The Clan and the Totem.

Each clan in the Gilbertese is connected with some plant animal or object which it holds in particular esteem. For convenience of reference, I shall at once apply the term 'totem' to these creatures or things; I do not think that the epithet will be found to have been misused after the exhibition of my material.

A few clans have only a single creature or object associated with them, but most have a minimum of two, some three or four, and one even five. Sometimes several clans share the same totem or totems; in such cases the clans concerned, although having different names, are seen to possess the same ancestor and god.

The following is a list of the totems which I have been able to identify:

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<th>Clan</th>
<th>Sun (Secret)</th>
<th>Totem</th>
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<tr>
<td>Karongoa-Maeveke</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shark; Kanawa Tree; Cockatoo; Wind;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taumano</td>
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<td>Shark; Kanawa Tree; Cockatoo; Wind;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karongoa-Maeveke</td>
<td>Shark;</td>
<td>Kanawa Tree; Cockatoo; Wind;</td>
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<td>Antekanawa</td>
<td>Shark;</td>
<td>Kanawa Tree; Cockatoo; Wind;</td>
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<td>Watawakake</td>
<td>Shark;</td>
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<td>Te Bakoa</td>
<td>Shark;</td>
<td>(Bakoa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karumaeloa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tabakalaka</td>
<td>Giant Ray;</td>
<td>Shark;</td>
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<td>Keaki</td>
<td>Teepie Bird; Giant Ray; Beche-de-mer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaburara</td>
<td>Giant Ray;</td>
<td>Creeper called Ta'aki.</td>
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<td>Kaoturama</td>
<td>Stingray;</td>
<td>(small grey) called Bualoa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bangauma</td>
<td>Stingray;</td>
<td>(called 'man-headed')</td>
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<tr>
<td>Te Ba</td>
<td>Sandeupe;</td>
<td>a Carangoid fish.</td>
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Te Kirikiri : Sandepui; a Carangoid fish.
Tabiang
Tamakama : Tern; Pemphigus tree.
Te O
Umanikamausi
Ababou : Porpoise; Sun; Coral called "irongi".
Maelua
Tekokona : Porpoise.
Pei Ati
Benuakura : Octopus; Garfish.
Katamaki : A Red bird of myth called Aromatang.
Te Wewi : A stone called Pei Temaiti.
Nukumazea : Fragrance tree; conch.
Bakarawa : Eel; centipede.
Tabukauko : Brittle starfish.
Te borazea : Crab called Pei Tenootarei.
Teborazea : Turtle; noddy; ladybird; a brush called "hi"; and a legendary creature called "Kekenu" which is described as a "lizard three fathoms long, with a very hard skin, almost certainly alluding to an alligator or other sauurian.

Information about the totem is difficult to get. It is by no means every old man who can tell me the animal or object associated with his clan, from which it appears probable that totemism as an institution was falling into decay for some long period before the arrival of civilization in the Gilbert Islands. This is emphasized by the comment of many old men, when asked whether all the members of their clans in former days remained from
eating the flesh of their sacred animals. Their usual answer to this question is, "Those who took notice of such things were afraid to eat." This implies that many disregarded the restriction. There were one or two clans, however, in which respect for the totem seems always to have retained its full force. Of these, the most striking example is the clan of Keaki. This social group has preserved even to the present day an unconquerable aversion to eating the flesh of the Giant Ray or the Red-tailed Turkey Buzzard. Its members will still refuse even to share a pipe or a drinking vessel with a person who has been known to partake of the flesh of either of these creatures. The belief is that an offence against the totem will be visited by swellings of the skin, called iti sarasekakake. Among all the clans which have a variety of Ray or a totem, esteem for the sacred creature seems to have preserved its full strength, while those groups whose totem is the Shark are also notable in this respect. The regard for other creatures varies from island to island. For example, the Carcharodon fish called te zereha, a creature associated with four of the groups listed above, is still held in the greatest deference on Benin, Tikinai, and other southern islands, while in Abararig and the Northern Islands generally, it is hardly remembered in connection with these clans. On the other hand, the Sandemipe, a second totem of the same groups, retains a good deal of esteem in the North, while more or less disregarded (though still remembered) in the South.

