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Tobacco and Its Use in Africa

BY
BERTHOLD LAUFER, WILFRID D. HAMBLY,
and RALPH LINTON

6 Plates in Photogravure

FIELD MUSEUM
OF NATURAL HISTORY
CHICAGO

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
CHICAGO
1930
The Anthropological Leaflets of Field Museum are designed to give brief, non-technical accounts of some of the more interesting beliefs, habits and customs of the races whose life is illustrated in the Museum's exhibits.

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STEPHEN C. SIMMS, DIRECTOR

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
CHICAGO, U. S. A.
Priest of the Hill Angas Smoking a Large Pipe.
From a photograph by C. K. Meek.
Tobacco and Its Use in Africa

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THE INTRODUCTION OF TOBACCO INTO AFRICA

In 1683 a curious pamphlet in French of thirty pages was published at Cologne by Pierre Marteau. It bears the title "Institution et status de l'ordre des chevaliers de la cajote." Its author was a French officer whose name appears at the end of the preface—De la Motte. The story he has to tell is briefly as follows.

Several French officers met at Hanover and took their meals in the tavern of the widow La Roche (à l'auberge de la Veve la Roche). They were in the habit of passing a tobacco-box around after their meals to prolong conversation through this harmless pleasure. One of the officers, who for a long time had traveled in Africa, proposed to his friends to smoke in African fashion; that is, all together from the same pipe, which had a very large bowl perforated in several places; ten or twelve tubes being inserted into these holes and permitting as many persons to smoke simultaneously. As this manner of using tobacco was considered more entertaining than that then prevailing in Europe, the whole company applauded this proposition. It was therefore resolved to adopt the African custom and to name the society Order of the Cajote, as the tobacco-pipe is thus styled by the Africans. These officers then organized into an order, and "the high and venerable Seigneur brother" De la Motte was instructed to draw up rules and regulations of the order of "the Chevaliers de la Cajote." These are fifty-five in number and occupy the greater part of the booklet, which winds up with a poem in honor of tobacco. Rule 52 provides that ordinary "individual" pipes are rejected by the brethren and are prohibited in their meetings, where the cajote rules supreme. Snuff and chewing were likewise forbidden. It
is noteworthy to see this African custom of communal pipe-smoking adopted by French officers as early as in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

In view of the wide diffusion of the tobacco plant over Africa and the many peculiar types of tobacco-pipes evolved by African peoples it has often been asserted that tobacco is a native of the continent. In Asia, however, the cultivation is as widely diffused as in Africa, and is even more intense; and as I have shown in "Tobacco and Its Use in Asia" (Leaflet 18), all civilized nations of Asia have preserved detailed records as to the introduction of the tobacco plant in two species (Nicotiana tabacum and N. rustica) into their respective countries in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The question of the origin and development of smoking pipes has nothing to do with the history and distribution of the tobacco plants as botanical species. The fact is now perfectly well established by both botanical and historical evidence that the home of the two species of Nicotiana mentioned is in America. In the same manner as these were introduced from America into Europe and Asia, so they were transmitted to Africa. I have stated that while Asia owes the tobacco plant to America, it owes nothing to America in regard to smoking utensils; for Asiatics have exerted their own ingenuity and produced their smoking apparatus from resources wholly their own. The same statement, with a grain of salt, may be applied to the peoples of Africa who, while at first working after models furnished by Portuguese and Hollanders, display a great deal of acumen and originality in the manufacture of their tobacco-pipes and in their smoking customs.

One of the bulwarks in the arguments of those who have pleaded an African origin of Nicotiana was a casual statement of G. Schweinfurth (The Heart of Africa, I, p. 255) to the effect that N. rustica might be indigenous.
Recently, however, Schweinfurth himself (Festschrift Seler, 1922, p. 532) has conceded that this was an unfounded supposition to which no value should any longer be attached. In the article referred to in which the cultivated plants transmitted from Africa to America and from America to Africa are discussed Schweinfurth champions unequivocally the introduction into Africa of the two Nicotiana species from America, but narrows the routes of transmission to those leading from Europe and Asia to Africa, while there can be no doubt that the Portuguese brought tobacco directly from Brazil and Portugal to West Africa. This is now the consensus of opinion among those most competent to judge, especially those botanists who have studied the cultivated plants of Africa, as the Count De Ficalho (Plantas uteis da Africa portugueza Lisbon, 1884, p. 233), O. Warburg (in A. Engler, Nutzpflanzen Ost-Afrikas, 1895, pp. 255-261), and F. Stuhlmann in his fundamental work “Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte von Ostafrika” (pp. 367-374).

The fact that the Negroes do not understand how to cultivate tobacco properly and hardly know anything about curing the leaf, and prefer imported tobacco to that of native growth is sufficient proof for the foreign origin of the plant. G. Schweinfurth (The Heart of Africa, II, p. 214) remarks, “In Egypt the Virginian tobacco can be made to grow leaves as large as the palm of one’s hand, but in the Negro districts the whole produce is quite diminutive. Negroes always sow tobacco under cover before they plant it out; the midday sun of central Africa is too powerful for the seed, which infallibly perishes in a parched soil.”

Reporting a plant otherwise cultivated as “growing wild” was formerly one of the favorite sports and fads of travelers. Numerous plants have the tendency to escape from cultivation and even to become seemingly spontaneous and naturalized in the midst of the native
flora. American plants like the cashew (*Anacardium occidentale*), the papaya (*Carica papaya*), the guava (*Psidium guayava*), tomato and pineapple, and others all grow seemingly wild in Africa, India, and other tropical regions of the Old World. The guava has escaped from cultivation in such enormous numbers that it forms a characteristic plant of certain floristic regions of Africa. The pineapple is "wild" in Zanzibar in immense quantities, and is encountered in every hedge and thicket; it is likewise "wild" in the forests of Assam and Ceylon, and yet is still known to the natives under the Brazil-Portuguese term *ananas*. The same holds good for Nicotiana: wherever in Africa it was formerly reported "wild" by travelers and botanists, it is but seemingly wild and a fugitive from the hands of man. It produces an enormous number of small seeds which are easily disseminated and propagate themselves spontaneously almost in any soil.

It remains to be considered also that Nicotiana is not the only genus of plants that reached Africa from America, but that there are at least about eighty others which were transmitted from America to Africa alike in the great age of maritime enterprise and colonial expansion and which are listed in the article of Schweinfurth cited above. The most important of these are maize, manihot, batata or sweet potato, three species of bean (*Phaseolus*), tomato, peanut, papaya, guava, pineapple, four species of *Anona*, alligator pear, cashew, passion flower, several species of *Capsicum*, cacao, vanilla, agave.

Following are the arguments in the case to be presented from the standpoint of the historian. The plants cultivated in the soil of Africa in ancient and mediaeval times are perfectly well known to us. Plant remains found in Egyptian tombs and plants depicted on Egyptian monuments have been most carefully investigated and studied, and have familiarized us thoroughly with the flora and agriculture of ancient Egypt. No trace of any Nicotiana
or of any habit of smoking has ever been discovered there. As to mediaeval times, Arabic travelers and geographers supply us with valuable notes on the cultivated plants of many parts of northern and eastern Africa, and these Arabic records contain no mention of tobacco. There is no European account of Africa written prior to the discovery of America that alludes to anything like tobacco. No reference to tobacco in Africa is made at an earlier date than about a century after the discovery of America. In 1485 the Portuguese discovered the Congo. In 1498 Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope on his way to India. In 1505 the Portuguese laid the foundation of their East-African empire with the occupation of Sofala. In 1506 they discovered the island of Madagascar, and in 1574 they founded the colony of Angola.

None of the early Portuguese navigators touching the west coast of Africa and none of the Portuguese historians relating the expeditions to India lisps a word about tobacco in Africa. Varthema, when he returned from India to Portugal in 1508, sailed around the African continent, touching the new Portuguese possessions, but does not mention tobacco anywhere. Alvares de Almada, who wrote in 1594 a detailed account of Guinea, passes tobacco over with silence; and from this absence of testimony the Count De Ficalho concludes that the introduction of tobacco into Guinea did not take place before the beginning of the seventeenth century.

It is pointed out by several authors that there is no specific account with reference to the introduction of tobacco into Africa. This is not to be wondered at, as Africa is not simply a country, but a continent of vast extent. Moreover, the introduction was not just a single event; the plants or their seeds were deposited at many different localities of the north, west, south, and east coasts at different times by various nations—chiefly the Portuguese, Hollanders, and Arabs. From the coastal
points the plant spread rapidly over various routes into the interior of the continent, penetrating to its very center.

