love for violence so characteristic of the Spanish temper should be taken into account. Perhaps they are as much sociological, political, geographical, strategical or historical as racial.

Spanish internal strife has often been the prelude to international and decisive wars. Spanish temper and Spain's geographical position as a strategical key, not to mention her raw materials, have always enticed aggressors and conquerors of all kinds. The ethnological and sociological problems of Spain are also European and world problems.

Some Iberian survivals, then, are not only related to present Spain but may be also related to her future and to the future of the world.

THE STORY OF ZOMBI IN HAITI. By Louis P. Mars, M.D. 1

The island of Haiti located in the Caribbean Sea attracts tourists for many reasons. Perhaps the beliefs and cultural institutions of the Haitian people are of greater interest to visitors than the charm of the physical aspects of the country. Tourists believe that they will be able to see Zombis roaming through the villages and watch the people perform superhuman feats during what are called the vodu dances.

Haiti has often been called the vodu or mysterious island. Many people believe that there are to be found some unusual facts which modern science has not yet been able to explain: for example, the phenomenon of magic and the existence of Zombis.

In Dahomey, West Africa, the word vodu refers to both the worshipping of the spirits and the spirits themselves. In Haiti, the term vodu has the same meaning. In worshipping the vodous the Haitian peasants pay their tribute to those supernatural beings who are the source of good and bad, life and death, disease and health. Those spirits live in the woods, lakes, rivers, and every corner of the earth. They are the intermediaries between God and his creatures. God is too far away to take care of us; he has therefore conferred power upon those spirits to guide us, to give us the spiritual assistance which we want in our everyday life.

Very often it is through the phenomenon of possession that a spirit manifests itself to the devotees during the ceremonies held in the cult-house. Every peasant has a cult-house or an altar in his own home. The ceremonies are performed according to the religious needs of each follower. He consults a priest or houngan, paying a certain amount of money to the latter. The group is then gathered and the appropriate service takes place.

It is a very serious matter for the Haitian peasant, who sometimes spends more money in the worship of his gods than he does for the necessities of life.

The peasant himself distinguishes between vodu and Zombi. The term Zombi means different things: (1) when a person who has never been possessed by a spirit, a vodu, dies, his soul cannot go to heaven; it wanders on the earth; Heaven is not opened to this kind of soul; (2) when a farmer is successful in his business, that means he is thought to have many Zombis working for him.

As a government medical officer and psychiatrist, I have had occasion to handle many patients who, for some reason, were considered to be mysterious human beings.

The theory on which the belief in Zombis is based is that some Haitian medicine-men (Ngangas) have the power to bring dead and buried people back to life again. These resurrected human beings are the Zombis, the living dead. It is also believed that during the night some people have the power to fly through the air with a big red flame under their arms: these are the werewolves.

In the vodu dances, the Haitian peasants become furious and are supposed to be possessed of spirits. When one falls into this state, the medicine-man is said to be able to predict the incidence of catastrophe, birth, or death; to tell how a person can win immense fortunes; to describe what happens in his home when a man is away from his family, and many other things which a person may always have been eager to know. The medicine-man is also supposed to have power over fate and to avert any ill fortune that the future holds in store for a victim.

Let me examine the assumption on which the belief is based.

In the remote areas of the country, the belief is prevalent that some rich peasants are fortunate in their undertakings because they are helped by mysterious beings who work on their farms; who go and steal money for them; who travel at a fantastic speed faster than automobiles, and who fly through the air as planes do. These are supposed to be former dead men and women who were brought back to life through the application of some potent drugs (Wanga).

The Zombis are supposed to eat no salt. If they do, they become conscious of the state of their abnormal existence and are therefore likely to desert.

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their masters. Originally these beliefs came from Africa.

I have never met anyone in Haiti who was able to testify to me that he had seen a Zombi. However, I used to hear occasionally that a Zombi was living in a village. In two instances, I discovered afterwards that the hapless persons who were thought to be Zombis were, in fact, insane wanderers who could not identify themselves nor give any information with regard to their past life or their present condition.

