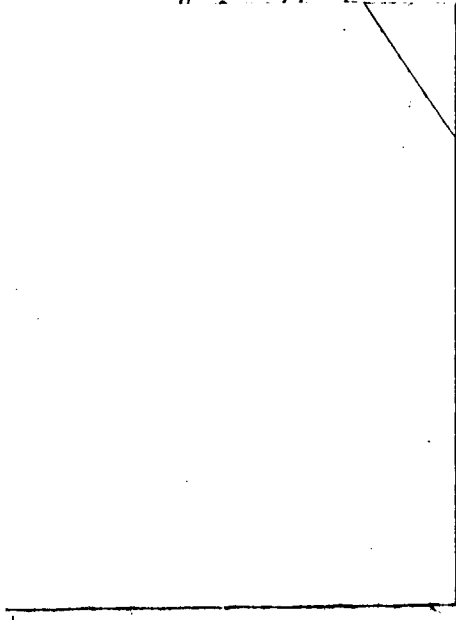


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## PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

---

IN this third edition of the *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I, several improvements of importance have been made. The text has been revised; references to the works quoted and cited have been supplied; the appendices have been enlarged; and the work has now an index.

Each chapter has been carefully gone through for the purpose of removing defects of expression and with a view to condensation. By erasing superfluous words and phrases, I have reduced the text to the extent of forty pages, notwithstanding the incorporation here and there of a further illustration. This abridgment, however, has not diminished the bulk of the volume; since the additions above named occupy much more space than has been gained.

In the preface to the first edition, I explained how it happened that the reader was provided with no adequate means of verifying any of the multitudinous statements quoted; and with the explanation I joined the expression of a hope that I might eventually remove the defect. By great labour the defect has now been removed—almost though not absolutely. Some years ago I engaged a gentleman who had been with me as secretary, Mr. P. R. Smith, since deceased, to furnish references; and with the aid of the *Descriptive Sociology* where this availed, and where it did not by going to the works of the authors quoted, he succeeded in finding the great majority of the passages. Still, however, there remained numerous gaps. Two years since I arranged with a skilled bibliographer, Mr. Tedder, the librarian of the Athenæum Club, to go through afresh all the quota-

tions, and to supply the missing references while checking the references Mr. Smith had given. By an unwearied labour which surprised me, Mr. Tedder discovered the greater part of the passages to which references had not been supplied. The number of those which continued undiscovered was reduced by a third search, aided by clues contained in the original MS., and by information I was able to give. There now remain less than 2 per cent. of unreferenced statements.

The supplying of references was not, however, the sole purpose to be achieved. Removal of inaccuracies was a further purpose. The *Descriptive Sociology*, from which numerous quotations were made, had passed through stages each of which gave occasion for errors. In the extracts as copied by the compilers, mistakes, literal and verbal, were certain to be not uncommon. Proper names of persons, peoples, and places, not written with due care, were likely to be in many cases mis-spelled by the printers. Thus, believing that there were many defects which, though not diminishing the values of the extracts as pieces of evidence, rendered them inexact, I desired that while the references to them were furnished, comparisons of them with the originals should be made. This task has been executed by Mr. Tedder with scrupulous care; so that his corrections have extended even to additions and omissions of commas. Concerning the results of his examination, he has written me the following letter:—

July, 1885.

DEAR MR. SPENCER,

In the second edition (1877) of the *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I, placed in my hands, there were 2,192 references to the 379 works quoted. In the new edition there are about 2,500 references to 455 works. All of these references, with the exception of about 45, have been compared with the originals.

In the course of verification I have corrected numerous trifling errors. They were chiefly literal, and included paraphrases made by the compilers of the *Descriptive Sociology*

which had been wrongly inserted within quotation marks. There was a small proportion of verbal errors, among which were instances of facts quoted with respect to particular tribes which the original authority had asserted generally of the whole cluster of tribes—facts, therefore, more widely true than you had alleged.

The only instances I can recall of changes affecting the value of the statements as evidence were (1) in a passage from the *Iliad*, originally taken from an inferior translation; (2) the deletion of the reference (on p. 298 of second edition) as to an avoidance by the Hindus of uttering the sacred name Om.

Among the 455 works quoted there are only six which are of questionable authority; but the citations from these are but few in number, and I see no reason to doubt the accuracy of the information for which they are specially responsible.

I am,

Faithfully yours,

HENRY R. TEDDER.

The statement above named as one withdrawn, was commented on by Prof. Max Müller in his Hibbert Lectures; in which he also alleged that I had erred in asserting that the Egyptians abstained from using the sacred name Osiris. This second alleged error I have dealt with in a note on page 274, where I think it is made manifest that Prof. Max Müller would have done well to examine the evidence more carefully before committing himself.

The mention of Prof. Max Müller reminds me of another matter concerning which a few words are called for. In an article on this volume in its first edition, published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* for February 21st, 1877, it was said that the doctrine propounded in Part I, in opposition to that of the comparative mythologists, "will shortly be taken up, as we understand, by persons specially competent in that department." When there were at length, in 1878, announced Prof. Max Müller's *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, etc., etc.*, I concluded that my curiosity to see a reply would at last be gratified. But on turning over the

published report of his lectures, I discovered no attempt to deal with the hypothesis that religion is evolved from the ghost-theory: the sole reference to it being, as Mr. Andrew Lang remarks, some thirteen lines describing "psycholatry" as exhibited in Africa. The work proved to be a superfluous polemic against the hypothesis that fetishism is the primitive form of religion—superfluous, I say, because this hypothesis had been, I think, effectually disposed of by me in the first edition of this volume. Why Prof. Max Müller should have expended so much labour in disproving a doctrine already disproved, is not clear. Still less clear is it why, having before him the volume, and adversely criticizing certain statements in it referred to above, he entirely ignored the chapter in which was already done that which his lectures proposed to do.

What was the indirect purpose of his lectures I do not understand. He could not himself have supposed that a refutation of the fetish-theory was a refutation of the theory now standing opposed to his own; though it is not improbable that many of his hearers and readers, supposed that it was.

Concerning the new matter, little needs to be said. To Appendix A, entitled "Further Illustrations of Primitive Thought," the additions are such as practically to constitute it a second demonstration of the thesis demonstrated in Part I. To Appendix B, on "The Mythological Theory," a section has been prefixed. And Appendix C, on "The Linguistic Method of the Mythologists," is new.

*Bayswater, July, 1885.*

## PREFACE TO VOL. I.

---

FOR the Science of Society, the name "Sociology" was introduced by M. Comte. Partly because it was in possession of the field, and partly because no other name sufficiently comprehensive existed, I adopted it. Though repeatedly blamed by those who condemn the word as "a barbarism," I do not regret having done so. To use, as some have suggested, the word "Politics," too narrow in its meaning as well as misleading in its connotations, would be deliberately to create confusion for the sake of avoiding a defect of no practical moment. The heterogeneity of our speech is already so great that nearly every thought is expressed in words taken from two or three languages. Already, too, it has many words formed in irregular ways from heterogeneous roots. Seeing this, I accept without much reluctance another such word: believing that the convenience and suggestiveness of our symbols are of more importance than the legitimacy of their derivation.

Probably some surprise will be felt that, containing as this work does multitudinous quotations from numerous authors, there are no references at the bottoms of pages. Some words of explanation seem needful. If foot-notes are referred to, the thread of the argument is completely broken; and even if they are not referred to, attention is disturbed by the consciousness that they are there to be looked at. Hence a loss of effect and a loss of time. As I intended to use as data for the conclusions set forth in this work, the compiled and classified facts forming the *Descriptive Sociology*, it occurred to me that since the arrangement of those facts is such that



the author's name and the race referred to being given, the extract may in each case be found, and with it the reference, it was needless to waste space and hinder thought with these distracting foot-notes. I therefore decided to omit them. In so far as evidence furnished by the uncivilized races is concerned (which forms the greater part of the evidence contained in this volume), there exists this means of verification in nearly all cases. I found, however, that many facts from other sources had to be sought out and incorporated; and not liking to change the system I had commenced with, I left them in an unverifiable state. I recognize the defect, and hope hereafter to remedy it. In succeeding volumes I propose to adopt a method of reference which will give the reader the opportunity of consulting the authorities cited, while his attention to them will not be solicited. •

The instalments of which this volume consists were issued to the subscribers at the following dates:—No. 35 (pp. 1—80) in June, 1874; No. 36 (pp. 81—160) in November, 1874; No. 37 (pp. 161—240) in February, 1875; No. 38 (pp. 241—320) in May, 1875; No. 39 (pp. 321—400) in September, 1875; No. 40 (pp. 401—462, with Appendices A & B) in December, 1875; No. 41 (pp. 465—544) in April, 1876; No. 42 (pp. 545—624) in July, 1876; and No. 43 (pp. 625—704) in December, 1876; an extra No. (44) issued in June, 1877, completing the volume.

With this No. 44, the issue of the System of Synthetic Philosophy to subscribers, ceases: the intention being to publish the remainder of it in volumes only. The next volume will, I hope, be completed in 1880.

*London, December, 1876.*

## APPENDICES.

## APPENDIX A.

### FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF PRIMITIVE THOUGHT.

[To avoid over-burdening the text with illustrations—even now, perhaps, too numerous—I suppressed many that I might have added: some because they seemed superfluous; some because they were too long. Partly to give the more striking of these, I make this Appendix; but chiefly to add evidence which has since come to light, verifying certain of the conclusions not adequately supported.

The foregoing paragraph stands as it did in the first edition. I have now to add that in this revised third edition, I have largely increased this Appendix by including many further illustrations which reading and inquiry have brought to my knowledge. Joined with those before given, these additional illustrations, as now arranged, form so coherent a body of evidence, that even by themselves they would go far to establish the general doctrine set forth in the preceding volume.]

*Primitive Credulity.*—In the genesis of superstitions, a factor difficult to appreciate sufficiently, is the unquestioning faith with which statements are accepted. Here are some cases.

Of the Coast Negroes, Winterbottom says (vol. i, p. 255)—

“So strongly are they persuaded of the efficacy of these means of protection [amulets, etc.], that an African, a man of very superior mind, offered to allow a friend of mine, whose accuracy he had just been praising, to fire at him with a pistol, charged with ball.”

Laird and Oldfield tell us of the Inland Negroes (vol. ii, pp. 10, 11), that a Nuffi woman—

“imagined that she possessed a *maghony* (charm), which rendered her invulnerable to all edge tools and cutting instruments. So positive and convinced was she of the efficacy of her charm, that she voluntarily assented to hold her leg while some person should strike it with an axe. The king (or chief) of her town, on hearing this, determined to try the power of her charm, and desired a man to take an axe, and see whether this wonderful *maghony* would protect her from its effects. . . . Her leg was laid upon a block, and a powerful blow given below the knee. . . . To the poor woman's great horror and the terror of all present, her leg flew to the other side of the room.”

To this absolute confidence in dogmas impressed by seniors during early life, must be ascribed the readiness with which

attendants, wives, and even friends, kill themselves at a funeral that they may join the deceased in the other world. The instance named by Bancroft (vol. i, p. 288) of the Walla Walla chieftain who "caused himself to be buried alive in the grave with the last of his five sons," reminding us of the Fijians and Tannese who go cheerfully to their voluntary deaths, vividly illustrates this trait which makes monstrous creeds possible.

No evidence shakes such beliefs. Disproofs are evaded by asserting beliefs equally absurd. Speaking of a distant stump mistaken for a man, an Australian said to Mr. Cameron—"That fellow was a gumatch [ghost], only when you came up he made himself like a stump" (*Anthropol. Inst. Jour.*, vol. xiv, p. 363).

*Natural Illusions.*—In § 53, I argued that these probably aid in strengthening those conceptions of things which the primitive man forms. How they thus play a part is shown in Vámbéry's *Sketches of Central Asia*, pp. 72, 73:—

"As we were crossing the high plateau of Kafan Kir, which forms part of Ustyort, running towards the north-east, the horizon was often adorned with the most beautiful Fata Morgana. This phenomenon is undoubtedly to be seen in the greatest perfection in the hot, but dry, atmosphere of the deserts of Central Asia, and affords the most splendid optical illusions which one can imagine. I was always enchanted with these pictures of cities, towers, and castles dancing in the air, of vast caravans, horsemen engaged in combat, and individual gigantic forms which continually disappeared from one place to reappear in another. As for my nomad companions, they regarded the neighbourhoods where these phenomena are observed with no little awe. According to their opinion these are ghosts of men and cities which formerly existed there, and now at certain times roll about in the air."