One of the earliest accounts of tobacco-smoking in Africa is due to William Finch, who visited Sierra Leone in 1607 (Purchas, IV, p. 4): "Tobacco is planted about every man's house, which seemeth half their food: the bowl of their tobacco-pipe is very large, and stands right upward, made of clay well burnt in the fire. In the lower end thereof they thrust in a small hollow cane, a foot and a half long, through which they suck it, both men and women drinking the most part down, each man carrying in his snap-sack a small purse (called tuffio) full of tobacco, and his pipe. The women do the like in their wrappers, carrying the pipe in their hands. Unto their tobacco they add nothing but rather take from it: for I have seen them straining forth the juice of the leaves, being green and fresh, before they cut and dry it (making signs that otherwise it would make them drunk), then do they shred it small, and dry it on a sherd upon the coals."

O. F. von der Groeben (Guineische Reise-Beschreibung, 1694, p. 19), who visited the Guinea coast in 1682-83, writes, "The inhabitants of Sierra Leone smoke tobacco—men, women, and children indiscriminately, and are so fond of its fumes that they inhale them not only at daytime, but also at night hang small bags of tobacco around their necks like a precious gem."

O. Dapper, in his "Description of Africa" (1686, pp. 231, 236), writes that in the kingdom of Zenega [Senegal] or country of the Jalofes [Jolofs] tobacco thrived very well, but people did not take pains in cultivating it; if the inhabitants were workmen, he adds, they would harvest tobacco and all sorts of plants and grains in abundance. In the village Gerup, a market was held every fourth day for the sale of clothing, cotton, slaves, tobacco, horses, camels, and cattle. According to the same author,
tobacco succeeded very well along the river Gambia and above Cassan, and the Portuguese of Juala and Catcheo went there to freight it on sloops. The Negroes of Cape Verde, Refrisco, Porto d’Ale and Juala traveled to Tinda, Tondeba, and Tankerval to purchase tobacco.

J. Ogilby, in his work "Africa" (1670, pp. 355, 371), informs us, "All along the banks of Gambia and about Cassan, tobacco grows plentifully, which the Portugals fetch with sloops both green and dried, without making up in rolls. The islands Los Idolos, stretching along the coast of Sierra Leone, afford good tobacco."

According to Richard Jobson, who in 1620-21 made a journey on the river Gambia into the interior in quest of gold, the Mandingos received their tobacco from Portuguese slave-traders of Brazil. Stubbs, who traveled in the same region in 1624, saw the Negroes there grow tobacco near their habitations.

Tobacco was extensively grown in Guinea at the end of the seventeenth century, as we learn from W. Bosman's account (Voyage de Guinée, p. 319, London, 1705). He describes the plant as being two feet high, with leaves a hand wide and two or three hands long, and white flowers. "The stench of this villainous herb," he writes, "was so horrible that it was impossible for a sensitive person to be near a smoking Negro. All of them smoked, but those who lived in the Dutch territory and daily communicated with the whites, used Portuguese or rather Brazil tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum), which is a bit better and yet smells horribly. Some Negroes had pipes made of reeds more than six feet long, with bowls of stone or clay, in which they placed two or three handfuls of tobacco and had no difficulty in smoking out a pipe thus loaded without stopping. Men and women were so passionately fond of tobacco that they gladly sacrificed their last penny to get it, and would rather hunger than be without it."

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It will be noticed that Bosman discriminates between the two species, *Nicotiana rustica* and *N. tabacum*. It appears that the former was introduced at an earlier date, probably by the Portuguese, who cultivated it in Lisbon as early as 1558 (Leaflet 19, p. 49). This rustic species, owing to the extreme strength and intense narcotic qualities which it possesses, has always endeared itself to the Negro. I am inclined to think that the latter was introduced by the Portuguese from Portugal in the latter part of the sixteenth century and that *N. tabacum* followed a little later from Brazil.

The Capuchin missionary Girolamo Merolla, in his “Relazione del viaggio nel regno di Congo nell’ Africa meridionale” (Naples, 1692, p. 460), gives as the native Congo name for tobacco the word *fumu* (“smoke,” adopted from the Portuguese *fumo*, still used in Brazil). In Plate XIV of his book he figures a Congo “cavalier” (*cavaliere*) and “lady” (*dama*) puffing away clouds of smoke from a long-stemmed pipe. It is interesting to note that Merolla lists four Portuguese words as Congo names of American cultivated plants—*casciu* (Portuguese *caju*), the cashew; *guaiavas*, the guava; *mandioca*; and *mamão* (Portuguese *mamão*), the papaya.

In 1652 the Hollanders took possession of the Cape of Good Hope when Johann van Riebeck founded the first settlement there. Immediately the cultivation of tobacco was taken up there by the Hollanders. The Hottentots soon adopted the habit of smoking and took a great delight in it. W. Ten Rhyne (Churchill’s Collection, IV, p. 768), who traveled in Capeland in 1673, saw men and women, children and old men indulge in tobacco. Several eye-witnesses report that the love of a Hottentot woman could be obtained for a pipeful of tobacco (G. Meister, Der orientalische Kunst-Gaertner, 1692, p. 30; F. Leguat, Voyages et avantures, 1708, II, p. 160). La Loubere (Du royaume de Siam, 1691, II, p. 134) hints at the fact that
the passion for tobacco and brandy induced the natives to admit the Hollanders into their country and made the Hottentots dance at their will (les fait danser tant qu'on veut). The Abbé De Choisy (Journal du voyage de Siam, 1687, p. 77), who stopped at the Cape in 1685, says not unjustly, "The Hollanders gradually advance into the country which they buy up with tobacco." For the sake of tobacco the poor and unsophisticated Hottentot was ready to do anything. For a handful of the leaves he was then willing to work a whole day (Leguat, p. 157). Men of the Dutch Company purchased an ox or a sheep from the natives for tobacco in ropes or coils an inch thick by measuring with this rope from the front of the beast to the end of the tail (Leguat, p. 161).

William Dampier (A New Voyage Round the World, 1697, chap. 19), who visited the Cape of Good Hope in 1691, gives this account: "I am told by my Dutch landlord that they kept sheep and bullocks here before the Dutch settled among them; and that the Inland Hottentots have still great stocks of cattle and sell them to the Dutch for rolls of tobacco: and that the price for which they sell a cow or sheep was as much twisted tobacco as would reach from the horns or head to the tail; for they are great lovers of tobacco and will do anything for it."

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that prior to the arrival of the Hollanders the Hottentot was not acquainted with tobacco.

The Portuguese may have introduced tobacco into Madagascar after their discovery of the island in 1506. Arabic and Persian seafarers and traders also may have apparently had an equal share in bringing tobacco to the island and the ports of East Africa, as proved by the early appearance there of the water-pipe which originated in Persia. In 1638 Peter Mundy (Travels, III, p. 384) found tobacco growing in Madagascar. Etienne de Flacourt, who was French Governor of Fort Dauphin on Madagascar
from 1648 to 1655, states in his "Histoire de la grande isle de Madagascar" published in 1661 (pp. 30, 101, 143) that "the petun or tabacq or nicotien thrives everywhere and results in the best tobacco of the world; tobacco-pipes were made of bamboo, and a pipe was buried with the dead." He also refers to tobacco cultivation on the islands of Sainte-Marie and Bourbon. On the former fourteen Frenchmen cultivated the herb as early as 1645 (Grandidier, Collection des ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar, III, p. 203).

The water-pipe was propagated in Egypt and over many other tracts of Africa by the Arabs. As early as 1626 Thomas Herbert found the hooka in use among the inhabitants of Mohilla, one of the four islands forming the Comoro group. In 1638 it was noticed by Peter Mundy, who describes it as being the end of a horn with a short pipe or cane to the end of which they apply a mouthpiece (see Leaflet 18, p. 28).

The countries along the north coast of Africa were supplied with tobacco by European mariners, the Osmans, and the Arabs. One of the earliest references to the use of tobacco in Northwest Africa I have found occurs in the work of Pierre Dan (Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires, 1636, p. 282), who vividly describes the idleness of the men in the bazars and coffee-houses (he describes the preparation and effects of coffee as a novelty), where they spent whole days and nights on drinking coffee and smoking tobacco (souffler le petun). In Algeria oriental types of Nicotiana were grown for a long time before the French occupation. The first French colonists introduced a considerable number of varieties; but only one of these, believed to be derived from Paraguay stock, is now extensively cultivated (Kearney and Means, Agricultural Explorations in Algeria, p. 85, Washington, 1905).