The cause of such local inequalities as these may perhaps be found in the marked tendency of all the clans
to pitch upon one particular creature or object among a

group of perhaps several associated totems for especial
everation above the others. With this eclectic tendency
working towards the classification of totem into principal
and subsidiary grades, it would need nothing more than
some purely local circumstance to sway the preference in
favour of this totem or that, and in such a way it might
happen that mere accidents of environment would
establish the precedence of the Sandeman (to take a
concrete example) over the Reeba in the North, and
reverse the order of prestige in the South.

The form of respect paid to the totem naturally
differed according to its nature. A living creature must
not be eaten, killed, or injured; an edible creature must
not be eaten. The theory about eating the totem was
that it resulted in incest. The totem was flesh of a
man's flesh, it was a permanent member of his clan;
it was, in fact, the clan. If a man was
sufficiently shameless to eat his own clan, he would
not scruple afterwards to have connection with his
own sister. This is the explanation exactly as given
to me by the old man Teata of Almarrang, and corroborated
by about thirty others present at the same time.

If the totem were a tree, it must not be climbed
for fear of offending it; nor must its flowers be
picked.

A stone or a piece of coral must not be trampled
upon. The wind or the sun must not be alluded to
disrespectfully by those who claimed them as totem.

For example, in waiting at sea for a breeze, a Kalongga
man must not make an impatient remark about its tardy arrival. And this obligation of respectful speech also applied to such mythical totem creatures as the bird
from the Bemika clan, or the Kekeh of
Tabara, which necessarily had to be honored
in absence.

In accordance with the patrilineal nature of descent
in the clan, it was the father's totem which received the
greatest deference, but a man would also respect the totem
of his mother, a generally that of his wife too.

Although one might not pick the flowers of the
totem tree, it was permissible to gather up those which
fell to the ground to make wreaths of them. Such
wreaths constituted in fact the badge of a man's
social group, since no other clan was permitted to
use the flowers of that species for personal
adornment. This rule was, however, modified on the
northern islands to the extent that the right to use such
flowers could be inherited through the mother. But no such
relaxation of the custom was made in respect of the
feathers cast from the tail of the Red Tailed Tropic Bird,
which might only be worn by the clan of Keaki.

There seems to have been no occasion in the life
of a Gilbertese native when the totem was ceremonially
cut or sacrificed.

The physical connection between the clan and the totem
varies in degree. It has been seen above that in
connection with edible creatures it is very evident, the
animal being flesh of the clan's flesh. Sometimes there is
a direct tradition of descent from a totem; at other times there is a belief in descent from some person closely allied to it; in a third class of cases there is only a vague ancestral link with the creature or object, if occasionally there is none at all discoverable.

(a) Of the four totems of the Karongoa groups, although the shark seems always to have been the most universally prominent, it is from the Karongoa tree that direct descent is the more explicitly traced. Tradition states that in the darkness of chaos grew two Karongoa trees, one male and one female. Their branches intertwined in the darkness, and from the union sprang the first ancestors of Karongoa, who eventually migrated from Samoa to the Gilbert Islands.

Another tradition which clearly reflects a belief in descent from the totem is the migration story of the Tropic Bird folk, which is examined in the section dealing with the origin of the various manaia. After relating the manner of the invasion of Makia by the Tropic Bird from Samoa, the death of this creature, the tradition describes the birth of Kouera, the red-skinned brother from its decaying head. It is from the Kouera breed that the clan of Keaki is descended, the Tropic Bird being one of the totems of this group.