This account recalls the descriptions given by the uncultured among ourselves of the northern aurora: similarly showing, as it does, that an excited imagination gives definiteness to indefinite forms; for it does not seem possible that in the remote regions indicated by Vámbéry, there can have been any such thing as a Fata Morgana derived from an actual city. Among ourselves, especially in troubled times, unusual displays of the Aurora Borealis are described by superstitious people as the conflicts of armies in the heavens.

Not only has hypothesis an effect conspicuous to all in perverting judgment, but it has an effect, less manifest but still decided, in perverting perception. Elsewhere I have given examples of this effect (*Essays*, first series, original edition, p. 412), and doubtless they have been observed by many. If hypothesis thus perturbs perception during states of mental calm, still more does it perturb it during states of mental excitement—especially those produced by fear. The faintest suggestion proceeding either from within or from without, then imposes

itself so strongly on the mind that true perception becomes scarcely possible. It needs but to remember that recognition of a thing as such or such, is a mental act in which imagination always plays a large part, by adding to the mere visual impressions those many ideas which constitute a conception of the thing giving the impressions, to see that when, in a state of fright, imagination is put on a wrong track, association readily furnishes all those attributes which are needful to fill up the framework which the appearance yields; and consciousness once filled with the alarming conception, can with difficulty be brought back to that relatively passive state required for receiving the actual impressions, and rightly interpreting them.

Hence where there exists that primitive credulity exemplified above, the rectifying of a perception thus distorted by imagination cannot be expected. Minds having those traits set forth in the chapter entitled "The Primitive Man, Intellectual"—minds which have had no culture giving them tendencies towards criticism and scepticism—minds which have no notion of a natural order, of law, of cause; are minds which can make no resistance to any suggested idea or interpretation. There is no organized experience to produce hesitation. There is no doubt taking the shape—"This cannot be," or—"That is impossible." Consequently, a fancy once having got possession, retains possession, and becomes an accepted fact. If we always carry with us the remembrance of this attitude of mind, we shall see how apparently reasonable to savages are explanations of things which they make.

*Some Early Interpretations.*—If we set out with the truth that the laws of mind are the same throughout the animal kingdom, we shall see that from the behaviour of animals in presence of unfamiliar phenomena, we may obtain some clue to the interpretations which primitive men make of such phenomena. A brute, even of great power and courage, betrays alarm in presence of a moving object the like of which it has never seen before. The assertion that a tiger has been known to show fear of a mouse in his cage, is made more credible than it would else be by watching a dog when there is placed before him some such creature as a small crab. Dread of the unknown appears to be a universal emotion—even when the unknown is not at all portentous in character.

Stranger and enemy are almost synonymous in the minds of brutes and of primitive men. By inherited effects of experiences the connexion of ideas has been made organic; as an infant in arms shows us when an unfamiliar face makes it cry, though in its own life no evil has ever followed the sight of an unfamiliar face. While "familiarity breeds contempt" even of

the vast or of the powerful, unusualness breeds fear even of that which is relatively small or feeble.

On the one hand, then, a periodic event which is intrinsically very imposing, excites but little attention if no mischief has ever been joined with it; while, on the other hand, an event not intrinsically imposing, if it has never before been witnessed, and especially if it seems to show the spontaneity indicative of life, arouses a sense of insecurity. As was shown in Chapter IX of Part I, it is by the spontaneity of their acts that living objects are conspicuously distinguished from dead objects; and hence this trait becomes the sign of an ability to do various things besides that which is witnessed—to do, therefore, something which may prove injurious or fatal.

Carrying with us this conception of the attitude common to animal intelligence and uninstructed human intelligence, we shall see why certain regularly recurring phenomena of an astonishing kind, such as the daily appearance and disappearance of the Sun, excite in the primitive man neither surprise nor speculation; at the same time that a phenomenon which unexpectedly breaks the ordinary course of things by a sound or motion, produces dismay, followed by some vague suggestion of an agent: the agent thought of being one having some likeness to agents disclosed by past experiences. Hence the tendency to ascribe any irregularly recurring phenomenon to a living creature (the actions of living creatures being irregular), and, primarily, to a living creature differing in the least degree possible from living creatures of known kinds. Observe some samples of these early interpretations. Of a place in the Chippeway country, Catlin says—

“Near this spot, also, on a high mound, is the ‘Thunder’s nest’ (*nid-du-tonnerz*), where ‘a very small bird sits upon her eggs during fair weather, and the skies are rent with bolts of thunder at the approach of a storm, which is occasioned by the hatching of her brood!’” (Geo. Catlin, *Illustrations, etc., of the North American Indians*, vol. ii, p. 164.)

Of an allied race, the Ojibways, we read:—

“No one seemed fortunate enough to discover the resort of these great birds, which were called *Ah-ne-me-keeg* (Thunders).” . . . “These birds are seldom seen, but are often heard in the skies, where they fly higher than they once did. . . . They wink, and the fire flashes from their eyes.” (G. Copway, *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation*, pp. 110, 113.)

So, too, concerning the Western Indians of North America, Mr. H. A. Boller tells us that his companion, “the Bob-tail-Wolf”—

“said that there was, high in air, far out of sight, flying continually and never resting, an eagle of terrible size. . . . He flaps his wings, and loud peals of thunder roll over the prairie; when he winks his eyes, it lightens.” (*Among the Indians*, p. 257.)

By a distant unallied people, the Karens, the cause of storms is said to be an animal "with bat-like wings." "When it utters its voice, it thunders, and when it flaps its wings, fire is produced, and it lightens." (Mason, *Jour. Asiatic Socy. Bengal*, xxxiv, Part 2, p. 217.)

Now a thunderstorm being one of those incidents characterized by an apparent spontaneity suggestive of living agency, the question which naturally arises is—"What is the living agent?" The sky is the region in which this sudden action is witnessed. The living agent is therefore inferred to be some creature which frequents the sky—a flying creature, bird-like or bat-like. Here let us note two things. First there is formed in the mind a simple association between this incident which by its character suggests living agency, and a living agent such as is commonly seen in the neighbourhood of its occurrence. Second, the conceived agent is not of the kind we call supernatural—does not belong to a supposed spiritual world; but is a purely natural agent. And the obvious course of thought is one that brings the actions observed into the same category with the actions of the living creatures supposed to be instrumental: wind being ascribed to the flapping of wings, sound to this cause or to a voice, and lightning to the flashing of eyes.

In a different though allied class, stand the interpretations of eclipses. Among uncultured peoples, animals are generally the assigned agents; and though they are not flying animals, yet they are animals supposed to be in the heavens. Remembering that various savages, as instance the Esquimaux, believe beasts as well as men have access to the sky from the mountain-tops—remembering the Cahroc story given in § 189, of the coyote who thus got among the stars; we may see how it happens that when imagining some living agent which produces this sudden change in the Sun by taking out a piece from his side, savages should think of a beast as the cause. Naturally enough "the Esthonians say the sun or moon 'is being eaten'" (Grimm, *Teutonic Myth.*, vol. ii, p. 707); since the being eaten accounts alike for the gradual disappearance, and for the sharp outline of the increasing gap made. We find kindred interpretations in many places. By the Guarani "eclipses were held to be occasioned by a jaguar and a great dog, who pursued the sun and moon to devour them" (Southey, *History of Brazil*, vol. ii, pp. 371-2). The Norse mythology tells of "Mánagarmr (moon-dog);" and on the occasion of an eclipse the Norse "fancied the monster had already got a part of the shining orb between his jaws" (Grimm, *Teutonic Myth.*, vol. ii, p. 706). We read of the remote Chiquitos of South America, that "during an eclipse [of the moon] they shoot arrows upward, and cry aloud to drive away the dogs, who, they believe, hunt her through

heaven; and when they overtake her, the darkness of the orb is caused by the blood which runs from her wounds" (Southey, *History of Brazil*, vol. i, p. 335). Evidently, then, this explanation arises naturally in primitive minds. The kindred, and yet different, explanation of the Nootka-Sound people, who, on the occasion of an eclipse "pointed to the moon, and said that a great cod-fish was endeavouring to swallow her" (Jewitt, *Narrative of Captivity among the Savages of Nootka Sound*, p. 165), and the similar belief current among the Arabs, that a huge fish pursues the planet which is eclipsed (Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 106), may possibly result from the conception of waters above the firmament in which great fish reside. But, in any case, we see in these interpretations, as in those of thunderstorms, that there is as near an assimilation as may be to the natural actions of natural agents. There is neither any thought of a deity as the cause, nor of anything to be classed as spiritual power.

Take next the interpretations given in different places of earthquakes. Kæmpfer says the Japanese "are of opinion, that the cause of earthquakes is a huge whale's creeping underground" (*History of Japan, Pinkerton's Voyages*, vol. vii, pp. 684-5). Now whether or not it is true that, as Dr. Tylor suggests, the finding of large fossil bones, implying the occasional presence of great animals underground, led to this interpretation, and similarly in Siberia, led to the interpretation of earthquakes as due to motions of underground mammoths—creatures whose bones, and even undecayed bodies, are found imbedded in ice below the surface; it is clear that the same mode of thought is exhibited. This sudden and seemingly-spontaneous motion of the Earth is ascribed to an agent of the class which habitually exhibits sudden spontaneous motions—an animal. And the question—What animal? being raised, the conclusion is that it must be an animal which exists down below. Explanations elsewhere given betray like trains of ideas. Bancroft says "the Southern Californians believed that when the Creator made the world he fixed it on the back of seven giants, whose movements . . . caused earthquakes" (*Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. iii, p. 122). As given by John Bell, a conception of the Lamas was that the Earth rests on a golden frog; "and whenever this prodigious frog had occasion to scratch its head, or stretch out its foot, that part of the earth immediately above was shaken" (*A Journey from St. Petersburg to Pekin in the year 1719. Pinkerton's Voyages*, vol. vii, p. 369). So, too, by the Norse belief that earthquakes are caused "by the struggles of chained Loki" (Grimm, *Teutonic Myth.*, vol. ii, p. 816); as well as by the Fijian belief that when Dengeh "turns about or trembles in his cave the



earth shakes and quakes exceedingly" (*Loloma, or Two Years in Cannibal-land*, by H. Britton, p. 195-6); we are shown that the hypothesis is of the naturalistic class rather than of the supernaturalistic class. The effect is ascribed to a living agent conceived as existing where the effect is produced, and operating after the same mechanical manner with known living agents. The only case I have met with in which agency of this kind is not assigned, serves still better to show that the phenomenon is classed with known natural phenomena. Concerning the Esquimaux interpretation of earthquakes, Crantz says—"they imagine that the globe of the earth rests upon pillars, which are now mouldering away by age, so that they frequently crack" (*History of Greenland*, i, 211).

From earthquakes we may pass to volcanic eruptions without finding any wider divergence from this form of explanation than is to be expected from the nature of the appearances. Two low races, remote in habitat and type, yield illustrations. In North America "the Koniagas, for example, held that the craters of Alaska were inhabited by beings mightier than men, and that these sent forth fire and smoke when they heated their sweat-houses, or cooked their food" (Bancroft, *Native Races*, etc., vol. iii, p. 122). And among the aborigines of Western Australia, it is a tradition that "'once on a time, the In-gnas, who live underground, being very sulky, to spite the poor black fellows, who seem to have the good-will of no one, made great fires and threw up red-hot stones, fire, etc., and thus burned the whole of that country'" (*The Aborigines of Australia*. A. Oldfield, in *Tr. Eth. Socy.*, N.S., vol. iii, p. 232). The only noteworthy unlikeness here, is that beings of the human type are assumed: probably for the reason that they are the only known kinds of beings who can produce fire or make use of it.

For collecting together these interpretations of thunderstorms, eclipses, earthquakes, and eruptions, my motive has been to show that in primitive thought, events which are of irregular occurrence, and by this, as well as by their apparent spontaneity, suggest living agents, are ascribed to living agents deviating as little from ordinary ones as may be; and are devoid of anything like religious idea or sentiment. The beliefs held concerning these events yield no signs of that Nature-worship supposed to be innate in the uncivilized; though the portentousness of the events might be expected to arouse it, did it exist. Nor do they betray the conception of one or many invisible powers of the kind called supernatural among advanced peoples. Though we carelessly group together all absurd ideas of savages under the general name of superstitions, yet, as we here see, there is a significant distinction between these which show no

recognition of alleged spiritual beings and those in which such recognition is shown. But now, how does there result transition from the one to the other? Some interpretations of intermediate kinds will prepare the way for an answer.

