

CARL LUMHOLTZ :

A Translation of Answers to a Questionnaire

by

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In the early history of European contact with Aborigines in Australia, only a handful of accurate eye-witness accounts of Aboriginal society has been recorded. One of the most remarkable and thorough studies is the work of Carl Sofus Lumholtz, a twenty-nine-year-old Norwegian zoologist dispatched to Australia by the University of Christiania in 1880.¹ Although a number of other Europeans, notably the shipwrecked sailor, James Murrells², had been compelled by circumstances to reside in Aboriginal camps in North Queensland, Lumholtz chose voluntarily to live amongst the Aborigines of the Herbert River district. Here he pursued his zoological interests and discovered several new mammals, notably a tree kangaroo (*Dendrolagus lumholtzi* Collett, 1884) and three varieties of opossum (*Pseudocheirus archeri* (Collett, 1884), *P. herbertensis* (Collett, 1884), and *Hemibelideus lemuroides* (Collett, 1884)). Lumholtz learned to communicate with the tribal Aborigines, to subsist on their diet, and to accumulate a wealth of personal experience of their family life. Attention is drawn to his research because of the valuable and perceptive insight he provides about the distinctive environmental response of Aboriginal people living in an area of rainforest prior to any serious disturbance by European immigration and settlement.

The best known of Lumholtz's writings is his narrative, *Among Cannibals*, which first appeared in Danish in 1888 and was translated, almost immediately, into Swedish, French, English, and German.³ The publication is lavishly illustrated with lithographic sketches prepared by Norwegian and French artists from photographs taken by Lumholtz. A lithograph map prepared by Axel E. Aamodt of Copenhagen marks the routes of Lumholtz's travels in Queensland.

An indication of the contemporary popularity of Lumholtz's book was the continued appearance of further reprints until at least two decades later. *Among Cannibals* has become a work of both scientific and literary value, the quality of its research establishing the reputation of Lumholtz as an ethnologist. He pursued this career with further distinction in his subsequent studies of Indian society in the Sierra Madre of Mexico⁴ and an expedition into Central Borneo.⁵ Lumholtz died at Saramac Lake, New York, in 1922 on the eve of initiating a journey across the unexplored Snowy Range of Western New Guinea.⁶

Lumholtz demonstrated a naturalist's ambition to examine remote societies which had not been disturbed by European culture. He was particularly successful in allaying the suspicions and winning the confidence of such people.

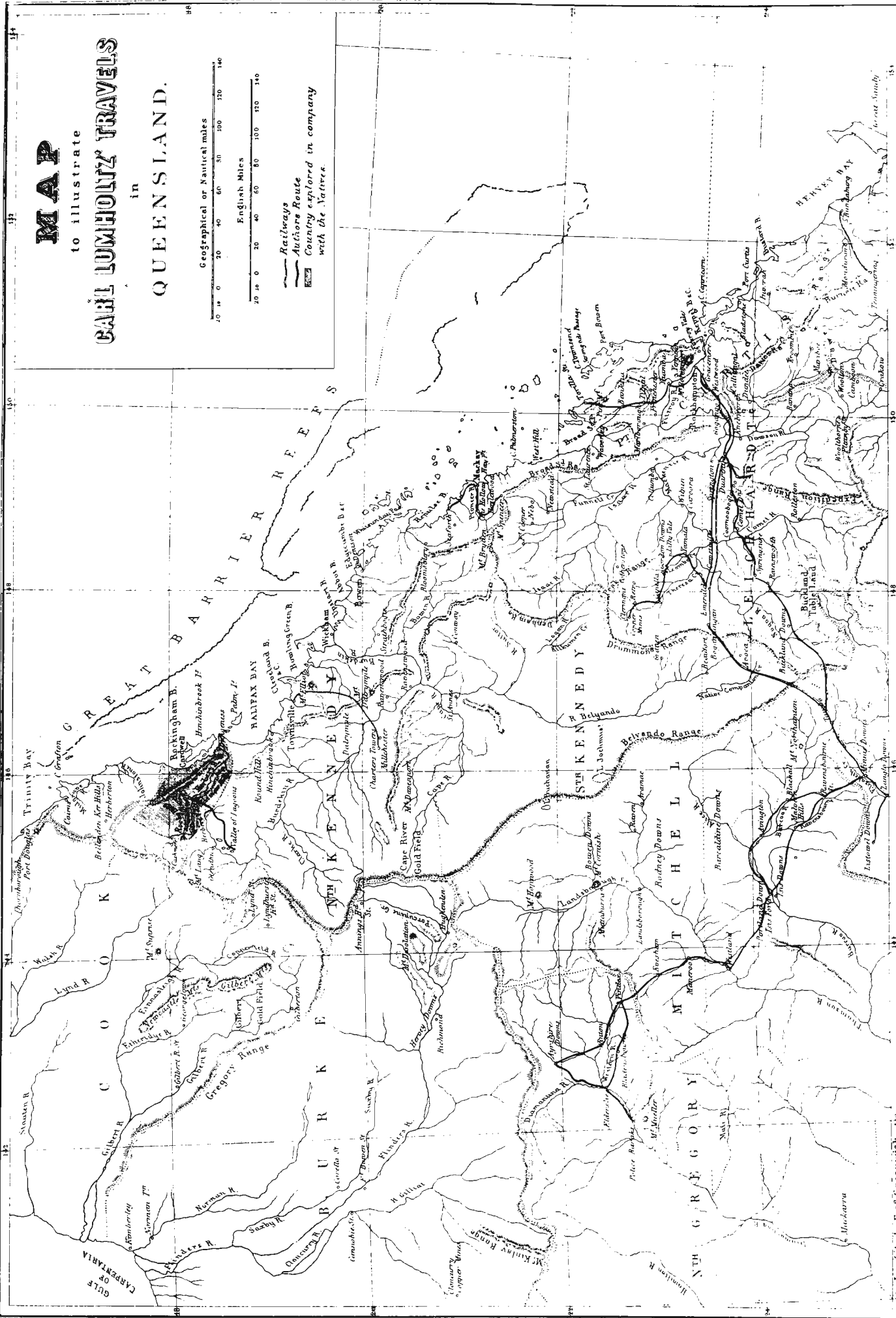
The earliest of Lumholtz's published accounts of his travels to Queensland appears to have been written for a German audience, although there is a possibility of the existence of original documents, particularly his own journal.⁷ A further report on the significance of a gigantic variety of *Inoceramus* fossil found by Lumholtz on Minnie Downs near the Barcoo River has been prepared by F. W. Whitehouse.⁸



Carl Sofus Lumholtz

Carl Sofus Lumholtz
(Frontispiece, *Blandt menneskeædere*)

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MAP

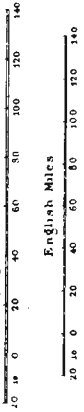
to illustrate

CARL LUMHOLTZ' TRAVELS

in

QUEENSLAND.

Geographical or Nautical miles



English Miles



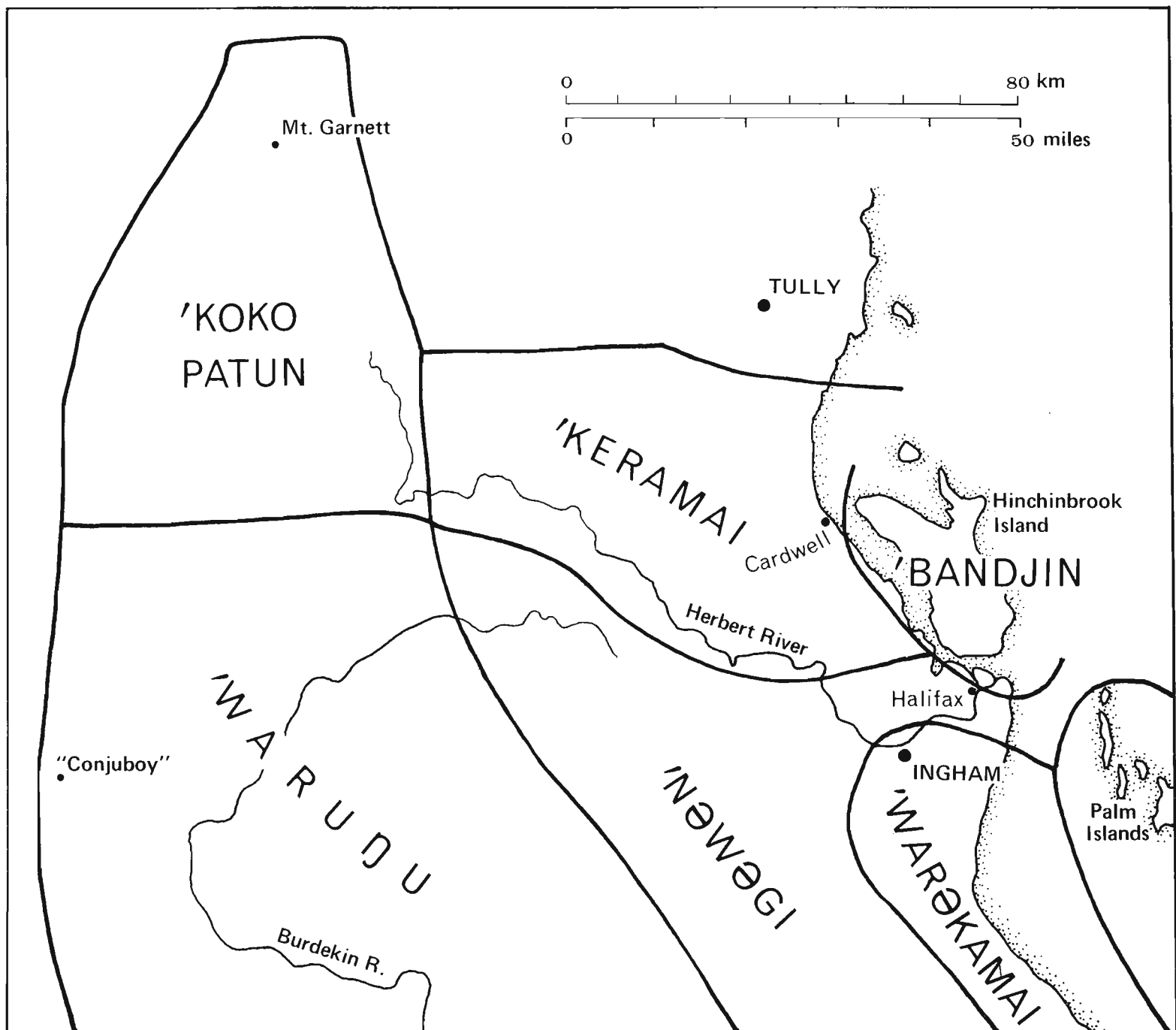
- Railways
- Authors Route
- Country explored in company with the natives.

