

Commercial Motives in Primitive Migration.

By Ragnar Numelin, Ph. D.

The wanderings of peoples on a lower plane of civilization are to a great extent brought about by geographical circumstances and climatological conditions. The instinct of selfsupport and selfpreservation decides gathering-peoples, fishing- and hunting peoples to lead a vagrant life. And it is in the food-geographical conditions that one finds the reason for nomadism, both for the cattle breeding and agricultural kind of it.

But among peoples on a lower plane of civilization even other reasons for migration can, however, be found, even if the food-geographical conditions are the most domineering ones. The other reasons pertain to magic and religious motives, to nature warfare, invasion and commercial interests.

Nomadism, particularly in the form of cattle breeding nomadism but also in the shape of agricultural nomadism is not only often connected with invasions but also with trade interests.

The mightiest invasions of olden times which issued out of Central and East Asia and which had a strong influence on Europe in the Middle Ages were undertaken by nomadic peoples¹). The struggle between the nomads and the agriculturists in certain ages has been one of the determining forces in history.

In the primitive state, plundering was without doubt an important occupation at the side of nomadism proper. The desire to possess large herds came about not only with an eye to the increased transportation possibilities but also from the wish to own property. Robbery is a favourite occupation of the Arabs. Raids, *ghazu*, *ghaziya*, on other tribes are customary particularly in the spring when there is a sufficiency of pasture lands and water. The Arabs then retreat to tribes living at a distance to protect themselves from revenge on the part of tribes living nearer at hand²).

Formerly the Masai, cattle nomads of East Africa, were notorious

for their raids on the Bantu³). At the side of hunting and fishing some of the Orang tribes on Malacca go on actual piracy expeditions⁴). The wandering Kurds in West Asia often go on raids⁵).

There is a closer connexion between war and trade among peoples on a lower plane of culture than is obvious at first glance. Even if peaceful and hostile contacts between peoples would seem to be widely apart still war and trade meet at many points. Here too, warlike raids can open new routes for mercantile intercourses just as on the other hand commercial competition can lead to bloody conflicts.

However, among peoples, even on a low plane of culture, trade motives are important, independent reasons for wanderings. If they do not embrace whole tribes they at least embrace a part of them. In these cases trade is often carried on with distant regions and is thus bound to a life of movement.

It is here necessary to differentiate between different forms of trade just as it is necessary to point out that though a great number of savage peoples engage themselves in trade one cannot speak of trade among nature peoples in general. It is in fact the first contact with foreign tribes that gives rise to new needs and the means of satisfying them. It has been presumed that trade is as old as mankind being intimately connected with the means of subsistence. Professor Lindblom calls trade one of the primary elements of human culture⁶).

Professor Schmoller says that just as we know of no pathless countries, so we know of no peoples without a trace of trade or communications⁷). He supports his statement with examples from the savages of Africa. Peschel also claims that trade was carried on already during the earliest periods of mankind⁸). But nevertheless the fact that certain tribes acquired things not to be procured within their own territories should not lead us to the conclusion that trade has existed throughout the ages among all peoples. Among certain Australian Negroes, natives of the Andaman Islands, Malacca, Ceylon, Tierra del Fuego, and some of the Bushmen tribes trade would seem to play no role at all⁹). Among gathering, fishing and hunting peoples food is only rarely an article of barter and as for primitive handicraft, it is generally the rule for each person to be his own craftsman. But if we thus come across peoples among which not even barter is of any real significance, where trade transactions are more in the nature of gifts than exchange, it is not necessary to go as far as e. g. Bücher who credits primitive peoples with no trade whatsoever. The reason for this would seem

to be that Bücher conceives trade as being a methodically organized purchase of commodities which are sold again at a certain profit to the seller¹⁰). This, however, unnecessarily restricts trade to what it means to peoples on a higher plane of culture, which is further emphasized by the fact that Bücher avoids using the term exchange which must be considered to be to the foundation of all later trade. It is based upon the peaceful contact of tribes. That such exchange exists is made clear by Westermarck's description of the hospitality which primitive peoples extend to each other¹¹).

Peaceable communication does not quarrel with the fact that trade often developed out of a less peaceable form of wandering expeditions, raids on foreign peoples and countries.