The ancient Peruvians fancied Thunder "to be a man in heaven, with a sling and a mace, and that it is in his power to cause raine, haile, thunder" (*Jos. de Acosta*, vol. ii, p. 304). In Samoa "the chiefs were supposed to go to the heavens and send down lightning, thunder, and rain" (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 277). And describing the beliefs of the Veddahs (whose gods are the ghosts of relatives), Bailey writes:—"Of thunder they say 'a spirit or a god has cried out'" (*Trans. Eth. Socy. Lon.*, N.S., ii, p. 302, and note §). In these cases, then, the living agent conceived is a man who either retains in the heavens his original character, or is in some way transfigured. Concerning eclipses we read that "the Tlascaltecs, regarding the sun and the moon as husband and wife, believed eclipses to be domestic quarrels" (Bancroft, *Native Races, etc.*, vol. iii, p. 111). Marsden says of the Sumatrans, that "during an eclipse they made a loud noise with sounding instruments, to prevent one luminary from devouring the other" (*History of Sumatra*, p. 194). And then among the Polynesians, "some imagined that on an eclipse, the sun and moon were swallowed by the god which they had by neglect offended. Liberal presents were offered, which were supposed to induce the god to abate his anger, and eject the luminaries of day and night from his stomach" (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1859, vol. i, pp. 331-2).

Here then, while the appearances are explained as caused by unknown living beings acting in ways allied to those of known living beings, we have, in the introduction here of a transfigured man, and there of a god, as instrumental, a recourse to explanations no longer of the purely natural kind.

Whence comes this new order of supposed beings? How does there arise in men's minds the idea of a species of animate power unlike the animate powers they see around them in beasts and men? What originates the conception of this supernatural agency which, once adopted, develops so largely as nearly to exclude all other agency? There is a simple answer. By transition from the dream to the ghost, and from the ghost to the god, there is reached a conceived kind of cause capable of indefinite expansion and admitting of all adjustments; and hence serving for explanations of every kind.

*Confusion of Dreams with Realities during Childhood.*—Occasionally we hear it remarked of dreams that their seeming actuality affected the feelings for some time after awaking: an

impression like that, say, of escape from real danger, continuing after recognition of the fact that the danger was ideal. The tendency of an extremely vivid dream thus to generate an emotion such as accompanies reality, is one factor in producing belief in its reality. I have lately met with striking proofs of this. In a company of less than a dozen persons, three testified to having in childhood had such vivid dreams of flying down stairs, and being impressed so strongly with the experiences as real, that they actually tried to fly down stairs; and one of them suffered from an injured ankle consequent on the attempt.

On writing subsequently to the lady in whose family these statements were made, to verify my recollections of them, she gave me a story which one of her daughters had subsequently narrated, showing how literally this daughter had accepted her visions in childhood. Brought up amid much talk about animals, she, on one occasion, dreamed that a gorilla, who lived near at hand, gave her something; and, she added—"When I walked up the lane, I used to wonder where the gorilla lived."

Now if dream-experiences and waking experiences are thus confounded by the children of the civilized, notwithstanding the discriminations which they have heard made by adults, and notwithstanding the conception that has been given to them of mind as an indwelling entity distinct from body; it is obvious that primitive men, lacking this theory of mind, lacking words in which to express many perceivable distinctions, and lacking, too, instruction from the more cultivated, will inevitably confuse dream-thoughts and the thoughts of the waking state. Hence on reading of savages, as for instance the Kamschadales, that the ideas of sleeping and waking life are apt to be confounded by them, we shall see that, so far from being anomalous, a confounding of them to a greater or less extent is at first inevitable.

Especially shall we see no difficulty in recognizing the interpretations of primitive conceptions thus yielded, when we remember that even still, in some of the educated among ourselves, there survives a belief in the reality of beings seen in dreams; and that at the present moment there exists a group of highly-cultivated men having for one of their objects to collect the narratives of supernatural visitations during sleep.

*Dreams as literally accepted by Savages.*—Already in §§ 70, 71, I have variously illustrated the truth that adults among savages, like many children among ourselves, regard as real the adventures gone through, and persons seen, in dreams. The Zulus furnished sundry instances, which will be recalled by this additional one:—

"Why did not our ancestral spirits tell me in a dream that there was

something which they wanted, instead of revealing themselves by coming to kill the child in this way?" (Bp. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu*, pp. 371-2.)

And I may add another somewhat different in kind furnished by the mythology of the Mangaians. They say that "Vātea, the father of gods and men . . . in his dreams several times saw a beautiful woman. On one happy occasion he succeeded in clutching her in his sleep, and thus detained the fair sprite as his wife" (W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs, &c.*, pp. 3, 7). But among the most specific and instructive facts exhibiting these primitive conceptions, are those recently given by Mr. Everard F. Im Thurn, concerning the Indians of British Guiana. I quote from the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xi :—

"One morning when it was important to get away from a camp on the Essequibo River, at which I had been detained for some days by the illness of some of my Indian companions, I found that one of the invalids, a young Macusi Indian, though better in health, was so enraged against me that he refused to stir; for he declared that, with great want of consideration for his weak health, I had taken him out during the night, and had made him drag the canoe up a series of difficult cataracts. Nothing would persuade him of the fact that this was but a dream." (p. 364.)

"At that time we were all suffering from a great scarcity of food. . . . Morning after morning the Indians declared that some absent man, whom they named, had visited their hammocks during the night, and had beaten or otherwise maltreated them; and they always insisted upon much rubbing of the supposed bruised parts of their bodies." (p. 364.)

"In the middle of one night I was awakened by an Arawak, named Sam, the captain or headman of my Indians, only to be told the bewildering words, 'George speak me very bad, boss; you cut his bits.' It was some time before I could sufficiently collect my senses to remember that 'bits,' or fourpenny pieces, are the units in which, among Creoles and semi-civilized Indians, calculations of money, and consequently of wages, are made; that 'to cut bits' means to reduce the number of bits, or the wages given; and to understand that Sam, as captain, having dreamed that George, his subordinate, had spoken impudently to him, the former with a fine sense of the dignity of his position, now insisted that the culprit should be punished in real life." (pp. 364-5.)

Experiences of this kind led Mr. Im Thurn to the conclusion expressed in another paragraph, that "the dreams which come in sleep to the Indian are to him as real as any of the events of his waking life." (p. 364.)

*Walking Visions.*—In illustration of these, and the acceptance of them as real by the Guiana Indians, Mr. Im Thurn writes, in the above-named paper in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, as follows :—

"One morning in 1878, when I was living in a Macusi village, a party of Indians of the same tribe with whom I had had some dealings, came from their neighbouring village with the extraordinary request that I would lend them guns and would go with them to attack the Arecuna Indians of a village some twenty miles distant. Though there is an unusually strong

feeling of hostility between the Macusi and the Arecuna Indians, this request, remembering how peaceful the Indians now generally are, seemed to me very strange. It was explained that a certain man, named Tori, one of the suppliants, had a day or two previously been sitting alone on the savannah outside his house, when looking up from the arrow-head which he was fashioning, he found some Arecunas, whom he knew by sight, belonging to the village against which war was now to be waged, standing over him with uplifted war-clubs as if to strike him down. Tori continued to explain that his shouts bringing his own people out of their houses, the Arecunas vanished without doing any harm. The story was utterly incredible, but after much cross-examination, it was evident that Tori himself believed it, and I can only suppose that it was a case in which a natural vision was believed as a reality." (p. 366.)

Respecting phenomena of this kind Mr. Im Thurn says of the Indian that "visions are to him, when awake, what dreams are to him when asleep; and the creatures of his visions seem in no way different from those of his dreams." (p. 365.) And he then contrasts visions of two kinds:—

"A distinction may here be drawn . . . between natural visions—those which appear to a man in consequence of the abnormal condition in which his body accidentally happens to be at the moment—and artificial visions, which appear to a man in consequence of the abnormal condition into which he has brought himself by such means as fasting and the use of stimulants or narcotics for the express purpose of experiencing visions." (p. 365.)

These last, which he distinguishes as artificial visions, he remarks are "much more frequent in Indian life, especially in one particular connection—the *peaiman*, or medicine man, the priest, doctor, sorcerer, and prophet of Indian society." (p. 366.)

*Waking Visions among the Civilized.*—How naturally savages, accepting as real their visions during sleep, may be misled by waking visions, will be made clear by reading accounts of illusions which occur during abnormal nervous excitements among ourselves. In support of the interpretations given in the first part of this work, I received, in 1877, an account of his experiences from Mr. F. G. Fleay, the Shakspearean scholar. He kindly allows me to publish them; which I do after making some abridgments:—

"About 1844, when 13 years old, after a lengthened experience of somnambulism and sleep talking, induced by nervous excitement caused by injudicious legends told me by a nurse in order to secure silence through fright as to her connexion with a policeman, I read a vast amount of ghost-literature, old witch-trials, German tales of horror, etc. This produced an exalted nervous excitement, whence disease of optic nerves. The first illusion was seeing my bedroom filled with stars at night, and the floor covered with oyster-shells in the morning. I always went to bed without candle in order to get rid of a fear of the dark. This was followed by a number of more complex illusions, the most remarkable of which was a shower of human heads passing in through the window in a cascade.

"About 1845, I woke up at midnight, and saw my brother (then living) lying on the bed. I attempted to take hold of him, but my arm passed through him. His subsequent death convinced me that this was no illusion,

but that he had actually visited me in his sleep. I mean that his 'soul' had been with me. . . . My belief, previously pure materialistic (2nd stage, 1st being pagan) became a sort of spiritualistic Christianity.

"In 1851-2, when an undergraduate, I woke up one morning, and on opening my eyes (not having been dreaming of the thing), I saw Raphael's Madonna 'in the chair' on the ceiling in full colours. I had often seen engravings of this picture, but no coloured copy as I supposed. I thereupon noted the colours carefully, and was surprised on enquiry to find them accurate. By chance, some weeks after, I was told of Baxter's oleograph, and found that I had passed one in a shop-window in Trinity Street, Cambridge, the night before my vision.

"In 1854, I had been playing whist late. Mr. W—— had lost a few shillings, perhaps five. I woke up in the night, and saw him standing in his nightshirt demanding compensation audibly, and stating that he had committed suicide. He put his cold hand on my chest, then I tried to move it, and found it my own, which had become numb and cold from being exposed. There is a case of 'ghosts demanding revenge.' Had he really been a great loser and I a gainer, he might have killed himself, and a strong case for actual appearance have been made out.

"In 1853-4, I had my most singular experiences. Over-reading for triposes (I got two firsts and two seconds) caused independent action of the two halves of the brain, and I held conversation with myself, one-half of me assuming the personality of John Gedge of my year.

"About 1856, I was staying in Bloomsbury Street. . . . The house had been used as a lunatic asylum. I slept in the room formerly used for lunatics. I saw at 1 a.m. a man cutting his throat at the bed-foot. On rising up he vanished, lying down he reappeared. I drank water, he disappeared altogether. I found that moonlight on white drapery of the bed exactly represented a shirt-sleeve—the rest of the figure was produced by association.

"About 1859, I dreamed at Leeds that I was in my father's kitchen at Clapham, calling out to my brother, 'Gus, come down.' A few days after, I had a letter from him stating that he had a singular dream that I was calling out to him on the same night, or the night after; he had made no note, and could not tell which when I saw him. But the dates of the letters left no doubt it was same night. Case of singular coincidence which would suggest theory of actual separation of soul from body, cases of non-coincidence being explained by forgetfulness, or Swedenborgian self-evolution of scenery.

"About 1855, I dreamed that I had received a letter containing some important statement about me, I did not know what (compare De Quincey, Opium), on which all my future depended. The delusion lasted all the next day, which I spent in looking for the imaginary letter. Case of over-smoking. *Use of stimulants (wrongly called narcotics) a most important factor in later development of superstitions.*

"Later, before 1864.—Sleeping at Mr. Henry Wallis' (Death of Chatterton Wallis): in semi-waking state could produce at will panorama of towns, historical events, &c., in full colour. But the figures had no motion, only the canvas so to say moved as in a diorama. Smoking again with artists till 2 a.m., and talking of pictures.

"In 1871, at Hipperholme.—My predecessor committed suicide in the room I slept in, by hanging. I saw him in cap and gown lying on my bed at mid-day. Found it was my own gown; cap, head, &c., supplied by association. This was my last experience."

