain admittance to any of the other secret societies of the region. Lowie points out that the Poro itself is on the way to being a true secret society, for while all the male villagers must gain entrance, the deeper mysteries are reserved for the older and more prominent men.⁵⁵

Tribal initiations of a secret character extend in Africa beyond the boundaries of true secret societies. The Bondeis are a tribe of natives occupying a narrow strip of country lying to the west of the coast land which is opposite to Pemba, Nyanza. These people have a tribal initiation rite for boys, called the Galo, and a corresponding rite for girls, called the Kiwanga. No man can marry unless he has entered the Galo, or if he marries, uninitiated, his children can be killed. The rites are secret, and the natives believe that revealing them entails death. Part of the rites consist of a pretended death and a visit to the lower regions. The manner of receiving the tribal mark, however, furnishes the core of the cult.

A large stick is cut, smeared with soot, and adorned with wings and a mouth like a bird. The boys are told to come and be pecked by the bird. They go one by one, blindfolded, and have the marks made on their arms by incision. The marks are made by a razor, and soot is put in the wounds. Afterwards the boy is shown the razor, and told not to tell the others.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ The representation of spirits is better illustrated by the Oro. The leading powers of this society live as spirit beings in the woods (Schurtz, *op. cit.*, 418).

⁵⁵ Lowie, *op. cit.*, 83. The original account of the Kpelle is furnished by D. Westermann, *Die Kpelle*, 1921.

⁵⁶ G. Dale, *An Account of the Principal Customs and Habits of the Natives Inhabiting the Bondei Country*, *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, 26: 181 ff., 1896.

NORTH AMERICA

It has been seen that secret societies are entirely male in Oceania, while in West Africa they are either male or female. In North and South America, however, secret societies may be entirely for males, or they may be inclusive of both males and females. Secret societies in North America which are entirely male are actually tribal initiations and include all the males of the tribe. Secret societies which are for both men and women are usually medicine societies and are exclusive. The male societies are the older and more characteristic, although the rarer, of the two. It is only natural to find men and women in medicine societies, since both men and women practice the art of healing. This inclusion of the two sexes does not imply a breaking down of secret societies, as Webster claims,⁵⁷ but is due, in my opinion, to shamanistic influence from Siberia. This influence must have taken place in very early times, although perhaps later than the entrance of the systems of tribal initiations and secret societies into the New World. The antiquity of the shamanistic influence is shown by its influence on the secret cults of Tierra del Fuego. This original shamanistic influence, however, was not of the "inspirational" variety. The shamans who practice in North and South America are not possessed by their guardian spirits. The spirits speak to the medicine men and not through them. Very late in historical times a second shamanistic influence came from Siberia and again influenced the secret society system of the New World. This second influence, however, limited its sphere to the Northwest Coast Indians. It is here alone that we find "possession" in connection with secret societies. It is probable that this second influence formed the system of secret societies of the Northwest coast as we have them today.⁵⁸

Although the shamanistic influence has metamorphosed the secret societies to an enormous extent in the New World, and more especially in North America, yet by following the four guiding threads with which we started this paper, we can easily perceive the original nature of these New World institutions, and their basic connections with the Old World.

⁵⁷ H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, 121, 1908.

⁵⁸ The distinction between the inspirational shaman and the non-inspirational shaman is illustrated in my paper, *The Seer and the Shaman*, now in press in the *American Anthropologist*.

In central California a secret tribal initiation has been reported in more typical form than elsewhere in North America. The most nearly complete description has been obtained from the Pomo. The ceremony itself has been termed the "Ghost ceremony," because the initiators assumed the part of ghosts. A subterranean house was built especially for the ceremony. Women and children were kept away from the house and were told that the dead actually came back for the occasion. In order to carry out this impression, the "ghosts" ran down nightly from the hills, wearing semi-masks of twigs, their bodies painted black, white, and red, and bearing blazing torches, or even with the crowns of their heads seemingly in flames. Bullroarers played an important part in the proceedings inside the ghost house, and outsiders were informed that the bullroarers were the voices of the dead. Boys were initiated by a form of death and resurrection ceremony. The youths lay down as if dead, and were covered with straw. Then they were aroused to life and bathed. No tribal mark was given the boys in the tribal initiation, or rather this feature became lost.⁵⁹ Among the Inland Pomo, the boys were abused in various ways as a test of endurance. Clowns played an important part in the Ghost ceremony, especially among the Inland Pomo. These jesters are an exclusively North American feature, and are found in the Plains, Pueblo region, central California, and the Northwest culture area.

While the Pomo are perhaps at the center of the tribal initiation called the Ghost ceremony, the trait extends beyond their boundaries. The ceremony has been described for the Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Miwok.

Among the Yuki, ghosts and clowns are combined, as they are among the Coast Pomo. No bullroarer is reported. A death and resurrection ceremony is described, although not so labeled. The boys being initiated are put in a pit. Also, at the end of the fourth day, the boys are thrown out of the dance hall. While this is being done to them, they hold their breath as if they were dead. Among the Southern Yuki (Huchnom) the scratching stick is used during boys' initiation.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The use of a tribal mark really belongs to tribal initiations rather than to secret societies. Where it becomes secondarily attached to secret societies it usually occurs in stunted form, as mere scratching with a stone (Pomo), whipping, etc.

⁶⁰ A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bur. Am. Ethn., Bull. 78: 183 ff., 1925.

The clearest idea of the nature of the secret medicine society⁶¹ of central California may be obtained from the Pomo. Although the society did not necessarily originate among these people, yet, because it borrowed many traits from the Ghost ceremony here, it presents itself more in the light of the secret society as known in non-American regions.

The secret medicine society everywhere is exclusive, and includes both men and women. Among the Coast Pomo the shamanistic nature of the society is clearly revealed by the fact that all of the members are shamans, and no shamans practice outside of the society.⁶² The society existed here for the purpose of curing and initiations. All of the initiation ceremonies were called "cutting" but actually no cutting was inflicted on the candidates. The ceremonies consisted in ritualistic representations of death and resurrection.