Barter is widespread among primitive peoples and, as is the case with Australian savages, is often connected with extensive wanderings. A reason for this may be looked for in the great difference between different pieces of land and the resulting uneven distribution of nature's products. One district is rich in goods and possessions which the neighbouring one lacks entirely. In territories bordering upon each other, trade is especially promoted by the contact of different cultures. To illustrate this, a mention may be made of the Miorli Negroes along the Diamantina in Australia who are noted for their extensive trade journeys. They travel up the Diamantina River to Cork, from there eastward to Ancheron-Creek and Tocal, and then down the Thomson River where they exchange spears, yellow ochre, oyster-shells and other goods for boomerangs, shields etc. It is not unusual for whole tribes to take part in these journeys¹²).

As Professor Lindblom points out, it is difficult at present to make first hand studies of the trade methods of primitive peoples since these are now hardly to be found in their original form anywhere. They have changed and developed through contact with Europeans and other peoples. However, primitive trade forms still exist here and there and we get an idea of earlier trade methods from ethnographic literature¹³). Lindblom has proved that trade can often be traced to friendly exchange of gifts among peoples on a low plane of civilization. It takes often the form of dumb or silent trade (secret trade). Commodities are deposited in a certain place for exchange by one of the parties which withdraws before the other party comes to the place to fetch the goods. Roving and hunting tribes often carry on this type of silent trade with stationary neighbours on a higher plane of civilization¹⁴).

Similar silent trade is still practised by some wandering peoples,

some Pygmies of Africa, the Veddahs on Ceylon, the Kubu on Sumatra, the Puna tribe in the interior of Borneo¹⁵). This sort of trade was known during the ancient classic era¹⁶).

There are researchers who see in this silent trade or depot trade, from which markets later developed, the intermediary transition from the gathering-hunting stage to farming¹⁷). Through the trade in question gathering tribes are easily led to desert their gathering-hunting activity in order to live on the exchange products of trade instead, especially when the product of exchange is rice. Afterwards imitation leads them to cultivate land. They engage at first in hoe culture, abandoning a piece of land after having cultivated it once, especially if death has overtaken the family. Gathering-hunting is not altogether abandoned either for the simple reason that the harvest does not suffice to cover the needs of the entire year. This description of Heine-Geldern's¹⁸) should not, however, be considered as pertaining to all primitive peoples.

Trade motives have without doubt played a large part in spreading the Oceanians over the enormous expanses of water of the South Sea. However, in view of the fact that research has proved that numerous unintentional trips were brought about by wind and currents, it is farfetched to characterize trade as the principal reason for the expansion as does Lindblom¹⁹). One may conclude that the journeys of the Polynesians were connected with pearl fishery and resulting interest²⁰), but the question is, if the geographic-hydrographic factors were not the determining ones for the journeys rather than the trade interests which surely were of a more local character. —

Mention is made of interesting trade wanderings from New Guinea. Every year in the latter part of September or in the beginning of October, at the end of the south-east trade-wind season, a fleet of large sailing canoes, belonging to the Motu tribe, leaves Port Moresby in British New Guinea for the delta country around the Gulf of Papua. The canoes are laden with earthenware and ornaments and also with useful things. The canoes return after three months with the north-west monsoon wind filled with sago. The origin of these journeys, which have taken place for generations among the Motu tribe called *Hiri*, is very vague²¹). Mention is also made of similar trading expeditions engaged in by the Massim tribe on New Guinea²²). The Motu tribe in British New Guinea has legends telling of trading carried on for centuries²³).

The primitive tribes in the Padang district of Sumatra engage in extensive wanderings brought about by trade motives²⁴).

The rubber boom plays a large part in the economic life of certain Malayan peoples. It became the usual thing for Malays to spend their time felling and clearing a piece of forest land for which they had obtained a grant, planting it with rubber and then selling it to Chinamen. Land which had been planted with rubber ceased in this way to possess the properties which had been considered by these tribes to be inherent in land, namely that of being entailed within a family and within a tribe, that of being under the control of the headmen of tribe and family. It became as marketable a form of property as goats or buffaloes had hitherto been²⁵).

Speaking of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands Man points out interesting consequences of the food-geographic conditions. Here commodities are exchanged between the coast and inland tribes thus bringing about wandering expeditions. This exchange has not come about from a lack of food in either case but from a desire for a change of a menu which would become too monotonous if it were not possible to trade food²⁶).