Tobacco became known in Turkey toward the end of the sixteenth century (see Leaflet 19, p. 61) and rapidly
spread over the whole empire of the Osmans. E. W. Lane, in his classical book "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians" (1871, II, p. 30), writes, "It appears that tobacco was introduced into Turkey, Arabia, and other countries of the East shortly before the beginning of the seventeenth century of the Christian era: that is, not many years after it had begun to be regularly imported into western Europe as an article of commerce from America." He also cites an Arabic author, El Is-haki, as stating that the custom of smoking tobacco began to be common in Egypt between the years 1601 and 1603. It is curious that in a story of the Arabian Nights (No. 976) is mentioned a powder resembling snuff; but in the opinion of E. Littmann, the eminent orientalist and the latest and most conscientious translator of the Nights, this entire story, in which a coffee-house and coffee-drinking also are referred to, originated in Egypt as late as the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

It may not be amiss to cite here the following judicious observation of Lane: "It may further be remarked, in the way of apology for the pipe, as employed by the Turks and Arabs, that the mild kinds of tobacco generally used by them have a very gentle effect; they calm the nervous system, and, instead of stupefying, sharpen the intellect. The pleasures of Eastern society are certainly much heighted by the pipe, and it affords the peasant a cheap and sober refreshment, and probably often restrains him from less innocent indulgences."

From the marginal countries of the Mediterranean shore tobacco was gradually transplanted into the interior of Africa by the caravan trade. The caravans annually outfitted from Cairo transmitted the product to Nubia, Dongola, Senar, Kordofan, Darfur, and into the countries of the Sudan. The caravans dispatched from Tripolis, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco freighted it to Biladulgerid and Fezzan as well as into the oases of the Sahara. Over
the trade routes traversing the desert tobacco penetrated to Timbuktu, Sakatu, Kashna, Bornu, Kanem, and Borgu, where it was highly esteemed and bartered for gold and ivory.

In 1895 the cultivation of tobacco was prohibited in Egypt and in the eastern Sudan, and has been suppressed there ever since.

Schweinfurth has already observed that "it is a great indication of the foreign origin of the tobacco plant that there is not a tribe from the Niger to the Nile which has a native word of their own to denote it. . . . The people ring every kind of change upon the root word and call it tab, tabba, tabdeet, or tom." In Hausa it is taba (Dalziel, Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, p. 90), likewise so in Tuareg, Sennar, Bornu and Darfur, Uganda and Unyoro. In Senegambia the designation for tobacco is tamaka, in Tigre (Abyssinia) tombak, in Somali tumbak, in Galla tambo.

The custom of smoking hemp, either alone or blended with tobacco, is widely diffused over Africa, as may be read in the following chapter. Hemp was introduced into East Africa from India through the medium of the Arabs, as has well been demonstrated by Count De Ficalho (Plantas uteis da Africa portugueza, p. 264), and from the Arabs the Negroes learned the narcotic properties of hemp. João dos Santos (Ethiopia oriental, 1586) testifies that hemp was cultivated throughout Caftraria and that the Kafirs called it by its Indian name bangue (bangh), as it is still called in the region of Zanzibar (Suaheli banghi). The most interesting point in this early Portuguese account is that in the sixteenth century the Kafirs only ate the hemp-leaves, but did not smoke them as they do at present; they could subsist merely on this leaf for several days without eating anything else, our Portuguese author informs us, but when they consumed much of it, they became intoxicated to such a degree as though they had taken a large quantity of wine.
Peter Kolbe, in his classical "Description of the Cape of Good Hope" (III, p. 290, Amsterdam, 1742) states that hemp was introduced to the Cape by the Hollanders and that it was exclusively grown by them, chiefly for the use of the natives. These, he writes, smoked the seeds and leaves of hemp like tobacco or sometimes mixed tobacco with hemp—a mixture called by them _buspach_. W. Paterson (Narrative of Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots and Caffraria, 1790, p. 94) found the native women cultivate tobacco and hemp and classifies these among the plants "which are not indigenous to their country and none of which he found growing spontaneously." It is interesting to note also that Paterson (p. 23) refers to _Mesembryanthemum acinaciforme_ L. (family _Ficoideae_), known to us as the Hottentot fig, which he writes "is called _channa_ by the natives and is exceedingly esteemed among them, being used both in chewing and in smoking; when mixed with the _dacka_ (‘hemp’), it is very intoxicating; it appeared to be of that species of hemp which is used in the East Indies by the name of _bang_." This plant Paterson found in a barren stretch of country near the Krome River in the Cape Colony, which he visited in 1777 and which was then called Channa Land (on his accompanying map: Canna Land). This _channa_ or _canna_ seems to be based on a foreign word of the type of Latin _cannabis_, Spanish _cañamo_, Portuguese _canhamo_, _cannamo_ (_canaves_, "hemp-field"), Old Portuguese _alcanave_ or _alaneve_ (showing in its connection with the Arabic article _al_ its derivation from the Arabic); Persian _kanab_, Arabic _qanab_, Dutch _hennep_ and _kennep_.

It should be added that hemp is used in Africa solely as a narcotic, nowhere as a fiber plant. It is at present cultivated down to the land of the Zulus in the south, and is also well acclimatized in the tropical zone. The leaves and immature seeds are simply dried in the sun. As formerly pointed out by me (Leaflet 18, p. 27), there
1, 2, 7, 8, Clay Pipes; and 3, Pipe with Bowl of Cast Brass. Cameroon, West Africa.
4, Water-pipe; and 5, 6, Wooden Pipes. Ovimbundu, Angola.
The Introduction of Tobacco into Africa

is no historical evidence for the opinion that hemp-smoking preceded tobacco-smoking. Neither for ancient India where the use of hemp as a narcotic originated, nor for the Islamic world do we have a single account of hemp-smoking in times anterior to the introduction of tobacco. It is quite certain that the smoking of hemp from a pipe came into vogue only as an imitation of tobacco pipe-smoking, while in earlier times hemp preparations were merely taken internally, either in the form of pills or liquids.

Ibn al-Baitar (1197-1248), an Arabic botanist born at Malaga in Spain and author of a famous treatise on pharmacology, was well familiar with the narcotic effects of hemp, but does not make any mention of hemp-smoking. He encountered the Indian hemp (qunnab hindi) only in Egypt, where it was sown in gardens, being called hashisha. He observed that it intoxicates those who even take a small quantity of it. He saw the fakirs use it in various manners. Some carefully boiled the leaves and then pressed them into a paste which was made into tabloids. Others dried the leaves, roasted them and triturated them with their hands, mixing them with a little sesame or sugar. This compound was placed in the mouth and slowly masticated, causing excitement and hilarity. It also resulted in intoxication and fits of folly. It appears that hemp was introduced into Egypt by the Arabs from India and Persia.

In Madagascar hemp was smoked in the middle of the seventeenth century, as related by E. de Flacourt (Histoire de la grande isle de Madagascar, p. 145), who gives a vivid description of the pernicious effect of the drug and also refers to the use of the leaf in India, where he says it is called bangue. The Malagasy name given by him, ahets-mangha (ahets means “herbs”), is doubtless based on the Indian bhanga.

Berthold Laufer
USE OF TOBACCO IN AFRICA

Although there may be differences of opinion as to when and how the tobacco habit spread in Africa, there is not the slightest reason for doubting the enjoyment which is derived by the entire native population from the use of tobacco. Smoking, snuffing, and chewing are widespread practices. In addition to these there is the use of a water-pipe for smoking hemp or possibly a mixture of tobacco and hemp.

The majority of smokers in civilized countries associate the use of a tobacco-pipe with leisurely ease and protracted enjoyment, but in Africa, on the contrary, the aim appears to be rapid intoxication; for even when hemp is not used, the smoker inhales deeply and rapidly in order to produce a comatose condition. Just before this delectable achievement the pipe is handed to the next man in the circle.

Africans regard tobacco as something more than a trivial amusement; in fact, the tobacco habit is often closely connected with public observances, social etiquette, and recognition of difference of rank. The rules regulating the particular way in which tobacco may be used are of a local and arbitrary kind. Thus, the prevalence of smoking, chewing, or snuffing, and the customs determining the employment of tobacco in relation to rank, sex, and age, are of very irregular distribution throughout the continent.