The part which mere coincidence plays in causing apparent supernatural agency is far greater than is supposed. The instance given above by Mr. Fleay, which he thus accounts for,

is less remarkable than two perfectly natural coincidences, and quite meaningless ones, which have occurred within my own personal experience.

*Wandering of the Soul during Life.*—Such illusions as those above described, which, among cultured peoples, are now regarded as subjective, are naturally, by the primitive man, regarded as objective: his interpretation of them being that they are things seen and done by his soul when it leaves his body while he is awake. Says Mr. Im Thurn respecting such illusions among the Guiana Indians—“Not only in death and in dreams, but in yet a third way the Indian sees the spirit separate from the body.” (p. 365.) The following extracts show among other peoples, partially-different forms of this primitive belief:—

“At Uea, one of the Loyalty Islands, it was the custom formerly when a person was very ill to send for a man whose employment it was ‘to restore souls to forsaken bodies.’ The soul-doctor would at once collect his friends and assistants, to the number of twenty men and as many women, and start off to the place where the family of the sick man was accustomed to bury their dead. Upon arriving there, the soul-doctor and his male companions commenced playing the *nasal* flutes with which they had come provided, in order to entice back the spirit to its old tenement. The women assisted by a low whistling, supposed to be irresistibly attractive to exile spirits. After a time the entire procession proceeded towards the dwelling of the sick person, flutes playing and the women whistling all the time, *leading back the truant spirit!* To prevent its possible escape, with their palms open, they seemingly drove it along with gentle violence and coaxing. . . . On entering the dwelling of the patient, the vagrant spirit was ordered in loud tones at once to enter the body of the sick man.” (Gill, Rev. W. W., *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, pp. 171-2.)

#### Among the Hervey Islanders—

“The philosophy of sneezing is, that the spirit having gone travelling about—perchance on a visit to the homes or burying-places of its ancestors—its return to the body is naturally attended with some difficulty and excitement, occasioning a tingling and enlivening sensation all over the body. Hence the various customary remarks addressed to the returned spirit in different islands. At Karotonga, when a person sneezes, the bystanders exclaim, as though addressing a spirit . . . ‘Ha! you have come back.’” (Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 177.)

#### The belief held by the Karens is that—

“The ‘Wi’ has the power of reviving the dead or dying, but he must first catch the spirit of some person alive and divert it to the dead one.” (Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 117.)

#### By the Samoans—

“The soul of man is called his *angānga*, or that which goes or comes. It is said to be the daughter of *Taufanuu*, or *vapour of lands*, which forms clouds, and as the dark cloudy covering of night comes on, man feels sleepy, because the soul wishes to go and visit its mother.” (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 8.)

#### Concerning the Andamanese we read:—

“When appealed to in serious illness the *ōko-paiad* [*lit.* a dreamer] first

examines the patient and presses the limbs, muttering and making sundry strange noises as if invoking and kissing some invisible person; he then informs the sufferer and his friends that he is about to search for the spirit which, at such times, is believed to be wandering in or towards . . . Hades." (E. H. Man, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xi, 289).

*Death and Re-Animation.*—Placed in the foregoing order, the extracts show the natural transition from the belief that the soul wanders away in dreams and during waking hours, to the belief that at death it takes its departure for a longer period, but will eventually come back. In his account of the Guiana Indians, Mr. Im Thurn recognizes this connexion of ideas. He says—

"When a man dies something goes, something is left. The survivors necessarily distinguish in thought between these two parts, and they call them respectively by some such names as spirit and body. A curious illustration of this is afforded by a saying of the Macusi Indians of Guiana, as they point out that at death the small human figure disappears from the pupil of a man's eye, that the spirit, the *emmawarri*, as they call it, has gone from out of him. . . . But it is not only in death that the Indian sees the two separate. It is a platitude among civilized people to remark on the similarity between 'death and his brother sleep.' But great as the similarity is to us it seems far greater to the Indian. To us the similarity lies merely in the fact that in both there is rest from the work of this life: but to the Indian it lies in the fact that in both the spirit departs from the body only to continue its labours under hardly altered circumstances." (pp. 363-4.)

How little the state after death is supposed to differ from the state during life, is shown by the extent to which bodily comforts are cared for. Many instances were given in Part I, and here are some further instructive ones. In his elaborate work on the Australians, Mr. Brough Smyth quotes Senior Constable James concerning the Dieyerie tribe, as follows:—

"Every night for one moon (four weeks) two old men went to the grave about dusk, and carefully swept all round it; each morning, for the same period, they visited it, to see if there were any tracks of the dead man on the swept space. They told me that if they were to find tracks they would have to remove the body and bury it elsewhere, as the foot-marks would denote that the dead man was 'walking' and discontented with his present grave." (*Aborigines of Victoria*, i, 119.)

Mr. Smyth precedes this by another case. He gives it on the authority of Mr. W. H. Wright to the effect that a native having been buried with the usual implements and comforts, his friends came back to the spot after "a great storm of wind and rain" and dug up "that poor fellow 'Georgey,'" because he "was too much cold and wet and miserable where he was buried." They exhumed the body, "wrapped an additional blanket and comforter round it," and "placed it in a hollow tree." (*Ibid.*, i, 108.)

Similar ideas are implied by certain customs in Humphrey's Island, as described by Turner.

"At the grave the priest prayed, called out the name of the person who



had died, handed over to the corpse some scented oil, and said it had been made specially for him. In filling up the grave they put in first of all a quantity of small coral stones and told the dead man to cover himself well." (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 277.)

Among the Coreans, too, there is an observance betraying a like belief that the dead retain their senses and desires.

"During this first mourning, a serving person takes a garment, formerly worn by the deceased, and goes with it to the highest point on the top of the house, where—holding the garment, the neck in his left hand, the hem in his right, and looking northwards, whither the spirits (*Yin*) flee—he thrice calls loudly the name of the deceased. . . . This is the last effort to bring back the spirit to the body." (Rev. John Ross, *History of Corea*, p. 321.)

And similar in their implications are sundry of the other funeral ceremonies, which Ross describes thus:—

"At the ordinary hours of the day at which he used to take his food, dishes are prepared and offered, and then wailing and weeping follow." (p. 318.) Food and precious stones are put into the deceased's mouth. (pp. 324-5.) The mourners bow twice and mourn; and then the things are removed. "During the removal, the Shangjoo, [principal mourner] leaning on his staff, weeps bitterly because his father cannot eat." (p. 332.)

With these may fitly be named the observances by which the ancient Scythians betrayed a kindred conception.

"When any one dies, his nearest of kin lay him upon a wagon and take him round to all his friends in succession: each receives them in turn and entertains them with a banquet, whereat the dead man is served with a portion of all that is set before the others; this is done for forty days, at the end of which time the burial takes place." (Herodotus, Bk. iv, 73.)

*Reviving Corpses.*—Of course as a sequence of the belief that death is a suspended animation, there naturally goes the belief that buried persons are from time to time resuscitated. The *Eyrbyggja-Saga* shows that among our Scandinavian kinsmen there prevailed the primitive notion that the material body, re-animated by its wandering double, can leave its burial-place and work mischief. Here is a note appended to the abstract of the *Saga* compiled by Sir W. Scott. (Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, 1847, pp. 530-1.)

"After the death of Arnkill, Bægifot became again troublesome, and walked forth from his tomb to the great terror and damage of the neighbourhood, slaying both herds and domestics, and driving the inhabitants from the canton. It was, therefore, resolved to consume his carcase with fire; for . . . he, or some evil demon in his stead, made use of his mortal reliques as a vehicle during commission of these enormities. The body" was burnt.

Noting the implied belief, like that which we have found prevalent among the savage and semi-civilized, that destruction of the body prevents this kind of resurrection, we may also note the implied belief, illustrated in other cases, that one who gets part of a dead body thereby gets power over the deceased person; for if destruction of the whole paralyzes the ghost entirely, injury of a part must be detrimental to the ghost.

The Vampire-stories of the Russians, illustrate the same belief in excursions made by the corpse. Here is one :—

“A peasant was driving past a grave-yard, after it had grown dark. After him came running a stranger, dressed in a red shirt and a new jacket, who cried,—‘Stop! take me as your companion.’ ‘Pray take a seat.’ They enter a village, drive up to this and that house. . . . They drive on to the very last house. . . . They go into the house; there on the bench lie two sleepers—an old man and a lad. The stranger takes a pail, places it near the youth, and strikes him on the back; immediately the back opens, and forth flows rosy blood. The stranger fills the pail full, and drinks it dry. Then he fills another pail with blood from the old man, slakes his brutal thirst, and says to the peasant,—‘It begins to grow light! let us go back to my dwelling.’ In a twinkling they found themselves at the grave-yard. The vampire would have clasped the peasant in its arms, but luckily for him the cocks began to crow, and the corpse disappeared. The next morning, when folks came and looked, the old man and the lad were both dead.” (Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 411-2.)

*Sorcery.*—The relation of the foregoing beliefs to those practices by which magicians are supposed to raise the dead and control demons, was suggested in § 133. Further proofs that the more developed forms of sorcery thus originate, have since come to me. The following passage from Sir George Grey’s *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 114-5, implies the anxiety of a son to rescue relics of his father from enchanters.

“Rata, without stopping, crept directly towards the fire, and hid himself behind some thick bushes of the Harakeke; he then saw that there were some priests upon the other side of the same bushes, serving at the sacred place, and, to assist themselves in their magical arts, they were making use of the bones of Wahieroa, knocking them together to beat time while they were repeating a powerful incantation. . . . he rushed suddenly upon the priests. . . . The bones of his father, Wahieroa, were then eagerly snatched up by him; he hastened with them back to the canoe.”

From pp. 34-5 of the same work, I quote another passage, similarly implying the power which possession of a relic gives :—

“When the stomach of Muri-ranga-whenua had quietly sunk down to its usual size, her voice was again heard saying, ‘Art thou Maui?’ and he answered, ‘Even so.’ Then she asked him, ‘Wherefore hast thou served thy old ancestress in this deceitful way?’ and Maui answered, ‘I was anxious that thy jawbone, by which the great enchantments can be wrought, should be given to me.’ She answered, ‘Take it, it has been reserved for thee.’ And Maui took it, and having done so returned to the place where he and his brethren dwelt.”

When with these, and other such illustrations given in § 133, we join the fact that even still in Italy the people tell of the child that is “kidnapped and buried up to the chin, while the witches torment him to death to make *hell-broth of his liver*,” (*Fortnightly Review*, Feb., 1874, p. 220), we cannot doubt the origin of necromancy. Starting with the primitive belief that the spirit of the living person, inhering in all parts of his body,

is affected by acting on a detached part of it, there is reached the belief that the spirit of the dead person is similarly affected by maltreating a relic; and with this goes the belief that all parts of the body will eventually be needed by the deceased, and that therefore his spirit can be commanded by one who has any part.

Evidence even more strongly confirming this view is contained in *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, by Dr. Henry Rink. The following extracts I place in an order which shows their bearings:—

"Some tales seem to hint at a belief that the manner in which the body of the deceased is treated by the survivors influences the condition of his soul." (p. 43.) "But a slain man is said to have power to avenge himself upon the murderer by *rushing into him*, which can only be prevented by eating a piece of his liver." (p. 45.) And then, among the materials necessary for sorcery, are named, *first*, "parts of human bodies, or objects that had been in some way connected with dead bodies." (p. 49.)

Here we have the three concurrent ideas—effect on the ghost by action on the body belonging to it; protection against the ghost by incorporating part of the body, and so establishing community; and coercion of the ghost by treating part of the body injuriously.

That in the higher forms of sorcery the medicine-man, now more properly to be regarded as a priest, is supposed to get knowledge and work miraculous effects by the help of a superior spirit, might be illustrated by many cases besides those given in the text. Here is one concerning the people of Mangaia:

"Priests were significantly named '*god-boxes*,'—generally abbreviated to '*gods*,' *i.e.*, living embodiments of these divinities. Whenever consulted, a present of the best food, accompanied with a bowl of intoxicating 'piper mythismum,' was indispensable. The priest, throwing himself into a frenzy, delivered a response in language intelligible only to the initiated. A favourite subject of inquiry was 'the sin why so and so was ill,' no one being supposed to die a natural death unless decrepit with extreme old age. If a priest cherished a spite against somebody, he had only to declare it to be the will of the divinity that the victim should be put to death or be laid on the altar for some offence against the gods." (Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 35.)