Among the Inland Pomo the medicine society existed for the sake of ceremonial impersonations, and initiations were of minor importance. Here the purpose of the society was that of "health giving," but the majority of shamans were outside the society. The head of the society (yomta) was a priest rather than a medicine man. But the Kuksu impersonator remained distinctly a health-giver. The death and resurrection dropped out of the cult, but a bullroarer ceremony remained. The giving of a tribal mark existed in the Inland Pomo Kuksu cult, although in vestigial form. The yomta cut the boys and girls on the back with a piece of wampum. The scratch was not deep enough to leave a permanent mark, although it often drew blood. The purpose of the cutting was health-giving, and the boys and girls cut were called "a group of sick people."⁶³

In central California a true form of secret medicine society existed among the Pomo, Yuki, Coast Miwok, and probably Wappo. The society among these peoples was characterized by the use of masks and disguises, and the impersonation of spirits, especially Kuksu. Among the Northern Maidu and Patwin the society still existed,

⁶¹ There is no native name for the medicine society in central California. Kroeber calls it the Kuksu cult because of the prominence of the Kuksu impersonation among the coastal people. In *Pomo Folkways* I have adopted this name. Kuksu is a God of the South, a powerful medicine man, and among the Maidu, the first man. Gifford has used the name "God-impersonating cult" because Kuksu drops in importance as the cult is studied among the inland tribes.

⁶² E. W. Gifford has pointed out the probable source in shamanism for the cult as a whole in central California. (*Southern Maidu Religious Ceremonies*, *Am. Anthr.*, n.s., 29: 243, 1927.)

⁶³ Loeb, *Pomo Folkways*, 382. I no longer consider the Pomo cutting ceremony as a "blood sacrifice," but rather as a vestigial form of the giving of a tribal mark.

although the Kuksu ceremonial became overlaid by the so-called Hesi ceremony. Elsewhere, as among the Southern Maidu and Central Miwok, many of the spirit-impersonating dances were reported, but without a trace of a secret society. Perhaps the best theory that can be given to account for the origin of the secret society of central California is that it arose from associations of shamans, and evolved into a secret society in the regions where the associations of shamans fell under the influence of the Ghost ceremony, or true tribal initiation. In support of this theory, it may be pointed out that wherever we find a true secret medicine society, as among the Pomo, Yuki, and Coast Miwok, we also find a true form of the ghost tribal initiation. Among the Patwin and Northern Maidu the two cults have become merged, and the ghost-spirit impersonators enter the medicine cult.⁶⁴ Kroeber has already pointed out that, in regions where the ghost tribal initiation does not exist, as among the Southern Maidu, Wailaki, and some of the Yokuts, the medicine men are wont to gather for public demonstration of their magical prowess, but they do not form, and never have formed, a secret society.⁶⁵

It is to be expected that certain of our four traits reappear in the medicine society beyond the Pomo territory. Among the River Patwin, boys were initiated into the Kuksu society by means of a death and resurrection ceremony. Kuksu stabbed the candidate in the navel with a spear or arrow, and the candidate was brought to life again by a yomta member. Another form of death and resurrection ceremony is reported even beyond the limits of the secret medicine society. Among the Southern Maidu, boys were made shamans by being placed in a pit and killed with medicine. The shamans then brought the boys to life again.⁶⁶ The bullroarer has not been reported for central California outside of the Pomo and Coast Miwok. Dixon describes it as a child's toy among the Maidu.

In southern California we encounter remains of what was probably an ancient form of tribal initiation. Here, however, the old

⁶⁴ Kroeber has kindly let me have some of his unpublished Patwin notes. It appears that among the River Patwin there are really three societies: the Hesi, Kuksu, and Wai-saltu. The last named is for men only, and is the equivalent of the Pomo ghosts. Among the Hill Patwin, however, all three societies are merged into one.

⁶⁵ A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, 307, 1923.

⁶⁶ Gifford, *Southern Maidu*, 243. It has frequently been noted that the manner of making shamans may resemble a boys' tribal initiation. This is true of the Sea Dyaks of Borneo, although there are no secret tribal initiations in Malaysia, outside of Ceram. Among the Sea Dyaks young shamans are laid in a row at harvest festival, pretend death, are covered over with boughs, and are then brought to life again. (H. Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, 1: 414, 1896.)

tribal initiation has been overlaid by two fairly modern cults, the jimsonweed rites and later the Chungichnish cult. In the jimsonweed rites, an infusion of the toloache or *Datura* plant is partaken of by the candidates for the sake of producing visions. The Chungichnish cult is merely a further addition to the toloache initiation, and is based on the belief in a powerful god of this name, to whom are due the final ordaining of the world and the institution of the jimsonweed rites and their correct performance.⁶⁷

Among both the Luiseño and the Diegueño the ceremony of partaking of the toloache is essentially a tribal (or here, clan) initiation. Boys and men alone are initiated, and the bullroarer is used to warn women and the uninitiated to keep away.⁶⁸ Initiation takes place only once, and those who have undergone the ceremony may be said to have been bound into a sort of shamanistic fraternity possessing certain magical powers.⁶⁹ Besides the use of bullroarers, a further indication of an archaic religion in southern California is given by the inclusion in the toloache initiation of a feature which may be derived from a death and resurrection ceremony. Boys leap from stone to stone over a pit, which represents a grave. Should a boy slip, it is an indication that he soon will die.⁷⁰ The initiators also go through a ceremony of this variety. One shaman shoots another with a bow and arrow. The victim falls down apparently dead, vomiting blood. The people all begin to cry, but the wounded man is cured by a second shaman, and comes to life again.⁷¹

All the Pueblo tribes of the Southwest (New Mexico and Arizona), as well as the nomadic Navaho, have both secret societies and a form of tribal initiation for men. The societies are mainly for curing purposes and include both men and women.

The bullroarer is found among all of the Pueblo tribes, where it has ceremonial importance. Its use extends to the nomadic tribes, such as the Apache, where it is whirled by the medicine men for the purpose of influencing the weather.⁷² The limit of its distribution

⁶⁷ Kroeber, *Anthropology*, 310.

⁶⁸ The bullroarer here is usually said to be employed as a summoner. But according to information received from W. D. Strong, it also has its esoteric side.

⁶⁹ T. T. Waterman, *The Religious Practices of the Diegueño Indians*, this series, 8: 293, 1910.

⁷⁰ Kroeber, *Handbook*, 671.

⁷¹ C. G. Du Bois, *Religion of the Luiseño Indians*, pres. ser., 8: 81, 1908. The limits of the tribal toloache cult are given in Kroeber's *Handbook*, pl. 74.

⁷² J. G. Bourke, *The Medicine-Men of the Apache*, Ninth Ann. Rept., Bur. Am. Ethn., 477.

northward in the Plains area is the Arapaho, among whom the instrument has deteriorated into a child's toy.⁷³ Even among the Pueblo tribes possessing the tribal initiation and secret societies, there is nothing esoteric about the bullroarer. This is doubtless due to the fact that the instrument no longer belongs to the men's esoteric ceremonies, but is swung in the open in full sight of the mixed fraternities. The exact significance of the bullroarer depends on the cultural setting of the tribe. Among the Hopi the bullroarer is associated with the production of rain, while among the Navaho the instrument is used for curing, and the shaman, after swinging it, applies it to specific parts of the patient's body.⁷⁴

No report of a death and resurrection ceremony has ever been made for the Pueblo Indians.⁷⁵ No actual form of tribal mark exists in this area, but initiation by whipping serves as substitute. Among the Zuñi, boys are whipped at the time of their first initiation into the kokko, or god-impersonating society (the men's tribal society). Among the Hopi, Sia, and Navaho Indians both boys and girls undergo initiation and whipping. It is common practice among the Pueblo Indians and the Navaho to reveal the secrets of the tribe (i.e., the use of masks and the fact that the impersonators are human and not gods) at the time of the whipping initiation.