During 1888, while in Paris engaged in the arrangements for the French edition of *Among Cannibals*, Lumholtz wrote his response to a questionnaire published in 1883 by the Société d'anthropologie de Paris. The purpose of the questionnaire was to act as an 'aide-mémoire' to assist travelling members of the Société in maintaining a systematic record of observations since 'it is necessary that one day the linguist, the psychologist, the legislator, the economist, the philosopher should be able to ask and to obtain from anthropology the material of well observed and well coordinated facts which their special sciences could not do without'.⁹ By preparing a specific reply to these questions, Lumholtz supplied information which generally summarized the comments in his book.¹⁰ However, several groups of questions, particularly those relating to social life, navigation, transport, commerce, intellectual ability and concepts of time and space, caused Lumholtz to add details which are not found in the contents of *Among Cannibals*.

For this reason the endnotes at the end of this translation provide extensive cross-referencing with the London edition of 1889.

In the following translation, the original questions and instructions issued by the Société and the introduction to the Questionnaire have been included in italics, since Lumholtz did not repeat the questions with his reply. The same punctuation and italicization used by Lumholtz has been retained but the taxonomic names have been standardised. Further comments on points that require clarification are also provided in the endnotes.

Acknowledgement must be made to the kind help provided by Miss Margaret Hokin, who assisted with part of the translation. Copies of the illustrations have been supplied by the National Library of Australia.



Aboriginal tribal areas in the vicinity of the Herbert River
 From Norman B. Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*. Copyright c 1974 by The Regents of the University of California; reprinted by permission of the University of California Press.

SOCIOLOGICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE.

PREFACE.

The brief Questionnaire we offer here to travellers has been, purposely, reduced to the minimum. Indeed, experience has shown that instructions containing too much detail, overburdened questionnaires have little practical use. Constrained almost invariably to a fatiguing and dangerous way of life, the explorer rarely has the leisure to waste his time on minute observations. The sole object of our questions is to indicate to observers the most outstanding points of the vast domain of sociological and ethnographic anthropology, a domain still insufficiently explored, these are the points of reference destined to guide the explorer to the middle of the very complex labyrinth of the facts.

However concise our Questionnaire may be, no important subject has been omitted; but we have kept it general in character. We wished indeed to draw up a sociological note, applicable equally to all ethnic groups, small or great, uncivilized or cultured, applicable for that matter to the Fuegians as to the inhabitants of the most civilized capitals.

As a basis for our work, we have taken a similar Questionnaire, adopted first by the Société d'anthropologie de Florence, then by the Société impériale de géographie de Saint-Petersbourg. We have come to this decision, on the one hand, because of the advantage of having a method of observation already accepted by two important foreign societies; on the other hand, because the plan of this original work had been conceived independently of all systematic concept, of all preconceived theory. However, we have very appreciably expanded the Questionnaire of Florence, by completing it with a large number of questions. Finally, we have given better indication of the major divisions of the Questionnaire, very simple divisions moreover, since they relate uniquely to the principal forms of human activity, to nutrition, sensitivity, feelings of affection, the social and intellectual phenomena. The majority of our questions arrange themselves under one of these five major headings; but there is a certain number which is common to several categories, a drawback which the complexity of the facts made inevitable. One is familiar enough with the fact that, even in natural history, where one is still dealing with concrete beings, the task of the taxonomist is often difficult. In classifying these complex facts, we have decided generally according to the dominant characteristics; sometimes we have brought together facts, simultaneous observation of which is easy.

Our Questionnaire, in which, we hope, no really important point has been omitted, may and should render to the science of man considerable service. Thanks to this aide mémoire, observation can be carried out, methodically and completely, and one will no longer see, what until now has been so frequent, explorers traversing the least known countries, almost without taking note of industry, customs, social organization, religion of the people in whose midst they are travelling.

Great efforts have been made, particularly in France, to create anatomical anthropology and assuredly, this is the very basis of our studies, which was above all, necessary to establish soundly. But, in order to be complete, the science of man should also include all the great manifestations of human activity; it is necessary that one

day the linguist, the psychologist, the legislator, the economist, the philosopher should be able to ask and to obtain from anthropology the material of well observed and well coordinated facts which their special sciences could not do without.

A few words more. Our brief Questionnaire being, like all things, perfectable, we earnestly request from those people who will make use of it all the criticisms suggested by experience. Our ambition has been solely to trace the major lines, to indicate the way.

Messrs Hamy, Hovelacque, Vinson; Letourneau, recorder.

578

SÉANCE DU 21 JUIN 1883.

Ainsi que M. Delasiauve, je sais que, depuis 1837, la population du département de l'Eure a toujours été en voie de croissance. Mais, néanmoins, passagèrement, les guerres peuvent bien n'avoir pas été sans quelque influence sur cette décroissance. A la suite des périodes de paix, qui précèdent les recensements de 1846, 1851, 1861, 1866, 1876, 1881, la décroissance quinquennale varia de 0,59 à 2,49. Après la guerre de Crimée, en 1856, après la guerre avec la Prusse, en 1872, la décroissance s'éleva à 2,67 et à 4,24 pour 100 habitants.

Questionnaire de sociologie et d'ethnographie.

PREFACE.

Le petit Questionnaire que nous offrons ici aux voyageurs a été, de parti pris, réduit au minimum. En effet, l'expérience a démontré que les instructions trop détaillées, les questionnaires surchargés ont peu d'utilité pratique. Astreint presque toujours à un genre de vie fatigant et périlleux, l'explorateur a rarement le loisir de s'attarder à de minutieuses observations. Nos questions ont seulement pour objet d'indiquer aux observateurs les points les plus saillants du vaste domaine de l'anthropologie sociologique et ethnographique, domaine si insuffisamment exploré encore; ce sont des points de repère destinés à guider l'explorateur au milieu du labyrinthe si complexe des faits.

Quelque concis que soit notre Questionnaire, aucun sujet important n'y a été omis; mais nous avons tenu à lui laisser un caractère général. Nous voulions en effet rédiger un mémento sociologique, indifféremment applicable à tous les groupes ethniques, petits ou grands, sauvages ou cultivés, aussi bien aux Fuegiens qu'aux habitants des capitales les plus civilisées.

Pour base de notre rédaction, nous avons pris un Questionnaire analogue, adopté d'abord par la Société d'anthropologie de Florence, puis par la Société impériale de géogra-

Preface to the Questionnaire

Reproduced by courtesy of the Société d'anthropologie de Paris.

PARAGRAPH BY PARAGRAPH ANSWERS, ABOUT THE AUSTRALIANS OF THE HERBERT RIVER, TO THE SOCIOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE SOCIÉTÉ;

BY MR CARL LUMHOLTZ.

I have travelled through Australia, from 1880 to 1884, entrusted with a scientific mission for the University of Christiania (Norway).

After having visited Central Queensland, I spent one year (1882-83) in North Queensland. I had established my headquarters at Herbert River, in latitude 18° south, and I worked from there towards the west and north-west, accompanied on all my expeditions by natives.

Thus I was for many months the only European amongst the black Australians, exploring regions where no white person had penetrated before, and it is on these black people of Herbert River that I have the pleasure of drawing the attention of the Société d'anthropologie.

These brief details in answer to the Questionnaire of the Société are more extensively discussed in the translation of my book on Australia, which Messrs Hachette & Co. expect to publish in the beginning of next year [in 1890].

The Société d'anthropologie will, I hope, accept with my compliments one of the first copies to appear.

EATING HABITS.

Diet.

1. *Are the foods primarily animal or vegetable?*
The foods are mainly vegetable.
2. *What are the species of vegetable or animal that form the basic diet?*
The vegetable species forming the basic diet are : the *Cycas media* and other poisonous fruits.¹¹
3. *Do they show preference or indifference towards the eating of raw or cooked foods?*
The foods are always eaten cooked.
4. *Are cooked foods grilled or boiled? Some details on cooking.*
Food is always grilled, never boiled. As the fruits are poisonous, they are first grilled over the ashes, then crushed between two stones and finally soaked in water before they can be eaten. Coleopters¹² and fish are grilled in the ashes, wrapped in leaves. Kangaroos and phalangers are thrown on the fire whole to burn off the skin, then they are removed from the fire to be cut open and the intestines removed. The animal is then cooked over live coals and, when half cooked, it is taken off the coals, cut in as many pieces as there are people and each person finishes the cooking of his own piece.¹³ The favourite foods : human flesh¹⁴, beef and snake are cooked between two beds of red-hot stones; the whole thing being wrapped in leaves or grasses and buried in the ground.
5. *Do meals occur at regular hours? How many times a day?*
Meals are not eaten at regular hours, they eat when they are hungry.
6. *Do they eat a little or a lot, greedily or not?*¹⁵
They eat much and greedily.

7. *Who prepares the meals?*
For the meals, the women prepare the vegetables and the men the animals.¹⁶
8. *Do the women and children eat with the men?*
The women and children eat with the men.
9. *Are there privilege foods, reserved either for men or chiefs?*
Certain animal foods, such as the great lizards, are reserved for adults, an adolescent is not allowed to eat them.¹⁷
10. *Do they make provision for the future? If so, what kind? What means of preservation is used?*
They store food for only two or three days. To store meat, they cook it lightly or keep it in water.

648

SÉANCE DU 29 NOVEMBRE 1888.

Réponse alinéa par alinéa, pour les Australiens de Herbert-River, au Questionnaire de sociologie et d'ethnographie de la Société ;

PAR M. CARL LUMHOLTZ.

J'ai parcouru l'Australie, de 1880 à 1884, chargé d'une mission scientifique par l'Université de Christiania (Norwège).

Après avoir visité le Queensland-Central, je fis un séjour d'une année (1882-83) dans le Nord-Queensland. J'avais établi mon quartier général à Herbert-River, par 18 degrés de latitude sud, et je rayonnais de là vers l'ouest et le nord-ouest, accompagné dans toutes mes expéditions par des sauvages.

J'ai donc vécu bien des mois, seul Européen, au milieu de nègres australiens, explorant des contrées où pas un blanc n'avait encore pénétré, et c'est sur ces noirs des environs de Herbert-River que j'ai l'honneur d'appeler l'intérêt de la Société d'anthropologie.