On the contrary, there is a possibility that the use of the water-pipe has, owing to Arab conquest and trading, made an advance along definable routes. Possibly this form of pipe, which is usually associated with hemp-smoking in Africa, made its entry from Asia at one or more points on the coast of east Africa. The pipe is the [ 178 ]
same in principle in all parts of the continent, though there is great variety of form, and much ingenuity is shown in adapting local materials such as horns, earthenware, gourds, and bamboo for the construction.

The water-pipe has been reported in Abyssinia. It is often found in East Africa from Lake Victoria to Zanzibar. Zulus of South Africa are addicted to its use. In recent years the smoking of hemp in water-pipes has been reported from the southern Congo, Angola, and as far west as Liberia. Along the coast of North Africa and in towns of the Nile valley the nargileh is a form of water-pipe more elaborate and ornamental than any found in other parts of the continent.

The social importance of tobacco is in no way more deserving of attention than are agricultural and commercial aspects of production and distribution. The work of cultivating the domestic tobacco-patch, like all other agricultural operations, falls to the lot of women who generally utilize a piece of waste land where rubbish has been thrown quite near the dwelling. A technique of treatment, for example, planting out young shoots, removal of superfluous foliage, and subsequent drying of the leaves has been evolved. Then, there are local methods of packing the leaves into conical or cylindrical bundles forming a ready currency which has been used in barter over large areas.

In order to understand the importance of tobacco in native life, there is no way better than that of visiting the homes of tribes in many parts of the African continent.

People in Egypt and northern Africa use the hubble-bubble, a water-pipe around which sit the bazar traders complacently smoking in the intervals between the fleecing of one purchaser and another. This is, of course, a modern social use of tobacco without any ritualistic or other import. There has been great divergence of opinion in the Mohammedan world with regard to the permissi-
bility of smoking. Mohammed placed an interdiction on the use of alcohol, but the extension of the prohibition to the use of tobacco is fanciful as the introduction of tobacco into the Old World post-dated the writing of the Koran by ten centuries. Nevertheless there are fanatics, such as the Wahbis of Arabia and the Senussis of Libya, who abhor the use of tobacco and, stranger still, their prejudice extends to the use of coffee.

Tobacco is said to have been brought into Morocco toward the end of the sixteenth century by traders from the town of Timbuktu, a great mediaeval emporium of trade on the northern bend of the Niger. The initial prejudice against the use of tobacco gradually broke down, to be revived again in 1887, when large stocks of the plant were publicly burnt in Morocco. Imprisonments for smoking followed this demonstration, but the interdiction failed through the lack of public support, so that cigarette-smoking is now prevalent again. Native Moorish tobacco of poor quality is grown on the slopes of hills, but the smoker is prone to give flavor to his product by mixing it with Indian hemp (*Cannabis indica*). This compound which is ordinarily called hashish is smoked in a small pipe with a clay bowl and a wooden stem. When used as a sweetmeat ball, a pellet of the mixed herbs is referred to as *m’joon*. The Moorish word for a hemp-smoker is *kiyaf*. Such a one may be readily recognized by the pallor of his face, his half-closed eyes, and listless attitude. Victims of this drug habit are found to suffer moral degeneration, which makes them utterly untrustworthy and unreliable. Opium is eaten by aristocratic Moors of large towns, who would scorn to be seen using the humble pipe with its charge of hemp and tobacco.

Away from the coastal region of Morocco few Moors are to be seen without their snuff-box; the snuffing habit appears to be confined to the men who follow a very general custom of mixing the tobacco dust with powdered
3, Snuff-box. The clip is placed on the nose after snuff has been taken. When not in use, it is placed on the ear. From a photograph by Wollaston. 4, Use of the Rifle as a Pipe in East Africa. From a sketch by Frobenius. 5, Water-pipe. Lower Congo.
shells of walnut-wood ashes. The snuff is laid along the back of the hand from the tip of the index finger, and after this careful preliminary half the length of the train is snuffed by each nostril. Moorish snuff-boxes are often made from young coconuts furnished with ivory probes as stoppers. Decorative designs are added by inlaid silver wire; a high polish is given, and finally a silver chain is added for suspension.

Oscar Lenz, writing in 1884, describes the equipment of smokers in Timbuktu. The pipes had wooden bowls ornamented with inlaid silver, the mouthpiece was of iron, and a string was added for suspension round the neck. The smoker’s outfit included a pipe cleaner, pincers for applying a glowing coal to the tobacco, and in some instances flint, steel, and tinder. This traveler quaintly remarks that “he could hardly trust his own eyes,” when he saw the smokers rolling their tobacco with butter before charging their pipes. One can well believe the assertion that the taste and smell are so abominable that a stranger cannot smoke the greasy mixture. At that time in the French Sudan snuff was not unknown, for the commodity was used in the form of a pungent yellow powder which men carried in ornamented leather pouches.

Saharan trade routes were used by camel caravans long before historical times; so there has been ample opportunity for the Tuaregs, who are great traders and adventurers, to become acquainted with the use of tobacco. Recently written accounts indicate that the Tuaregs of Air in the southwestern Sahara do not smoke; their use of tobacco is restricted to snuffing and chewing. When the latter custom is followed, green tobacco is reduced to a powder and mixed with saltpetre “to bring out the taste.” Snuff placed in the eyes of camels suffering from congestion of blood in the head is said to give relief to the animals.

In the year 1795 Mungo Park penetrated far into the interior of West Africa, where he found the inhabitants of
Kaarta and Bambarra addicted to the use of tobacco and snuff among all social grades. The pipe-stems were made of wood to which a curious bowl of earthenware was added. At that early date in the opening-up of West African trade, bars of tobacco formed one of the number of articles, such as gin, gun-flints, and gun-powder, each of which had a certain value in relation to native products, the most valuable of which were gold dust and ivory.

The kingdom of Dahomey, now under French administration, has always been of particular interest to students of West Africa. From the fifteenth century onward this coastal province was a striking example of a great despotism. The king, who was absolute, waged incessant warfare with neighboring states. The military system, which included a band of women known as Amazons, was a triumph of military organization. A very reluctant guest of the king was Skertchly, who in 1871 was kept for some months as an honored prisoner and companion to his majesty. Close confinement to the royal compound caused the naturalist to lament that he was unable to pursue his studies in botany and zoology; but this very restriction of liberty resulted in the production of a book which gives detailed accounts of ceremonies, including those in which human sacrifice was made. Skertchly states that on public occasions men of importance were followed each by an attendant, who carried his tobacco-pipe and pouch as insignia of rank. These pipes were invariably of native manufacture. It is said to have been customary for the smoking outfits of officials to be a product of the Amazons’ industry.

The bowl of the pipe was generally of reddish yellow clay, though the color might be dark owing to the presence of manganese. Much labor was expended on the carving of bowls which often took the forms of birds, fish, canoes, and human beings. The tube of the pipe was carried in a wooden box having a sliding lid, and the stem appears to
have been carefully made as was the bowl. Tobacco-pouches of great size were made of goat skin treated with dyes of several colors. In addition to tobacco the pouches held gun-flints, steel, and tinder made from decayed palm-wood. The tobacco is definitely stated to have been of American importation. "Short clay pipes are popular among both sexes, the old women seem to prefer a filthy clay so short that they get as much smoke up their noses as they get into their mouths."

During ceremonal speeches, which were lengthy and tedious, the king's head smoker was prowling about with an immense wooden pipe from which he blew clouds of smoke in the faces of the guests. This may appear rude and aggressive; but, although Skertchly does not say so, the custom was probably a mark of favor. Instances of puffing smoke from the mouth of a headman to the mouth of a guest seated next to him have been recorded in recent times. The official smoker of the Dahomeyan king wore a robe of brown cloth sewn all over with long strips in imitation of tobacco-leaves, while a necklace of pipe-bowls completed his equipment.