A third clear case of totem-descent is that of the Ahato and Maerita clans. The ancestors of these groups were Bue and his brother Pirinogo, who were themselves the sons of the Sun by their mother Mata-mona. The Sun is the most important of the three
totems of these two clans.
(b) In a slightly different category are the five clans of
Nukumafua, Teboruona, Te Bako, Karumaalita, and
Buatare. The ancestors, at the same time, the gods,
of these groups are respectively Piki-the-Eel, Tabakea-
the-Fisher, Tabuaiki-the-Whale, Bakko-the-Whale,
and Buatre: the Birdman. These ancestor-gods are
anthropomorphically conceived by natives of the present
day, but they are reputed to have had the power of
assuming the forms of the creatures connected with their
names. In every case, the totem was physically
associated with the ancestor as the totem of the clan,
thus clearly suggesting a fundamental belief in descent
from the sacred creature, or to be more exact from the
ancestor in the form of the sacred creature.
Tabuaiki-the-Whale is also the ancestor-god of the
Karumapa groups, and it is in conjunction with this being
that the whale totem is venerated by them. As I have
already shown, these groups have also a tradition of direct
descent from the Kanawa tree; we therefore have here an
example of duplication of beliefs, in which the same clans
trace lineal descent from two separate and distinct totems.
(c) The tradition of the clan of Beni-TAKURA gives us
an instance in which the sacred creature, while not a
divine ancestor, is believed to have been a close relation
of the group-progenitor. The following is a translation
of the myth as given to me by the old man Patawela
of Beni.

The text quoted Nei Rarobu was a woman of Vakanaka in the
west. She lay with the man Tangata; their first
child was the bird. Fromatang, the man eater, and their second child was Tekkaro. Tekkaro was born before his twin and his mother threw him away into the sea with the afterbirth. He floated away, and was stranded on the island of Raro. He grew up, lay with a woman of Raro, whose name was Tei Aeketang. She bore him two children, Komwenga, a man, and Tei Aofo Tui Panga, a woman.

When Komwenga and Tei Aofo Tui Panga grew up, a canoe was built for them, and they sailed eastwards away from Raro. As they went, the woman was snatched away from the canoe by a great fish called Takauna ualaba; and she went to live in throne under the sea. But Komwenga sailed the southern sea and came to the land of Samoa. There he lived, and he caused his hair to be cut and did magic to make him a fierce fighter. And when he was ready, he sailed back to Nafananaba, where his grandmother lived; and there he slew the bird. Fromatang, the man eater, for his father's brother. And he took its feathers, which were red, and its head, and put them on his head also, as a crest for his canoe. He called this canoe crest Te Pinta-waura; it is the crest of the people of Benavakura; and their totem (Ata) is the bird. Aofo Matang; and their ancestors are Komwenga, and Tekkaro the brother of Aofo Matang.

According to this tradition, therefore, the totem of the Benavakura clan is held to have been the own brother of the ancestor, a form of belief which still clearly emphasizes the physical connection between the creatures of the social group. (The next category of totem consists of those creatures of...
objects which are said to have been particularly beloved or esteemed by the ancestor-gods of the various clans, but from which there is no tradition of direct descent. These are as follows:

**Giants** of *Kaeaki* and *Tebakahana*: the creature of the ancestral goddess *Tebakahana*.

**Cockrel** of *Karangaroa* clan; beloved of the ancestor-god *Tabuaerangi*.

**Tears** of *Teo* & *Umatini* Kamanui groups: belonging to the ancestor-god *Aurakia*.

**Sandepia** & **Karangaroa fish** (*tenapani*) of *Te Bara*.

**Te Kirihirihirihiri**, **Takangi**, and **Namakamaia**: the messengers of the ancestor-god *Tabuaerangi*.

**Crab** of *Tabuaeraha*; beloved of ancestral goddess *Nei Tenatawarai*.

**Wind** of *Karangaroa* clan: one of the instruments of *Tabuaerangi*, the ancestor-god. It is difficult to understand why, on the same grounds, thunder & lightning are not also totems of this clan, since they too were believed to be directed by *Tabuaerangi*.