Ces détails sommaires, réponse au Questionnaire de la Société, trouveront leur complément dans la traduction de mon livre sur l'Australie, que MM. Hachette et C^{ie} comptent faire paraître au commencement de l'année prochaine.

La Société d'anthropologie voudra bien, je l'espère, accepter l'hommage d'un des premiers exemplaires qui seront publiés.

Vie nutritive.

Alimentation. — 1. Les aliments sont principalement végétaux.

2. Les espèces végétales formant la base de l'alimentation sont : le *Cycas media* et d'autres fruits vénéneux.

3. On mange toujours les aliments cuits.

4. Les aliments cuits sont toujours grillés, jamais bouillis. Les fruits qu'ils mangent étant vénéneux, il faut d'abord les griller sur les cendres, puis les écraser entre deux pierres et les laisser ensuite tremper dans l'eau avant de pouvoir les

Introduction to Lumholtz's reply

Reproduced by courtesy of the Société d'anthropologie de Paris.

11. *Do they make use of intoxicating substances, drugs or stimulants? If so, what are they? How are they prepared?*
They do not use intoxicating substances or drugs, but they do smoke tobacco prepared before, which the whites obtain for them; they do not grow it themselves.¹⁸

THE SENSES.

Sensibility in general and in particular.

1. *Are they very sensitive or insensitive to pain, for example injuries, or surgical operations?*
They are insensitive to injuries.
2. *How do they endure illnesses?*
They have little resistance to illnesses and die quickly.¹⁹
3. *Do they have a great fear of death?*
They are not afraid of death.

A. Sense of touch.—*to explore tactile sensitivity, the simplest instrument is the aesthesiometer with cork tips.*

1. *Explore the sense of touch in various regions of the body, especially the pads of the fingers, around the lips, on the back. Make comparative tests on oneself.*

2. *Observe if the skin of the face feels a weight of 2 milligrams, as is the case with the European, and if the tops of the fingers feel, as ours do, a weight of 10 to 15 milligrams.*

1. }
2. } I have not made any experiments regarding sense of touch.

B. Sense of taste.

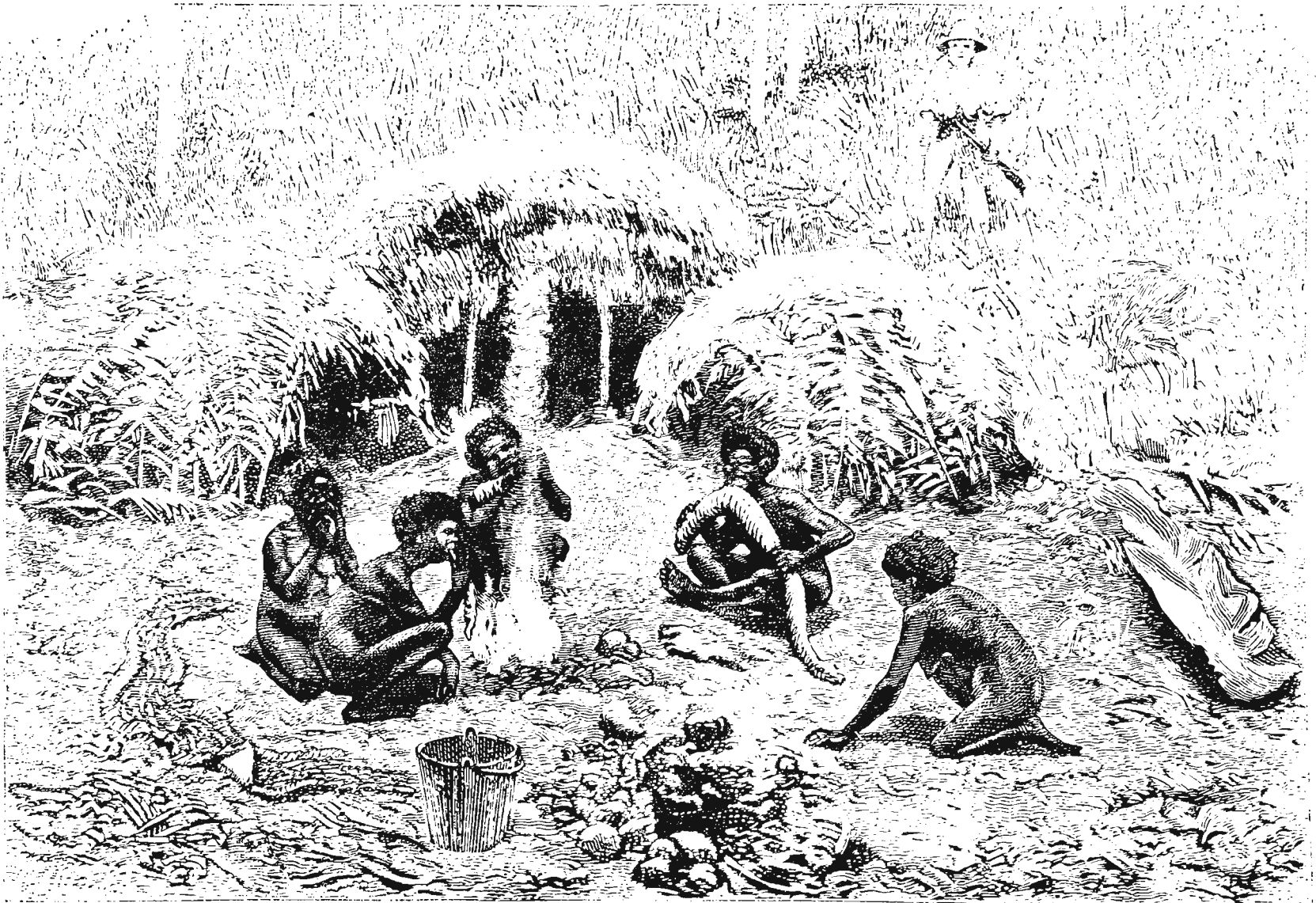
1. *Note which tastes are preferred and sex differences in this regard.*

They like sugar and honey. They like salt, but do not have it.²⁰

2. *Investigate taste with four flavours: acid, sweet, salt and bitter, from the following data gained from Europeans: A solution of one part sugar in one hundred parts of distilled water is quite tasteless.*

A solution of half part of sodium chloride in one hundred parts of distilled water is quite tasteless.

I have made no special experiments regarding taste.



Snake feast in Lumholtz's camp
(*Blandt menneskeaedere*, facing p. 369)

C. Sense of smell.

1. *Test olfactory sensitivity with the aid of various essences or scented waters.*
No experiments made.
2. *Note which smells are preferred, which are repugnant smells.*
They dislike all bad smells; they do not eat anything spoiled.
3. *In all of these observations, take as a basis for comparison a European with a normal gift of olfactory sensitivity.*
Their sense of smell is highly developed; from the smell of the soil and leaves, they can tell what animal has passed by.
4. *Are there sex differences in olfaction?*
[No reply]
5. *Can the individuals examined differentiate by smell of perspiration people of differing race and sex?*
[No reply]

D. Sense of hearing.

1. *Produce noises and sounds barely perceptible to a European ear and note if the auditory sensitivity of those individuals tested is greater or less than ours.*
2. *Produce harsh and painful noises of varying kinds normally unpleasant to the majority of European ears. Note the differences and similarity of sensitivity.*
3. *What is the range of hearing. At what distance from the ear is the ticking of a watch heard?*
1. 2. 3. Their hearing is remarkably good.

E. Eyesight.

1. *Are there cases of myopia, presbyopia, colour blindness? Are the cases rare or numerous?*
Their eyesight is excellent. It is their best developed sense: they can see the small Australian bee in flight, at a height of 25 metres.
2. *Which colours are preferred? Is the preferred colour a symbol, a sort of totem adopted by the community or family?*
Red and yellow are their favourite colours.
3. *Can direct sunlight be endured more or less than by us Europeans?*
They tolerate direct sunlight far better than Europeans.²¹
4. *Are there sex differences in fineness of perception in special sensitivity to colours, in any particular taste for certain ones?*
The women do not have as good eyesight as the men.
5. *Can they perceive equally well a group of straight parallel lines when they are vertical or horizontal?*
[No reply]

Aesthetics, adornment, art.

A. Adornment.

1. *Are paints used? Do they use coloured coatings? What are these? What colours are preferred? What materials do they use for colouring? What parts of the body are they accustomed to paint or smear?*
They paint their bodies and faces with red, yellow and white mineral paints. They also use a mixture of grease and crushed coal to smear themselves.

2. *Is tattooing practised? If so, what method is used? Is tattooing by puncturing, ulceration, incision, etc? On what areas of the body is tattooing performed? Do women tattoo themselves as much as men, or vice versa?*
They make tattoos by ulceration and incision. They tattoo their chest, abdomen, arms and back.²² Women do not often have tattoos.
3. *Which sex adorns itself the most?*
The men adorn themselves the most.



A young boy from Herbert River
(*Blandt menneskeadere*, p. 172)

B. Deformations and ethnic mutilations.

1. *Are deformations of the skull usual? If so what are they? How are they practised and for what purpose?*
Deformation of the skull is not usual.
2. *Are certain teeth commonly extracted, or certain digits amputated?*
The extraction of certain teeth, or amputation of certain digits is not practised.
3. *Do they make an incision in or pierce their ears, lips, cheeks, the septum of the nose, the space under the nose, the genital organs, for placing ornaments? If so, what is the modus operandi? What are the ornaments? What is the significance and aim of these practices?*
They pierce the septum and insert through it a yellow rod, 8 to 10 cm. long.
4. *Is circumcision practised, or castration, or infibulation or any kind of mutilation of the genital organs?*
Artificial hypospadias is practised in certain regions, but not at Herbert River.

C. Jewellery.

1. *Are jewels worn? How are they worn? What are they? Do they vary with age, sex, etc.?*
They wear necklaces of grass cut in small pieces and strung on a thread. This necklace goes up to 15 times around the neck. They also wear bands of cord around the forehead.²³ Sometimes they wear mussel shells in their beard and Talegalla feathers²⁴ which they hold between the teeth when they dance, to give them a savage air.

D. Hair style.

1. *What are the hair styles with particular reference to adornment or protection?*
They coat their hair with bees' wax and decorate it with yellow and white cockatoo feathers, but only for ceremonies. They generally wear their hair short and singe it when it gets too long.²⁵

E. Clothing.

1. *What is the usual clothing? Is it clothing of animal skins, furs or on the other hand materials?*
They wear no clothes, either in summer or in winter. Only the women sometimes wear around their shoulders, when it rains, a short cloak made of bark from the Melaleuca leucodendron [sic].
2. *At what age do they begin to wear clothes?*
[No reply]
3. *What are the differences in clothing according to sex and age?*
[No reply]
4. *What are the items of luxury clothing?*
[No reply]
5. *Are there differences in clothing according to class or profession?*
[No reply]

[F]. Dance.