Buttkofer states that both men and women of Liberia are passionately addicted to smoking tobacco of foreign importation; but when prices are prohibitive, some solace is obtained by placing a glowing coal in the bowl of the pipe. The fact that "the smoke goes up their noses and intoxicates them" seems to be no deterrent. Very humorously this traveler describes the way in which men, women, and children would gather round him when he smoked. The leader of these uninvited guests came close enough to inhale the smoke as it was ejected. For a few moments he retained it, then blew it into the mouth of a companion, the process being continued until each had received a puff, or the smoke was exhausted. Chewing is also practised in Liberia, though the custom is not so popular as that of smoking.
Snuff is perfumed with Florida water after it has been pounded with ashes in a mortar made of ivory. In addition to ashes, pounded banana skin and soap are sometimes mixed with snuff, then a pinch of the powder is taken between the thumb and finger, or a silver spoon may be used. Small horns from goats and sheep are the usual snuff-boxes. The water-pipe for smoking hemp is said to have been imported from the Congo to Liberia; the apparatus consists of a clay bowl for the mixture fastened to a gourd which holds water through which the smoke is drawn.

The Kagoros, a head-hunting people of northern Nigeria, have their milder moods when the weapons of war are laid aside in favor of ill-balanced pipes a yard in length, the bowls of which rest on the ground supported by two short legs (Plate I). Every man is expected to carve the wooden bowl for himself, but the manufacture of iron pipe-stems is in the hands of the local blacksmith. Economy is here the rule, so the thrifty head-hunter mixes wood ashes with his tobacco "to make it go farther and to improve the flavor." Women of the Kagoro tribe are not allowed to smoke. Tobacco is snuffed as a remedy for headache, and along near-by trade routes coils of tobacco are a well-known currency. There is undoubtedly a certain Muslim influence at work counteracting the use of tobacco in West Africa. Denial of tobacco to women is perhaps a result of the inferior social standing of them in countries under Mohammedan influence, or there may be just a feeling that the extension of a privilege to women is derogatory to the male dignity. To the Jukuns of northern Nigeria use of tobacco is a repulsive practice.

Nature has been unkind to the would-be snuff-takers of Kivu in the eastern Congo, for many of these people have broad turned-up noses from which the precious powder easily escapes. Native ingenuity has, however, risen to the occasion in the provision of a nose clip of wood

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which is applied when the snuff is taken. When not in use, the native carries the clip behind his ear (Plate III, Fig. 3).

The appreciation of tobacco is so widespread in the Congo region that Bushongo natives of the Southwest have attempted to explain the introduction of the plant by a legend. A man of the Bushongo people, the story runs, astonished his tribesmen by producing a pipe from the trade goods brought from distant places. While smoking in the center of a curious circle, he proceeded to explain the value of tobacco by saying, "When you have had a quarrel with your brother, you may wish to kill him; sit down and smoke a pipe. By the time this is finished, you will think that death is too great a punishment for your brother's offence, and you will decide to let him off with a thrashing. Relight your pipe and smoke on. As the smoke curls upward, you will think that a few harsh words would serve instead of blows. Light your pipe once more and, when the bowl is empty, you will be ready to go to your brother and forgive him."

Torday says that hemp-smoking (Plate III, Fig. 5) is such a widespread and pernicious practice among the Balubas and other peoples of the Congo that in the course of his official duties he decided to burn a large stock of this narcotic, for the loss of which he indemnified the owners. This recompense gave no satisfaction, for all the hemp-smokers were agreed that the indulgence was food, health, and happiness. Life was not worth living if they had no hemp. Hemp-smoking is said to be the curse of the Batetala tribe, according to Hilton-Simpson, who accompanied Torday on his journeys in southwestern Congo Basin. The former observer writes, "I noticed a man squatting on his haunches at the side of my chair. From time to time he made a sweeping motion of his hand toward his face, and I was quite at a loss to understand the movement. It suddenly dawned on me that he
was directing the smoke into his own mouth, evidently he had left his pipe at home. Three kinds of tobacco-pipe are in use in this region, for in addition to European forms there are gourd water-pipes and bamboo pipes, all of which have pottery bowls. Absence of tobacco is far more serious than the lack of a pipe, for the latter deficiency is easily met by rolling a banana leaf into the form of a cone. Snuff-taking is a somewhat disgusting habit, for a supply is smeared over the top lip and nose to give a more protracted enjoyment."

So long are the pipes of smokers in the central area of Cameroon that a servant is required to apply a light to the bowl. The Museum has a remarkably choice selection of pipes from Cameroon (Case 10, Hall D, Plate II, Figs. 1-3, 7-8), which show to great advantage the skill of the Balis and other tribes in brass-casting, wood-carving, and beadwork; many of the pottery bowls are elaborately formed. Bowls of clay are molded by hand, though pieces of bamboo are often employed to aid the finer modeling. The largest bowls are partially air-dried before the protuberances and appliqué designs are added. The whole product is then fired. Some of the pipes from Cameroon show an unsightly innovation in the wrapping of tinfoil round well-carved wooden stems. Small wooden pipes without ornament are smoked by the Maka of southern Cameroon (Plate III, Fig. 2). There can be little doubt that the large artistic pipes are reserved for the use of chiefs. In fact the ceremonial smoking of such a pipe by a chief, who is officiating as a priest in the ceremony of feeding the ancestral ghosts, has been authentically described. In central Cameroon everybody smokes from the great-grandfather to the child toddling beside him.

The Bali language has several words describing the strength of tobacco, while social conventions center round the smoking habit. The meeting of two men, one of whom is without his pipe, is an amusing incident.
The more fortunate of the two inhales deeply several times, and at each expiration puffs the clouds into the widely opened mouth of the less fortunate. The two then separate without a word having been spoken. This complimentary greeting is permissible only when the men are social equals. While smoking is a characteristic habit of the grassland area, snuff-taking is more usual in the forest region of Cameroon. The habit of allowing the finger nails to grow to an excessive length as an indication that menial work is not done is known among the Balis; but this custom is distinct from that of the snuff-takers, who allow just one nail to grow indefinitely so that it may serve as a snuff-spoon.

In southwest Cameroon tobacco is said to be next in importance to salt as a medium of exchange. The Jaundes fully appreciate the many brands of imported tobacco, declaring that they could not live without their tobacco-pipes, but for chewing and snuffing of tobacco they have no liking.

Among the Fangs, who live to the north of the Congo estuary, are to be found, according to Tessman, three main types of tobacco-pipe, the most common of which is the short, wooden variety. A second example is provided by the pipe having as its stem a rib of banana leaf more than a yard long, on to which is fixed a tobacco bowl made either of clay or the kernel of a raffia fruit. This perishable stem has to be renewed from time to time. The third variety of pipe has a bowl of clay fixed to a stem of wood or ivory which is neatly bound with brass wire (Plate III, Fig. 1).

An example of the second kind of pipe is to be found on the wall of each communal house. The chief is entitled to the first series of deep inhalations, after which he passes the pipe to the next man. Tobacco is grown either in close proximity to the house, or it may be planted with such field crops as earthnuts. Flowers, fruits, and a
number of leaves are removed from each plant so that the remaining leaves may attain a large size and good flavor, for it is a mistake to allow the plant to mature and go to seed quickly. In spite of the destruction of flowers and seed capsules there are always a large number of seedlings from plants that have escaped these prunings. Such self-seeded plants are transferred to a new plot when the tobacco harvest is gathered. Drying is carried out by suspending the plants from the roof of the hut, and from the individual harvests the supply of tobacco in the communal house is replenished.

To the southwest of the Congo region lies Angola, a Portuguese possession, whose native population has received less attention than that of any other part of Africa. One of the few writers on this region is Monteiro, who published an account of it in 1875. He appears to have been impressed with the medicinal uses to which tobacco was adapted. For inflammation of the bowels, colic, or other violent pains the natives applied to the abdomen tobacco-leaves which had been dipped in boiling water. They also chopped the leaves and made them into a poultice mixed with castor-oil. The Portuguese too are known to have favored these methods. Tobacco is said to have been expensive, and the natives have at times to find solace by placing a piece of charcoal in their pipes. Some of the inhabitants of Angola mixed their tobacco with a species of orris root, which they enjoyed because of its real or fancied resemblance to goats' flesh. After tobacco-leaves have been dried, they are reduced to snuff by being beaten on a stone, but the substance is not ready for use until it has been mixed with the ashes resulting from the burning of a strongly alkaline bush. Snuffers who require a stronger stimulant add a quantity of chili pepper until the desired result is obtained. Snuff-boxes are of a simple kind formed from slender bamboo or canes with nodes that serve as bottoms, while the lid is
Pondo Girl Smoking. Zulus, Southeast Africa.
From a photograph by Dudley Kidd.
ity. The smoker needs no apparatus, and while enjoying his weed, he is able to lie at full length on the ground. H. Balfour has, in addition to collecting three varieties of earth-pipe, summarized the various accounts of the ways in which this interesting form of pipe is used (Plate V, Fig. 2). Examples of earth-pipes from the vicinity of Victoria Falls on the Zambezi show that the bowl was formed by scraping together a quantity of moistened red earth to form a mound three inches in diameter and one inch high. The under surface is flat because of its attachment to the ground, and the upper surface is convex. A duct representing the stem of the pipe was formed by withdrawing a hollow grass stem which had been embedded in a wet mass of clay surrounding the bowl. The pipe, said to be the work of a Maklanga native, who was imported into the district as a laborer, would be ready for almost immediate use owing to the quick drying action of the sun. The hollow bowl of such a pipe is formed when the clay is wet, and the shaft of a spear may be used to support the wet earth of the tube until it has hardened. Schulz describes such pipes which are the work of the Bechuanas who smoke hemp in them.