The impersonation of spirits is of course the essential feature of the Pueblo masked ceremonials. The dead, or at least those who were tribally initiated, are thought to become gods (kokko, kachina, or katsuna). The gods are impersonated by masked male dancers, whose appearance is thought to bring rain and other benefits. Every mask represents a deity, and the dancer who has donned one is himself called a god. According to Kroeber, at Zuñi the children and younger women believe the wearers of the masks to be true gods.⁷⁶

Ghosts, as such, are not to be found in North America, outside of the area given in central California. It has been seen, however, that

⁷³ A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 18: 396, 1907.

⁷⁴ H. K. Haerberlin, *The Idea of Fertilization in the Culture of the Pueblo Indians*, Mem. Am. Anthr. Assoc., 3: 9, 1916. The bullroarer is esoteric among the Pomo, but it is also used in a similar exoteric manner for curing.

⁷⁵ An exception occurs among the Cochiti of New Mexico. At the time of a cure by a medicine society, the head doctor falls down as if dead, and has to be brought back to life again by being rubbed. (N. Dumarest, *Notes on Cochiti*, New Mexico, Mem. Am. Anthr. Assoc., 6: 158.)

⁷⁶ A. L. Kroeber, *Zuñi Religion*, *Hastings Encyclopaedia*. Dumarest writes that in Cochiti the women are also kept in ignorance of the identity of the masked dancers, the shiwanna. Elsewhere, as among the Hopi and Navaho, where both boys and girls are initiated, it would seem that there could be no mystery for adults.

ghosts and clowns are barely to be distinguished from one another among the Pomo. Among the Coast Pomo, as among the Yuki, a clown is simply a ghost who plays tricks. Among the Inland Pomo, different men represent clowns from those who represent ghosts; the clowns are called ash-ghosts (no-xahluigak). Among the Maidu the ghost element of the clown has disappeared, and we merely have clowns. Among the Pueblo Indians, as among the Indians of the Northwest, we simply find clowns, and the probable origin of clowns, the ghost, has either disappeared or never existed in these regions.⁷⁷

At the basis of the Zuñi secret society organization is the kokko—men's tribal organization. Among the Zuñi the estufas belong solely to the males, and each of the six subdivisions of the kokko has its own estufa, or underground ceremonial chamber. Besides the kokko there are thirteen societies or fraternities whose most distinctive function is the religious curing of disease. Membership in these is gained by trespass or by being cured by a member. With the exception of two of these societies, admittance is open to men, women, and children. In addition to the societies there is a series of priests, or priesthoods, devoted to the spiritual welfare of the nation.⁷⁸ It seems a general rule among the Pueblo Indians that men alone belong to the kachina fraternity, but that men and women both belong to most of the exclusive curing societies. Among the Cochiti, women are not allowed to participate in the masked dances "because of their indiscretions." Women are represented in these by two men dressed as women.⁷⁹

The Northwest coast has secret societies with masked dances and animal symbols. The societies here are composed of men, women, or men and women. Each sib has its own dances, masks, and songs. The possession of dances can be obtained by marriage, inheritance, or by killing an owner and stealing his dances.⁸⁰ The masks are the essential esoteric feature of the societies, and while these are being made they are not allowed to be seen by the uninitiated under penalty of death.

⁷⁷ The clowns of the Kwakiutl, however, act suspiciously like those of the Inland Pomo. In contempt of custom they throw food about, call people by wrong names, and run about in the wrong direction. Miss Beckwith, in stating that the clowns of the Northwest and those of the Southwest have nothing in common, neglected to bring the Maidu clowns into consideration. (M. W. Beckwith, *Dance Forms of the Moqui and Kwakiutl Indians*, Fifteenth Internat. Cong. Americanists (Quebec), 107, 1906.

⁷⁸ Kroeber, *Zuñi Religion*, 870.

⁷⁹ Dumarest, *Notes on Cochiti*, 176.

⁸⁰ I am indebted to Schurtz, *op. cit.*, 391 ff., for his paraphrase from Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, 1897.

The Kwakiutl may be taken as the best example of the secret society organization of the Northwest coast, the more especially since Boas has shown, by tracing names, that most of the secret societies from Vancouver to Alaska have originated with the Kwakiutl. Societies whose names are not in the Kwakiutl language have been modeled after the Kwakiutl pattern.

The Kwakiutl have actually one exclusive secret society, the Seal society, which falls into a number of groups or grades. All these groups come together at the time of the big winter ceremony, when novices are initiated. While the Seal society stands in hostile opposition to those outside the cult, there is no fixed line between the ins and the outs—an out can get in by inheritance. A special house is erected for the winter ceremony, to which the outs have access only as spectators. Between the members and the spectators there is a considerable amount of conventional hostility.

The initiation of new male members into the Hamatsa, today the leading order of the Seal society, is the main purpose of the winter ceremony. Other groups take part in this initiation, and have their own initiations and ceremonies at this time. A person must be a member of a lower order before he can gain admittance to the Hamatsa.

The tribes of the Northwest have the peculiar idea that guardian spirits belong to certain secret societies, and thus must be inherited by the novice. The guardian spirit seizes and actually possesses the novice. While the novice is in this state he is abducted. The object of the winter ceremony is first, to bring back the candidates who have been possessed and abducted by their guardian spirits. In order to bring the young men back, the members of the society hold dances. The second object of the ceremony is to exorcise the possessing spirit out of the novice. This is also done by song and dance. The novice gets rid of his possessing spirit by undergoing a death and resurrection ceremony. After the novice to the Hamatsa society has been cured, he pretends that he has forgotten everything, and must learn anew. He is very taboo at this period, and has to use a scratching stick, and a hollow bone for drinking purposes. The reason for this taboo is that the novice has been possessed by a cannibalistic ghost, and, while under the influence of his spiritual parasite, has tasted human flesh.

At the annual winter dance, although the secret society takes the place of the sibs, the sibs themselves conduct their own ceremonies.

The potlach, which is older than the present form of secret societies, is partly merged in the Winter ceremony.

