ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Ethnology. With Plate K. Balfour.

Some Specimens from the Chatham Islands.

By H. Balfour, M.A.

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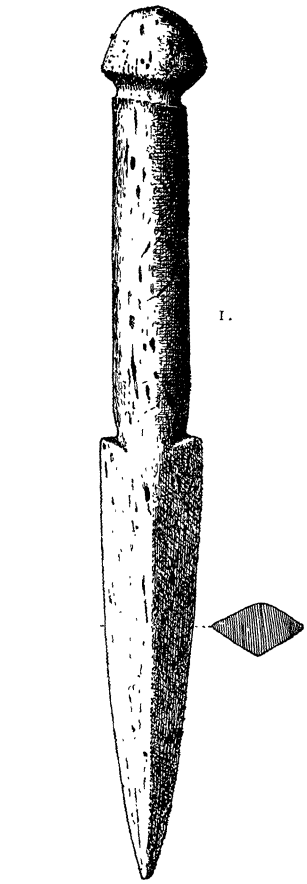
The specimens figured on the accompanying plate are selected from a number of objects collected by Mr. Clough many years ago in the Chatham Islands, and purchased by me for the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford in 1893. In addition to the examples here illustrated and described, the collection included some fifty stone adze-blades, a few bone fish-hooks, etc.

Fig. 1.—A well-made dagger of bone, apparently that of a large cetacean. It is 22·5 cm. in length and is made of a single piece. The blade tapers gradually to a point and is lozenge-shaped in transverse section, the obtuse angle being more clearly defined on one surface than on the other. At its junction with the grip, the blade is shouldered. The grip is circular in section and terminates in a large, rounded pommel, which is separated from the grip by a groove forming a neck. It is a carefully-made and shapely weapon of a type hardly to be expected from this locality. As far as I can ascertain, it is unique. It is without doubt the actual specimen referred to by E. Tregear (*Trans. New Zealand Inst.*, XXII, 1889, p. 79), who in his remarks upon the Clough collection of Chatham Islands objects, says: "Among other curiosities is a bone dagger, about 9 inches long, the blade "being about 4½ inches in length, with a double edge. I do not know of any other "Polynesian people having used the dagger except the Hawaiians . . ., but "Tapu assured me that the weapon was known and used by the ancient Moriori." I can recall nothing resembling this dagger either from Polynesia, from Melanesia, or from Micronesia, and I am, therefore, unable to link this form with any type from the Pacific Islands. It seems likely, in fact, that this type of bone dagger may have been evolved locally. One would turn to New Zealand in seeking for a parallel, but I can recall no similar example either from North or from South Island, although Mr. Skinner and others have pointed out the cultural similarities which indicate a link between New Zealand (especially the Otago district) and the Chatham Islands.

Fig. 2.—Spatulate club made from a fairly compact schist containing quartz and micaceous grains. Specific gravity 2·65 to 2·7,* length 34·9 cm. The general form is that of the Maori *mere* and the distal end is sharp-edged. There is no sharp demarkation between the blade and the grip, the one merging gradually into the other, and the lateral edges becoming more rounded and blunter as the grip is approached. This restriction of the sharp cutting edge to the distal end is a primitive feature in this type of club, and points to the probable derivation from a *toki*, or adze type, which General Pitt Rivers (Colonel Lane Fox) urged many years ago (*Primitive Warfare*, 1868, section ii, p. 421, and *Journ. Ethnol. Soc., N.S.*, ii, 1870, p. 106). The expanded stop, or pommel, is roughly carved, and is broadly notched at the extremity; the ornamental shaping of this end is not quite symmetrical. There is no perforation for a wrist-thong, such as almost invariably occurs in the Maori *mere*, and this may be regarded as a primitive feature, though the expanded pommel acts as an effective stop. This specimen has been made by careful "battering" of the stone, and has not been ground.

Fig. 3.—Single-edged, chopper-like club, *okewa*, made from a schist, though of a coarser and more laminated kind than the last. Length 29·5 cm. The blade is sharp-edged along one margin only, the cleaving-edge extending for about half the whole length. The remainder of this margin is re-entrant, to form the narrower

* I am indebted to Professor W. Sollas for identification of the material of the stone implements.