Balfour examined the carbonized remains of the contents of these pipe-bowls, and has come to the conclusion that in several instances hemp had been smoked. Schulz writes that the Bechuana who has filled the bowl of his pipe with hemp places water in his mouth. Then he kneels down and draws in the fumes with deep inspirations; thus the earth-pipe is used as an elementary form of water-pipe or hubble-bubble. Another ingenious form of ground pipe is made by digging a pit to serve as the bowl, from which a duct is made to lead to the surface by boring the soil with a stick. The smoker then extends himself prone on the ground in order to apply his mouth to the surface hole. Sometimes he may use the double pit connected by a tunnel which is made to contain water.
Bushman pipes are made from stone, reed, bone, or the horn of an antelope (Plate V, Figs. 1, 5). In the absence of a pipe, pieces of narcotic root are first ignited, then held under the nose. Theal states that among the Bantus of South Africa men drank the leaves of wild hemp which had been pulverized and mixed with water.

One of the most graphic accounts of hemp-smoking has been given by Schulz and Hammar, who were greatly concerned about the life of one of their boys. The youth had deeply inhaled several strong whiffs of hemp in rapid succession from a horn water-pipe. "He fell over in the sand and almost ceased breathing, while his heart beat fainter and fainter and his skin assumed the appearance known as goose-skin. None of the boys evinced any sympathy or endeavored to help him except by hitting him with a stick, meanwhile laughing at him." The initial effects of smoking hemp are different from those described above if the smoker is accustomed to the narcotic. He becomes vaunting and noisy in his narration of stories relating to his prowess in war, then later, after wild gesticulation and rolling of the eyes, he may sink to the ground.

Smoking of hemp is not always followed by such scenes of violence; in fact, spitting out bubbles through a hollow reed may result in a kind of game. Dudley Kidd gives a good illustration of this play in which the bubbles are projected on to the ground as the men try to outflank one another in position.

A collection of snuff-boxes and pipes from South Africa is shown in Cases 25 and 27 of Hall D (Plates IV and V, Figs. 3, 4, 6, 7). The pipes are of simple form, not unlike those used in England, though some of them have a double bowl which makes the plugging of one bowl necessary when the other is in use. A Zulu is seldom seen without his snuff-box which he keeps full of a mixture of ground tobacco and ashes. Snuff-boxes may be small gourds, plain, decorated with incised lines, or ornamented with
beadwork. Others are tips of horn which are worn suspended round the neck, on the wrist, in the hair, or even through the ear-lobe. Some knobkerries have a hole at the end for the reception of snuff. A few of the objects in the Museum illustrate a curious and ingenious method of making snuff-boxes which are characteristic of the Zulus only. The scrapings of meat and skin resulting from the dressing of hides are mixed with blood and red clay until a stiff paste is attained. This paste is plastered over clay models on which it is allowed to harden as a surface dressing. A round hole is then made at one end of the object, and the clay is scooped out, leaving only the outer covering which forms the snuff-box.

The practice of rolling tobacco-leaves into cigars is one that does not appear to have recommended itself to Negroes. Nevertheless, a few of them to the north of the Zambezi have adopted the Portuguese method of rolling tobacco in banana leaves which are called "carrottes." The use of such cigars is local, and the habit has not penetrated south of the Zambezi. Such a cigar is carried behind the ear whence it is removed many times a day for a few puffs. Friends express greetings by exchanging whiffs at their cigars.

In his book "The Zoolu Country" (1834), Gardiner mentions a Zulu chief who wore an ivory snuff-spoon in his hair and a cane snuff-box in his ear. At the present day snuff is ground from crude tobacco which is grown near almost every kraal, and following the usual African custom ashes, in this case ashes of aloes, are mixed with the tobacco. Sneezing is a good omen, provided the words "may the chief bless me" are spoken. The word "snuff" has found its way into a proverb, "I sent him for snuff, and he brought me ashes," used, of course, in reference to a thoughtless messenger.

Among the Hottentots tobacco is said by Schulze to have a medicinal value in curing poisoned wounds. When
1, Stone Pipe. Bushmen, South Africa. 2, Earth-smoking. South Africa. 3, 4, 6, 7, Snuff-boxes. Zulus. 3 and 7 are covered with beads; 6 is made of clay.
a man is bitten by a poisonous scorpion, search is made for such an animal, which is pulverized and laid on the wound. Meanwhile the patient has to drink water in which tobacco has been steeped.

In British Central Africa the Yaos and Anyanjas have homegrown tobacco for consumption and sale. Considerable attention is given to the plants whose leaf-buds are pinched off to make the remaining leaves attain greater size. After the leaves have been soaked in water and spread in the sun to dry, the Yaos plait them into strands, while the Anyanjas roll them into balls. The Angonis vary the practice by making their tobacco cakes into pyramidal form. Snuffing is a common habit, and chewing is practised; for the latter purpose the tobacco is mixed with powdered shells of snails. Men smoke hemp which they say is as good as food and drink to a tired man, though it is admitted that the hemp "catches their legs." Hemp grows about the villages without any special cultivation.

Although growers of tobacco, the Bambalas appear to be very ignorant of methods of curing the leaves. Toward the end of the rainy season the seed is sown in the shade of the hut. When the seedlings are of a size that can be handled, they are transplanted to some fertile patch, preferably an ant-heap. No effort is made to improve the quality of the leaves by pinching off the suckers and early buds; in fact, all the plants are allowed to run to seed. Of the two varieties of tobacco one has short leaves which are made into flat cakes; this is the stronger kind. The second variety may be distinguished in trade because it is always made into cylindrical packages, each weighing ten pounds. Dried stalks of the water-lily are added to the tobacco in order to make snuff. Both men and women smoke tobacco in long pipes provided with bowls of earthenware and reed stems. The pipe is circulated in the manner described for other peoples. The mixture of
lime, butter, and other substances to the tobacco has been mentioned, but the climax is reached in the glands of the skunk being added if the tobacco is to be used for snuffing, as stated by Smith and Dale.

The Baronga people living in the south of Portuguese East Africa have a phrase for tobacco, which means "the powder that stimulates the brain." The offering of snuff is a greeting and a necessary preliminary to any conversation. In that part of Africa snuffing is far more common than tobacco-smoking. Junod says, however, that an old custom was that of smoking hens' excrements after the burial of a corpse. At the present day the only smokers are the old women of Lourenço Marques.

The ceremonial use of tobacco is illustrated by the customs prevailing at a Batonga wedding. At this time one of the dancing girls places snuff in the hand of the bride, who gives it to her husband. After he has taken a pinch the girl throws the remainder in his face, then she escapes with the groom in pursuit. The girl has sanctuary by holding a tuft of grass, and refuses to return to the village until money has been given to her. It is considered very bad luck to carry tobacco in the leaf when visiting a lover; at such time snuff only should be carried.

The Negroes of Portuguese East Africa are addicted to the use of leaves of a species of Datura which are smoked through a double-decker gourd whose use gives rise to violent paroxysms of coughing. Cigar-smoking was mentioned as a custom favored by Negroes north of the Zambezi. Maugham adds that in Portuguese East Africa "tobacco is rarely smoked, though it grows with great freedom and luxuriance, in any other form save a cigar of great length." The statement is made that the smoke is inhaled by cupping the hands round the lighted end. This is a local method apparently, and it is difficult to believe that any great satisfaction can be derived from it. The evidence is, however, corroborated by an inde-
Use of Tobacco in Africa

Pendent observer, Fulleborne, who also describes the custom of earth-smoking in Konde Land.