Fishing and hunting are important occupations on the Nicobar Islands but trade is also carried on extensively. The Kar Nicobaras particularly, have for a long time engaged in sea trade on a large scale between the Nicobars and Chowra. The large fishing fleets are navigated with the help of the sun and the stars, the monsoon winds facilitating their passage²⁷).

Trade plays a large part in the wanderings of many African peoples. In certain parts of Central and South Africa particularly, a wandering towards the coast is actively engaged in. There the natives purchase salt, flour and hunting equipment with their hard-won ivory and caoutchouc. That these wanderings are important to the natives can also be seen from the fact that in their eyes a tribe's rank and dignity decreases in proportion to its distance from the coast. The Fan and Bakel tribes as well as the Bangala peoples are noted for their trade journeys²⁸).

The Lokele, properly a fishing tribe, in the Congo region, carry on trade with the European factories for which reason they go on journeys²⁹). Some African Pygmies are in a complicated way dependent upon Negro chiefs with whom they exchange bananas and maize in return for forest products. "Every little Pygmy community," tells Powell-Cotton, "enters into a sort of compact with the head man of some other forest tribe whom it supplies with fresh meat, and honey, leaves to tatch his houses, pliant creepers for use as ropes, and other forest produce in exchange for bananas, sweet potatoes and maize³⁰). Among the Pygmies, the Babenga are espe-

cially noted for carrying on commerce with the stationary peoples. The Babenga supply the latter with meat obtained on hunting expeditions and they give the former manios, maize and bananas in turn. Every stationary group has its hunting group. It often happens the following: "chasseurs s'accordant avec des agriculteurs, mais les deux groupes conservant leur profession propre et d'ailleurs ne s'unissant jamais entre eux³¹).

The Wassakuma-wa-mueri in Victoria-Nyanza carry on a lively cattle trade with Arabs and Europeans in order to obtain fabrics and pearls³²). The Wasuaheli, and other Negro tribes in East Africa related to them, roam through large territories in the capacity of wandering tradesmen³³).

Lively trading has always existed between the inland and coast tribes of Africa. Formerly, at least in Senegambia, the black slave traders supplied the inhabitants along the coasts with iron, resin and butter of fruits. They received salt in return³⁴). The Fang tribes are driven towards the European settlements for purposes of trade but they always return to their former dwelling places even if reasons of war at times drive them away³⁵).

At the end of the last century at least, it was still customary for the Bafiôte tribes in the Congo district to make regular trips to the European colonies along the coast. The natives exchanged their domestic animals for European factory commodities, spirits and other things³⁶).

Brunhes and Vallaux assume that it is "la recherche du sel qui a souvent poussé les tribus nègres vers la mer, sur la périphérie de l'Afrique" and that inversely it is "le commerce des esclaves qui a conduit vers l'intérieur les traitants arabes³⁷).

Throughout the whole of the South American continent trade plays a large part in the lives of the natives. Krause and von den Steinen point out the extensive trade journeys of the Indians of Brazil. Many tribes were found to possess, among other things, hunting and war equipment which they had bartered for with distant peoples. Almost every tribe has a speciality which it exchanges for that of other tribes. Thus, for instance, the Caribs trade with hammocks and earthenware. The Suija carry on trade with the Kamayura who trade with the Mehinahus, Nahuquas, etc. ³⁸). In some instances many articles of exchange are transported over distances which are not insignificant. The natives go even on longer journeys to non-nabo tribes³⁹).

Professor Karsten has told me that the Toba Indians at the Pilcomayo who live principally of fishing carry great quantities of

fish to the Chiriguano who cultivate corn but who do not fish. The Chiriguano pay in return with corn and similar produce.

Baron Erland Nordenskiöld brings to attention the fact that in South America even enemy tribes may have trade relations with each other since their tradesmen and medicine men are allowed to wander through enemy territory⁴⁰).

One form of exchange of labour, or rather of making use of labour, is the cause of the Bogota Indians' wanderings from the heights on the Isthmus of Panama to the Atlantic coast where they help the Negroes with their cultivation for small return⁴¹).

There are data concerning Indian sea trips undertaken for mercantile reasons already in the 16th century from the Tainish Islands to Florida⁴²).