**Coral** of *Te Waea*: held as a totem because the ancestor-god *Te Waea*, who is sovereign of the region under the sea, is believed to have made the first coral to have used it for summoning to assembly the spirits of the underworld.

**Dodo** and the *mythical saurian* called *Teborana*, used as messengers by the ancestor-god *Tebakahana*: the *Turtle*. 
Ladybird of the same group; supposed to be the terrestrial counterpart of the turtle, which is the principal totem of this clan.

Hibiscus of the same group; reputed to have been the favourite plant of Tabakea—the Turtle.

c) We now come to a class of totems, which tradition vaguely connects with a god or an ancestor, but concerning which any suggestion of physical association with the clan that might once have existed, has been finally submerged. To this class belong:

Porpoise of Ababou & Maluoa. This creature is associated with the ancestor Bue, the story of whose visit to his father, the Sun, is exhibited elsewhere. One of the gifts made by the Sun to Bue was a ringstreaked staff called the Kauau, Kamaoo (the staff-to-kill), together with a complete set of incantations for the subjugation of the porpoise at sea. Since then, the descendants of Bue have refrained from killing the porpoise, and have made it one of their totems.

Battle Starfish of Bakarawa. Tradition says that the totem was taken in commemoration of the foolishness of the twin ancestors Baka-ma-Bono (Fool-and-Beau-Hulk).

On a day when the people of Samoa were indulging in the sport of Kaumit-Batua, i.e., the matching of small fish called batua, these two ancestors brought a battle starfish (Kiku, Hanaq) to fight for them; since when, their descendants have used this creature as a totem in remembrance of the ancestral foolishness.

Pemphee—tree of the O and Uma-fini-Kamaoue.

To the native mind, the small wrapped leaves of the Pemphee
The last category of totem is composed of creatures and plants which seem to have no connection at all with either gods or ancestors. I have no doubt that defective enquiry and the forgetfulness of informants are at least partly responsible for this lack of association. The following list may serve as a guide to others more skilled in eliciting facts:

- Bēche-de-mer (Kerariki) of Keakī
- Centipede (Koala) of Nukumāne
- Kakapo (Tāra) of Karaka
- Uriū tīree (Fragaria, sp.) of Te Wiri
- Stingray (acti f. acmata or man-headed) of Bangauma
- Porpoise of Tekotora. In connection with this, it may be remarked that the clan-ancestor, Kotua, is said by tradition to have accompanied the ancestor Rūe of Ahurō on a migration from Tārawa to Bēru. As we have seen, the porpoise is one of the totems of Rūe's descendants. It may be that Kotua was a member of Rūe's group and established a separate clan on Bēru, taking the porpoise of Rūe as a totem.

Cētūpu a Fārīkē of Tei Ati

This survey of our material has therefore shown us three totems from which direct descent in the clan is explicitly traced and five more which are hardly less clearly to be recognized as group ancestors. Of a
type very closely allied to these eight is the totem of Bunakeera from whose own brother the clan claims descent. Ten other creatures or objects venerated by various groups were seen to be closely attached by tradition to the person of ancestor-gods, while a further group of these was found, though more vaguely, to be associated with clan progenitors. Only eight remain out of thirty which cannot in one way or another be connected with the ancestor idea. It is thus abundantly manifest that the totemism of the Gilberts was underlaid by the belief in descent from the creature, plant or other object that was the object of esteem or from some person or being to whom the totem stood in an intimate relation. The services, if any, expected from the totem by the clan, were usually of a negative order. In all cases were supposed to be conditional upon the individual's observance of a proper respect towards the creature concerned. A man of Gykumanine, who habitually refrained from injuring the centipede, expected exemption from the sting of this creature, a man would even claim the power of handling it without harmful results to himself. In like manner he would be fearless of injury from the sel, another totem of his clan, while swimming in a coral-injected part of the lagoon. Members of clans possessing the shark's totem had not the horror evinced of this fish received by other folk in the community from its attack to which they pretended seems to have extended to all the species of man-eating sharks known in these waters. Abalou, Maetia and Tekotona clans similarly believed that they were not liable to the assault of the porpoise on the high
seas; they also claimed the faculty of calling the sacred
mammal to swim by their canoes and protect them from other
fierce creatures of the ocean. This protective capacity
of the porpoise is an example of active services rendered
by the totem. Another illustration of direct help is
seen in the story of Tareau's voyage to Samoa, with
his three sons, exhibited elsewhere. In this story,
the heroes were given as food by the people of Samoa
a heap of coconut husks and stalks, and were told that if
they failed to eat it they would be killed.