The researches of Sir Richard Burton reveal a number of interesting customs relating to the use of tobacco in East Africa about the year 1860. There is no doubt that most of these usages still survive.

Arabs of East Africa, in the region about Zanzibar, had a prejudice against smoking, but no objection to the chewing of tobacco; consequently the latter custom combined with snuffing is the usual method of using tobacco. Ground coral or pulverized cowrie-shells are added to the snuff by the Suahili, while saltpetre or the ground wood from the middle of a plantain may be added to give flavor to the chewing-tobacco used by the Wanyamwezis.

Near the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika the inhabitants take liquid snuff. Every man carries a little black earthenware pot from which he pours into his palm a quantity of water in which tobacco leaves have been steeped. This he sniffs into his nostrils, which are then closed with an iron or wooden clip, though the thumb and finger may be used. The liquid is so held for several minutes. Burton describes a women’s smoking party at Yombo where the circle included wrinkled old dames and young girls who were provided with pipes of great length. All smoked with intense enjoyment, deeply inhaling, and from time to time cooling their mouths with slices of raw manioc or cobs of green maize roasted over the coals.

Hollis says with reference to the Masais, “Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt, some take snuff, and others smoke pipes.” The Masai are a pastoral people who despise agriculture; they do not on this account cultivate tobacco, but obtain it by exchanging butter and lean goats with their neighbors. Everywhere among Africans the habit of snuff-taking is regarded as very refreshing. A Masai story refers to the return of a hunter who called for his stool and snuff-box that he might
refresh himself before giving an account of his adventures. A Masai youth begins his courtship by most tactfully presenting the father of the girl with a present of tobacco. This is but the forerunner of subsequent gifts of like kind.

In the neighborhood of Lake Victoria Nyanza local custom varies with regard to the particular use of tobacco. Among the Wambugwes men chew, smoke, and snuff. In Ruanda tobacco is chiefly smoked, while in Urundi it is generally snuffed. With the Wanyamwezis and the Washashis the smoking of hemp in a water-pipe (Hall D, Case 24) is a widespread custom. The Nandis are accustomed to observing the custom of hemp-smoking among their neighbors, the Kavirondos, but they themselves have been wise enough to avoid the habit, though they have ready access to wild hemp. The Nandis say that throwing tobacco on a fire during a thunderstorm gives immunity. The Lumbwas (Kipsikis), who are near neighbors of the Nandis, take a form of liquid snuff, but this habit has not extended to the Nandis. Possibly the latter would think it beneath their dignity to borrow a custom from a people whom they regard as their inferiors.

Stanley relates in his book, "How I found Livingstone," that in his time (1870) tobacco played an important part in trade. Tobacco, which was not of very good quality, was made into loaves each of which weighed three pounds. Such a loaf was worth four yards of trade cloth, which was also the exchange value of a black steatite pipe with a stem bound with fine wire. Stanley writes, "The natives (Wanyamwezis) are very fond of using bhang with their tobacco. Their nargileh is a very primitive affair made out of a gourd and a hollow stick. One or two inhalations are sufficient to send them into a fit of terrible coughs which seem to rack their frames." See Plate VI, Fig. 5.

The Akikuyus appear to reserve snuff and home-made beer as two of the chief consolations of advancing years, for both these luxuries are generally denied to the young
men. Snuff is prepared by grinding tobacco-leaves with sheeps' fat, and the offering of the mixture is a courtesy and greeting between strangers.

Roscoe relates a story of the Banyankoles, which is supposed to account for the introduction of tobacco into their territory. A medicine-man from a neighboring tribe, whose king was a friend of the king of Banyankole, arrived with a present of six bags of tobacco which the recipient "found very soothing." Before returning to his own country, the medicine-man showed the Banyankoles how to cultivate and cure tobacco. In this tribe there is a superstition to the effect that presents of tobacco to a prospective bride will make the marriage sterile. Rain-making is an important function of medicine-men in all parts of northeast Africa where the people are dependent on grass and cattle. The rain-maker of the Baris enters the hut of his chief, then fills the bowl of his tobacco-pipe with beads and pebbles. These he shakes out of the bowl several times, and at last he makes a declaration with regard to the rain supply.

The majority of the Bakitaras grow their own tobacco which is used or readily bartered. Both men and women smoke, but boys are not allowed the indulgence until they arrive at puberty, while girls may not use tobacco until they are married. Chewing is a common habit even among the wives of the king, but masticating tobacco in the presence of the king was regarded as a gross insult. When a woman met the king while she was chewing tobacco, she had to get rid of the bolus as quickly as possible because his majesty would in all probability open her mouth, and if any tobacco were seen therein, she would be punished, possibly killed.

On dust heaps near the dwellings of the Bakitaras tobacco plants grow luxuriantly to the height of six feet. The large, broad leaves are dried on mats, after which the coarse parts, such as the ribs, are removed, then the
finer parts of the lamina are broken up. These are again dried and tied into packets of a size suitable for barter. Tobacco for the use of the king was more carefully dried and made aromatic in a way which the people would not disclose.

Men who were sent to carry the bride to her husband dared not enter the kraal at once, but the tedium of their waiting was relieved with presents of tobacco from the bride’s father. Snuff is not in favor with the Bakitaras. This is because the act of sneezing, like coughing, spitting, and blowing the nose, are marks of the greatest disrespect. Such an action in the presence of the king was equivalent to an act of gross disobedience.

From early stone-age times it has been customary to place by a corpse some small offerings of food or stone implements, which were regarded as indispensable in the spirit world. The Suks, exceedingly tall people living near Lake Rudol, make provision of this kind when a good man dies. They say, “When a good man dies, and his body is thrown away, we go where his head lies and bring a little food and tobacco to make his deadness more endurable. But when a bad man dies, we give him nothing; we say ‘let him die some more.’ ”

In many parts of Africa there is a belief that the spirit of a dead man may pass into a snake. When this reptile enters the house of a living relative, it is entertained among the Suks with offerings of milk, meat, and tobacco. The Suks occasionally smoke tobacco from the shank-bone of a sheep, but more usually snuff is carried in a box suspended from the neck by a chain. The latter indulgence is enjoyed by all, with the exception of the smallest children.

Men of a Nilotic tribe named the Langos grow tobacco plants between their huts, the variety with the yellow flowers being preferred. Tobacco is smoked only by the old men, as it is considered harmful to warriors and
hunter's. Young men say that the use of tobacco interferes with their love-making as the girls object to the smell, and women never indulge in the habit. Tobacco is never used by the Langos in the form of snuff.

At the period of Schweinfurth's exploration in the northeast Congo Basin, and among the Dinkas, he found these people growing Virginia tobacco. The plants were carefully raised in the shade as seedlings before being planted out in an exposed situation. The influence of Islam was apparently felt because Schweinfurth states that "the pagan Negroes, so far as they have been uninfluenced by Islam, smoke tobacco. Those who have been so influenced prefer the chewing of the leaf to the enjoyment of the pipe." The Bongos were found to be smoking Nicotiana rustica, whose pungent leaves were made up into round cakes by means of a mold, after they had been previously powdered, pressed, and dried. A circumstance related by the explorer suggests that some of the men were in the habit of smoking something stronger than Nicotiana rustica. "On one of our marches a Bongo had inhaled to such excess that he fell senseless into the camp fire and was so severely burnt that he had to be carried on a litter for the remainder of the journey."

The Dinkas, like the Bongos, pass the pipe from hand to hand, and with this is sent, for chewing, the wad of bast which has been used to intercept the tobacco juices in the stem of the pipe.

Parkyns, a traveler in Abyssinia in the year 1850, notes the use of the water-pipe as part of the hospitality offered to him at Nassawa.

A detailed account of the tobacco-using habits of the Gallas has been given by Paulitschke. These people smoke tobacco, but their neighbors, the Somalis and Danakils, prefer to chew. So unaccustomed are the Somalis to smoking that they do not know what use to make of a proffered cigar; but in spite of this indifference
to smoking they actually swallow tobacco, saying that it purifies them. The Gallas, in addition to smoking, are addicted to chewing and snuffing. Snuff is mixed with saltpetre, and the "chew" of tobacco is carried behind the ear. For trade purposes the northwest Gallas make loaves of two pounds weight from tobacco-leaves, and on these the worker presses his finger as a sign of his manufacture.