1. *Do they dance? If so, is dancing practised by one sex rather than the other?*
They dance, but the men rather than the women. During a festival, one sole woman is authorised to dance with the men.²⁶
2. *What is the character of the dance? Are there war dances, hunting dances, love dances, religious dances, masks or special adornments for the dance, etc?*
They have hunting dances and love dances. The special adornment for the dance is talegalla feathers which are held in the mouth.²⁷

G. Music.

1. *Do they sing? If so, what is the range of their musical tones?*
They sing often.
2. *What is the character of singing? Is it gay, sad? What are the usual subjects of songs?*
Their singing is melancholy in nature. Hunt and love are usually the subject.
3. *Are there musical instruments? If so, are they percussion, wind or string? What is their construction? Do they have a major or minor scale, how many notes?*
They accompany themselves by beating together, either two pieces of wood, or a boomerang and a nolla-nolla, to indicate the rhythm. Their only musical instrument is a short club made of sonorous hardwood which is beaten rhythmically with another stick of lighter wood. They do not know a scale.
4. *Which sex is most gifted for music? Are there singers or professional musicians?*
The male sex is more gifted musically.
There are professional singers and musicians.

H. Graphic and plastic arts.

1. *Are there graphic and plastic arts, rudimentary or not? What are they?*
They make rudimentary drawings in black or red lines.
2. *Are the objects sculpted of wood or stone, etc.*
Sculpted objects are in wood "Message sticks", short runic sticks (?).²⁸
3. *Do they draw in outline? What are the subjects of their drawings?*
They draw in outline. The subjects of drawings are almost always men, but sometimes animals.
4. *Can they depict shadows?*
They do not know how to render shadows.
5. *Is there any painting? If so, can they show relief? Are they more or less familiar with perspective?*
There is no painting.
6. *What are the usual subjects for sculpture and painting?*
[No reply]
7. *Which sex prefers to concern itself with the fine arts?*
The men prefer art to any other occupation.

AFFECTION.

Moral sensitivity, feelings of affection.

A. Character. Morality.

1. *Are they normally gay or sad, outgoing or reserved? Do they laugh readily?*
The Australian is very gay, very expansive and laughs readily.
2. *Do they cry readily? Note sex differences in this regard.*
They cry readily, especially the women.
3. *Are they cowardly or brave?*
They are cowardly.
4. *Are they of changeable or persevering character?*
Their mood is changeable.
5. *Do they play games of chance? What are they? What are the stakes?*
There is no game of chance.
6. *Do they become angry easily or not?*
They get angry easily.
7. *Are lies and cheating condemned or approved?*
They condone lying and cheating.



Festive dance in North Queensland
(Blandt menneskeaedere, facing p. 296)

8. *What qualities or moral imperfections are esteemed or despised? What ideas do they have of good, evil, right or wrong? How do they express these ideas?*
 They admire courage. In morals, they only respect the mine and thine, but they have a sense of property. Even adultery is considered as theft.
9. *Do they keep their promises?*
 They never keep a promise.
10. *Do they know the sentiment of friendship? Is it strong?*
 They have a strong sense of friendship.
11. *Do they have a name for it?*
 [No reply]
12. *Are there instances of devotion for a friend?*
 They will not sacrifice themselves for a friend.
13. *What are the usual formulas and practices of courtesy?*
 It is common courtesy to remove the parasites which infest the hair of the visitor or the relative, to shout at his arrival or even to gash the skin and cry.²⁹
14. *Do they know the sentiment of compassion? Do they have a word for it?*
 They know compassion.
15. *Is hospitality practised? How?*
 They practise some notion of hospitality. They offer food and sometimes lodging.
16. *Do they usually help or oppress the weak?*
 They generally help the weak.
17. *Are the sick cared for, abandoned or put to death?*
 The sick are very well looked after; they are not abandoned and they are not put to death.
18. *How are domestic animals treated, if there are any? Are these animals really domesticated or simply tamed?*
 For domestic animals, they only have the dog *dingo*. He is treated as well as the children; he is never beaten. The dingo is not quite domesticated, he often runs away, especially in mating time never to return.³⁰

19. *Are there traditions of cannibalism? Are they still cannibalistic? If so, do they prefer to eat children, women, old people? Do they eat members of the tribe, or only strangers, prisoners of war, criminals?*
The Australians are cannibals; they like children best, rarely eat members of their tribe, but strangers always.

B. Children.

1. *Do parents love their children?*
The parents love their children.³¹
2. *Do they caress them? Do they play with them?*
They caress and play with them.
3. *Is infanticide practised? If so, is it approved or condemned? Is it more common with girls?*
Infanticide is practised and condoned; it is most frequent in the case of girls.³²
4. *Are they concerned with the education of their children? Who is concerned with this? What are they taught? At what age does education cease? Are there initiation ceremonies?*
They are not concerned with the education of their children. There is initiation for the adolescents. At eight years, the young man is allowed to go hunting. The initiation ceremonies consist of tattooing the chest by ulceration. When he is considered to be of age, two crescent-shaped incisions are made near the nipples.³³
5. *Up to what age are parents occupied with their children?*
Parents look after their children until they are eight or nine only.
6. *Do parents have the right to sell their children?*
[No reply]

C. Old people and parents.

1. *Do children love their parents?*
Children love their parents.
2. *In adulthood, do they have respect for their parents?*
They are proud of them.
3. *For the mother as much as for the father, or the opposite?*
They love their mother more than their father.
4. *Are sick old people well or badly treated? Are they never put to death?*
The old people are treated very well and are never put to death.

D. Condition of women.

1. *What is the degree of subjugation of women?*
The women are real slaves.
2. *Are women enslaved, badly treated or more or less independent and respected?*
They are generally ill-treated and are never respected.
3. *What are the duties allocated to women?*
They are expected to help in the construction of the huts, to look for and prepare the vegetables and to provide the water and the wood for the home.
4. *Can the women be sold?*
The women can be sold.

E. War.

1. *How are the conquered, the prisoners treated?*
Prisoners are killed and eaten.
2. *Do they wage open warfare or do they make war mainly by ambush? Do they have a strategy? Are there fortified places, offensive and defensive weapons?*
Wars are ambush wars. There is no strategy, no fortified places. Offensive weapons are: the wooden spear and wooden sword, the nolla-nolla and the boomerang. For defence there is only the wooden shield.³⁴
3. *Are there warrior castes, permanent troops, war costumes, insignia, decorations? How are warriors recruited?*
They are not acquainted with warrior organizations.

F. Funeral rituals.

1. *Are the dead abandoned? How? On the ground, in the trees, in caves, etc. Do they prefer to have them eaten by certain animals?*
The dead are not abandoned.
2. *Are they buried?*
They are buried.³⁵
3. *Are they burned?*
[No reply]
4. *Is there a funeral ceremony, any funeral monuments, and what are they?*
There are no funeral ceremonies or monuments.
5. *If there is a priesthood, does it have a part in the funeral service?*
[No reply]
6. *Are there offerings, sacrifices or funerary mutilations? With what aim?*
[No reply]

Religion, future life.

A. Future life.

1. *Do they believe in the existence of shades of the dead? If so, do they fear them? Do they venerate them? Do they seek to conciliate them by certain practices? Do they worship them?*
They believe in the shades of the dead; they fear them without venerating them and do not worship them.³⁶
2. *If they believe in a life hereafter, do they believe that it is everlasting? How do they imagine it to be?*
They do not believe in the life hereafter.
3. *Do they believe in the existence of a future life for everyone or only for certain social classes?*
[No reply]
4. *Do they believe that the shades of the dead are material or immaterial?*
In their eyes, the shades of the dead are material.
5. *Do they believe in natural death?*
They do not believe in natural death.

B. Religion.

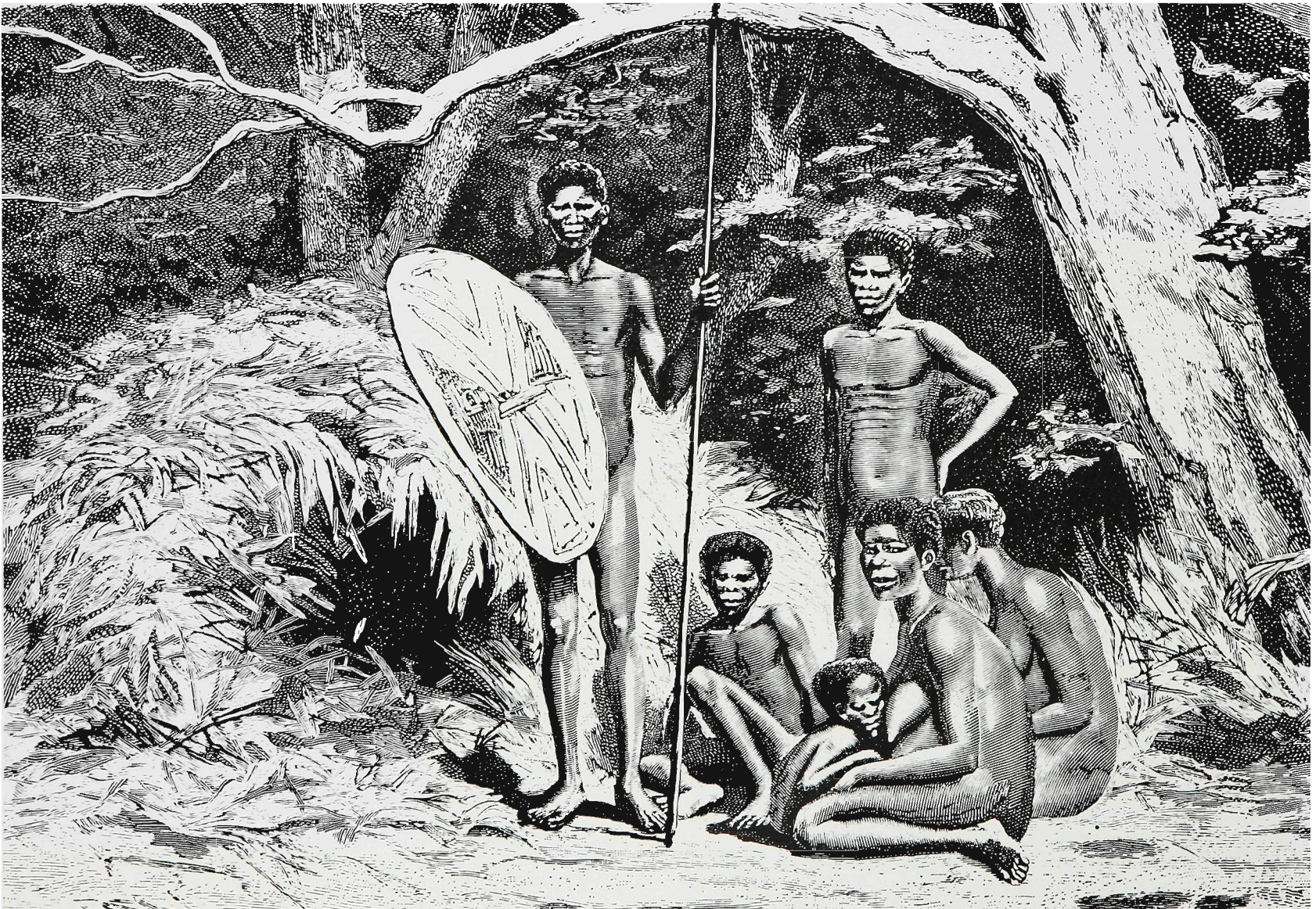
1. *Do they have fetishes, sacred amulets, or idols? Are there legends about them?*
They have no fetishes, or idols.
2. *Do they have religious ideas?*
They believe in an evil spirit.
3. *Do they worship objects or natural phenomena (animals, trees, rivers, etc.)?*
They do not worship any objects or natural phenomena.
4. *Do they have sorcerers or practices of sorcery?*
Sorcerers play an important role.
5. *Are idols considered as beings possessing their own personalities or as symbols?*
[No reply]
6. *Do they believe in guardian spirits and which ones?*
They do not believe in guardian spirits.
7. *Do they imagine these spirits to have a physical being?*
[No reply]
8. *Do they believe in a more or less great number of gods, personifying the phenomena of the universe? If so, what are they? What do they represent? Are they regarded as material?*
They do not have any god.