The importance of the representation of spirits and the death and resurrection ceremony in the Northwest is well brought out by the method of initiation into the Lokoala society of the Nutka. Entrance into this society is open to anyone who has friends able to pay the price. The initiation is conducted by members of the society who are supposed to have descended from wolves, and who wear wolf masks. The initiators abduct the candidate into the woods, and bring him back as dead. The other members of the society then restore the novice to life.

The Kwakiutl are the only tribe of the Northwest which makes ceremonial use of the bullroarer. This is used secretly during the winter ceremony, and is supposed to represent the voice of the spirit who has come to abduct the novice. The instrument is sounded four times.⁸¹ The Quinault also have the instrument, but only as a toy. The usual method of representing the voice of the spirit among the Kwakiutl is by blowing on tubes of kelp. Elsewhere along the coast, rattles and whistles are used for the purpose.

No use of a tribal mark is found on the Northwest coast, which is only natural, since there is no tribal society. Practically everywhere, however, there is some form of cutting the candidate. Among the Klallam, the novices cut themselves.⁸² Among the Quinault the novice is cut and bones are thrust through the flesh of the arms.

I am indebted to Mr. Ronald Olson, of our department, for the following table, based on the literature of the region and on his own observations and unpublished manuscripts. Presence of a trait is marked by an "x."

Tribe	Men's and women's societies	Society includes both sexes	Mutilation	Death and resurrection	Bullroarer (x), or substitute
Nutka.....	x	x	By old member	x	Whistles
Klallam.....	....	x	By novice	x	Rattles
Makah.....	....	x	By old members	x	Whistles
Quilleute.....	....	x	x	x	Rattles
Quinault.....	....	x	x	x	Rattles, x (as toy)
Lkuŋgen.....	....	x	....	x	.....
Kwakiutl.....	x	x	x	x	Whistles, x

⁸¹ F. Boas, *The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, Rept. U. S. Nat. Mus. 1895, 610, 1897.

⁸² Erna Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, Univ. Wash. Publ. Anthr., 285, 1927.

The Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian form a northern subdivision of the Northwest coast culture. There is a complex ritualistic system here by which individuals are initiated into the protection of their family guardian spirits, those associated with the same spirit forming a kind of society.⁸³ Apparently the full force of the uniting social bond, which is evident in the center of the cultural area, has not penetrated to the northern extremity, and the secret society system here remains more archaic. Three of the traits which we are tracing appear among the Haida. The secret society whistles are thought to be the voices of spirits,⁸⁴ and a death and resurrection ceremony is undergone at the time of initiation.⁸⁵

According to Swanton, the Haida secret society was ingrafted on their shamanistic notions.⁸⁶ Among these people there was really only one society, called "those caused to be inspired." A man high enough in rank would be inspired, however, by a new spirit at each successive potlatch, provided that these spirits were not owned by the other moiety.

Inland the system of Northwest secret societies penetrated to the Carrier Indians. Guardian spirits here are owned by totemic clans. The candidate to one of these clans, that of the "Darding knife," has to undergo a death and resurrection ceremony. In full sight of the multitude a lance is seemingly thrust into the chest of the novice, who afterwards is doctored back to life.⁸⁷

The Tlingit Indians furnish the northernmost boundary of the Northwest coast secret society system. Hence it is to be expected that a study of the form of the secret society system here will give a clue to its original nature.⁸⁸ True, or inspirational, shamanism is highly developed among the Tlingit. When the shaman is possessed the spirit speaks through him. The power of the shaman depends on the number of spirits which he possesses, or rather, which may possess him. Masks are the personal property of the individual shaman, and are connected with the spirits. The shaman dons a new mask for

⁸³ C. Wissler, *The American Indian*, 228, 1922.

⁸⁴ J. R. Swanton, *Contribution to the Ethnology of the Haida*, *Mem. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, 8: 158 (*Jesup Exped.*, vol. 5), 1905.

⁸⁵ Swanton, *op. cit.*, 172.

⁸⁶ Swanton, *op. cit.*, 160.

⁸⁷ A. G. Morice, *Notes . . . on the Western Dénés*, *Trans. Canad. Inst.*, 4: 206, 1895.

⁸⁸ Information on the Tlingit comes chiefly from A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit Indianer*, 1885. Also, J. R. Swanton, *The Tlingit Indians*, *Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rept.* 26, 1908.

each spirit which possesses him.⁸⁹ Spirits are acquired through vision; they are sought by the shaman who goes out in the woods and fasts. Spirits and masks are inherited in the family of the shaman. Since these people are matrilineal, they pass from uncle to maternal nephew. The death and resurrection ceremony among the Tlingit is connected with the making of shamans. When a shaman is first possessed, he drops over and falls into a trance. He has to be worked over by the other shamans before he can recover consciousness.⁹⁰

Secret society dances and initiations have come to the Tlingit from the south. The Lukoala, or wolf society of the Nootka, is present among the Tlingit. The secret society ceremony is non-important here, however, and is only performed at the time of mourning potlatch. A man can imitate any animal he pleases at the time of ceremonies, unless the animal belongs to the crest of some other family. Whistles, as the voices of the spirits, have been introduced from the south along with the dances.⁹¹

The system of secret societies is too involved to afford any ready analysis, especially to the non-specialist. From analogies elsewhere, I presume that there has been a series of cultural influences. The oldest layer is represented by the four traits which we are tracing. These occurred either in connection with a tribal initiation, or a system of secret societies. Next a potlatch system developed, with possibly the Kwakiutl at the center. Crests, songs, and dances were handed down in families, and displayed at time of potlatch. Finally, inspirational shamanism filtered its way down the coast. This remained strongest at the north among the Tlingit. Here probably there was but little in the way of former secret societies. Hence guardian spirits became regarded as property rights, but a secondary growth of secret societies failed to develop. Among the Kwakiutl, however, shamanism formed a convenient uniter of the two disconnected systems, that of secret societies and that of privileges owned by sibs. The guardian spirits simply became an added piece of sib property. Now initiation acquired the significance of receiving the sib privileges by means of being possessed by the sib spirits. The death and resurrection ceremony became the means of freeing the novice from his spiritual parasite. The bullroarer became the voice

⁸⁹ The Haida shaman impersonates only one spirit at a time, and usually performs without a mask. (Swanton, Tlingit, 463.)

⁹⁰ Swanton, Tlingit, 466.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 436.

of the possessing spirit. Cutting might have been made an added means of ridding the candidate from the spirit, but this idea has not reached western North America. So cutting became transferred to the new system of secret societies, but without meaning. The next step, and one partly taken by the Kwakiutl, was the formation of a common society, which supplanted sib organization. Among the Kwakiutl, however, the sib societies remained as grades within the common society.