*Sacred Places, Temples, &c.*—Further illustrations of the genesis of these are yielded by the following extracts.

In the New Hebrides "places where remarkable men have been buried, whether recently or in times beyond present memory, are sacred, not to be approached but by their owners, who make prayers there to the *Tamate*" [ghosts]. (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x, 292.)

Among the Blantyre negroes the deceased's house becomes his temple.

"The man may be buried in his own dwelling. In this case the house is not taken down [as it otherwise would be], but is generally covered with

cloth, and the verandah becomes the place for presenting offerings. His old house thus becomes a kind of temple. There may be cases also where the deceased is buried in the village, although not in his own house. In such cases a new house will be raised above the remains." (Macdonald, *Africana*, i, p. 109.)

"Over some of the graves a small roof is built, three or six feet high, the gables of which are filled in with sinnet, wrought into different sized squares, arranged diagonally." The Queen's "body was further protected with a large roof, made of a kind of mahogany, and ornamented with pure white cowries." (Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, i, 192.)

Concerning the inhabitants of the Corea, we read :—

The "graves are ornamented at great cost. A small temple is built, where the deceased is mourned; the front of the grave is paved with cut flag-stones, which are often guarded by upright stones carved into human and other figures." (Ross, *History of Corea*, p. 320.)

In Humphrey's Island—

"The dead were usually buried, but chiefs and others much lamented were laid on a small raised platform over which a house was erected." (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, 277.)

*Immolations and Sacrifices at Graves.*—The instances given in § 104, showing that the motive for sacrificing wives at funerals among existing barbarous peoples, is that they may accompany their dead husbands to the other world, prove how erroneous have been the interpretations given by Europeans of suttee among the Hindus: one of the statements being that it was adopted as a remedy for the practice of poisoning their husbands, which had become common among Hindu women (!). If there needs a further illustration of the origin of wife-sacrifice, here is one.

"The Thracians who live above the Crestonians observe the following customs. Each man among them has several wives, and no sooner does a man die than a sharp contest ensues among the wives upon the question, which of them all the husband loved most tenderly; the friends of each eagerly plead on her behalf, and she to whom the honour is adjudged, after receiving the praises both of men and women, is slain over the grave by the hand of her next of kin, and then buried with her husband. The others are sorely grieved, for nothing is considered such a disgrace." (Herodotus, Bk. v, 5).

That human victims are immolated at the tombs of great men, as well as at the altars of gods, and, indeed, sometimes on a far more extensive scale, is proved in the case of Hamilkar.

"The Carthaginians erected funereal monuments to him, graced with periodical sacrifices, both in Carthage and in their principal colonies; on the field of battle itself [Himera] also, a monument was raised to him by the Greeks. On that monument, seventy years afterwards, his victorious grandson, fresh from the plunder of this same city of Himera, offered the bloody sacrifice of 3,000 Grecian prisoners." (Grote, *History of Greece*, v, 297-8.)

How the primitive practice of sacrificing animals at graves sometimes revives after having died out, and how it then forms

part of a worship of the dead person, is exemplified among Christians by the case of St. Agnes.

"About eight days after her execution [A.D. 306], her parents going to lament and pray at her tomb, where they continued watching all night, it is reported that there appeared unto them a vision of angels . . . among whom they saw their own daughter . . . and a lamb standing by her as white as snow . . . Ever after which time the Roman ladies went every year (as they still do) to offer and present to her on this day [St. Agnes' Day] the two best and purest white lambs they could procure. These they offered at St. Agnes's altar (as they call it)." (*Wheatly's Common Prayer*, p. 56.)

Nor is this case occurring among Catholics without parallel among Protestants. Here are cases from Wales and from Scotland:—

"There are many . . . instances of sacrifice performed in comparatively modern times either to a local god distinguished as a saint or to some real person whose memory has become confused with a pagan legend. There are records, for example, of bulls being killed at Kirkcudbright 'as an alms and oblation to St. Cuthbert,' of bullocks offered to St. Beuno, 'the saint of the Parish of Clynog' in Wales." (*Charles Elton, Origins of English History*, pp. 295-6.)

"Less than two hundred years ago it was customary in the group of parishes which surrounded Applecross to sacrifice a bull on a particular day of the year—the 25th of August—that is, the day of St. Mourie, who is the well-known patron-saint of Applecross, and who was, and is to this day, sometimes spoken of in the district as the God Mourie." (*Arthur Mitchell, The Past in the Present*, p. 147.)

*Demons and Demon-worship.*—At the outset, the ghost-theory gives origin to beliefs in ghosts that are friendly and ghosts that are malicious; of which the last, usually not ancestral, are feared more than the first, and often in a greater degree propitiated. Good illustrations occur in an essay by Mr. M. J. Walhouse, on the belief in Bhūtas among the people in Western India. Here are some extracts.

"But the last three classes, of whom more particularly it is now intended to speak, are of exclusively human origin, being malignant, discontented beings, wandering in an intermediate state between Heaven and Hell, intent upon mischief and annoyance to mortals; chiefly by means of possession and wicked inspiration, every aspect of which ancient ideas, as well as of the old doctrine of transmigration, they exemplify and illustrate. They are known by the names of Bhūta, Prēta, and Pisācha; the first name being ordinarily applied to all three, and even vulgarly to the seven superior classes. These beings, always evil, originate from the souls of those who have died untimely or violent deaths, or been deformed, idiotic, or insane; afflicted with fits or unusual ailments; or drunken, dissolute, or wicked during life. . . . The death of any well-known bad character is a source of terror to all his neighbourhood, as he is sure to become a Bhūta or demon, as powerful and malignant as he was in life. Some of the Bhūtas now most dreaded were celebrated personages of old days. . . . In their haunts and modes of appearance Bhūtas repeat the beliefs of many countries. They wander borne upon the air, especially in uninhabited, dry, and desert places; and tall trees are a favourite abode. . . . As the ancient Jews would speak to none whom they met after midnight, for fear they might be addressing a devil, so Hindu

villagers will speak to no one they may meet at that time, lest he should be a Bhût, nor, indeed, willingly then stir out of their houses. The eddies of wind that career over plains in the hot weather, whirling up leaves and columns of dust, and flickering lights seen gliding over marshes, are regarded as Bhûts passing by. . . . The before-mentioned classes are believed more particularly to afflict human beings by entering into and possessing them. Gaping or drawing deep breaths are supposed to give them opportunities for this, and no Brahman ever gapes without snapping his fingers before his mouth, as a charm to prevent an evil spirit entering. . . . All this closely tallies with the beliefs regarding possession current amongst the Jews and early Christians; the former in particular believing that unclean spirits, by reason of their tenuity, were inhaled and insinuated themselves into the human body, injuring health through the viscera, and forcing the patients to fulfil their evil desires. . . . The edifices and observances connected with Bhûta worship are both domestic and public. In villages, and very generally in towns, there is in every house a wooden cot or cradle, placed on the ground or suspended by ropes or chains, and dedicated to the Bhûta of the spot. . . . Should a member of the family be stricken with any unusual attack, such as apoplexy, paralysis, cholera, &c., or should disease break out amongst the cattle, it is at once ascribed to the anger of the Bhût, and a propitiatory sacrifice is offered. . . . The general buildings dedicated to these demons are called Bhûtastâns, and when dedicated to one of the superior, or very popular Bhûtas, sometimes of considerable size. . . . The Bhûtas themselves are usually represented by mere rough stones. . . . Various disputes and litigated matters, especially when evidence and ordinary means of adjustment fail, are then brought forward and submitted to the decision of the Bhûta, and his award, pronounced through the Dhér, is generally, though not always, submitted to. . . . In the days of the Rajahs of Coorg, a principality bordering on Canara, it was customary for the Amildars, or native heads of divisions, to issue notices and orders to the Bhûtas, in the name of the Rajah, not to molest any particular individual, to quit any tree they haunted which was required to be felled, and to desist from any particular act or annoyance. It is stated that these behests of the Government were never disobeyed, which, indeed, is not unlikely, as the last Coorg Rajah was not a man who understood being trifled with, either by man or demon. After his deposition, the native officials continued the same style of orders, in the name of the British Government, for some time before the authorities were aware of it!" (*On the Belief in Bhûtas—Devil and Ghost Worship in Western India*. By M. J. Walhouse. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. v, pp. 408-422.)

Of like nature are the beliefs of the Kanjars, as narrated in a pamphlet which Sir Alfred Lyall has been kind enough to forward me from India.

"The religion of the Kanjars, as far as we have been able to learn it, is quite what we should expect to find among a primitive and uncultivated people. It is a religion without idols, without temples, and without a priesthood. They live in the constant dread of evil spirits, the souls of the departed, who are said to enter into the bodies of the living as a punishment for past misdeeds or neglect of burial rites, and to produce most of the ills to which flesh is heir. In this creed they stand on the same intellectual level with their more civilized kinsfolk, the Hindus, amongst whom it is universally believed that the air is peopled with *bhûts*, malignant spirits, who haunt graveyards, lurk in trees, re-animate corpses, devour living men, or attack them with madness, epilepsy, cramp, etc." (J. C. Nesfield, *An Account of the Kanjars of Upper India* [from *Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1883], p. 11.)

And in Africa there are propitiations of demons obviously in like manner conceived as the ghosts of the malicious dead. Cameron tells us that while cruising on Lake Tanganyika, they passed a haunted headland, whereupon—

“The [native] pilots stood together in the bow of the canoe to make an offering to these evil spirits [the devil and his wife]. One held out a paddle on the blade of which a few common beads had been placed, and both said together, as nearly as it can be translated, ‘You big man, you big devil, you great king, you take all men, you kill all men, you now let us go all right,’ and after a little bowing and gesticulation the beads were dropped into the water and the dreaded devil propitiated. There is a kind of double cape at this place, one being the supposed residence of the male devil and the other that of his wife, and the spot is therefore believed to be doubly dangerous.” (Cameron’s *Across Africa*, i, 253-4.)

*Worshipped Ghosts of Robbers in India.*—Writing under date, August 1, 1884, from the N.W. Provinces of India, Sir Alfred Lyall has obliged me with some instructive instances of apotheosis in India. He says—“I enclose you herewith part of a memo. upon the religious practices of the Doms or Domras, who live on the edge of the forests under the Himalayas, and who are the most utterly degraded and irreclaimable tribe, or relic of a tribe, in all these parts. You will observe that they propitiate ghosts and worship notable thieves of bygone days, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that this practice is characteristic of all the lowest and most barbarous Indian societies.” The memorandum he encloses, from the magistrate of Gorakhpur, is as follows:—

“The Maghia Domras have two special divinities of their own; the chief is Gandak, whose grave is to be found in Karmani Garhi, two days’ journey to the east of Motihari, in Bengal. According to their traditions, Gandak was hanged for theft ‘a long time ago,’ and when dying he promised always to help Maghias in trouble. He is worshipped by the whole clan, and is invoked on all important occasions, but he is pre-eminently the patron god of thefts. A successful theft is always celebrated by a sacrifice and feast in his honour. They also worship Samaya, a female divinity; she is without any special history, and there is no sharp distinction between her sphere and Gandak’s. Her functions apparently relate chiefly to birth and illness, etc.

“The Maghias sacrifice young pigs and wine with sugar and spices to these two deities. Every Maghia is capable of performing the sacrifice, and the remains are divided among the company. . . . The Maghias have neither altars nor idol, nor do they erect any Chabutras for worship. A spot is cleared and leaped in the middle of a field, and the sacrifice is then offered.

“The Maghias naturally believe in ghosts and spirits. When a man dies, my informant told me, he turns into a ‘Shaitan.’ The ‘deotas,’ also he added, were innumerable. In most villages of this district there is a special altar for all the local ghosts and deities, which may reside within the village boundaries, and the Maghias are always ready to share in the sacrifice of the villagers to them. They also reverence trees and Chabutras, consecrated by Hindus, in passing, but pay no further homage.”

*Worship of Beneficent Spirits—Ancestors and others.*—Here

are examples furnished by five unallied races. The first concerns the Laplanders.

"They worshipped the ghosts of departed persons, but especially of their kindred, for they thought there was some divinity in them, and that they were able to do harm: just such as the Romans fancied their manes to be; therefore it was that they offered sacrifice to them." (Professor John Scheffer, *History of Lapland*, Oxford, 1674, p. 36.)