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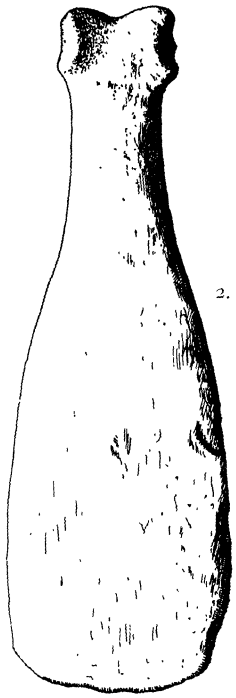

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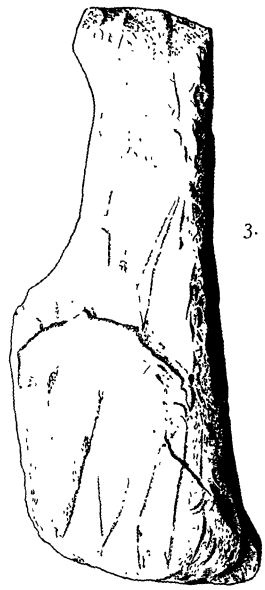

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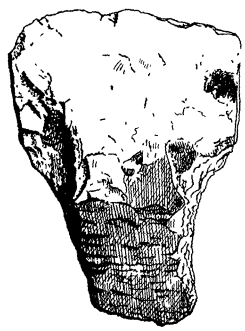

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SOME ETHNOLOGICAL SPECIMENS FROM THE CHATHAM ISLANDS.

grip which terminates in a downward projection, or stop. The workmanship is very rough, the shape having been produced by battering only, and there has been no attempt to achieve a finished surface. In spite of its rudeness, it is a not unhandy weapon. More or less closely allied forms of stone club from the Chatham Islands are figured by Giglioli (*La Collezione Etnografica*, 1911, pt. 1, Pl. p. 48), who shows a far more shapely and finished specimen of the *okewa*; by Partington (*Album*, II, Pl. 235, Fig. 1), from a specimen in the British Museum, closely similar to the one in the Giglioli collection; by Von Haast (*Trans. New Zealand Inst.*, XVIII, 1885, Pl. i), whose figure more nearly corresponds with the example which I here illustrate, though there is no stop at the end of the grip; and by Skinner (*Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, XLVI, 1916, p. 196, Fig. 20), who records an example in the Otago Museum, which resembles the Giglioli and British Museum examples, but has no trace of a stop. An undecorated Maori wooden club of the *waha-ika* type in the British Museum, appears to be nearly related to these *okewa* clubs of the Chatham Islands in their more finished and perfected form, while a very rare type of chopper-like greenstone *mere* figured by Hamilton (*Maori Art*, 1896, Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 2), would seem to be morphologically related to this series. It was found in a Maori burial cave north of Auckland.

Fig. 4.—*Mata* of slate showing imperfect cleavage. Specific gravity 2·8, length 16·3 cm., width 11·8 cm. This is a fairly typical example of the very roughly made *tanged* blades which have been found abundantly in the Chatham Islands, both on Rekohu and on Pitt Island. These are reputed to have been used as blubber-knives, the flesh of the grampus and other cetaceans having been much valued as food. As is usual with the *mata*, the workmanship is exceedingly rough, the natural cleavage planes being utilised for producing the thin blade, whose nearly straight cutting edge is formed by the intersection of two cleavage-planes, and shows no attempt at trimming by secondary flaking or battering. The narrowed tang is fashioned by rough battering of the margins and is quite blunt at the edges. This rough and rather haphazard method of manufacture seems to apply generally to the *mata*, and results in great variety of outline and of form of the cutting edge. The object seems to have been to produce by the simplest means a tanged implement having a cutting-edge of some sort, the details of shape being of slight importance. Partington (*Album*, III, Pl. 223, Fig. 2) shows a *mata* fitted with a modern haft of wood, said to be after the old style, but I have not been able to ascertain whether these blades were usually hafted, or whether they were sometimes merely held in the hand, as seems not unlikely, since the tang in the present instance would furnish a convenient hand-grip.