At the southern extremity of the Northwestern culture area, the art, social, and ceremonial traits tend to thin out. Secret societies gained sufficient momentum to arrive, but they arrived without meaning. Thus the Klallam have one secret society, "the Growlers." Initiation does not depend upon possession, for the society owns no spirits. No longer in its proper setting of sib organization and sib privileges, "the Growlers" have but one secret to safeguard, the fact that they no longer have a secret.

Another center of secret societies in North America is furnished by the central Algonkian and southern Siouan tribes, which occupied approximately the upper and middle Mississippi valley. The so-called medicine dance was formerly widespread among these Indians. In this ceremony we no longer find a trace of tribal initiation, tribal mark, or even ordeal,⁹² or the use of a bullroarer or substitute. The societies are exclusive, they are composed of both men and women who by virtue of entrance became shamans, entrance is paid for, and there are as many as four grades or degrees. A death and resurrection ceremony plays an important part in the initiation rites of all the secret medicine societies of the region.

No masks are used in the ritual of this medicine society. There is, however, an impersonation of spirits. Among the Menomini, the secret ceremonies are divided into four parts, the first of which is the dramatization of the initiation of the hero-god, Mänäbus, representing the first mythical performance of the rites. In this performance the leaders impersonate the Great Gods below and above the novice Mänäbus.⁹³

The purely shamanistic nature of the society is shown by its name, Midëwiwin among the Ojibwa, the reputed founders of the cult. The

⁹² Among the Menomini, members are entitled to special facial paintings in blue to denote the number of degrees they have taken. This might be considered as derived from some system of tribal marking or mutilation. (A. Skinner, *Medicine Ceremony of the Menomini*, Indian Notes and Monographs, Mus. Am. Indian, Heye Foundation, 4: 124, 1920.)

⁹³ Skinner, *op. cit.*, 23.

term *midē* refers to medicine men, while the term *wiwin* refers to the lodge in which the ceremony is held.⁹⁴ The acknowledged intent of the society, among the neighboring Menomini, is to prolong human life, and to this end a special study is made of actual and magical medicines. The lodge also seeks, for a price, to see to the final settlement of the souls of the dead in their future abode.⁹⁵

The death and resurrection ceremony among all the tribes having the medicine society consists of "shooting" the novices with some object, such as shell or pebble. The stricken initiate then has to be brought to life again by his fellow medicine men.

There are two features of the Menomini cult which are almost identical with those of the California Pomo cults, and suggest a somewhat recent diffusion. The first of these is a kind of *séance* held by the Menomini, in which a dead person is represented by a living member of the tribe of like appearance. The living person is feasted and given new clothing, all of which is supposed to be of aid to the dead individual who is in possession, for the time being, of the body of the living.⁹⁶ Among the Pomo an impersonation of the dead is practiced at the time of the Inland Ghost ceremony, without the idea, however, that the ghost of the dead is in the body of the impersonator.⁹⁷ Impersonation of the dead is also practiced at the time of shamanistic *séances* among the Southern Maidu and Central Miwok.

The second trait held in common by the Pomo and the Menomini is the ceremonial imitation of bird sounds. The Menomini make use of a whistling otter skin. The whistling is accomplished by expelling air through a bone tube in the throat of the otter skin.⁹⁸ Among the Pomo, the head of the medicine secret society had a moleskin filled with soaproot fibers, in which was placed the whistle.⁹⁹

Among the Indians of the eastern section of the United States, certain medical secret societies have been reported, but with insufficient detail. Thus Goldenweiser has handed in a "preliminary" report on the secret societies of the Iroquois. Each tribe has a medicine society, which is divided into two branches, the "Little Water" or "Real Life" division being the most secret of the two. This is joined by having a certain type of dream, or by being cured by a member. Whether the society of "Falsefaces" is a division of the

⁹⁴ W. J. Hoffman, *The Menomini Indians*, Bur. Am. Ethn., Ann. Rept. 14: 66, 1896.

⁹⁵ Skinner, *op. cit.*, 22.

⁹⁶ Skinner, *op. cit.*, 117.

⁹⁷ Loeb, *Pomo Folkways*, 348.

⁹⁸ Skinner, *op. cit.*, 17.

⁹⁹ Loeb, *Pomo Folkways*, 378.

Real Life society, or is a separate order, I cannot say. The Falsefaces are a group of medicine men who wear masks, as their name implies, and go twice a year with rattle in hand from house to house driving away disease spirits. According to Morgan, these masked shamans represent spirits. The true Falsefaces are believed to be evil spirits or demons without bodies or limbs, simply with hideous faces. A person joins the society by dreaming of a false face; he then communicates his dream to the head of the society, who is always a female. This female, who is the only woman in the order, is called "The Keeper of the Falsefaces," and not only has charge of the regalia of the band, but is the only organ of communication between members, for they otherwise remain incognito to one another, as well as to outsiders.

Among the Pueblo Indians, in Cochiti, there is a belief that there is a society of witches. By joining this one can obtain anything he wishes. The only drawback is that the novice must sacrifice some dear member of the family in order to join the cult.¹⁰⁰ Among the Iroquois it is believed, according to Morgan, that witches are bound together in a secret organization, which has periodical meetings, an initiation ceremony, and a novitiate fee. The meetings are held at night, and the fee of the neophyte is the life of his nearest and dearest friend, to be taken with poison, on the eve of his admission.¹⁰¹

The Lenape or Delaware Indians, of Algonkin stock, also have masks. The Minsi tribe of Delaware had a masked medical society. The masks used were similar to those of the Iroquois. There is also a god of the Delaware, called "Living Solid Face." This god is impersonated by a man wearing his costume for the purpose of frightening or curing bad or weakly children.¹⁰²

It appears evident that the secret societies of the eastern portion of North America show certain connections with those of the west, and, since they are less typical, must be considered as marginal to the west. The lines of diffusion of secret society traits in North America, beginning with the Pueblo region, are from south to north, and from west to east. Secret societies and tribal initiation in North America have everywhere met, and have been altered by, a Siberian shamanistic influence which is strongest on the Northwest coast, and

¹⁰⁰ Dumarest, *op. cit.*, 163.

¹⁰¹ L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, 157 ff., 1904. Also, A. A. Goldenweiser, *Rept. Geol. Surv. Can.*, 472 ff., 1912.

¹⁰² M. R. Harrington, *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape*, *Indian Notes and Monographs*, Mus. Am. Indian, Heye Foundation, 32 ff.

has flowed south and east. The center of diffusion of secret societies in North America must have been the Pueblo region and the southern half of California. It is in this section alone that we find the core of secret associations, that is, true tribal initiations.