The evidence collected by a brief regional survey of Africa indicates that a custom, which may at first glance appear trivial, is possibly closely associated with some of the most important aspects of social life. Quite apart from the economic questions connected with the cultivation of tobacco on a large scale by native labor under European supervision, there are several indications that the plant has for perhaps three centuries been affecting the development of trade-routes and systems of barter (Plate VI, Fig. 7). In addition to this, the cultivation of tobacco has stimulated agriculture. What is more important still, the practices of smoking, chewing, and snuffing are centers around which many social usages have been grouped. Incidentally the inquiry has emphasized the strength of customs which appear to be of fortuitous occurrence. Custom is arbitrary, but when formed there are few deviations. In some instances, the evidence makes it clear that Islam has profoundly affected the growth of habits relating to the use of tobacco in Africa.

Wilfrid D. Hambly
USE OF TOBACCO IN MADAGASCAR

The natives of Madagascar believe tobacco to be indigenous, but there can be little doubt that it was introduced in early times, probably from Africa. By the latter half of the eighteenth century its use was already universal. The present native tobacco is a large-leaved, white-flowered plant growing from three to four feet high in good soil. It is probably a variety of *Nicotiana tabacum*. The general native name for it is *paraki*, but there are special names for the various prepared forms.

The plant has escaped from cultivation, and is often found growing seemingly wild; throughout most of the island it can hardly be said to be cultivated. Small clumps of it grow in the villages and on the edges of the tilled fields, seeding themselves year after year. There seems to be no attempt to care for it or to improve the quality. On the east coast and in the plateau the leaves are plucked when they begin to turn yellow and impaled side by side on long slivers of bamboo, which are thrust through the stems. When they have been partially dried in the shade, they are hung over the fireplace in the dwelling. Here they become thoroughly dry and smoked. On the west coast the leaves are also dried in the shade, but before they become brittle, they are made up into hard rolls about three inches in diameter and one inch thick. When the tobacco is to be marketed, a number of these rolls are placed side by side, and the whole is enveloped in sheets of banana bark and tied or wrapped with rope.

Three methods of using tobacco are known in the island: making a quid of the green leaf, smoking, and snuff-taking. The use of the quid seems to be limited to the Betsileos in the southern part of the central plateau.
A fresh leaf is wilted over the fire, rolled in wood ashes and twisted into a cylinder. This is placed between the lower lip and the gum, and is left until the effects become sufficiently strong. It is then removed and carried behind the ear until needed again.

Tobacco is smoked by all tribes of the extreme north, the west, and the south. The Betsimisaraka people, on the northeast coast, and the tribes of the plateau never smoke it, although they all smoke hemp in water-pipes.

Cigars are unknown in Madagascar, and the cigarette is just coming into use, having been introduced by soldiers returning from France. Cigarette-smoking is spreading among the tribes who did not smoke previously, but has so far made little impression on the smoking tribes. The natives employ tobacco-pipes of three types: straight, tubular pipes, pipes with the bowl set at an angle to the stem, and water-pipes. Tubular pipes are used only by the Bara tribe. The simplest form is a plain joint of slender bamboo about six inches long and open at both ends. Powdered tobacco is stuffed into one end with perhaps a wad of leaves or fiber in the middle, to keep it from sifting into the smoker’s mouth. At the present time the favorite pipe has a bowl made from the shell of a bottle-necked cartridge, the bottom being cut off and the stem inserted in the neck. There are also a few tubular pipes of native-cast brass.

Angled pipes have the widest distribution of any form, but the shape and material vary with the tribe and with individual fancy. Clay pipes are unknown. The Tsimahety people use small, short pipes with stems of wood or reed and bowls which are sometimes of wood, but more commonly of a soft, red stone resembling catlinite. The northern Sakalava pipes conform to the same general pattern, but the bowls are of wood or nut shells, never stone. The southern Sakalava pipes are larger, and the bowls are of wood, usually lined with metal. The stems
also are often of metal, or are metal-sheathed. The Mahafaly pipes have plain, wooden stems and small, flaring bowls of graceful form. In the most prized examples the bowl is made from brass or from a green, calcareous stone which takes a high polish. The finest examples look almost like jade.

Water-pipes are used by all the tribes of the southeast coast. The stem is made from a hollowed cornstalk with one of the septa near the bottom left unpierced. A piece of reed three or four inches long is thrust through the side of the stalk just above this septum, forming an acute angle with the stalk. A small bowl, hollowed from a nut or a piece of fresh manioc root, is placed on the end of the reed, and the stalk filled with water. The smoker squats on his haunches, resting the lower end of the pipe on the ground. Most of the tribes who use water-pipes also use small, angled pipes, but the latter are of secondary importance.

All the Malagasy people use tobacco in the form of snuff. Among the tribes who also smoke, men seem to prefer the pipe and the women the snuff, although there is no fixed rule. Snuff is taken in the mouth, never in the nose, a pinch of the powder being thrown on the tongue or placed between the lower lip and gum. Snuff is made by toasting leaf-tobacco in a small pan, pounding it to powder in a mortar and mixing it with sifted wood-ashes. The ashes are prepared from various plants, and in compounding snuff more attention seems to be paid to the ash than to the tobacco, two or three varieties being added in exact proportions. Ashes of various sorts and leaf-tobacco are on sale in all native markets, but the snuff itself is rarely sold, each individual preferring to prepare his own. It is made up a little at a time, as needed, and is said to lose its flavor if kept.

All the tribes carry snuff-boxes. The commonest form consists of a short section of bamboo, slightly less than
an inch in diameter, with a bottom and stopper of gourd shell. The surface of these boxes is often etched and then rubbed with soot to bring out the designs in black. The Imerina people sometimes burn naturalistic figures of men, animals and plants on boxes of this type, but this is said to be a recent fashion introduced by an Englishman who had turned native. The same people have discovered how to flatten bamboo without breaking it, giving boxes an oval section. Small bottle-shaped gourds from three to four inches long are also used as snuff-boxes by all the tribes. The natives of the west and south also carry their snuff in boxes made from the tips of cattle-horns. Such boxes are often finely shaped and highly polished. Snuff-boxes made from sections of cattle bone with ends of wood or gourd shell are used sporadically throughout the island.

By far the finest snuff-boxes are made by the Imerinas, who employ a great variety of materials. The most prized are made from the hard, scaly fruit of the raffia palm. The stem end is covered with a large silver plate, while a smaller plate, with a short neck attached, is cemented over the tip. A small piece of etched silver, usually in the form of a leaf, is fastened to the side of the fruit. The stopper, also of silver, is attached to this by a thin chain. Such boxes color and polish with use until they have almost the appearance of tortoise-shell.

Snuff-boxes made from bright-colored univalve shells are also in demand. The opening of the shell is covered with a silver plate and another plate, with neck and stopper, fastened over the tip. Gourd, bamboo and bone boxes are often mounted with silver, and the gourds are cleverly imitated in wood and horn. There are many forms of snuff-boxes, made to suit the individual fancy, one of the most curious being made from a large crab-claw. A fine collection of these boxes is on view in the Madagascar exhibit of the Museum (Hall E).
Of the three methods of using tobacco in Madagascar, snuff-taking appears to be the oldest. A very similar method is in use around Zanzibar, and it was probably introduced into the island from that region. The simple angled pipes of the western and southern tribes may also be of African origin, for they resemble certain East-African forms more than they do the European ones. Water-pipes, on the other hand, are probably traceable to the Arabs, for their influence is strong in the region where this type is found. The straight pipes of the Baras and the green tobacco quids of the Betsileos appear to be independent local developments.

Smoking in Madagascar is a purely individual matter. A smoker will often pass his pipe to a comrade who has none; but this is an act of kindness, not a necessary courtesy. Snuff, on the other hand, plays a part in the social and religious life of many tribes. Among the non-smoking tribes, the offering of one’s snuff-box is a necessary preliminary to polite conversation. Snuff is also one of the commonest offerings to the ancestral spirits, as a small gift accompanying a prayer for a small favor. Among the Betsileos it is not uncommon for a person to promise while still alive that he or she will answer prayers after death, specifying the offering that must accompany the prayer. One old woman said to her family, “If the dead have any power, I will answer prayers for safe return from a journey. This I will do when I have joined the ancestors. When you pray to me, do not forget to put snuff of the sort I now use on my stone, for it is snuff that I love better than anything else.”

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Washashis, East Africa. 6, Pipe with Stone Bowl. Antan-
drays, Madagascar. 7, Package of Home-grown
Tobacco. Wakambas, East Africa.