Among several Eskimo tribes visiting and trading journeys are to some extent closely connected, "but whatever may be the primary motives — whether a meeting between families from various places, is accidental or intentional, it is obvious that it always leads to a certain amount of trading"⁴³). Speaking of the Caribou Eskimos, Dr. Birket Smith has pointed out the close connexion existing between hunting, "fetching", visiting and trading journeys. By "fetching journeys" he understands "those which concern the products which are not to be found on the spot, but which must be fetched from other regions. These are commodities such as wood, which is taken from the small copses in the southern river valleys and also in the form of driftwood in the lower Thelon River, or soapstone, which occurs at Qiqertarjuaq, Rankin Inlet and Thaolinton Lake. These products do not demand any particular skill to produce them as for instance is the case with sea mammal products, and therefore the Eskimos prefer to fetch them themselves, within reasonable distances, instead of trading for them⁴⁴). Dr. Birket Smith points out that the same takes place elsewhere in the Eskimo world⁴⁵). A considerable part of the commerce consists of an exchange of gifts. The distribution of gifts is a permanent institution on visiting journeys, and there is no doubt about the fact that in earlier days there was actual trading besides the exchanging of gifts⁴⁶).

The Tshukts i Siberia have in addition to carrying on reindeer nomadism long been intermediaries for the trade between the savages along the shores of the Bering Strait in America and the Siberian for hunters⁴⁷). On the Tshuja steppes, the largest valley plain of Altai, farming cannot be carried on successfully and cattle breeding nomadism is possible only in districts nearest the rivers. The inha-

bitants of the steppe base their livelihood on trade and transportation⁴⁸).

Nomadic expeditions are often undertaken in connexion with trade with neighbouring peoples. The exchange of commodities contributes towards creating a special rhythm in the wanderings⁴⁹).

In India among other places one find a peculiar social and mercantile combination which is not unusual in primitive conditions, namely, the relations existing between the Todas on one hand and their neighbours the Badagans and Kothas on the other. The Badagans supply the Todas with what grain they need, the Kothas supply them with ironware. In exchange both tribes have the right to make use of the Todas's settlements and fields while the Todas are on wanderings⁵⁰).

It is not only natives who carry on trade among themselves. One has, during recent decades, come across typical examples of savages who have forced their way to distant places in order to come into active contact with the colonists. Such wanderings often last for weeks and even months.

Bartering was for a long time the original form for trade among the peoples living along the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. The earliest trading of the Phoenicians consisted almost exclusively of bartering. Similar trading journeys from Arabia and Persia are known to history to have existed two thousand years B. C. And in the far East the trading of the Chinese with the Europeans retained for a long time its original character of exchange. In the north bartering continued for a long time between Scandinavia, Greenland, Iceland and the continent.

However, there are traces of higher forms of trade connexions even among nature peoples. Market trade has often arisen among nature peoples. In it are to be found the first germs of money transactions. It is not unusual for market trade to force the trading tribes to go on long journeys as the market places are often situated far from their places of abode. This is particularly true when there is a question of the big annual markets in which people and tribes from far distant places take part⁵¹).

In certain parts of Southern Tibet, according to Dr. Sven Hedin, there are three different kinds of wanderers: the pilgrims, (the Nakehu pilgrims), the nomads (the Gertse nomads) and the gold diggers from Lhasa. However, in addition to these nomads and pious wanderers there are nomads who wander about for trade-economic reasons. These constitute "the salt caravans and ordinary merchants, the former having about the same habits as the nomads,

as they are dependent on the grazing for their sheep caravans; the latter chiefly follow the administrative roads⁵²). Dr. Hedin says that one comes across fairly well organized digging-wanderings in the Southern Tibet, "the principal thing for them is to reach their goldmines as quickly as possible"⁵³).

The caravan expeditions of ancient times between East and West Asia, among peoples on a somewhat higher plane of culture, are well known and so is also the "Silk"-Way, during the Byzantine and Mongolian eras, along which trade progressed, and also the expeditions of the Phoenicians and the Hanseatic League.

It is likely that markets are an outgrowth of the silent trade. As timidity and suspicion gave way, people began to meet to exchange commodities at the places where they had formerly traded unseen. In most cases markets doubtlessly developed from female trade.

Market trade, to the extent that it embraces food which is the most usual commodity traded, is not seldom entrusted to the women. The men on the other hand often engage themselves in expeditions to distant places and peoples, the object in most cases rarely being to obtain food but rather articles of adornment or enjoyment. In time these trading expeditions became organized and grew into caravan trade for mutual support and protection against plundering⁵⁴).