SOUTH AMERICA

The most complete description of tribal initiation and secret societies in South America has recently been obtained by Koppers from the Yagan of Tierra del Fuego. Here there is a tribal initiation for men, the Kina ceremony, and a second association which includes both men and women, in fact all the members of the tribe, called the Tschiech house ceremony. Spirit impersonations are performed in both ceremonies. The Tschiech house ceremony is in a sense a medicine performance, since evil spirits are exorcised by the dancing. Women shamans also bring back the souls of the people by their singing. The Kina is also in a way a medicine ceremony and the leader is always a shaman, since he alone has power to bann the evil spirits. The purpose of the Kina, however, appears directed against the women of the tribe in very much the same way as the Pomo Ghost ceremony. In the Kina, the men wear masks and pretend that they are spirits, for the purpose of frightening their wives.

No bullroarer or substitute is reported for any of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego. A death and resurrection ceremony occurs in both of the cults of the Yagan. In the Tschiech ceremony the leader enacts the part of the earth-spirit and lies down on the ground as if dead. In the Kina ceremony all the men pretend that they have been killed by the spirits, and are brought to life again. As proof of this they go to their wives with bloody noses. The giving of a tribal mark to the boys is done at the time of the Tschiech ceremony and not at the time of the Kina. This is a variety of tattooing, the only tattooing which the Yagan formerly possessed.

The boys and girls who are initiated into the Tschiech house have many food restrictions at the time and are taboo for a period afterwards. The candidates enter a new life, that is, they become tribal members and receive new names. At the end of the period of instruction within the house, the novices are presented with baskets, hollow bones for drawing up water, and scratching sticks.

There is a third house, like the Kina house, for the instruction of doctors. Novice medicine men have to fast, in order to induce the facility for obtaining visions, and instruction in the art of healing is given.

My opinion is that the Kina ceremony of the Yagan is the oldest. Originally the tribal mark, the death and resurrection ceremony, the giving of a new name, and the moral instruction belonged to this cult. At this time the initiation of girls at puberty was a family and not a tribal matter. To the girls' initiation probably belonged the scratching stick, and hollow tube. Later, under the influence of shamanism (of the non-inspirational variety), the Tschiech house ceremony developed, and borrowed certain traits from the Kina festival. In the same way, the doctors formed a school of their own in imitation of the Kina. If my reconstruction is correct, the ceremonies of the Yagan form a close analogy to those of the Pomo of California.¹⁰³

The South American tribes of the vast region of the Upper Amazon and Rio Negro basin have secret society dances, which appear to be exclusively male, and boys' tribal initiations. The mysteries of the secret societies center around a masked and disguised figure called Jurupari, an important deity among many Brazilian tribes. The sacred costume of the deity must not be seen by any woman on pain of death. Bullroarers are supposed to be the voice of this god Jurupari and as such are also tabooed to women under penalty of death.¹⁰⁴ Karl von den Steinen has reported the manner in which women among the Bororo sought refuge in the woods as soon as the bullroarer was sounded. If they had seen a bullroarer they would have died.¹⁰⁵ Near by, however, on the Kulisehu river the bullroarer was used as a toy, and the flute was the sacred instrument.¹⁰⁶ It would seem that whipping serves in the initiation rites on the upper Rio Negro. The whipping is said to be so severe that it leaves a permanent mark.¹⁰⁷ No reliable information can be obtained, however, concerning initiation on the Amazon. What information we have is solely from hearsay. Whiffen writes that the mysteries of initiation have yet to be fathomed in this region.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ W. Koppers, *Unter Feuerland-Indianern*, 50 ff., 1924.

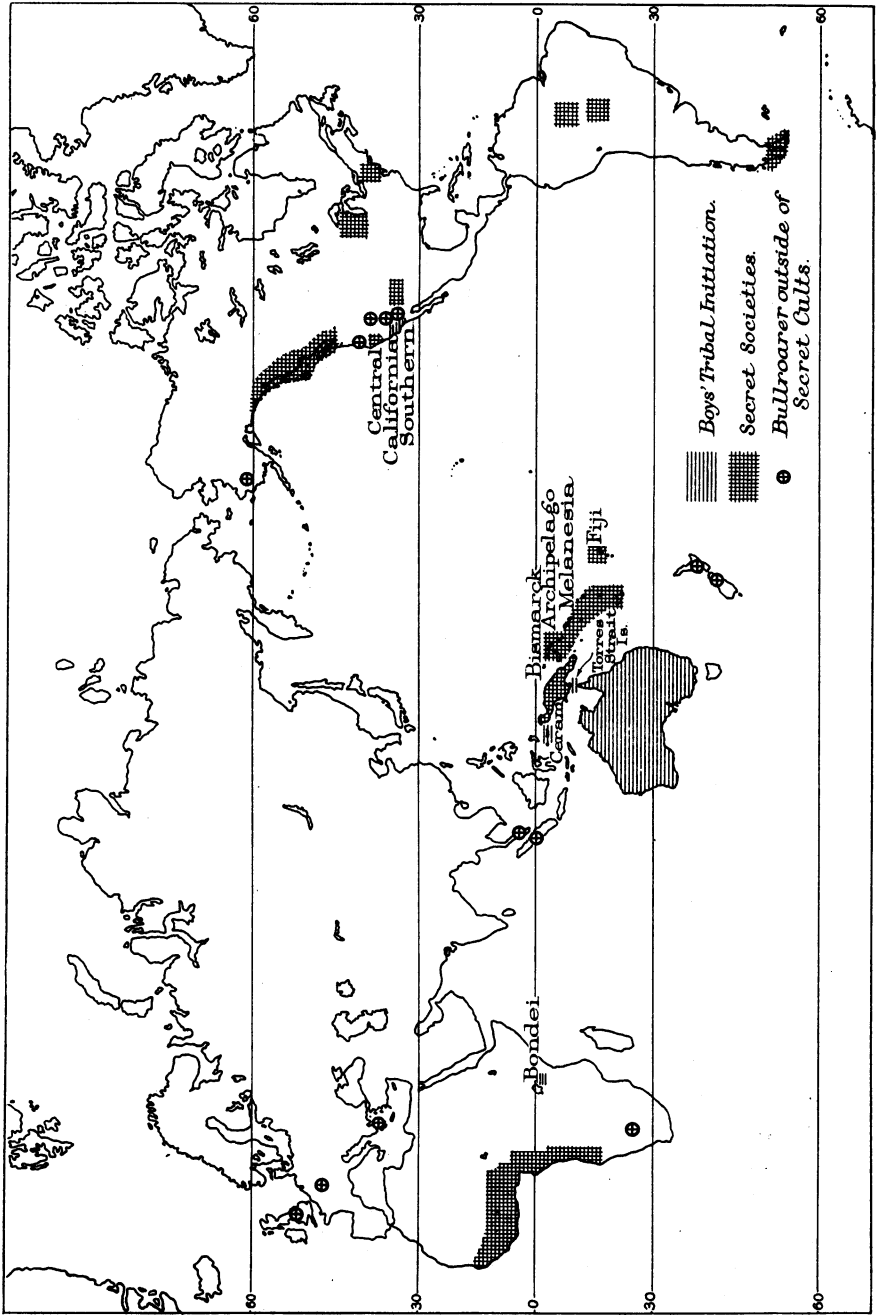
¹⁰⁴ H. Coudreau, *La France équinoxiale*, 11: 186 ff. Quoted by R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, 2: 546, 1927.