To surmount this difficulty, Tareau said to
his sons, 'Hide it until tonight, and then the Kekenu
will eat it.' When night came the Kekenu consumed
the unsavoury food, and so saved their lives. As we
have seen, this mythical creature is described as a
"leprous three fathoms long with a very hard skin," i.e.
that is almost certainly an alligator or other
sauran, and is the totem of the clan Teboraua.

Another example of totem helpfulness is shown in
a belief of three clans, whose creature is the Sandemipe.
These groups claim that the bird constantly watches
their coconut plantations, and will fly to warn them when
any thief comes to steal their nuts or toddy. But of all
the creatures, which are supposed to help their clansmen
in danger or trouble, the most famous is the Ray.

It is still emphatically claimed by the people of
Keka and Tebakakaka (Saint Ray), Kaoituma (Small gray
stingray), and Bananga ("man-headed" stingray) that if one
of the clan members is in danger of drowning, an immense
Ray will float to the surface beside him, and after he
has taken his seat upon it, will carry him safe to shore. There is hardly a native in the Gilberts who does not know of this belief, though there are many multitudes who are ignorant of the totems of their own clans.

There seems to be no trace in the Group of a belief in the entity of the ghost after death into the body of the totem, but throughout the islands there is a very intimate association of the sacred creatures with death. It was believed that, providing the proper ceremonial for “straightening the path” of the departing soul had been performed, it would be met by the ancestral shades of the clan totems, and conducted by them safely to the otherworld of Bouru and Matang. Some of the sacred creatures—the three species of Ray, the Turtle, the Eel and the Regelia—were considered to be the actual vehicles of the ghost, upon which it was transported to the land of shades; others—the Ten, The Yoddy, The Sandpiper and the Tropic Bird—did not carry the departed, but flew before him as he followed in the company of his ancestors.

These beliefs only applied, however, if the body was buried in the extended position with feet to westward. And this orientation of the body, on the great majority of islands, was only permissible when the relations of the deceased knew how to perform, or could pay an expert to perform, the magic bale-oliu (lighting-the-head) by which the path of the ghost was “straightened.” The orientation of the body with feet to westward enabled the departed to arise from his grave facing the west, so to proceed without confusion to the western horizon where the totem ancestors awaited him. Those who were buried with feet to north were not met
by the totem. We thus seem to have evidence of a culture complex in which belief in the totem is associated with internment of the dead in an extended position, with feet to westward, and with the magic called tuku-ali. To this complex we may also add, the organisation of society into exogamous clans with patrilineal descent and the cult of the ancestors. This will be of material help later, when the attempt will be made to disengage the elements of the various systems which seem to have interacted one upon the other, to form the resultant culture of the present Gilbertese group.

A striking feature of the totemism of the group is the frequency with which several clans together are seen to share the same set of totems. Thus, no fewer than five groups - the two Karongoua, Taumama, Anfei'Kanawa, Katanake - share between them the shark, Kanawa, Cockeel, Wind. A sixth, Te Bakoa, links itself with these by its possession of the shark. Three other clans - Te Ba, Te Kikiki & Tabrang - have in common the sandpiper or the Caramoan fish called Releka; while two more - Taburu & Maerua - share Porpoise, Sun or local. To these latter a third attaches itself by its porpoise totem, namely the

\* Note. The shark totem of Karumaeloa cannot be bracketed with that of Te Bakoa. The two creatures are distinguished traditionally by their names, the former being called Bakewa - the - Shark, the latter Taburuareki - the - Shark.
Clan of Tokokona. And lastly, the two groups called Te O and UmaMt Hamauri have in common the Reef or the Pemphi Tree.