The unusual circumstances under which they appeared in the village, their queer behaviour and their unintelligible manner of speech, induced the people, whose minds were already conditioned to superstition, to believe that Zombis were in town.

The following is an account of a specific case which illustrates the observation I have just made.

Early in the morning of 24 October, 1936, in the village of Ennery located in the foothills of the Puybureau mountains near Cap-Haitien, the entire population was aroused into a tumultuous and frenzied consternation when a woman appeared in the streets clad in ragged clothes. She was old, feeble, and stupefied. Her skin was pale and wrinkled and looked like the scales of a fish.

From all appearances, she had been suffering from eye disease for a long time. Her eye-lashes had almost fallen out; she could not bear the glare of sunlight and, to protect her eyes, she had covered her face with a dark dirty rag. This added to the curiosity and superstitious awe of the people.

A mass hysteria swept through the entire village. Crowds gathered around to see that strange woman. People began to ask questions, to cast suspicions, and to try to identify her with various people who were known to be dead long ago.

One of the families living near Ennery, known as the Mentors, noticed that she bore a close resemblance to one of their members. From that day onward people began to call the strange woman by the name of Felicia Felix Mentor. The Mentors took her to their family home, fed her, and gave her comfortable quarters.

She remained in the Mentor’s home for a few days until the people removed her to a government hospital. She was in the hospital when, a few weeks after, I was sent from the Public Health Department to make an official study of the strange case which by that time was known all over Haiti.

Felicia Felix Mentor, the alleged Zombi under discussion, was not able to give me any information about her name, her age, her birthplace, where she had been previously, where she was going, and how she happened to be in the hospital. All her answers were unintelligible and irrelevant.

Her occasional outbursts of laughter were devoid of emotion, and very frequently she spoke of herself in either the first or the third person without any sense of discrimination. She had lost all sense of time and was quite indifferent to the world of things around her.

Her height was 5 feet 2 inches, and she weighed 90 pounds. She looked like a woman about 60 years old; but after being treated in the asylum for some time under my care, she rejuvenated and looked like a woman of 50.

The evidence which induced the Mentors at first to believe that the strange woman was the member of their family who died long ago became untenable in the light of a scientific study of the case.

At first they had based their belief on the fact that the woman was lame. Before the real Felicia Felix Mentor died, she was lame as a result of a fracture of her left leg.

Her physical appearance and lameness in addition to the deep belief in the country that sometimes the dead come back to life, induced the Mentors to believe that the strange woman was indeed their late sister Felicia.

I made an X-ray examination of both legs at the Central Hospital in Port-au-Prince. There was no evidence of a fracture and the lameness could therefore be attributed to muscular weakness due to under-nourishment. This may be said to be the cause since, after she had a normal diet for two months, the lameness disappeared. She also gained weight.

This is evidently a case of schizophrenia and gives us an idea of how cases of similar nature are likely to arouse mass hysteria in a culture where the common people do not usually understand the scientific basis of many natural events which occur in their daily life.

The case under discussion was reported by Miss Zora Neale Hurston in her book Tell My Horse, in which she stated emphatically ‘I know that there are Zombis in Haiti. People have been called back from the dead.’ This American writer stated specifically that she came back from Haiti with no doubt in regard to popular belief of the Zombi pseudo-science.

In her book, the author described the Felicia Felix Mentor incident as a typical case of a Zombi. Evidently she got her information from the simple village folk, whose minds were conditioned to believing the real existence of a superhuman phenomenon. Miss Hurston herself, unfortunately, did not go beyond the mass hysteria to verify her information, nor in any way attempt to make a scientific explanation of the case.

Evidences from European and other cultures could be found, where whole communities have been aroused into a mass hysteria as a result of the unexpected appearance of queer persons. Such appearances very often rekindled the dying embers of archaic super-
stitious beliefs that were deeply rooted in the traditional culture of a people.