¹⁰⁵ Karl von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, 384, 1897.

¹⁰⁶ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁷ T. Koch-Grünberg, *Zwei Jahre unter Indianern*, 1: 186, 1909.

¹⁰⁸ T. Whiffen, *The North-West Amazons*, 1915.



ANCIENT GREECE

Andrew Lang has pointed out the fact that the bullroarer (rhombos) was used in the Orphic mysteries of ancient Greece. It was believed to be the toy of the child god, Dionysus.¹⁰⁹ In the Orphic, Eleusinian, and Isis mysteries there were probably masked dances representing the death and resurrection of the patron deity, as related in the origin myths of the societies. In certain, if not in all of these cults, it is also likely that the candidates themselves underwent a very symbolical form of death and resurrection. It does not appear, however, that clear-cut accounts of the rites of the Greek mysteries have been handed down.

THE BULLROARER COMPLEX

The bullroarer, or some substitute for the bullroarer, has proved in the course of our investigation to have been a most important factor in secret tribal initiations and societies. It has only been found lacking in regions where tribal initiations or secret societies have been of a distant or marginal nature. Thus the bullroarer is absent in Tierra del Fuego, Fiji, and the eastern section of North America.

When the bullroarer is found in connection with tribal initiations and secret societies, it is almost always represented as being the voice of spirits, and is generally tabooed to women and the uninitiated. A notable exception to this rule has been described for the Pueblo Indians. The bullroarer is to be found outside the regions of tribal initiations and secret societies, but in these localities it has deteriorated into a child's toy or a magical instrument; it is not represented as being the voice of spirits, nor is it tabooed to women and children. Thus, Haddon has shown that the bullroarer exists in the British islands and in Europe as a child's toy, among the Bushmen of South Africa as a rain charm, among the Eskimo of Bering strait as a toy, among the Malays of the Malay peninsula as a means of keeping elephants from the plantations, among the Toba-Batak of Sumatra

¹⁰⁹ It is probable that the rhombos was a bullroarer, but the Church Fathers have also suggested that the implement might have been a top. For literature, see Andrew Lang, *Bull Roarer*, *Hastings Encyclopaedia*; also *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, 271, 1913.

as a plaything for children, and in New Zealand for purposes unknown.¹¹⁰ Among the Minangkabau people of Sumatra, the bull-roarer is used for purely magical reasons. Here magicians whirl the instrument in order to induce the demons to carry off the soul of a woman, and so drive her mad. It is made of the frontal bone of a brave or skilful man, and some of the intended victim's hair is attached to it.¹¹¹ Spier has collected data on the bullroarer of western North America, which show clearly that the instrument is sometimes found in regions bordering on those possessing secret societies. Thus the Havasupai, San Carlos Apache, and Papago associate the bull-roarer with rain, while the Arapaho and the Klamath have an analogous use, to produce wind. Among the Gros Ventre and Paiute it is only a toy. The Ute also have the instrument.¹¹²

It would seem that most of the early theories concerning the use of the bullroarer are at present untenable. It cannot be assumed, as Hutton Webster claims, that the use of a bullroarer by a tribe is certain indication of former secret rites.¹¹³ This theory does not allow for diffusion. Certainly in New Zealand there are no indications of former secret rites, nor of a former race of Melanesians who practiced them.

The earlier writers on the bullroarer, including Lang, Haddon, and von den Steinen, cited the bullroarer as a typical case of parallelism, of "similar minds, working with simple means towards similar ends." This theory would be permissible if we considered only the isolated cases where the bullroarer occurs as a child's toy, or an instrument of simple magic. But, as Lowie has well pointed out, while the bullroarer itself may be a simple device, there is no psychological principle which would bar women from sight of the instrument in Oceania, Africa, and the New World. Lowie therefore believes that the bullroarer complex has been diffused from a common center, and that there has been historical connection between the rituals of initiation into the male tribal societies of Australia, New Guinea, Melanesia, Africa—and, he might have added, those of the New World.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ A. C. Haddon, *The Study of Man*, 219 ff., 1898.

¹¹¹ J. L. van der Toorn, *Het Animisme bij den Minangkabauer der Padangsche Bovenlandern, Bij. tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië*, 55, 1890.

¹¹² L. Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, *Anthr. Pap., Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, 29: 290, 1928.

¹¹³ Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, 205.

¹¹⁴ R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 313, 1920.

The case for diffusion is even stronger than stated by Lowie. Not only is the bullroarer tabooed to women when used in connection with male initiation rites, but it is also almost invariably represented as the voice of spirits. Nor does the bullroarer travel alone in connection with male initiation rites. This paper has demonstrated the fact that a form of tribal marking, a death and resurrection ceremony, and an impersonation of ghosts or spirits is found among male tribal initiation rites as the usual concomitants of the bullroarer. There is no psychological principle involved which would necessarily group these elements together, and they therefore must be regarded as having been fortuitously grouped in one locality of the world, and then disseminated as a complex.

CONCLUSIONS

From a survey of the material gathered, it appears that boys' tribal initiations occur among many of the more backward peoples of the world, and that girls' individual initiations usually are to be found in the same regions. These two institutions are common among the Negroids and Australians. They are found regionally in the New World, but are lacking among other Mongoloids. They are lacking among the Caucasians with the peculiar exception of the sophisticated mysteries of ancient Greece. From the distribution, it may be inferred that these traits are of archaic, possibly paleolithic origin, and are not a matter of recent diffusion.