In an early account of an African people, the Quoians, we find illustrations of their necrolatry. Saying that the Quoians believe the spirits of the dead to be omniscient, and that they make offerings of rice or wine at their graves, we are told that they "hold familiar colloquies with them, telling them all troubles and adversities under which they labour. . . . The King calls upon the souls of his father and mother almost in every matter of difficulty." (O. Dapper, *Africa by J. Ogilby*, 1670, pp. 402-4.)

Concerning the Kanjars we read:—

"In the wide range of human history, it is difficult to find an example of a primitive horde or nation, which has not had its inspired prophet or deified ancestor. The man-god whom Kanjars worship is Máná,—a name which does not appear in any of the lists of the Hindu divinities. While he lived amongst men, he was the model fighter, the great hunter, the wise artificer, and the unconquered chief. He was not only the teacher and the guide, but also the founder and ancestor of the tribe. He is therefore to the Kanjar what Hellen was to the Greeks, Romulus to the Romans, Abraham to the Jews, or Ishmael to the Arabs, . . . Máná is worshipped with more ceremony in the rainy season, when the tribe is less migratory, than in the dry months of the year. On such occasions, if sufficient notice is circulated, several encampments unite temporarily to pay honour to their common ancestor. No altar is raised. No image is erected. The worshippers collect near a tree, under which they sacrifice a pig or goat, or sheep, or fowl, and make an offering of roasted flesh and spirituous liquor. Formerly (it is said) they used to sacrifice a child, having first made it insensible with fermented palm-juice or toddy. They dance round the tree in honour of Máná, and sing the customary songs in commemoration of his wisdom and deeds of valour. At the close of the ceremony there is a general feast, in which most of the banqueters get drunk. On these occasions,—but before the drunken stage has been reached,—a man sometimes comes forward, and declares himself to be especially filled with the divine presence. He abstains from the flesh and wine of which others partake, and remains standing before the tree with his eyes closed as in a trance. If he is seized with a fit of trembling, the spirit of Máná is thought to have possessed him, and while the inspiration lasts he is consulted as an oracle by any man or woman of the assembly who desires to be helped out of a difficulty." (J. C. Nesfield, *An Account of the Kanjars of Upper India*, pp. 12-13.)

That this god Máná was originally a man, as he is said to have been by the Kanjars, cannot well be doubted when we find cases in India of historical persons being deified, not by these inferior races only, but by the Aryans. Premising that the Portuguese were extremely cruel to the Hindus during the time that they had a monopoly of the trade in India, Hunter tells us that—



"Albuquerque alone endeavoured to win the goodwill of the natives, and to live in friendship with the Hindu princes. In such veneration was his memory held, that the Hindus of Goa, and even the Muhammadans, were wont to repair to his tomb, and there to utter their complaints, as if in the presence of his spirit, and call upon God to deliver them from the tyranny of his successors." (Hunter's *Brief History of the Indian People*, 150-1.)

Russia, too, supplies us with an instance of kindred nature, in so far as that the worship is of an historical personage, who was revered during his life.

Alexander Nevski, governor of Novgorood at the time of the Mongol invasion, and who died in 1263, was "deeply mourned by a grateful people, who count him ever since amongst the saints, . . . and there is not one of the Russian emperors who has not knelt before the shrine of Alexander Nevski. Many great generals have implored him for his support and intercession, whenever they departed for a great battle or an important campaign." (O. W. Wahl, *The Land of the Czar*, 268.)

*Genesis of New Cults among Hindus.*—Along with the account of robber-worship among the Domras, given above, Sir Alfred Lyall transmitted, from the same source, the following:—

"It may perhaps be interesting to know that a weekly pilgrimage has been instituted within the last year to the tomb of a Fakir in the compound next my own. The Fakir died two centuries ago, it is said. A 'jhundi' was struck over his grave—somebody got cured there last year, and a concourse of people now visit it every Thursday, with drums beating, etc. I counted once seven graves within a mile or so of my house, at which offerings are presented by the Hindu public, on fixed days. The tombs are generally those of Mahomedans, but this is immaterial. As my Hon. Magistrate Babu Durga Pershad explained one day, when pointing out a tree frequented by a 'Jin,' a 'bhut,' is generally a Hindu, rather harmless and indistinct, but a 'Jin' is always a wicked old Mahomedan, and there is no appeasing him. The number of 'Devis' is also innumerable, new ones are always springing up, and the most fashionable shrines are generally very recent. The principal Mahadro on this side the town was discovered by two herd boys, some years ago, in the Ramgarh Tal. One boy struck it, it began to bleed, and the boy fell dead. There is a famous Kali at the corner of my compound, another Devi lives in the judges' compound, and her image is carried home every evening by the mali who officiates." (Letter from the magistrate of Gorakhpur to Sir Alfred Lyall.)

These statements harmonize entirely with those given by Sir Alfred Lyall himself in his *Asiatic Studies*. To the instances he names, he adds the remark—

"The saint or hero is admitted into the upper circles of divinity, much as a successful soldier or millionaire is recognized by fashionable society, takes a new title, and is welcomed by a judiciously liberal aristocracy." (p. 20.)

*Fetichism.*—I believe M. Comte expressed the opinion that fetichistic conceptions are formed by the higher animals. Holding, for reasons already given, that fetichism is not original but derived, I cannot, of course, coincide in this view. Nevertheless, the behaviour of intelligent animals elucidates the

genesis of it. I have myself witnessed in dogs two illustrative actions.

One of these was that of a formidable beast, half mastiff, half blood-hound, belonging to friends of mine. While playing on the lawn with a walking-stick, which he had seized by the lower end, it happened that in his gambols he thrust the handle against the ground: the result being that the end he had in his mouth was forced against his palate. Giving a yelp, he dropped the stick, rushed to some distance from it, and betrayed a consternation which was particularly laughable in so large and ferocious-looking a creature. Only after cautious approaches and much hesitation was he induced again to pick it up. This behaviour showed very clearly that the stick, while displaying none but properties he was familiar with, was not regarded by him as an active agent; but when it suddenly inflicted a pain in a way never before experienced from an inanimate object, he was led for the moment to class it with animate objects, and to regard it as capable of again doing him injury. Similarly to the mind of the primitive man, the anomalous behaviour of an object previously classed as inanimate, suggests animation. The idea of voluntary action is made nascent; and there arises a tendency to regard the object with alarm lest it should act in some other unexpected and perhaps mischievous way. Obviously the vague notion of animation thus aroused, becomes a more definite notion as fast as development of the ghost-theory furnishes a specific agency to which the anomalous behaviour can be ascribed.

A very intelligent and good-tempered retriever, much petted in the house of certain other friends, had a habit which yields the second hint I have alluded to. On meeting in the morning one with whom she was on friendly terms, she joined with the usual wagging of the tail, an unusual kind of salute, made by drawing apart the lips so as to produce a sort of smile or grin; and she then, if out of doors, proceeded to make a further demonstration of loyalty. Being by her duties as a retriever led to associate the fetching of game with the pleasing of the person to whom she brought it, this had become in her mind an act of propitiation; and so, after wagging her tail and grinning, she would perform this act of propitiation as nearly as was practicable in the absence of a dead bird. Seeking about, she would pick up a dead leaf, a bit of paper, a twig, or other small object, and would bring it with renewed manifestations of friendliness. Some kindred state of mind it is which, I believe, prompts the savage to certain fetichistic observances. Occasionally, when seeking supernatural aid, the savage will pick up perhaps the first stone he sees, paint it red, and make offerings to it. Anxious to please some ghostly agent, he feels the need for dis-

playing his anxiety; and he adopts this as the nearest fulfilment of a propitiatory act which circumstances permit. Ghosts are all about, and one may be present in anything—perhaps in this stone—very likely in this stone. And so the primitive man, with whom fancy passes easily into belief, adopts this method of expressing his subordination. Daily occurrences among ourselves prove that the desire to do something in presence of an emergency, leads to the most irrelevant actions. “It may do good, and it can’t harm,” is the plea for many proceedings which have scarcely more rationality than worship of a painted stone.

*The Fetich-ghost.*—The evidence given in §§ 159–163, that the supernatural agent supposed to be contained in an inanimate object, was originally a human ghost, is, I think, tolerably conclusive. I have, however, met with still more conclusive evidence, in the work of Dr. Rink on the Eskimo. In the passage which I here extract, the two are identified by name.

“The whole visible world is ruled by supernatural powers, or ‘owners,’ taken in a higher sense, each of whom holds his sway within certain limits, and is called *inua* (viz., its or his, *inuk*, which word signifies ‘man,’ and also owner or inhabitant).” (p. 37.)

The supposed possessing agent to which the powers of an object are ascribed, is thus called *its man*; the man in it—that is, the man’s ghost in it. The “*inue*” of certain celestial objects were persons known by name; and the implication is that the “*inue*” of other objects are thought of as persons, but not individually identified.

And now observe that in a work published since that of Dr. Rink, concerning an unallied people in the remote region of Polynesia, we find a kindred conception joined with an interpretation of it. Describing the superstitions of the Hervey Islanders, Mr. Gill says:—

“Thus it is evident that many of their gods were originally men, whose spirits were supposed to enter into various birds, fish, reptiles, and insects; and into inanimate objects, such as the triton shell, particular trees, cinet, sandstone, bits of basalt, etc.” (Rev. Wm. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 32.)

*Ghosts in Stones.*—The genesis of that form of fetichism which ascribes supernatural powers to shapeless inanimate objects, is very clearly exhibited in the following passages from a letter, for which I am indebted to Commander W. H. Henderson, R.N., who dates from H.M.S. “Nelson,” Australian Station, October 9th, 1884:—

“While on the eastern side of the Island of Tanna, New Hebrides, in July last year, I was told by the Rev. J. Gray, Presbyterian Missionary, stationed at Waisisi, near to the volcano, in answer to an inquiry of mine relative to the inconvenient position of his house, that in order to gain a footing he was obliged to build where the natives allowed him to. That the site he would

have chosen included the piece of sacred ground on which were deposited the stones in which they supposed the spirits of their departed relatives to reside, that he had not been able to get them removed, though he hoped to be able to do so, and to purchase the ground. He stated that these stones were common ones of various sizes; that after being deposited they were not again touched; and that they seldom retained any sacredness as the abode of the departed spirit for any length of time—a generation at the utmost—most were soon forgotten. Soon after this, while at Vela Harbour, Sandwich, or Vati Island, in the same group, the Rev. J. Mackenzie, also of the Presbyterian Mission, showed me without reference to what I had heard at Tanna, a collection of stones and rudely cut shells and stones, which he said when he arrived there some years previously, were the only form of gods the natives possessed, and into which they supposed the spirits of their departed friends or relatives to enter; though the recollection of them did not often last long.

“Some of the stones were ordinary smooth water-worn boulders, three to four inches long and from two to three inches in diameter. Others, one of which I have in my possession, were similar, but had a small piece chipped out on one side, by means of which the indwelling ghost or spirit was supposed to have ingress or egress. A third and higher form were rudely fashioned shells or stones; the former being cut out as large rings. These it seemed to me were the beginnings of a graven image—a common stone sacred as the dwelling-place of an ancestral ghost.”

With such evidence before us, we can scarcely doubt that in other places where stones are worshipped, or regarded as sacred, human ghosts are or were believed to be present in them; and that the stones supposed to be possessed by powerful ghosts, thus became the shrines of gods. Hence the interpretation of such facts as this told us about the Karens:—

“Many keep stones in their houses that they suppose possess miraculous powers and which seem to represent the household gods of the ancients.” (*As. Soc. of Bengal, Journal*, xxxiv, pt. 2, p. 223.)

And this told us about the Bowditch Islanders:—

“Their great god was called Tui Tokelau, or King of Tokelau. He was supposed to be embodied in a stone, which was carefully wrapped up with fine mats.” (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 268.)

And this told us about the Fijians:—

“The Fijians are unacquainted with idols properly so-called; but they reverence certain stones as shrines of gods, and regard some clubs with superstitious respect. . . . Rude consecrated stones are to be seen near Vuna, where offerings of food are sometimes made.” (*Fiji and the Fijians*, vol. i, by T. Williams, pp. 219 and 220.)