SOCIAL LIFE.

9. *Do they have the idea of a single god? How is he represented in their eyes? Do they have a pantheistic idea, that is to say intermingling the idea of God and the universe? Do they conceive of God as material, as having had a beginning, as having to die one day? (Ask the same questions about all the divine beings, whatever they may be.)*
[No reply]
10. *Is there a form of worship, temples? What are the practices of worship and what significance do they have?*
They have no form of worship or temples.
11. *Are there any sorcerers, a priesthood? How are they recruited? What is their social importance? Are there religious orders, for women or men?*
[No reply]
12. *If their religion is complex, try to trace it back to its origins.*
They have no religion.
13. *Do they have ideas about creation? Ideas on the end of the world or its eternity? What is the accepted cosmogony?*
They believe that the sun, the moon and the stars were created by other black people. They know nothing of cosmogony.
14. *Do they have the idea of the eternity of time and the infinity of space?*
They have no notions about eternity or infinity.
15. *Do they pray and how? What do they ask of the gods or of God? Is there a system of worship, sacrifices, offerings?*
They never pray.

A. Family.

1. *Is the family self-contained or is it lost within the tribal structure?*
The family is self-contained.
2. *Is the child considered to belong to the tribe, to his mother, to his father, to both parents, or to his uncle?*
The child belongs to his father's tribe.
3. *Does kinship follow the direct or collateral line? The male or female line?*
Kinship passes along the male line, the father's.
4. *Make a careful collection of names indicating the degrees of kinship and state their meaning in precise terms.*
The degrees of kinship recognised are: Father, mother, eldest brother, uncle and nephew.
5. *To what extent is kinship recognized in direct line and in collateral line?*
Kinship is recognised as far as nephew.
6. *Is adoption practised? If so, how?*
I am not aware of any instance of adoption.
7. *Is inheritance passed over to the community or to relatives? In the latter case, to which relatives and in which line?*
Inheritance passes to the relatives.



Natives from Herbert River
(Among Cannibals, facing p. 163)

B. Love, marriage.

1. *Does simple copulation occur or does the sentiment of love exist? It is common? Are there love songs?*
The men sometimes have love outside marriage. They have love songs.
2. *Is the kiss known?*
The kiss is unknown.
3. *Does the sentiment of sexual modesty exist? How is it manifested? Does it have a special name?*
Modesty is unknown.
4. *Is masturbation or sodomy practised? If so, are they condemned?*
If masturbation exists, I have had no evidence of it. They are not paederasts.
5. *Is there any kind of contract deserving of the name of marriage? Are women shared?*
The marriage takes place without a contract. The women are not communal property.
6. *Does the community take any part in sanctioning marriage?*
The community does not intervene to sanction the marriage.
7. *What is the marriage ceremony?*
The man, if he takes a wife by force, takes her by the hand and says : She is mine; in other cases, there is no ceremony whatsoever.³⁷
8. *Is there monogamy, polygamy, or polyandry?*
The Australians are polygamous.
9. *Is the marriage exogamous, endogamous*, or neither one nor the other.*
The marriage can be exogamous or endogamous.
10. *Is there marriage by capture, or are there traces of a former marriage by capture retained in the marriage ceremony?*
The marriage takes place often by capture.
11. *Is the woman consulted when she is married? Is she bought from her tribe or from her parents?*
The woman is not consulted, but is bought from the parents.³⁸
12. *Is there a betrothal? If so at what age?*
There is no betrothal.
13. *Is virginity of the woman demanded or prized?*
Virginity is not taken into account.
14. *Does the husband have the right to keep concubines in the conjugal home?*
It is permissible to have concubines.
15. *Does divorce exist? Do both parties have the right to have recourse to this or only one of them? Who pronounces the divorce? What are the causes, conditions and the formalities of divorce?*
Divorce does not exist.
16. *What happens to the children in the case of divorce?*
[No reply]
17. *Is there only repudiation of the woman?*
The man can repudiate his wife and even kill her.
18. *What happens to widows? Who takes them in? Is the Levirate† law enforced?*
Every widow becomes the wife of her brother-in-law. When the women become old, nobody is interested in them anymore.
19. *Is prostitution common?*
Prostitution is practised.

* Marriage is said to be exogamous when a wife has to be taken from another tribe; it is said to be endogamous in the contrasting situation.

† The custom according to which the widow becomes the wife of her brother-in-law, after the death of her husband.

20. *Are prostitutes despised or highly regarded, or considered exactly like other women?*
There are no prostitutes as such. The woman who prostitutes herself is not dishonoured.
21. *Does the husband value the fidelity of his wife or wives? Does he have the right to lend them, or hire them out?*
The husband demands fidelity from his women, but has the right to lend them or hire them out.
22. *How is adultery on the part of the woman punished, what of her lover?*
The unfaithful wife is beaten or hit with a tomahawk; her lover is not punished.³⁹
23. *If adultery on the part of the husband is punished, how is this done?*
The women are jealous; unfaithful husbands will face a family row.

C. Property.

1. *Do they have the idea of individual property?*
Individual property is recognized.
2. *Is property held in common?*
There is no communal property.
3. *Do they make a distinction between personal property and real property?*
There is no distinction between personal and real property.
4. *If they are farmers, is work in the fields carried out in common? How is the harvest divided?*
They are not farmers and do not cultivate anything.
5. *To whom does the land belong, to the community, to the tribe, to the chief?*
The land belongs to the tribe.
6. *If individual property exists, can it be inherited, and how?*
Individual property is hereditary.
7. *Is the will in use? With or without restriction?*
The will does not exist.
8. *How is the right to property developed?*
[No reply]

D. Government, social constitution.

1. *Is there a single chief or king? Is he elected or hereditary? What are his rights over the tribe or the people?*
There is neither chief nor king.
2. *If the chief is not omnipotent, by what is his authority limited?*
[No reply]
3. *Is there an aristocracy, or more or less closed castes? If so, what is their origin, what is their function? What are their rights and their duties?*
There are no castes. The tribe is made up of several small tribes composed of two to four families. A tribe has about 200 members, who live in a specific territory. The social constitution is essentially democratic, individual freedom absolute. On great occasions only does everyone gather in council and the voice of the old people carries most weight.
4. *If there is a social hierarchy, what are the relationships between the various castes or classes? Is there despotism, or servility, and to what extent?*
Members of a tribe are divided in four classes called *otero*, *gorguero*, *gorilla*, *gorgorilla*, for the men, and for the women the same names to which is added *inngann* : *oterinngann*, *gorguerinnngann*, *gorillinngann* and *gorgorillinngann*. The object of these divisions is to avoid marriage between close relatives.⁴⁰
5. *Are there slaves? If so, are they prisoners of war? Are the various categories of slaves, slaves by birth, slaves by choice, debt slaves? Do parents sell their children? How are slaves treated?*
There are no slaves.

INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

Industry.

6. *Are there taxes? What taxes? By whom are they levied? How are they used?*

There are no taxes.

7. *Is there a totem, any sign of recognition worn by all members of a tribe? What is this sign?*

There are no totems or sign of recognition.

E. Justice.

1. *Is justice dispensed? Who dispenses it?*

Differences are settled individually at the *borbobi*, by duels with wooden sword and shield.⁴¹

2. *Is there traditional or written code of justice?*

There is no code of justice.

3. *What acts are considered criminal? How are they punished?*

The act considered to be criminal is theft (adultery is considered as theft). The thief is forced to fight with the injured party.

4. *Specifically, what are the offences or crimes against people and property, which are most severely checked?*

The theft of a woman is the most serious offence.

5. *How do they understand the right of conquest?*

They do not make conquests.

6. *How is booty divided after a victorious expedition?*

[No reply]

7. *Are the laws the same or not for all social classes?*

There are no laws.

8. *Are they uniform in all districts of the same region?*

[No reply]

A. General data.

1. *Do they hunt, fish, herd, or farm?*

The Australian hunts and fishes.

2. *Are there domestic animals and which ones? Does herding compel them to lead a nomadic life? Do they raise domestic animals?*

The only domestic animal is the dog (dingo). He is trained to hunt.