Boys' initiations, when in typical form, are a tribal matter, while girls' initiations, or puberty ceremonies, are usually a family function. In certain regions, however, as Central Australia and West Africa, the girls' puberty ceremony becomes converted into a girls' tribal initiation rite, in evident imitation of boys' tribal initiation. In West Africa this process has gone so far that actual secret societies have been formed from the girls' tribal initiation.¹¹⁵ The ordinary features of a girl's puberty ceremony include the use of a separate menstruation hut, and a taboo period while the girl is in the hut. While the

¹¹⁵ The failure of women to form secret societies does not rest upon psychological grounds, the lack of the social impulse in women (!), as H. Schurtz states, but rather on physiological grounds. When women are having their first menstruation they are usually very taboo, and hence are isolated. Therefore the initiation of women is usually a family, rather than a tribal, matter. Since secret societies come from tribal initiations, they would tend to be composed of men rather than women. (Schurtz, *op. cit.*, 17.)

girl is taboo she must make use of a scratching stick, and a hollow tube for drinking purposes. The use of the scratching stick has been reported for Australia, Ceram, and the whole western coast of the New World from the Northwest coast to Tierra del Fuego. This fact indicates that certain details of the girls' puberty ceremony have undergone a worldwide diffusion in the same manner as have those of boys. The diffusion of the two types of initiations has been closely correlated, for we lack girls' puberty ceremonies in about the same regions where those of boys are lacking, that is, in regions of higher culture. Among Caucasians as well as Mongoloids (other than those of the New World) both are lacking. Both were carried together to Ceram. Furthermore there has been an interchange of traits between girls' puberty ceremonies and boys' tribal initiations. The scratching stick has been taken over and used by boys in Ceram, by the Kwakiutl, in central California by the Yuki and Patwin, and in Tierra del Fuego. On the other hand, whipping and other forms of ordeals have been taken over from the boys' cult in South America and inflicted on girls at the time of their first menstruation.¹¹⁶

It has been shown that boys' tribal initiation has been diffused from one center, and is characterized by the use of the bullroarer, the death and resurrection ceremony, the giving of a tribal mark, and the representation of spirits. Certain other traits appear which are of a variable nature and are based on the psychological aspects of an initiation into tribal membership. Among these may be listed: giving the candidate a new name, entering into a new life, and instructions given to the novices. Tests of manhood are common in tribal initiations, and often supplant, where they are not developed from, the giving of the tribal mark. Restrictions are often placed on the novice, especially that prohibiting sexual intercourse or marriage before initiation. Restrictions may persist for a period after initiation, but this is usually due to the borrowing of the idea of "taboo period" from the girls' rites.

While boys' tribal initiation is a widespread trait, the basic elements of which have been diffused from one center, secret societies must be regarded as developing from foci of independent origin. Secret societies arise from tribal initiations, however,¹¹⁷ and in this

¹¹⁶ I can see no foundation for the opinion of Schmidt and Koppers that initiation of girls belongs to the mother-right "Kulturkreis" and is older than the boys' initiation, which belongs to the father-right totemic "Kulturkreis." (W. Schmidt and W. Koppers, *Der Mensch aller Zeiten*, 3: 238, 1924.)

¹¹⁷ Both Schurtz and Webster have pointed out that secret societies develop from boys' initiations. (Schurtz, *op. cit.*, 101; Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, 2.)

way they may be regarded as secondary parallelisms, since they are founded on a common diffused trait. Moreover, secret societies themselves contain certain of the four elementary traits we have been tracing, which they have absorbed from the initiation ceremonies. It has been shown that secret societies are exclusive, while tribal initiations are inclusive. Secret societies usually demand an entrance fee, they often develop grades,¹¹⁸ and they ordinarily have some purpose other than the mere initiation of candidates, the purpose with which they started. In North America, for example, the secret societies are in the main of a medical character. Masks are used almost invariably by members of secret societies, while they are not ordinarily used by the male initiators in tribal initiations. They are used for the double purpose of inspiring awe and of keeping secret the actual membership in the society.

In my treatment of tribal initiations I have limited myself to initiations which are of a secret variety, and which therefore form the foundation for secret societies. There are peoples, however, who have tribal initiations without attaching any esoteric element to it, and yet which is rigorously prescribed for all tribal members. Thus the boys and girls in the Andaman islands have to go through a system of scarifications and food taboos before they can become adult tribal members and marry. Among the Masai every male is subject to a tribal mark (circumcision), through which he attains the position of warrior. In the Plains regions of North America, also, there are associations, such as the Hidatsa military societies, where in the course of their lives men pass from one grade to another. Schurtz has mapped the places throughout the earth where true age classifications form a basis of non-esoteric tribal initiations and associations, and it would seem that these are too few to form a basis for esoteric tribal initiations and secret societies, as this author would have it.¹¹⁹ The converse is probably closer to the truth, that exoteric tribal initiations such as the Andaman and Masai have arisen in response to diffusion from esoteric tribal rites. The Plains societies have certain esoteric features such as medicine bundles, masks are sometimes used in buffalo imitation, and clowns are occasionally present. Yet it must not be overlooked that the Plains societies are along the path of diffusion of true secret societies.

¹¹⁸ There is no reason to believe that grades in secret societies developed from a system of age classification, as Webster claims. Once payment is made for entrance into the lower grade, it often follows that the dues are larger for admittance to higher grades. (Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, 13.)

¹¹⁹ Schurtz, *op. cit.*, 352.

Finally, the point must be raised that the existence of tribal initiations and secret societies does not depend upon any particular form of social organization. They may be found with patrilinear or matrilinear sibs, as on the Northwest coast of North America, or they may be found where sib systems are entirely lacking, as among the Pomo, Yuki, and the natives of Tierra del Fuego. Secret societies may be found associated with moieties, as among the Haida and Tlingit and in many other regions of North America and Melanesia, or they may be found where moieties are lacking, as in West Africa, Brazil, and Tierra del Fuego. Totemism may be intimately connected with secret societies, as on the Northwest coast of North America, but secret societies can do equally well without totemism, as among the Pomo, the Fijians, and the natives of Ceram. It is to be presumed that tribal initiations and secret societies are far older than sib systems or even totemism, and that these social phenomena attach themselves to secret societies in certain regions, not that tribal initiations and secret societies spring from, or travel with, any given type of social organization.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Bachofen, Lippert, Briffault, and P. Schmidt have connected secret societies with the matriarchate. They believe that secret societies arose when men organized to put an end to woman-rule. Webster believes that secret societies arose from clan totemism. Duyvendak believes that secret societies are all divided into two ceremonial divisions, and arise independently from a moiety system in various regions, while Graebner believes that moieties and secret societies travel together in a "Kulturkreis." The theory of Rivers that secret societies are brought in by an immigrant population has never received honorable mention by his colleagues, for immigrant populations cannot be postulated for continental areas. The only writer to give a psychological interpretation of initiation rites and secret societies has been van Gennep. This author pays no attention to historical principles and understands by the term "mystery" the assemblage of ceremonies which make the neophytes pass from the profane to the sacred world, and put them in direct and definite communication with the latter. While it is true that this psychological interpretation is not lacking in validity, yet psychological grounds alone, although they admit the ready diffusion of definite historical traits, do not explain the identity of these traits (A van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage*, 127, 1909).

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