Markets arise most easily between neighbouring groups who have commodities to offer one another as for instance between fishing and hunting, and farming peoples. This type of market existed formerly between the farming tribes in the vicinity of the North American lakes and the more northern hunting tribes, as well as among the peoples of Africa to a marked degree. The market places are most often to be found in the boundary districts between different settlements which alone is reason enough to cause extensive wanderings from different directions. In Africa the market places are generally inviolable districts within which no disputes or conflicts are permitted⁵⁵).

Small, local market places are to be found in great numbers particularly in Africa. Market trading among the Bantu tribes is in some places so lively that it has forced all other trading into the background. The Urundi in East Africa are especially known for their lively market trading⁵⁶). Also in Central Africa almost every mile boasts a market place where the surrounding tribes gather weekly to exchange goods and commodities⁵⁷).

The caravan trade shows clearly the rôle played by nomadism in the development of trading. It gives rise to a lively transit trade

between the cases and leads to the erection of big market emporiums at the terminals and crossroads which not seldom also gradually become the centre of industrial activity. Nomads also act as middlemen for stationary peoples. Nomadism is often bound up in trade at a distance though this trade does not develop to any extent unless it has water at its disposal, expanses of water which invite long sea journeys thanks to the equal division of land and water.

NOTES

- 1) Brunhes and Vallaux, *La géographie de l'histoire*, Paris 1921, p. 206 sqq; Sykes „Tamerlan“, in *Journ. of the Central Asian Society*, ii, London 1915, 15 sqq.
- 2) Byhan, „Nord-, Mittel- und Westasien“, in *Buschan's Illustrierte Völkerkunde*, ii, i, Stuttgart 1923, 371.
- 3) Haberlandt, „Afrika“, in *Buschan's op. cit.*, i, Stuttgart, 1922, 563.
- 4) Heine-Geldern, „Südostasien“, in *Buschans op. cit.*, ii, 799.
- 5) Byhan, *loc. cit.*, ii, i, 401 sq.
- 6) Lindblom, „Handelsmetoder bland primitiva folk“, in *Handel och samfärdsel*, Upsala, 1931, p. 1.
- 7) Schmoller, *Grundriss der allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre*, i, Leipzig 1901, p. 462.
- 8) Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, Leipzig 1901, p. 209 sq.
- 9) Cf. Spencer, *Descriptive Sociology*, Types of Lowest Races, London 1873, p. 47; Labillardière, *An Account of a Voyage*, ii, London 1866, 276; Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, i, London 1773, 373; Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas*, Berlin 1872, 418 sqq; Martin, *Die Inlandsstämme der malayischen Halbinsel*, pp. 663, 875.
- 10) Bücher, *Die Wirtschaft der Naturvölker*, Dresden 1898, p. 26.
- 11) Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i, London 196, ch. xxiv.
- 12) Graebner, „Handel bei Naturvölkern“, in Andréas, *Geographie des Welthandels*, i, Frankfurt a/M. 1910, 152 sq.
- 13) Lindblom, *loc. cit.*, p. 1.
- 14) *Ibid*, p. 6 sq.
- 15) Lasch, „Einführung in die vergl. Völkerkunde“, in *Buschans op. cit.*, i, 19; Lindblom, *loc. cit.* p. 9; Kürschhoff, „Alte und neue Handelstrassen“, in *Geographische Zeitschrift*, xv, Leipzig 1909, 520; Peschuel-Loësche, *Volkskunde von Loango*, Stuttgart 1907, p. 3; Chasin, *Die Wirtschaft der Bantuneger in Kamerun*, Leipzig 1912, p. 96 sq.
- 16) von Luschan, *Über die alten Handelsbeziehungen von Benin (Verhandl. des VII intern. Geogr. Congr.)*, Berlin 1901, 607 sqq.
- 17) Heine-Geldern, *loc. cit.*, ii, i, 794.
- 18) *Ibid*, ii, i, 794.
- 19) Lindblom, *loc. cit.*, p. 17.
- 20) Hambly, *The History of Tattooing and its Significance*, London 1925, p. 240.