A point of interest in regard to these Chatham Islands *mata* types, is to be found in their analogies elsewhere. Rough blades of this tanged form are rarely met with in the Pacific, but I have recently drawn attention to the similarity which exists between the *mata* of the Chatham Islands and the *mataa* of Easter Island (*Geographical Journal*, May, 1917, p. 345, and *Folk-Lore*, XXVIII, 1917, p. 358). The latter are, it is true, made from flakes of obsidian and not from slate or schist, but there is much general resemblance between the two series, not only in form and in mode of manufacture, but also in name. In the Easter Island *mataa* the cutting-edges are simply formed by the intersection of two large flake surfaces, and are exceedingly sharp. Also, like the Chatham Islands examples, they are extremely variable in outline, which is often very unsymmetrical, as might be expected from the crude method of arriving at the result. The tangs were formed by flaking the margins, usually with no great care. Obsidian, unlike slate or schist, flakes very readily and effectively. It is known that the Easter Islanders hafted their *mataa*, which appear to have served largely as weapons.

The possibility of there being a real relationship between the tanged blades of Easter Island and the Chatham Islands is greatly increased by the discovery in the latter group of a *mata* made of *obsidian*, which, judging from the photograph kindly shown to me by Mr. Skinner, is undistinguishable from many Easter Island examples. The rarity of obsidian examples in the Chatham Islands is explained by the scarcity of this material. Von Haast (*Trans. New Zealand Inst.*, XVIII, 1885, p. 26) mentions that volcanic glass, *tuhua*, was not obtainable in any quantity, although a reef of it exists under water at the south-east corner of the island at Manukau. It would be only natural for the natives to substitute the abundant, if less efficient, slates and schists for the rare obsidian, and the employment of a different class of stone would impose a somewhat different method in shaping the implements, since the processes applicable to the one material cannot be employed with the other. The possibility, of course, remains that the Chatham and Easter Islanders may have independently evolved these similar tanged stone blades. I am no believer in the unwarranted doctrine that instances of independent invention of similar appliances are impossible. At the same time, I have urged for a quarter of a century or more that such occurrences should not be assumed until the alternative case for common origin and dispersal from a common centre has been carefully investigated. I have already hinted (*op. cit.*) that the *mataa* of Easter Island may be referable, like many other items in the culture of that island, to the intrusion of a *Melanesian* element. This view, which as regards the *mataa* is tentative only, is based upon the apparent absence of similar implements among Polynesian peoples, and upon the fact that a tanged obsidian blade, strikingly recalling the form of the better examples of *mataa*, though of finer workmanship, was found in the Yodda Valley in British New Guinea, within the area, that is, influenced by Melanesian culture (*see* MAN, 1915, **91**, Pl. M.). Nor is this an isolated example from New Guinea, though admittedly rare. That there was a Melanesian element in the culture of the Chatham Islands (and in New Zealand) seems to be fairly generally admitted, and although its exact provenance has not yet been accurately determined, the apparent fact that the Moriori culture was influenced by a non-Polynesian element is of some importance to the comparative study of the *mata* of the Chatham Islands and the *mataa* of Easter Island, as accentuating the possibility of their being morphologically related.