Almost invariably, when the Totem coincide, the names of the clan-ancestors are the same. The five groups having the Shark, Kanawa, Cockrell, or Wind Totems in common, all claim Tuhuiriki or Maua Malawareiwe as their progenitors. Te Bakoa, which shares the Shark Totem with these clans also shares the ancestor-god Tuhuiriki. The three groups linked together by Sandrips or Peeta all claim descent from the same ancestor-god Tuhuirimai. Those sharing Porpoise, Sun or Coral also trace their lines back to the same pair of brothers, Bue & Rirongo. While the two Tern & Pemphi groups have the common god-ancestor Australia. There is, in fact, only one exception to this rule — that of the clan Tekokona, which has the Porpoise Totem of Abalon + Maelua, but a different ancestor. But in this case, too, tradition supplies an ancestral link, for the progenitors of Tekokona, Rotua, is named as a companion of Bue + Rirongo, Abalon + Maelua [preposit], on their migration from Tarawa to Beua. (Her story is told in another chapter.) It seems evident therefore that some close tie existed in early days between these groups.

Another noticeable feature connected with clans which share the same Totem is that their settling-places (Moti) in the manaeala are almost invariably grouped together. This becomes clear by reference to the sketch plan of the Moti in a Mareuke Manaeala.
The site was found to be the case, for instance, in a Tebavake marae, checked by me late, known, the sitting-place of Antehanawa did not appear, as that clan had no representatives on the island. In a Nauyuruba marae on Tevau, Antehanawa had its loti in the north side of Kattasaka and the five clans Kaurunga n. iea, Kaurunga nafaka, Kattasaka, Antehanawa and Tawesawa - which share the same totem and have their descent from the same ancestors - have their sitting-places ranged in a solid and continuous block along the eastern side of the edifice. The north clan off Te Babon, which has the same totem in common with these is also included in the context array.

In the same manner it is seen on the plan that the three clans of Tekilikiri, Teba & Tabiara, descended from a single ancestor - venerating the same creatures, sit in an unbroken line under the northern gable; while Maeana & Aharon, whose totem & ancestors are identical, sit together in the middle of the western side. The toto of the clan Tekotona is not shown in the sketch, and the group represented on Marakei, but in the southern islands it is placed on the northern flank of Aharon, which is what we should have expected; in view of the fact that it shares the same totem with Aharon & Maeana. Least of all, the clans of Tea & Uma & Kamaaki, who share the ancestor's god Aureiaia, - their Teva & Pemphi totems, though not side by side in the Marakei marae, are represented only by the clan of Keaki, while in
the Ta'afuarea & Bora unit, may be seen actually united, the Uma + Kamaru group on those islands taking its seat between Ta' a Keahi.

The possession of common ancestors, gods & totems obviously indicated that the closest of relations once existed between the clans concerned. It seems a reasonable inference that whenever one group of two, or three or more clans thus intimately associated may have come, they came from the same place, shared the same culture, took part in the same migration. The compact arrangement of their setting places in the Manana suggests further the most deliberate intention of keeping together in order to show, as it were, a solid front at all public or ceremonial gatherings; and this of course connotes a clear recognition of common ties & a definite will to keep them in mind.

It is therefore rather surprising to find that each of these groups is an independent exogamous unit. One would have expected that marriage would be prohibited between members of clans sharing the same totemic ancestors. But there is no such restriction. A man of Ka'ongonu may as easily marry a woman of Ka'ongonu or a female as a woman of some group with totally different ancestors & totems.