B. Hunting.

1. *If it is hunting which provides the chief means of existence, what animals do they prefer to hunt? Does hunting involve migrations, periodic or not, in search of game?*

The most popular animals hunted are: the wallaby (*Halmaturus agilis*), all the phalangiers and the great lizards.⁴²

2. *What are the weapons and tools used in hunting? Look especially if, in order to capture animals, they use dams, traps, bird-calls and other ingenious methods; describe these or better still obtain examples of them.*

The instruments and tools used for hunting are the lance, the nolla-nolla and a net to catch wallabies. For hunting phalangiers in the scrub, they do not take any weapons, but pull off the branches of the trees to help them knock down these animals.⁴³



A *borbobi*
(*Blandt menneskeædere*, facing p. 160)

3. *Do they hunt as individuals or in a band, with or without trained animals?*
They sometimes hunt individually, sometimes in bands, sometimes with a trained dingo.
4. *Is hunting carried out by the men or also by the women and the young people?*
Only the men hunt.

C. Fishing.

1. *Do they fish by hand, with spears, with a bow, with a hook, with a net, with traps?*
They catch the fish by hand or with a spear.
2. *Is it a custom to poison the waters in order to catch fish?*
They do not poison the water in order to catch the fish.
3. *Do they use animals to help in fishing?*
They use no animals to help fish.
4. *Is it forbidden to fish for certain types of fish?*
There is complete freedom of fishing.
5. *Is fishing practised by the men alone, or also by the women?*
Only the men fish.
6. *How do they obtain fire? How do they maintain the fire?*
Fire is made with the aid of two pieces of wood from the *Erythrina vespertilio*. One of these pieces is laid on the ground and the other thrust into it perpendicularly, while being turned very fast between the hands. To preserve fire, the women generally carry a lit firebrand.⁴⁴

D. Agriculture.

1. *To what extent are they farmers?*
There is no agriculture, as nothing is cultivated.
2. *What plants are cultivated? Are they intended only for food or to satisfy other needs, clothing, medicine, etc.*
[No reply]
3. *What is the method, what is the time for each sowing of crops?*
[No reply]
4. *Are they familiar with crop rotation?*
[No reply]
5. *Are they familiar with manure?*
[No reply]
6. *Are there methods of irrigation?*
[No reply]
7. *Is farming work carried out in common?*
[No reply]
8. *Does this work rest with one sex rather than the other, or with slaves? Do they employ domestic animals in farm work and which ones?*
[No reply]
9. *Are they familiar with the plough? If so, how is it built? In general, what farming equipment is used?*
[No reply]



Wallaby hunt
(Among Cannibals, facing p. 92)

- E. Ceramics.
1. *Are they acquainted with pottery? If so, how developed is the potter's art? Are earthenware vessels fired in the open air, or in ovens? Are they familiar with the potter's wheel? Is there decorative pottery?*
They do not make any.
 2. *Are ceramics left to the care of women?*
[No reply]
- F. Metallurgy.
1. *What metals are known or used?*
They do not make any.
 2. *How is bronze made?*
[No reply]
 3. *How do they extract iron? How do they prepare other metals?*
[No reply]
 4. *For what purposes are metals used?*
[No reply]
- G. Weapons.
1. *Are weapons of wood, bone, stone, metal?*
Their weapons are made of wood. Sometimes they set fish-bones at the tip of their spears. They have tomahawks of flint with wooden handles. When a knife is needed, the first sharp stone or even a sliver of hardwood is used.
 2. *Are there offensive weapons in use?*
They have offensive weapons : the spear, the wooden sword, the nolla-nolla and the boomerang.
 3. *Are there weapons for throwing and which ones?*
They have weapons for throwing : the spear, the boomerang and the nolla-nolla (a club which is thrown).
 4. *Are there defensive weapons : helmets, shields, breastplates, etc.? How are they made?*
For defensive weapons, they only have the shield made of light wood.
 5. *Are women used in fighting and do they accompany the men?*
The old women accompany the men in combat and collect the weapons.
 6. *Are there poisoned weapons? If so, which poisons are used and how are they prepared?*
There are no poisoned weapons, as neither poison nor its effects are known.
- H. Navigation.
1. *Do they have boats and which ones? Rafts, hollowed out tree trunks, canoes made up of several pieces? If there is any planking, is it sewn, bolted or nailed? Are there any ribs? They use canoes at sea but never on the rivers. The canoe is made of three pieces of bark, the sides are sewn. These boats have no ribs.*
 2. *Do the boats travel by oar or by sail?*
They are manoeuvred with the use of only one oar.
 3. *Do they know the use of the tiller?*
They do not know the use of the tiller.
 4. *Are there double canoes or outriggers?*
There are no double canoes or outriggers.
 5. *Do they know more or less how to draw geographical maps?*
They do not know how to draw geographical maps.
 6. *How do they keep course at sea?*
To find their direction at sea, they follow the coast.
- I. Dwellings.
1. *Do they know how to construct dwellings?*
They know how to construct dwellings; these dwellings are huts.
 2. *Describe the shelters, huts, houses, their construction, and the materials used.*
To build these huts, they plant four to seven flexible posts in the ground in a circle, the tops of which are tied together with a tuft of grass, at about shoulder height; over this frame they spread palm leaves and grass which form the cover or roof. This hut, which is not large enough for a person to stretch out in, has an opening, in front of which there is always a small fire burning.⁴⁵
3. *Are there complicated houses, having one or several storeys? Is there a fireplace?*
They do not have houses of several storeys, their huts have no fireplace.
 4. *Are they familiar with the perfect arch and the vault?*
They do not know the perfect arch, or the vault.
 5. *Is the dwelling in the trees (warans of the Orinoco), on platforms or semi-aquatic (palafittes of Malaya and Papua), aquatic (house-boats of some Asiatic peoples)?*
The dwelling is always on the ground.
 6. *Do women work on the construction of the houses?*
In the construction of the huts, the men are responsible for the frame and the women the roofing.
 7. *What are the main items of furniture?*
They have no furniture; the interior of the dwelling is sometimes covered with a little grass which forms a carpet, or even a mat made of bark which the women also use to cover their shoulders when it rains.
- J. Clothing.
1. *Do they wear clothes or not?*
Clothes are not worn. The women only sometimes wear in wet weather a small cape over their shoulders.
 2. *Is the clothing worn for modesty or protection?*
In this case, which is the only case, it is only a garment of protection.
 3. *Does the form of clothing vary according to sex?*
[No reply]
 4. *What materials are used in making clothes? Can they sew? How are needles and thread made?*
This small cape is made of bark from the fig-tree or the Melaleuca leucodendron [sic].⁴⁶ The Australians do not know how to sew strictly speaking. The framing of their canoes is made with the aid of a wooden pin used to pierce holes through which they pass some kind of fibre, instead of thread.
 5. *Whose task is it to make the clothes?*
The small cape is woven by the women.
- K. Means of transport, roads.
1. *Are loads carried on the back of men or women, by slaves or by domestic animals?*
Loads are always carried by the women, on their backs.
 2. *Are there roads laid out? How are they constructed?*
There are no laid out roads, but as they move around in numbers and often within the same area, they form narrow tracks in doing so.
 3. *How do they cross stream courses, rivers, mountains? Can they build bridges? How do they build them?*
They cross streams and rivers by wading or by swimming. In the mountains, they generally follow the streams and rivers. They do not make bridges.
 4. *Do they use carts? Are the wheels of these carts solid or with rims?*
They have no carts.
- L. Commerce, money, industrial work.
1. *Are there commercial exchanges and what are the objects of these?*
 2. *Are these exchanges made in kind?*
 1. 2. They make exchanges, but rarely. They give away weapons and lend out their women in order to get tobacco and tomahawks.
 3. *Is there a metal coinage with or without effigy, or objects serving as coins (threaded beads, shells, salt, produce, etc.)?*
They have no money.
 4. *Does trade occur only between people of the same tribe, or between different tribes?*
Exchanges, which are very rare, are made between people of the same tribe or between different tribes.
 5. *Are there places assigned for exchanges, for markets?*
There is no place set aside for exchanges.

6. *Who is concerned with trade? The men or the women?*
Only the men make exchanges.
7. *Are there measures? What is their base?*
They have no means of measuring.
8. *Are they familiar with scales? Are there weights?*
They know neither scales nor weights.
9. *Is there honesty or bad faith in commercial transactions?*
[No reply]
10. *Are there imports of commercial industries or not and what are they? Is there any division of labour, guilds or industrial castes? Is work carried out by slaves, salaried workers, free men, as individuals or in associations? Are there industrial machines?*
There is no commercial industry, but they manufacture with great skill, baskets, nets for hunting, forehead bands and weapons.

Questions concerning the intellectual faculties.

A. Memory.

1. *Attempt by practical means, which an attentive observer will find easily, not only the strength of memory in general, but also the aspect of memory which seems the best developed.*
The Australians have visual memory.
2. *Do they easily learn to read and count?*
They learn quickly.
3. *Variations in memory according to sex and age.*
[No reply]
4. *Do they remember an order, a fact, after a certain number of days?*
They remember an order or a fact after a certain number of days.
5. *For how long do they remember the dead?*
They observe mourning for a man for a rather long time—perhaps a year—after which they forget him voluntarily, for he is never spoken of again.⁴⁷
6. *Are there traditions, legends, accounts of real events, historical recollections?*
There are traces of legends and accounts of real facts, but these facts are not earlier than their generation. They have no memory of the past.
7. *Can they narrate without alteration after a certain time?*
They readily alter their stories and tend towards exaggeration.

B. Imagination.

1. *Is the imagination vivid?*
Their imagination is very vivid.
2. *How does it vary with age and sex?*
[No reply]
3. *Are dreams frequent? Is importance attached to them?*
They dream often, and attach a certain importance to it, because, when an old man has a bad dream, they move camp.⁴⁸
4. *Do they lie, are they inventive?*
They are liars and inventive.
5. *Poetry, literary works in general, are they metaphorical, figurative? Are they rhythmical? Is the language more or less full of imagery? Are there dramatic performances?*
Their poems have neither a metaphorical, nor a figurative meaning, but they are rhythmical. Their language does not have any imagery. They have mimes.

C. Understanding.

1. *Do they easily and promptly comprehend questions? Does their intelligence develop early or late? At what age does it begin to decline?*
They comprehend easily and promptly; their intelligence is as precocious as ours and they keep it almost until their death.

2. *Can they withstand a long period of questioning, follow a discourse, a narration?*
They cannot withstand a long period of questioning, and follow a speech or narration with difficulty.
3. *Can their attention be fixed for long on a rather abstract subject for study?*
They cannot hold their attention on one subject for long.
4. *For how many hours do they usually sleep?*
They sleep nine to ten hours.
5. *Is there a system of writing? Of what kind, or some mnemonic method?*
They have a script, which does not consist of letters, but only of signs cut into a short stick called message stick, which is only used by envoys between one tribe and another as proof of their credentials. They have no mnemonic devices.