Figs. 5 and 5*a*.—Grotesque statuette carved in pumice-stone. Height 27 cm. This is one of the rare examples of the human form carved in stone from the Chatham Islands. The figure is very rudely executed in the rough, soft, vesicular material. The surface detail has been somewhat obscured by abrasion and the specimen is evidently an old one. It represents a squatting figure with knees and elbows strongly flexed, the hands, apparently placed on the sides of the head or over the ears. The facial features are but sketchily indicated; the eyes and eyebrows are in relief, but the nose either was not represented or has been weathered away. A noteworthy feature is seen in the great prominence given to the ribs, which suggests a state of extreme emaciation. This latter peculiarity again suggests a possible cultural link between the Chatham Islands and Easter Island, since one of the marked characteristics of a large proportion of the well-known human effigies carved in *toromiro* wood, is the very pronounced manner in which the ribs are indicated, combined with other details which show that the intention was to represent emaciated human forms, or, possibly, the dead. Apart from this common feature of the "staring" ribs, no resemblance can be seen between the Chatham Islands pumice figure and the Easter Island wooden statuettes, and the difference in the rendering cannot be ascribed merely to the difference in the material used. A seeming link between the two types is, however, afforded by a wooden figure from the Chatham Islands now in the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, N.Z. Sketches

of this figure are given by Partington (*Album*, III, Pl. 223, Fig. 1), and Mr. Skinner has shown me some good photographs of the specimen. In spite of the rudeness of its execution and the limited amount of detail indicated, this figure bears a general resemblance to the Easter Island wooden figures, and the exaggerated prominence of the ribs greatly accentuates the similarity. There is at least a possibility of a community of origin for these wooden figures from the Chatham Islands and Rapanui, and thus, by implication, is suggested a possible affinity for the figure of pumice-stone here represented.

In view of the interest which attaches to the ethnology of the Chatham Islands and to the diagnosis of the elements from which the culture of this group has been evolved, I have thought it worth while to publish these examples as an aid to further study. As far as I know the bone dagger is unique, nor do I know of any close parallel to the stone figure. As I have recently pointed out, the evidence of a strong Melanesian element in the culture of Easter Island is very striking, and inasmuch as the presence of a similar non-Polynesian strain in the culture of the Chatham Islands (and, one may add, also of New Zealand) is becoming more recognised, the suggestion offered as to the possible affinities of the *mata* and of the type of stone figure which I have described, may have some bearing upon the ethnological problems of the South Pacific. HENRY BALFOUR.

Europe: Witchcraft. Murray.

The Devil's Mark. *By M. A. Murray.* **81**

Every witch was said to carry on his or her person a mark inflicted by the Devil when the witch joined the Society. Reginald Scot, the great witch-advocate of the sixteenth century, summarises the evidence thus: "The Divell "giveth to everie novice a marke, either with his teeth or with his clawis."* The *Lawes Against Witches and Conivration*, published "by authority" in 1645, state that "their said Familiar hath some big or little Teat upon their body, wher he "sucketh them; and besides their sucking, the Devil leaveth other markes upon "their bodies, sometimes like a Blew-spot, or Red-spot, like a flea-biting." Sir George Mackenzie, the famous Scotch lawyer, in describing what did and what did not constitute a witch, says, "The Devil's Mark useth to be a great Article with "us, but it is not *per se* found relevant, except it be confest by them, that they got "that Mark with their own consent; *quo casu*, it is equivalent to a Paction. This "Mark is given them, as is alledg'd, by a Nip in any part of the Body, and it is "blew. *Delrio* calls it *Stigma*, or Character, and alledges that it is sometimes like "the impression of a Hare's foot, or the Foot of a Rat, or Spider."† Forbes, writing considerably later than Mackenzie, says: "On the meaner Proselytes, the "Devil fixes in some secret Part of their Bodies a Mark, as his Seal to know his "own by; which is like a Flea Bite or blew Spot, or sometimes resembles a little "Teat, and the Part so stamped doth ever after remain insensible, and doth not "bleed, tho' never so much nipped or pricked by thrusting a Pin, Awl, or Bodkin "into it; but if the Covenanter be of better rank, the Devil only draws Blood of "the Party, or touches him or her in some part of the body without any visible "Mark remaining."‡

Local anæsthesia, as described by Forbes, is a phenomenon always associated in the popular mind with the Devil's Mark; and the evidence suggests that there is a substratum of truth in the statements. I can, however, offer no solution of the

* Reg. Scot: *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Bk. III, Ch. 3. *See also* Danaeus: *Dialogue*, Ch. III.

† *Laws and Customs of Scotland*, Title x, p. 48.

‡ *Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, II, pp. 32–4.