- 21) Seligman, *The Melanesians*, Cambridge 1910, p. 96.
- 22) *Ibid*, p. 526.
- 23) *Ibid*, p. 97 sqq.
- 24) Maas, *Durch Zentral-Sumatra*, i. Berlin 1910, 546.
- 25) Moubray, *Matriarchy in the Malay Peninsula*, London 1931, p. 8.
- 26) Man, "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands", in *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* xii, London 1885, 105.
- 27) Swoboda, "Die Bewohner des Nicobaren Archipels", in *Int. Archiv f. Ethn.* V. Leiden 1892, 194.
- 28) Barthel, *Völkerbewegungen auf der Südhälfte des afr. Kontinents*, Leipzig 1894, pp. 62, 70.
- 29) Thurnwald, *Die menschliche Gesellschaft*, i. Berlin, Leipzig 1931, 83.
- 30) Powell-Cotton, "Notes on a Journey etc.", in *Journ. of the Afr. Soc.* vi. London 1907 no. xxv, 4; Hobhouse, "Über einige der primitivsten Völker", in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. und Soz.* iv. Leipzig 1928, 403 sq. 414; Haberlandt, *loc. cit.*, i. 546.
- 31) Febvre, *La Terre*, Paris 1922, p. 302; cf. Bruel, *L'Afrique équatoriale française*, Paris 1918, p. 199.
- 32) Schlobach, "Die Volkstämme der deutschen Ostküste", in *Mitth. aus der deutschen Schutzgeb.* xiv. Berlin 1901, 185.
- 33) Meyer, *Die Barundi*, Leipzig 1916, p. 175; cf. Maunier, "Recherches sur les échantons rituels en Afrique du Nord", in *L'Année sociologique*, N. S. ii, Paris 1927, 12.
- 34) Park, *Vom Gambia zum Niger*, Leipzig 1924, p. 40.
- 35) Bruel, *op. cit.* p. 210 sq.
- 36) Chavanne, *Reisen und Forschungen im alten und neuen Kongo-state*, Jena 1887, p. 390.
- 37) Brunhes and Vallaux, *op. cit.*, p. 252; see also Father Guillemé, in *Africa*, V. London, Oxford 1932, 40.
- 38) Krause, *In dem Wildniss Brasilien*, Leipzig 1911, p. 157 sqq.
- 39) Nordenskiöld, *Indianliv*, Stockholm 1911, p. 4 sqq.
- 40) *Idem*, *De sydamerikanska indianernas kulturhistoria*, Stockholm 1912, p. 123; cf. *Idem*, in *Journ. de la Soc. des américanistes*, N. S. iv, no. 2. Paris 1908, 42; Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London 1883, p. 168; Markham, *Travels in Peru and India*, London 1862, p. 247; Latcham, *El comercio precolombiano en Chile*, Santiago de Chile 1909, *passim*.
- 41) Nordenskiöld, *Indianerna på Panamanäset*, Stockholm 1924, p. 172.
- 42) Lovén, *Über die Wurzeln der Tainischen Kultur*, i. Göteborg 1924, p. 49.
- 43) Birket-Smith, *The Caribou Eskimos (Rep. of the Fifth Thule Exp.)* i, Copenhagen 1929, 159.
- 44) *Ibid*, i, 169, note.
- 45) *Ibid*, i, 169, note.
- 46) *Ibid*, i, 159 sqq.
- 47) Nordenskiöld, *Vegas färd kring Asien och Europa*, ii. Stockholm 1881, 14, 122, cf. Hildebrand, "De lägre naturfolkens konst", in Nordenskiöld, *Studier och forskningar*, Stockholm 1883, p. 311.
- 48) Granö, *Altai*, ii, Helsingfors 1921, 178.
- 49) Bernhard and Lacroix, *L'Evolution de Nomadisme en Algérie*, Alger,

Paris 1906, ch. vii; Vidal de la Blache, in *Ann. géogr.*, xxii., Paris 1917, 244.

⁵⁰⁾ Graebner, *loc. cit.*, i, 158.

⁵¹⁾ Bücher, *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*, Tübingen 1898, p. 31; *cf. Graebner, loc. cit.*, i, 163.

⁵²⁾ Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, iii. Stockholm 1919, 126.

⁵³⁾ *Ibid*, iv, 114.

⁵⁴⁾ Lindblom, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.

⁵⁵⁾ *Ibid*, p. 12 *sq.*

⁵⁶⁾ Graebner, *loc. cit.*, i, 166; *cf.*, for generally purpose, Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, London 1901, p. 256 *sq.*

⁵⁷⁾ Bücher, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Wissmann and Wolff, *Im Innern Afrikas*, Leipzig 1888, p. 220 *sq.*