D. Observation.

1. *Are they good observers?*
They are very observant.
2. *Does the sight of something new hold their attention easily for a long time?*
The sight of an object can easily hold their attention for a long time.
3. *Are they observant only in matters relating to their basic needs, specifically food?*
They notice all kinds of things.
4. *Are they curious?*
They are curious.
5. *Are they inclined towards change or on the other hand do they revere old practices?*
They are given to change.

E. General rules.

1. *Note the different strength of intellectual powers according to age and sex.*
[No reply]
2. *Collect as far as possible the products of industry, the arts and thought.*
[No reply]

F. Cerebral pathology.

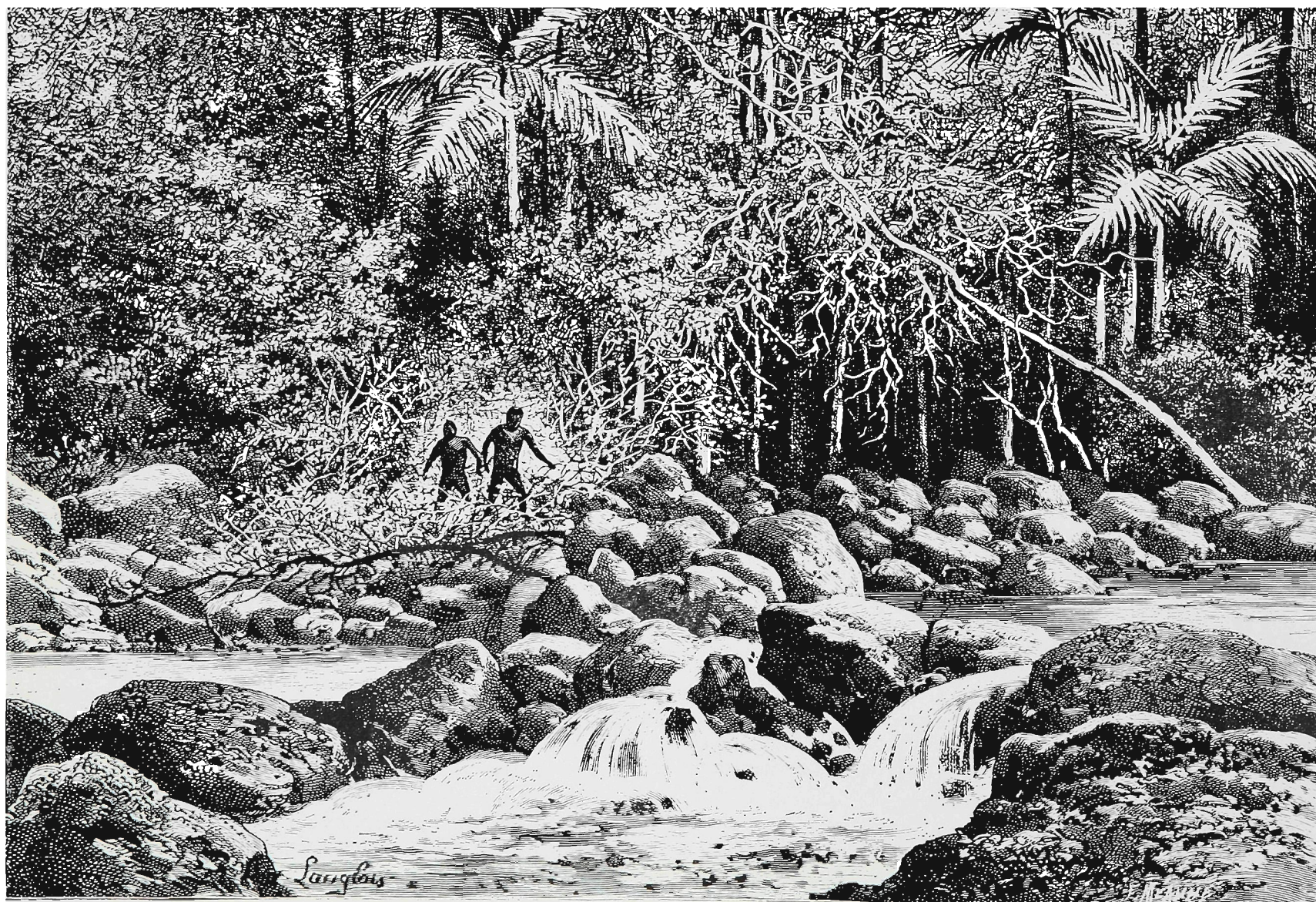
1. *Are there any insane people? In large or small numbers?*
There are no insane people.
2. *What is the usual nature of insanity?*
[No reply]
3. *Are there greater numbers of insane people than idiots, or the other way around?*
There are no idiots.
4. *Are the insane respected or maltreated or killed?*
[No reply]
5. *Is insanity more frequent in one sex than in another?*
[No reply]
6. *Is there any connection between the nature of the predominant insanity and the character, customs, etc. of the population?*
[No reply]

Special applications of the intellect.

A. Languages.

1. *Before reproducing words in the language studied, establish a well-defined transcription system, with references to vowels and consonants of known languages.*
I have noted here the words which I transcribe with the French pronunciation.
2. *Gather, noting the pronunciation as precisely as possible, a few sentences, a few common and literary texts, a few songs, stories, etc.*

3. Have translated a few simple sentences in which are found possessive pronouns and related forms, tense and mood : for example, "the man and his wife; the sister and her brother, I see my friend's brother; my wife sees her brother; I give my daughter the fruits from the tree : you have taken the skins of the large animals; I am eating a banana (or any kind of fruit); you have eaten some meat : the dog will eat some meat; we were eating the bananas; you would give the men the clothes if they asked for them; I would like them to give the banana to our guests; eat some meat, my friends."⁴⁹
2. 3. There is no written language. The natives of Herbert River can pronounce the sound S. Thus they call tobacco *souttoungo*, and syphilis *sinndjeun*. The dialects are poly-syllabic; the stress is generally on the second last or third last syllable. The words are pleasant to hear, because of the presence of numerous vowels. The dominant consonants are the gutturals. Sentences are very short; often a single word expresses a whole idea, for example : "Would you like to come with me?" is said : *nguinnta*, which literally means, "you?" and a gesture completes the rest of the sentence. To which one could reply, for example, *ngueipa mittago*, which means : "I want to go home"; but word for word this sentence means : "I for (the) hut". The suffix *go* is often used at the end of a verb or a noun to avoid too extensive grammar.⁵⁰
4. Are there words to express general or abstract ideas? If so, can one trace them back to concrete roots? Is there a word to say tree in general, animal in general, to say fruit or flower?
- There are no words to express general or abstract ideas.⁵¹
5. Are there many dialects and do they generally become distorted?
- There are many dialects which vary generally.
6. Can the language be related to some known idiom?
- Their language cannot be connected to a known idiom.
- B. Numeration.
1. How far does numeration go?
- Numeration goes up to 3 inclusively, 4 is called many.
2. Gather the names of the numbers.
- 1 is said *iongoull*, 2, *iakkann*, 3, *carbo*; *tagginn* signifies many.
3. What is the counting system? Is it decimal? Is it vigesimal? or some other base?
- They have no system of numbering.
4. Do they count on their fingers? On their hands or feet? To count, do they use pebbles, seeds, lines, etc.?
- They count only on the fingers of the hand.
5. Do they have figures? Can they make calculations?
- They have no figures and do not know how to make arithmetic calculations.
- C. Calculation of time.
1. How do they divide a period of time, for example, the day?
- They divide a period of time into day and night.



Dalrymple Creek
(Among Cannibals, facing p. 261)

2. *Are they familiar with the concept of a week or a similar short period of time?*
They do not know the week.
 3. *Do they know the lunar month.*
They know the lunar month.
 4. *Do they know the lunar year?*
They do not know the lunar year.
 5. *Do they know the solar year? Do they have cycles encompassing a certain number of years?*
They do not know the solar year.
 6. *Do they have sundials or any kind of time-measuring equipment?*
They have neither sundials, nor any time-measuring equipment.
 7. *How do they determine the length of the seasons?*
They have two seasons: the rainy and the sunny seasons.
 8. *Have they observed the course of certain constellations? In general, do they have any astronomical knowledge applied to the measurement of time, to astrology, to travel or to navigation?*
They have not observed the course of certain constellations, but they have given names to different planets.
- D. Notions of space.
1. *Do they have any geographical notions?*
They have no geographical notion whatsoever.
 2. *Do they have graphic or other procedures to represent the configuration, the dimensions of land, of seas, the relative location of different districts or territories.*
They do not have any procedure to represent the configuration, dimensions of land or seas, the relative situation of the different districts or territories.