And here we are once more shown how baseless is the belief of those who, in aid of their theories, theological or mythological, assert that the noble types of man—the Aryan and Semitic—displayed from the beginning, higher religious ideas than men of inferior types. For besides having various other beliefs and rites like those of existing savages, both of them agreed with savages in exhibiting this lowest form of fetichism. In their early days, the Greeks believed that ghosts dwelt in

stones; and stones were the shrines of their gods. Pausanias gives various instances; and shows that these inhabited stones, anointed with oil in propitiation, continued even in late days to be regarded as sacred and to be occasionally honoured. So was it, too, with the Hebrews; as witness this passage:—

“The large smooth stones referred to above were the fetishes of the primitive Semitic races, and anointed with oil, according to a widely spread custom (comp. λίθοι λιπαροί, lapides uncti, lubricati). It was such a stone which Jacob took for a pillow, and afterwards consecrated by pouring oil upon it (Gen. xxviii, 11, 18). The early Semites and reactionary, idolatrous Israelities called such stones Bethels, . . . *i.e.*, houses of El (the early Semitic word for God). . . . In spite of the efforts of the ‘Jehovist,’ who desired to convert these ancient fetishes into memorials of patriarchal history (comp. Gen. xxxi, 45–52), the old heathenish use of them seems to have continued, especially in secluded places.” (Rev. T. K. Cheyne, *The Prophecies of Isaiah: a New Translation with Commentary and Appendices*, 1882, vol. ii, p. 70).

Let us observe, too, how completely Jacob’s conception of his dream as caused by a god in the stone, corresponds with the conceptions of existing savages. In his account of the Blantyre negroes, the Rev. Duff Macdonald writes:—

“Very frequently a man presents an offering at the top of his own bed beside his head. He wishes his god to come to him and whisper in his ear as he sleeps.” (*Africana*, vol. i, p. 60.)

I may add that Jacob’s act of pouring oil on the stone in propitiation of the indwelling spirit (thus employing an established mode of honouring living persons) points the way to an interpretation of another usage of stone-worshippers. A Dakota, before praying to a stone for succour, paints it with some red pigment, such as red ochre. Now when we read that along with offerings of milk, honey, eggs, fruit, flour, etc., the Bodo and Dhimals offer “red lead or cochineal,” we may suspect that these three colouring matters, having red as their common character, are substitutes for blood. The supposed resident ghost was at first propitiated by anointing the stone with human blood; and then, in default of this, red pigment was used: ghosts and gods being supposed by primitive men to be easily deceived by shams.

*Animal-naming among the Semites.*—In vol. i, p. 126, Palgrave, referring to an Arab, writes:—“Obeyd, ‘the wolf,’ to give him the name by which he is commonly known, a name well earned by his unrelenting cruelty and deep deceit.” Now read the following from the *Book of Judges*, vii, 25:—“And they took two princes of the Midianites, Oreb [raven] and Zeeb [wolf], and they slew Oreb upon the rock Oreb, and Zeeb they slew at the wine-press of Zeeb, and pursued Midian, and brought the heads of Oreb and Zeeb to Gideon on the other side Jordan.”

Thus we have proof that Semitic chiefs bore animal names; doubtless given, as we see they are still given, as nicknames. With this we may join the fact that at the present time "the Cabyles are said to distinguish their different tribes by figures of animals tattooed on forehead, nose, temples, or cheeks:" implying descent from founders identified by name with these animals (*L. Geiger, Zeitschr. D. M. G.*, 1869, p. 169). When we put this evidence side by side with that given in §§ 170-4, showing how animal-naming among savages leads to belief in animal-ancestors and to the propitiation of animals, it becomes still more manifest that among Mesopotamian peoples, animal-gods and gods half-man half-brute, originated in the way alleged.

Since the above was published in the first edition of this work, there has appeared an interesting essay on "Animal Worship and Animal Tribes," by Professor Robertson Smith (see *Journal of Philology*, vol. ix), in which he shows how extensive is animal-naming, and the consequent rise of animal-tribes, among existing Arabs. Here is a part of a list given by him:—

"*Asad*, lion; 'a number of tribes.' *Aw*, wolf; 'a tribe of the Ançâr, or Defenders. *Badan*, ibex; 'a tribe of the Kalb and others.' *Tha'lab*, she-fox; 'name of tribes.' *Garâd*, locusts; 'a sub-tribe of the Tamîm.' *Benî Hamama*, sons of the dove; 'a sub-tribe of the Azd.' *Thawr*, bull; 'a sub-tribe of Hamdân and of 'Abd Manâh.' *Gahsh*, calf of an ass; 'a sub-tribe of the Arabs.' *Hîdâ*, kite; 'a sub-tribe of Murâd.' *Dh'îb*, wolf; 'son of 'Amr, a sub-tribe of the Azd.' *Dubey'a*, little hyæna; 'son of Qays, a sub-tribe of Bekr bin Wâil.'" (p. 79.)

And continuing the list, Professor Smith gives as other animal-names of tribes, lizard, eagle, she-goat, raven, hedgehog, dog, whelp, jerboa, panthers, little panther, etc. He goes on to say that—

"The origin of all these names is referred in the genealogical system of the Arabs to an ancestor who bore the tribal or gentile name. Thus the *Kalb*, or dog-tribe, consists of the Beni Kalb—sons of Kalb (the dog), who is in turn son of Wabra (the female rockbadger)," etc. (p. 80.)

Rejecting this interpretation in favour of the interpretation of Mr. M'Lennan, Professor Smith says—

"A conclusive argument against the genealogical system is that it is built on the patriarchal theory. Every nation and every tribe must have an ancestor of the same name from whom kinship is reckoned exclusively in the male line." (p. 81.)

And he thereupon contends that since kinship through females is the primitive form, the system of tribal naming could not have thus arisen. But, as I have elsewhere shown (§ 293), this is not a necessary implication. Remarking that the system of kinship through females evidently does not exclude the knowledge of male parentage (since in the rudest tribe there is a

name for father as well as for mother) I have pointed out that in the same way among ourselves, the tracing of kinship through males does not exclude a perfect recognition of motherhood. And here I have to add that descent from a distinguished man will naturally survive in tradition, notwithstanding the system of kinship through females, and the male genealogy, regarded with pride, will supplant the female; just as among ourselves the posterity of a woman of rank who married a man of low degree, will preserve the record of their ancestress while dropping that of their ancestor, notwithstanding the system of descent through males. [On considering, after writing the above, where I should be likely to find proof, there occurred to me the case of Lord Clyde, of whom I had heard that his mother, a woman of good family, had married a man of inferior origin. Whether the name Campbell was that of his father or his mother, I did not know; but inquiry proved my suspicion to be well founded. His father's name was John Macliver, and his mother's Agnes Campbell. By successive steps the maternal name displaced the paternal name; and his daughter is now called Miss Campbell. This, I think, makes it clear that notwithstanding descent in the female line, the name of a distinguished chief, usurping the place of the previous name, will readily become a tribal name.]

But there is a co-operative cause. A tribe from time to time divides, and the migrating part attaches itself to some leader: a man of strength, or courage, or cunning, or resource. How are members of the migrating part to be distinguished by the remainder, and by adjacent tribes? Evidently by the name of their leader or chief. They become known as followers of the Snake, the Wolf, or the Bear, as the case may be. It needs but to recall the case of a Highland clan, all members of which habitually acquired the clan-name, whether related by blood to its head or not, to show how the tendency to speak generally of the followers of the Snake as Snakes will conflict with recognition of their maternally-derived relationships. Especially when there grows up a new generation, having individual names unknown to adjacent tribes, there will arise an established practice of calling them Snakes—a practice ending in the story of descent from an ancestral snake who was the founder of the tribe. Hence the origin of the Snake Indians of North America, or the Nagas (snakes) of the Indian Hills, who are worshippers of the snake.

*Animal-naming in Great Britain.*—Anyone who upon occasion speaks of a keen and merciless man as "a hawk," or of another as "a pig" because of his dirtiness, ought to have no difficulty in understanding how in rude times animal-names are acquired.

While recognizing the exceptional cases of birth-naming after some animal visible at the time of birth, he will the less doubt that animal-names usually result from nicknaming, on finding among ourselves cases in which the animal nickname becomes substituted for the conventional surname previously current. Two cases, one dating some centuries back, and the other belonging to our own time, may be here given. Doubtless there still exists, as there existed some years since when I saw it, the remnant of an old castle built on an island in Loch-an-Eilean in Rothiemurchus, which was, according to tradition, a stronghold of the "Wolf of Badenoch." Who was he? Mr. Cosmo Innes, in his *Sketches of Early Scotch History* (p. 424), speaks of "the harrying of the country and burning of the church by the Wolf of Badenoch;" and in his *Scotland in the Middle Ages* (p. 297), says:—"The magnificent cathedral of Elgin [was] . . . so roughly handled by the Wolf of Badenoch in the end of the fourteenth century, that the bishops called their restoration a rebuilding." Mr. Innes does not give the Christian name or surname of this robber-chief. Further inquiry, however, disclosed it. In Burton's *History of Scotland* (vol. iii, p. 97), he is referred to as "King Robert's brother, Alexander." Evidently, then, the original proper name had become less familiar than the substituted nickname; which supplanted it not only in popular speech, but partially in literature. We have but to suppose times still ruder than those in which he lived, and times in which Christianity had in no degree undermined primitive superstitions, to see that just as Earl Siward, of Northumbria, was said to be the grandson of an actual bear, so the descendants of the Wolf of Badenoch would have been described in tradition as derived from an actual wolf. A further significant fact remains. It is stated in Jervise's *Land of the Landsays* (p. 350) that Countess Isabella "was the wife of the Wolf of Badenoch." Here, in this very statement, the nickname has replaced the pre-established name of the man, while the name of the woman remains unchanged. It needs but that this statement should be accepted literally, as such statements are among the uncivilized, to understand how it happens that here and there a family traces back its origin to a woman identified by name, who was married to an animal; as in "the story of the origin of the Dikokamenni Kirghiz . . . from a red greyhound and a certain queen with her forty handmaidens," quoted by Mr. M'Lennan from the Michells.

The other instance comes from the Forest of Dean, a region little visited, and retaining old usages. There the surname "James" is so common that nicknames are required to distinguish among those bearing it. A gentleman known to me, Mr. Keeling, C.E., of Cheltenham, having to find a man thus named,



discovered that he was nicknamed "*hoont*," that is "mole." Moreover he was one of a number who had inherited the nickname, and who had their respective Christian names—John Hoont, Henry Hoont, etc. Clearly, among savages a few generations would have established the tradition of descent from an actual mole: memory of the original bearer of the nickname having died out. When we find that even where there are established surnames of the civilized kind, nicknames derived from animals usurp their places and become inherited, it seems to me scarcely questionable that in the absence of established surnames, animal-names will eventually become the names of *gentes* and tribes, supposed to be descended from the animals they are named after—supposed, that is, by the uncivilized man, who is without our general ideas of law, order, cause; who has no notions of possible and impossible; who, without capacity for criticizing, accepts blindly the statements made to him by his seniors; and who, indeed, were he critical, might reasonably conclude that these metamorphoses of animals into men were of the same nature as those animal metamorphoses which really take place, and which he has observed. Strong reason should be given before rejecting this interpretation in face of the fact that savages themselves thus explain their tribal names; as instance the Arawáks, most of whom "assert that each family is descended—their fathers knew how, but they themselves have forgotten—from its eponymous animal, bird, or plant." Once more, if it be admitted that the conception of an animal-ancestor thus originates, it can hardly be doubted that, going along with the ideas and feelings respecting ancestors entertained by primitive men, it will originate a special regard for the animal which gives the tribal name—a regard which here results in making the animal a sacred totem, and here in producing worship of it.

That our relatives the Scandinavians exemplified in their ideas of the alliance between men and animals, certain further results of animal-naming, is made tolerably clear by the following passage:—

"Brutes were included in the social compact, and dealt with as if they had been rational creatures. If a beaver was killed, by the laws of Hakon the Good a fine of three marks was paid to the owner of the ground, 'both for bloodwite and hamesucken,' thus recognizing the animal's rights as an inhabitant of the soil. The old Norwegian statutes decreed that 'the bear and wolf shall be outlaws in every place. . . . Yet even Bruin was entitled to his judicial privileges; for if he had robbed or injured his two-legged countrymen, it was necessary to summon a Tinwald court, and pronounce him liable to punishment in due form. In the Saga of Finboga hinom Rama, the grizzly offender is challenged to a duel, and slain by Finbog with all the courtesies of chivalry. Werlauff, the editor of this saga (Copenhagen, 1812), says, the opinion that bears have a reasonable knowledge of Danish is still

prevalent in Norway. (Crichton and Wheaton, *Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern*, i, 192-3 (note).)

