

calls the phenomenon *lactatio serotina*, or *Spät-Laktation*. When Mr. Culwick spoke of his experience to medical men he was accused of 'unbounded credulity', because 'the thing was impossible'. It can, however, hardly be doubted that it is in fact possible and that Mr. and Mrs. Culwick's report is accurate, and that it is probably more wide-spread than we know at present. When Professor Westermann questioned his Ewe informant about it, he gave him in his own language the following information:

'When a woman has borne a child and dies soon after, they give the baby for the first days to another woman who is nursing a child, and she suckles it. In the meantime, if the baby's grandmother is alive, they ask the old people to prepare a cure for the grandmother, or, for the sister of the deceased. They pluck young shoots of *abrus precatorius*,¹ pound them and rub them on the woman's breast. She is given to eat cooked cassava of the rainy season,² together with the flesh of half-ripe coco-nuts and cooked maize; she also eats raw cassava with half-ripe oil-palm kernels, and she continues to do so until after some days milk comes into her breast. The pounded shoots of *abrus precatorius* taste sweet like the juice of sugar cane, therefore they rub them on the woman's breast before putting the child to the breast; when he sucks, milk will soon come forth. The grandmother nurses the child as his mother would have nursed it; the two sleep together so that the child can take his grandmother's breast at any time. When the grandmother goes to the market she carries her grandchild on her back, and if God helps them so that the child does not fall sick, it will survive and become strong.'

Togba, a Women's Society in Liberia.

This society is found among the Mano and Dan in north-eastern Liberia. The Dan are also called Gio or Geh. The two tribes live between the rivers Mani (St. John's river) and Nuon (Cess). The *Togba* society seems to have been imported through Kono traders, who live in many parts of the country. Though they freely marry local women, one of their wives is always a Kono woman, and it is she who establishes the *Togba* society among the women of her new home.

Only women who have been initiated and have been trained in the

Leipzig, 1913. The subject of *lactatio serotina* is treated on pages 507 ff. Bartels has also published the following articles on the same subject in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*: 'Die Spät-Laktation der Kafferfrauen', xx, Berlin 1888, p. 79.—'Lactatio serotina in Java', xxviii, 1896, pp. 110-12.—'Die Spät-Laktation', xxviii, 1896, pp. 267-70.

¹ A shrub bearing small red and black seeds which are used as ornaments in many parts of Africa. The German name for the shrub is *Paternosterstrauch*.

² This cassava does not become soft through cooking and the natives therefore say that it retains all its valuable contents.

'women's bush' are permitted to enter the *Togba* society. The members are divided into classes to which they are admitted, with increasing age, by paying a fee. The classes are: 1. *bulu*, the lowest degree, with the largest membership; *bulu ma* is the leader of this group. 2. *bulu n de*. 3. *ghàngá bòle*. 4. *klo*; women of this degree occupy a special seat in the *Togba* house, which is likewise called *klo*. 5. *blágà mímò*. This is the lowest degree of those members who are allowed to own and use the head medicine of the society and to form a branch group of their own. 6. *bòn yùká* is the highest degree, held by the head of the society. There may, however, be several independent *Togba* societies within a tribe or sub-tribe, each one headed by a *bòn yùká*.

Only the *bòn yùká* knows the preparation of the head medicine, and she gives it to the *blágà mímò* when they are initiated into her office. Sometimes the *bòn yùká* pays visits to the villages under her charge. This is an occasion for killing a cow and for much feasting and dancing.

The *Togba* medicine consisting of clay cones adorned with cowries is kept in the hut of the *blágà mímò* on a kind of low bedstead of clay. No male person or uninitiated woman is allowed to sit on this.

The object of the *Togba* society is to protect the village against leopards, including 'human leopards'. When a leopard approaches a village, one or two *Togba* women prepare to chase him away. They rub their bodies with a medicinal liquid and, without weapons or carrying a whip, they go to meet the animal. By their manipulations the leopard loses its strength and runs away never to return. *Togba* women of higher grades are said to be able to catch the leopard alive.

According to native belief the souls of certain people are capable of leaving their body and wandering about; they may enter an animal, such as an elephant, a buffalo, or a leopard. If a chief was known to be an elephant at times, the hunting of elephants was forbidden, because if the chief's own elephant was killed, the chief would die and the hunter would be sentenced as a murderer. But if a man changes into a leopard and as such kills cattle or even persons, people are allowed to catch him. This is the work of the *Togba* woman. She has to find out whether the animal in question is just a common leopard or a human one. In the latter case she will, on the disappearance of the animal in the bush, enter the hut of the evil-doer and wake him up. The next day the chief's court will meet and the criminal is severely fined. In earlier days he might be killed.

If, in spite of the presence of *Togba* in a village, a leopard succeeds in seizing cattle, the failure of *Togba* is due to the fact that one of its taboos has been violated. Some of these taboos are as follows: no corpse must be carried through the village, the body is immediately carried outside, and if somebody dies in the bush or on a farm the body is never brought into the village. No whistling is allowed in the village because it resembles the

sound made by the leopard and, probably for the same reason, a certain musical instrument must not be played.

The owner of *Togba* medicine is obliged to wash her hands after she has touched cassava leaves, palm kernels, or palm kernel oil.

When a procession through the village is planned, the *Togba* women assemble at the *Togba* hut, where the leading members live. Here they are received by the head woman and three females of the higher grades; one of them has a whip in her hand, the second carries a copper basin filled with medicinal water which she sprinkles on the village road which the women are to follow, and the third carries a calabash containing a dark-blue liquid which she sprinkles on the women while they are walking in procession. The heels, chest, and forehead of the head woman's husband are also rubbed with this liquid. The women move about between the huts with short dancing steps. From time to time the head woman advances in front of the group and dances by herself. Since in this country women are not allowed to do or to use any wood-work, no drums are beaten to accompany the dance, but sawn-off cow horns are used instead; tortoise shells are also employed for the same purpose.

When night falls the procession ceases and the women disappear into their *Togba* house. The whole village is then filled with protective medicine and is safe against the inroads of wicked leopards. (*Communicated by Fräulein ETTA DONNER, Vienna.*)

The Energetic Philosophy of Primitive Man.

In a study on 'Das energetische Weltbild der Primitiven' (*Jahrbuch der österreichischen Leogesellschaft* 1934) V. Lebzelter discusses the problem of the energetic philosophy of primitive man. With primitive and civilized peoples, two modes of thinking must be distinguished: reproductive and recapitulative thinking. Most men do not reproduce traditional conclusions, they only recapitulate them. This is almost always done by our informants among primitive peoples. Science has considered early and primitive man too much as a philosopher and too little as a scientist. The animist, like our scientist, possesses names for that which, as cause of the real or supposed qualities of matter, remains unknown. It is well known that in the history of philosophy the problem whether empirical things are realities, or whether they only become realities in our imagination, comes to the fore again and again. Primitive man has answered this question from the beginning in the positive in both directions, but, on the other hand, his philosophy altogether lacks the conception of inert matter. He takes existence for granted; not stationary objects but things, happenings, rouse his attention. He conceives the objects of both his own mind and the external world only in the state of expending energy. He sees the world as an interplay of forces only. Within a magnetic or electrical field, for example, or a field of gravity,