ENDNOTES

1. Founded in 1811 in Christiania as Kongelige Fredriks-Universitetet, named after Frederick VI of Denmark and Norway. In 1939 it became Universitetet i Oslo. The name Christiania (and Kristiania) was changed to Oslo in 1925. Refer *International Handbook of Universities and Other Institutions of Higher Education*, 6th edn (Paris, 1974), p. 854.
2. James Murrells, *Sketch of a Residence among the Aborigines of Northern Queensland for Seventeen Years: Being a Narrative of My Life, Shipwreck, Landing on the Coast, Residence among the Aborigines, with an Account of their Manners and Customs, and Mode of Living; together with Notices of Many of the Natural Productions, and of the Nature of the Country* (Brisbane, 1863). This author's name is mis-spelt James Morrill. Refer John Alexander Ferguson (comp.), *Bibliography of Australia, 1851-1900*, vol. VI (Sydney, 1965), pp. 779-81.
3. Carl Lumholtz, *Blandt menneskeaedere: fire aars i Australien* (Copenhagen, 1888). The first editions of the translations are: Swedish. *Blandt menniskoatere: fyra ars resa i Australien* (Stockholm, 1889); English *Among Cannibals: An account of Four Years' Travels in Australia and of Camp Life with the Aborigines of Queensland* (London, 1889) (reprinted London, John Murray 1890; Melbourne, E. Petherick, 1890, and New York, 1889); French. *Au pays des cannibales: voyage d'exploration chez les indigènes de l'Australie orientale, 1880-1884*, ouvrage traduit du norvégien . . . par V. et W. Molard . . . (Paris, 1890); German. *Unter Menschenfressern: eine vierjährige Reise in Australien, autorisierte deutsche Uebersetzung . . .* (Hamburg, 1892). Refer Ferguson (comp.), *Bibliography of Australia*, vol. VI, pp. 484-5. For further works on the Aborigines by Lumholtz, refer John Greenway, *Bibliography of the Australian Aborigines and the Native Peoples of Torres Strait to 1959* (Sydney, 1963), p. 214.
4. Carl Lumholtz, 'Symbolism of the Huichol Indians', *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. III Anthropology, vol. II [part] I (May 1900), pp. 1-228.
- Carl Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico: A Record of Five Years' Exploration Among the Tribes of the Western Sierra Madre; in the Tierra Caliente of Tepic and Jalisco, and among the Tarascas of Michoachan*, 2 vols. (New York, 1902).
- Carl Lumholtz, 'Decorative Art of the Huichol Indians', *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. III Anthropology, vol. II [part] III (December, 1904), pp. 279-327.
- Carl Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico: An Account of One Year's Exploration in North-Western Sonora, Mexico, and South-Western Arizona, 1909-1910* (New York, 1912).
5. Carl Lumholtz, *Through Central Borneo: An Account of Two Years' Travel in the Land of the Head-Hunters, between the Years 1913 and 1917* (New York, 1920).
6. Carl Lumholtz, 'My Life of Exploration', *Natural History*, XXI (1921), pp. 224-43. Refer also H. J. Gibbney, 'Carl Sophus Lumholtz', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 5 (Melbourne, 1974), p. 109 and Marie Krekling, 'Carl Sofus Lumholtz', in *Norsk biografisk leksikon*, bd. VIII (Oslo, 1938), pp. 465-8.
7. Carl Lumholtz, 'Unter den Australnegern am Herbert River in Nord-Queensland', *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg*, [III] (1887-88), pp. 284-90.
8. F. W. Whitehouse, 'Queensland Inocerami Collected by M. Lumholtz in 1881', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland*, XXXV (1923), pp. 127-32. Refer also Bernhard Lundgren, *On an Inoceramus from Queensland*, Bihang till Kongliga Svenska vetenskaps-akademiens handlingar, bd. II, nr. 5 (Stockholm, 1886).
9. Société d'anthropologie de Paris, 'Questionnaire de sociologie et d'ethnographie', *Bulletins de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, 3e série, t. 6 (1883), p. 580.
10. Carl Lumholtz, 'Réponse alinéa par alinéa pour les Australiens de Herbert-River, au questionnaire de sociologie et d'ethnographie de la Société', *Bulletins de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, 3e série, t.11 (1888), pp. 648-62.
11. *Cycas media* R. Br., or *Zamia* (*Among Cannibals*, pp.164-5). Other 'nuts' which were eaten by the Herbert River Aborigines were from the Bean tree or Moreton Bay Chestnut (*Castanospermum australe* A. Cunn.) and Black Walnut (*Cryptocarya Palmerstonii* Bail.). In addition, the diet included the root stocks of yams (*Dioscorea transversa* R. Br.) and cunjevoi (*Colocasia macrorrhiza* Schott.) as well as the fruit of a large variety of rain forest trees which bore from October to the end of March. Many seeds and nuts contained actively poisonous alkaloids and were made edible by a process of roasting or steaming, after which they were cut into chips with a snail shell and then subjected to pounding, sifting, washing, leaching, and fermentation. See also F. S. Colliver, 'Some Plant Foods of the Queensland Aborigine', *Queensland Naturalist*, vol. 21, nos. 1-2 (January 1974), pp. 22-31. Citation of botanical names is taken from Frederick Manson Bailey, *A Synopsis of the Queensland Flora; Containing both the Phaenogamous and Cryptogamous Plants* (Brisbane, 1883).
12. Coleoptera are the larvae of beetles (Coleoptera) often found in rotting timber. In *Among Cannibals*, pp. 153-4, Lumholtz contradicts, in part, his reply:
There are several varieties of these edible larvae, and all have a different taste. The best one is glittering white, of the thickness of a finger, and is found in the acacia-trees. The others live in the scrubs, and are smaller, and not equal to the former in flavour. The blacks are so fond of them that they even eat them alive while they pick them out of the decayed trunk of a tree — a not very attractive spectacle. The larvae were usually collected in baskets and so taken to the camp. The Australian does not as a rule eat raw animal food; the only exception I know of being the coleoptera larvae.

13. Further details of cooking are provided (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 149-50, 165, 173-4, 191, 210, 230-1, 296-8).
14. Cannibalism was not a common practice, although Lumholtz noted special expeditions by the Herbert River people to secure *talgoro* or human flesh (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 271-4).
15. Lumholtz provides further comment on the ability of the Aborigines to gorge themselves (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 159, 170, 215).
16. The division of tasks between the sexes is further outlined by Lumholtz (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 160-5).
17. Lumholtz also notes that the eel, which was considered a great delicacy, was forbidden to children or adults in mourning (*Among Cannibals*, p. 203).
18. The Aboriginal use of tobacco is amplified further (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 106-9, 113-14, 170).
19. Lumholtz refers to the devastation resulting from an epidemic of erysipelas near Rockhampton and his own contact with Aborigines suffering from skin disease, lung complaints, toothache and snake bite (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 181-3, 280-1).
20. Honey gathering was a major activity and a popular item of diet (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 106, 142-4, 194-5).
21. In a brief autobiography, Lumholtz adds the following comment :
The senses of the Australian blacks are superior to ours, their eyesight extraordinarily so. As he walks through the jungle, this savage man will constantly, without stopping, scoop up a handful of the soil and smell it, to ascertain whether some animal has passed that way or not. On the trunks of the trees is always seen a bewildering number of claw marks left by different animals, for most of the animals of that region live in trees. He reads, as in an open book, what kind of animal ascended the tree the night before, and whether it is now in the hollow of the trunk.
Carl Lumholtz, 'My Life of Exploration', p. 230 (See also *Among Cannibals*, pp. 95-6).
22. The custom of incision of chests and shoulders is further described (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 135-7).
23. The wearing of necklaces of pieces of yellow grass was an emblem of sorrow (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 203-4).
24. *Talegalla* was the local Aboriginal name for a mound-building bird, probably the bush or scrub-turkey *Alectura lathami*, referred to by Lumholtz (*Among Cannibals*, p. 326) as *Talegalla lathami*.
25. Lumholtz notes the practice of hair waxing (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 119-20, 237-8), pulling beards and burning head hair (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 116-17), and also writes :
The hair and the beard, which are black as pitch, are slightly curly but not woolly like those of the African negro. I seldom saw straight hair on the blacks near Herbert river (I should say not over five per cent had straight hair), but it is quite common in the rest of Australia, especially in the interior. Men and women wear hair of the same length. I only once saw a man with his hair standing out in all directions, like that of the Papuans. There is generally little hair on the rest of the body. Some of the old men near Herbert river had a heavy growth of hair on their breasts and partly on their backs and arms, a fact I have never observed among the women. The natives along Herbert river had but little beard, and they constantly pulled out what little they had. In the rest of Australia men are frequently met with who have fine beards, but they do not themselves regard the beard as an ornament. (*Among Cannibals*, p. 131).
26. The dancing-woman (*dombi-dombi*), the male dancers, the dance itself, and the music are described in further detail (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 156-8, 236-41).
27. An illustration of such a tuft of *Talegalla* feathers is shown (*Among Cannibals*, p. 237).
28. The question mark in brackets appears in Lumholtz's reply. He provides further comment with illustrations of message sticks from Central Queensland (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 303-4).
29. See account in *Among Cannibals*, p. 225.
30. *Among Cannibals*, pp. 38, 99, 165, 175, 178-80, 184, 187, 190, 212, 228-9, 266, 275. A dingo called 'Balnglan' is mentioned (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 214, 217, 223, 226, 231-2, 267-8).
31. *Among Cannibals*, pp. 192-3.
32. *Among Cannibals*, pp. 134-5, 254, 272-3.
33. *Among Cannibals*, pp. 135-7.
34. Weapons and their use described and illustrated (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 49-52, 72-3, 91-4, 108, 120-7, 317-18, 332-6).
35. Lumholtz partly contradicts his replies to the question on funeral rituals :
On our way home from an expedition we discovered a grave in a "white ants" hill. The entrance was about a yard high. It was built on the side of the ant-hill, extending about half way up, and had a sloping front. In front of the opening large pieces of the bark of the tea-tree were placed, on which heavy stones were rolled in order to keep wild dogs from getting to the corpse. In a tree near the grave hung a capacious basket. (*Among Cannibals*, p. 275) (See also *Among Cannibals*, pp. 276-81).
36. The literal translation of 'shades of the dead' has been given for *ombres des morts*, although alternative interpretations are "ghosts" or "spirits" of the dead'. Lumholtz discusses Aboriginal belief in the existence of a transcendent soul (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 279-85).
37. See account in *Among Cannibals*, pp. 212-14.
38. See also *Among Cannibals*, pp. 162-4, 220-1.
39. See also *Among Cannibals*, pp. 126, 162.
40. This reply by Lumholtz amplifies his comments in *Among Cannibals*, p. 199.
41. A *borbobi* (or *borboby*) was a type of corroboree (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 119, 127).
42. The great lizards were probably goannas [iguanas].
43. See also *Among Cannibals*, pp. 89-94.
44. *Erythrina vespertilio* Benth. was the cork tree, although Lumholtz noted also that wood from the black fig-tree (*Ficus aspera* Forst.) could be used for producing a fire (*Among Cannibals*, p. 141).
45. Lumholtz describes an Aboriginal hut by the term *mitta* (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 110, 169-70).
46. Animal skins were never used as mats or clothes (*Among Cannibals*, p. 169).
47. Lumholtz writes :
During the days of mourning the deceased is rarely mentioned, and when the yellow necklace has been laid aside his name is never heard again. This is doubtless the reason why the Australian natives have no traditions. Many of them do not even know their father, and any knowledge of earlier generations is out of the question. Strange thoughts came to my mind as I walked the scrub paths which the blacks had trodden with their naked feet for centuries. Here generation had succeeded generation without a thought in regard to the past, and with no care in reference to the future, living only for the present moment. (*Among Cannibals*, p. 204).
48. Illustrated by an example (*Among Cannibals*, p. 205).
49. For this translation, inverted commas have been added for clarity. These do not appear in Lumholtz's original reply.
50. Lumholtz provides a collection of words from the Herbert River (*Among Cannibals*, pp. 304-15).
51. Lumholtz prepared a comparative table of some Australian dialectal variations (*Among Cannibals*, p. 311).