This is so much at variance with the ideas underlying the strict organisation of society into exogamous totemic groups, that it would seem at first sight to indicate that these ideas in the Helvet Islands were in an advanced stage of decay. But this certainly does not agree with the facts, for although the totemism of the group is not so clear-cut as it may have been originally, in that
a certain laxity with regard to the sacred creatures or objects is sometimes apparent. The information collected in this section shows that it still has retained a considerable force of social significance up to the arrival of European civilization; and the dominance of the idea of clan exogamy in the regulation of marriage is still one of the most striking features in the organization of the toli system.

Yet it is obvious that intermarriage between clans using the same sacred creatures must have the result of some modification of the original system—that is to say, as I am assuming to be the case, the original system of Gilbertese Tolonia was generically the same as the most typical examples to be found in Oceania, particularly in Melanesia. There are three primary processes through which such modifications might possibly have arrived. One is the fusion of cultures, in the course of which a certain number of the elements of two systems blend to form a hybrid structure, while a certain number are discarded or lost. A second possible process is that of the progressive decay or abrasion of a system under the external influence of a foreign mode of thought, which while acting as the catalytic agent giving impetus to the change, leaves no concrete elements imbedded in the organization thus affected. And a third process of social modification may take its inception from the action of material or physical necessity upon the organization of a migrant people.

It seems to be just within the range of possibility that the intermarriage of clans having
the same sacred creatures may have come about, under
certain special conditions, through the fusion of two
social systems. Suppose the Gilbert Islands to have
been overrun by an immigrant people having a
culture very similar to that of the invaded folk, and
being, in fact, a branch of the same original race,
with its social institutions only slightly differentiated
by residence elsewhere: in such circumstances, both
invaders and invaded might be found to acknowledge the
same ancestors and gods, to venerate the same
totems, and to have preserved approximately the
same sitting-places in their respective manecas.
In the setting down that would follow the immigra-
tion, a reorganization of the toli in the manecas
would take place; the conquering immigrants would wish
to keep their own hereditary stations, and they
would also desire to keep their clans separate and
distinct from the corresponding clans of the
conquered; at the same time, it would be the
aim of the conquered to retain as far as possible
their ancient toli, and they would take places
as near to them as the space needs of the
immigrants permitted. In this way it might happen
that groups of several clans, having identical
totems and ancestors, would be found sitting
side by side in the manecas. Intermarriage
between such clans would be rendered
possible by the refusal of the immigrants to
recognize such close relationship with the
clans of the conquered and would be implied
by an admission of the strict prohibitions of
Hogom.
An incentive to such an attitude of the immigrants would be their need for a wide scope in the selection of spouses, since probably but few women would have accompanied their migration. That such an explanation of the problem is within the range of possibility appears from an examination of Gilbertese tradition, which leads us to the conclusion that the Samoan invaders of the group, some twenty-five generations ago, were but the returning remnant of a swarm which had passed through and colonised these islands centuries earlier on its way to Samoa. Such a return, after some centuries of separate social development, of a people having the same ancestry as the invaded, gives us the conditions postulated in the foregoing hypothesis. Nevertheless, although a duplication of clans owning identical totems, accompanied by a possibility of intermarriage between them, might be satisfactorily explained by such a combination of circumstances as I have suggested (and actually did take place), it is difficult to see how the same conditions can have been wholly responsible for a multiplication into six, as illustrated by the Karangao and associated groups. While bearing
Securing in mind, therefore, that the return from Samoa of a body of people having a social organisation closely related to that of the Autochthonous Gilbertese may have been one of the causes of an increase in the number of clans reverencing the same totems, and may at the same time have contributed towards the facilitation of intertribal marriage among them, we cannot regard it as the sole cause of such social phenomena, nor indeed, I think, as the principal one.