Perhaps extension of the province of psychiatry from a study of the individual to a study of the collective behaviour of man may yet reveal to us some of the basic principles underlying the social problems of our time. Certainly, social psychiatry stands a good chance of exploding the Zombi-psychology of the untutored Haitian peasant, as well as any similar beliefs entertained in other cultures.

CHANGES IN TRIBAL LIFE IN TRANS-JORDAN. in Trans-Jordan.

23 In Trans-Jordan to-day it is possible to see Arab tribes in every stage of transition from nomadic life to that of settled cultivators. Throughout the centuries of history there has been a constant movement of nomadic tribes from the Arabian peninsula outwards towards the fertile lands which stretch in an arc from the coast of southern Palestine through Trans-Jordan to Syria and then to Iraq where the desert, sea, and sown meet once again at the head of the Persian Gulf.

When these nomads, or bedouin, as they call themselves, first come into contact with cultivators, they prey upon them; next they adopt some of the habits of the despised tillers of the soil; and finally they abandon their roving life and settle on the land, to be replaced in the desert by other tribes which have moved up to fill the void. This process appears to continue indefinitely, to be expedited or retarded by conquests which accompany the rise and fall of empires but never to be stopped entirely.

The following is a brief description of the sequence as seen during the past twenty-six years in Trans-Jordan.

2. The true bedouin lives by raising camels and sheep in a part of the world where nature makes cultivation impossible. He migrates with his herds and flocks in accordance with the existence of water and grazing and, when circumstances permit, he attempts to supplement his income by raiding other tribes or cultivators.

The tribes which frequent areas remote from towns and villages obtain their needs in grain, clothing, coffee, sugar, etc., from itinerant merchants who accept animals or their produce in payment. Other tribes who roam near settled areas themselves market their surplus in the towns and villages and buy their requirements from the cultivators and shopkeepers.

The bedouin, as a rule, despises the villager as being dull, unenterprising, and unwarlike in comparison with himself, but this comparison cannot fail to bring home the realization of the fact that the cultivator lives a more comfortable life and enjoys a diet far beyond the nomad’s standard of feeding. This realization sooner or later gives rise to the question as to why the well fed villagers should not be made to surrender part of their lands so that the bedouin could benefit directly from its produce.

3. The next step is the occupation of cultivable land by the nomadic tribe, forcibly if Government control is weak, by purchase if it is strong. This does not mean any real change in the tribe’s habits, as cultivation is, as yet, only a sideline. The tribesmen may even retain some of the cultivators as partners for the time being.

At that stage the tribesmen are present at harvest time in June and July and, as soon as the threshing is over, they plough and sow next year’s crop and then migrate eastwards with their livestock, not to be seen again until the following spring. This abnormally early sowing has many drawbacks which the nomad soon comes to take into account. If there is early rain, the grain may be germinated only to die of drought before the real rains arrive; even if this does not happen, half of the grain sown will be eaten by birds and insects before it takes root. There is also the possibility that fear of subsequent reprisals will not prevent neighbours from grazing their flocks on the crop when it is still young. Sooner or later the amateur cultivator comes to the conclusion that it will pay him to remain nearer to his land.

4. This entails the first change of habit and means that the radius of the tribe’s migration must be reduced. The restriction of movement means, in turn, that a lesser number of animals can be maintained on the grazing available and, the fewer the animals, the greater the dependence of the tribe on cultivation.

Although it retains its tents and nomadic organization, the tribe soon ceases to move any distance from its lands and it adopts more completely the methods of its sedentary neighbours in the raising of crops. During the first stage any surplus of grain was traded, as soon as the threshing was over, to a local merchant so as to leave the tribe free to move into the desert, but it soon became apparent that these hasty sales were uneconomic. They were made at a time when the price of grain was lowest, and the merchant, who bought so cheaply, insisted on making large profits when it was a question of supplying the tribe with seed and food after a bad year.

5. The tribe then decide that they will store their surplus, both in order to wait for good prices and in order to maintain a reserve under their own control. So they hire builders to erect storehouses near their