The second process suggested by which the modification of Totemic polygamy might have been set in motion is that of the progressive decay of a social scheme under the external influence of a foreign mode of thought. But as I have already pointed out, the rigours of Totemic ideas in the Gilbertese up to the coming of European civilisation seems to put this proposal out of court.

We are left with the third suggestion, that the condition under our observation came about in answer to the pressure of material and physical necessity of a migrant people. If it was indeed due to such causes it seems to follow that it must have been a deliberately adopted social expedient—in fact, a primitive sociological experiment—since a material
and physical necessity is consciously felt, and as such remedied.

The suggestion that I offer is that the multiplication of social groups having the same totems and ancestors, together with the permissibility of marriage between them, were modifications of the social system deliberately adopted to evade difficulties connected with marriage. Two difficulties of this kind would face a not very numerous swarm of people with a marriage system based on totonexogamy, such as I suppose the immigrants of Samoa into the groups to have been.

First, it is almost certain that only a limited number of women would accompany them; and second, if fresh traditional evidence analysed in another section leads us to suppose such immigrants were only a fragment of the race that was dispersed from Samoa, it is also probable that only a limited number of clans reached the group. A strict adherence, under such conditions, to the rigid system of totonexogamy would render it impossible for many of the young men to find wives at all. This difficulty would find an easy solution if the people found by the immigrants were of another race, with a different social organization; for in this case there would be no restriction on the choice of wives from among autochthonous folk. But our traditional evidence has led us to the conclusion that the invaders from Samoa were a returned branch of the same race as that which inhabited the Gilbert Islands: they therefore must have found on arrival many of the exogamous clans which they themselves represented, and with which they consequently could not contract marriages, if they
adhered strictly to custom. It may be argued that this again would constitute no real difficulty, as there were probably plenty of other local clans with which alliances would be permissible. But in answer to this particular emphasis must be laid upon the point that the present clan system, of which we are analysing the peculiarities, is essentially a one-island system: it was developed on the single atoll of Bener, a spread through the whole group (with the exception of Bulukuluni - Manam), by the Bener swarm which, ten generations ago, established conquering chiefs on every unit of the archipelago. Without a single exception, the clans of the 13 islands thus conquered trace their descent from a Bener conqueror. Our task is thus to search for the possible causes that led to certain social modifications on a single unit of the group, namely Bener, as a result of the immigration from Samoa some 25 generations ago.

Within the narrower limits of a single island, it is easy to conceive that only a restricted number of the social groups then existing (if many did exist) were represented. We have only to imagine the arrival on such an island of a relatively numerous body of immigrants, whose own women were very few, whose social groups coincided with most of those found in occupation, in order to discover a possible reason for the multiplication of clans having the same totems or ancestors, and for the breaking down of prohibitions of inter-marriage between them. First, the large addition to the male population would create an immediate local shortage of potential wives: there would not be enough.
women to go round uninvaded & invaded. And second, among the few local clans into which marriage, by strict custom, would be permissible, the immigrants alone would find little scope for the selection of wives. If the principles of rigid inter-exogamy were adhered to, there would be no cure for the difficulty.

I suggest that deliberate expedients were adopted to meet the emergency. The first may have been that suggested earlier in this discussion, namely, the refusal of the immigrants to recognize such close relationship with the clans of the invaded as would prohibit the members of their own corresponding clans from intermarriage with them. Such a resource would result in the duplication of intermarriageable local groups; and these groups would probably acquire different names in the course of time, if indeed their separate local histories had not already resulted in a disparity of names at the epoch of the return from Samoa.

This artificial enlargement of the scope in which a wife could be sought might possibly satisfy the immediate wants of the immigrants, but only if they monopolised the women of the island at the expense of the marriageable men among the autochthones. And we can hardly suppose that it was only the newcomers who entered into a marriage relation at this time. Further, even if they did create such a monopoly, the great surplus of men over women would make itself felt not only in that but in the succeeding generation, while the prohibitions attaching to consanguinity, as a concept entirely distinct from that of clan organisation, would