*Animal-worship*.—One of the causes assigned in the text (§ 168) for the worship of animals, was the belief, illustrated in sundry ways, that a creature found in the neighbourhood of the dead body is a new form assumed by the double, or otherwise a re-incarnation of the ghost. Here are further examples of this belief: the first of them supplied by the people of Bank's Island.

"A woman knowing that a neighbour was at the point of death, heard a rustling of something in her house, as if it were a moth fluttering, just as the sound of cries and wailings showed her that the soul was flown. She caught the fluttering thing between her hands, and ran with it, crying out that she had caught the *atai* [*i.e.*, that which a 'man believes' to 'be a kind of reflection of his own personality; the man and his *atai* live, flourish, suffer, and die (?) together,' 280-1]. But though she opened her hands above the mouth of the corpse there was no recovery." (Codrington, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x, 281.)

Here is another which the Samoans furnish.

"On the beach, near where a person had been drowned, and whose body was supposed to have become a porpoise, or on the battlefield, where another fell, might have been seen, sitting in silence, a group of five or six, and one a few yards before them with a sheet of native cloth spread out on the ground in front of him. Addressing some god of the family he said, 'Oh, be kind to us; let us obtain without difficulty the spirit of the young man!' The first thing that happened to light upon the sheet was supposed to be the spirit . . . grasshopper, butterfly, ant, or whatever else it might be, it was carefully wrapped up, taken to the family, the friends assembled, and the bundle buried with all due ceremony, as if it contained the real spirit of the departed." (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 150-1.)

Along with this belief respecting ordinary ghosts, the Samoans have an allied, and to all appearance resulting, belief, respecting extraordinary ghosts.

"The village gods, like those of the household, had all some particular incarnation: one was supposed to appear as a bat, another as a heron, another as an owl. . . . A dead owl found under a tree in the settlement was the signal for all the village to assemble at the place, burn their bodies with firebrands, and beat their foreheads with stones till the blood flowed, and so they expressed their sympathy and condolence with the god over the calamity 'by an offering of blood.' He still lived, however, and moved about in all the other existing owls of the country. (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 21 and 26.)

Concerning these same people I may add that they furnish a striking example of the way in which unlimited credulity causes that literal acceptance of traditions, which in many cases ends in the belief in animal-ancestors and resulting worship of them. Turner tells us that the Samoans have traditions of battles between trees, birds, fish, and beasts; and after giving some examples, he says:—

"I tell them that the shark, red fish, etc., must have been mere figurative

names for chiefs and districts, and the finny troops under them were doubtless living *men*, but in all these stories the Samoans are rigid literalists, and believe in the very words of the tradition. And yet at the present day they have towns and districts bearing figurative names, distinct from the real names, such as the sword fish, the stinging ray, the dog, the wild boar, the Tongan cock, the frigate bird, etc." (*Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 213-4.)

*Snake-Ancestors in North America.*—A recently published work, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, by John G. Bourke, gives some interesting facts illustrative of the belief in snake-ancestors. Giving his inferences from the evidence, the writer says—

"My own suspicion is that one of the minor objects of the snake-dance has been the perpetuation in dramatic form of the legend of the origin and growth of the Moqui family (p. 178). . . . In the religious dances of such peoples as the Zunis, Moquis, and Querezes, suggestions of their history and previous environment will crop out in features which from any other point of view would be without import. The fact that the snake-dance reflects in some manner the worship of ancestors has already been indicated, but beyond learning that the willow wands standing around the altars commemorated their dead, nothing was elicited at Hualpi. . . . Should it be shown positively, as I think can be done, that snake worship and ancestor or spirit worship are combined in the same rite, we may . . . with a little more patient work determine whether or not the Moquis have ever believed in the transmigration of souls (p. 179)." . . . Nanahe persistently "spoke of the snakes as his 'fathers,' a reverential expression which of itself would go far towards establishing a connexion between the rattlesnake-dance and ancestor worship" (p. 195).

These conclusions were based upon statements elicited from one of the Indians who took part in the snake-dance, of which the following are the most significant ones:—

"Nanahe continued: 'The members of the order always carry these medicines with them, and when they meet with a rattlesnake they first pray to their father, the sun, and then say: 'Father, make him to be tame; make him that nothing shall happen that he bring evil unto me. Verily, make him to be tame.' Then they address the rattlesnake and say: 'Father, be good' (i.e. kind or tame) 'unto me, for here I make my prayers.' This being done, the rattlesnake is captured . . . and taken home (p. 189) . . ."

Nahi-vehma (the Peacemaker) said, "Many years ago the Moquis used to live upon the other side of a high mountain, beyond the San Juan River. . . . The chief of those who lived there thought he would take a trip down the big river to see where it went to. . . . The stream carried him to the seashore. . . . When he arrived on the beach he saw on top of a cliff a number of houses, in which lived many men and women. . . . That night he took unto himself one of the women as his wife. Shortly after his return to his home the woman gave birth to snakes, and this was the origin of the snake family (gens or clan) which manages this dance. When she gave birth to these snakes they bit a number of the children of the Moquis. The Moquis then moved in a body to their present villages, and they have this dance to conciliate the snakes, so that they won't bite their children" (p. 177).

In another chapter the writer refers to a large amount of confirmatory evidence showing the prevalence elsewhere of kindred ideas.

*The Snake-Spirit among the Ancients.*—A verification of the view set forth in §§ 167-8, is furnished by the following passage from the *Æneid*, Bk. v, 75.

Æneas "was already on his way from the council to the tomb [of Anchises, his father] . . . Here in due libation, he pours on the ground two bowls of the wine-god's pure juice, two of new milk, two of sacrificial blood; he flings bright flowers, and makes this utterance:—'Hail to thee, blessed sire, once more! Hail to you, ashes of one rescued in vain, spirit and shade of my father!' . . . He had said this, when from the depth of the grave a smooth shining serpent trailed along . . . coiling peacefully round the tomb, and gliding between the altars. . . . Æneas stood wonderstruck: the creature . . . tasted of the viands, and then, innocent of harm, re-entered the tomb at its base, leaving the altars where its mouth had been. Quickened by this, the hero resumes the work of homage to his sire, not knowing whether to think this the genius of the spot or his father's menial spirit."

Though here, along with the conceptions of a higher stage than that described in §§ 167-8, there is not distinct identification of the snake with the ancestral ghost, some connexion between them is assumed. That among the possible relations between the tomb-haunting animal and the deceased person, metamorphosis will be supposed by early peoples, is clear. And that hence results the identification of owls and bats (and possibly *scarabæi*) with souls, can no longer be doubted.

A striking verification of the foregoing inference has come to me quite recently (1884) in an essay entitled *A Sepulchral Relief from Tarentum*, by Mr. Percy Gardner (reprinted from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. v). Discussing the reasons assigned for the not infrequent presence of sculptured snakes on sepulchral tablets, representing ministrations to deceased persons, Mr. Gardner says:—

"We know that it was by no means unusual among the Greeks to have tame snakes, and to allow them the range of the house." . . . The inference of some is "that his [the snake's] presence in these reliefs must have reference to the widely-spread belief of ancient times, that snakes were either the companions or even the representatives of dead heroes. I need not surely bring forward proofs of this statement, but I may for a moment pause to point out how ancient science explained the fact. Plutarch tells us, that when the dead body of Cleomenes was hanging on the cross in Egypt, a large serpent was seen wound about it, repelling the attacks of the birds of prey who would have fed on it. This phenomenon, he says, terrified some of the Alexandrians, as proving that Cleomenes was a hero of semi-divine nature, until it was pointed out, that as the dead body of a bull produces bees and that of a horse wasps, so the dead body of a man produces in the natural course of its decay, snakes."

Here then we find further support for the conclusion drawn in § 167, that a house-haunting animal is liable to be identified with a returned ancestor; at the same time that we get an illustration of the supposed mode of metamorphosis—a mode supposed in sundry cases of kindred superstitions; as in the belief that gods take the shape of flies—a belief of the Accadians, of the Philistines, and of some extant North American Indians.

I may add that certain incidents attending the worship of Asklepios, while they serve in one way to verify the above inferences, serve to show how, under some circumstances, snake-worship arises in a partially-different way. Originally referred to by Homer as a physician (*i.e.*, a medicine-man), among whose sources of influence, skill as a snake-charmer may naturally have been one (giving origin to the habitual representation of him as holding a staff round which a serpent is coiled), Asklepios, in the later periods of his worship, is himself represented as a serpent. Speaking of certain Roman coins, Mr. Warwick Wroth, of the British Museum, says:—

“On the reverse of this specimen Caracalla is represented in military dress, with his right hand upraised to salute a serpent entwined around a tree, its head towards the Emperor. . . . That the serpent who is here receiving adoration is Asklepios is rendered certain both by the presence of Telephoros, and by a comparison of this piece with another of Caracalla’s Pergamene coins, . . . Although the serpent is an attribute of the God of Healing, which is almost invariably present, it is not usual to find the god represented as on the coin now under discussion. Serpents, however, were kept in many of his temples, and, indeed, were sometimes considered as the incarnation of the deity himself, especially in the transmission of his worship from one city to another. Thus, the people of Sikyon traced the origin of their Asklepios cultus to a Sikyonian woman who had brought the god from Epidaurus in the form of a serpent. In the form of a serpent also the god was brought from Epidaurus to Rome. On a famous medallion of Antoninus Pius we see the serpent—that is, Asklepios—about to plunge from the vessel which has conveyed him into the waves of Father Tiber, who welcomes him with outstretched hand, and upon whose island the first Roman temple of the new divinity was afterwards erected. This medallion bears the inscription, *Æscvlapiv̄s*.” (*Asklepios and the Coins of Pergamon* [republished from *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, vol. ii], by Warwick Wroth, Esq., pp. 47–8.)

*Lotus-worship.*—I have not included in the chapter on plant-worship, the case of the lotus; because I did not wish to endanger the general argument by a doubtful support. The evidence is, however, sufficient to raise the suspicion that lotus-worship arose in the same way as did soma-worship.

Clearly some plant, or the product of some plant, called lotus, was eaten as a nervous stimulant, producing a state of blissful indifference; though among sundry plants which have gone by the name, it is not decided which was the one. Further, there was in the East the belief in a divinity residing in a water-plant known as the lotus; and at present in Thibet, worship of this divinity in the lotus is the dominant religion. As is stated in Mr. Wilson’s *Abode of Snow*, pp. 304–6, the daily and hourly prayer is “Om mani padme hann,” which literally rendered means, “O God! the jewel in the lotus. Amen.” The word *mani*, here translated jewel, and meaning more generally a precious thing, is variously applied to sacred objects—to the long stone tumuli, to the prayer-mills, etc. So that

reading through the figurative expression to the original thought, it would seem to be—"Oh God! the precious or sacred power in the lotus." Difficulties in explaining the ancient legend about lotus-eating, as well as this existing superstition, arise from the fact that the plant now known as the lotus has no toxic qualities. There is, however, a possible solution. The lotus has a sweet root; and at the present time in Cashmere, this root is hooked up from the bottoms of the lakes and used as food. But a sweet root contains fermentable matters—both the saccharine and the amylaceous: even now, alcohol is made from beet-root. Possibly, then, in early times the juice and starch of the lotus-root were used, just as the sap of the palm is in some places used still, for making an intoxicating beverage; and the beliefs concerning the lotus may have survived in times when this beverage was replaced by others more easily produced. The fact that in the early days of soma-worship the juice was fermented, while in later days it was not (other kinds of intoxicating liquors having come into use), yields additional reason for thinking so. Be this as it may, however, we have this evidence:—some plant yielding a product causing a pleasurable mental state, was identical in name with a plant regarded as sacred because of an indwelling god.

It is, indeed, alleged that in Egypt the lotus was sacred as a symbol of the Nile, and that the Indian lotus stood in like relation to the Ganges. I notice this interpretation for the purpose of remarking that I do not believe any early usage arose through symbolization. This is one of the many erroneous interpretations which result from ascribing developed ideas to undeveloped minds. No one who, instead of fancying how primitive usages could have arisen, observes how they do arise, will believe that the primitive man ever *deliberately* adopted a symbol, or ever even conceived of a symbol as such. All symbolic actions are modifications of actions which originally had practical ends—were not invented but grew. The case of mutilations sufficiently exemplifies the process.

*Other-Worlds.*—The speculation ventured in § 113, that conquest of one race by another introduces beliefs in different other worlds, to which the superior and inferior go, is supported by this passage which I have since met with:—

"If there are strong caste-distinctions, the souls of the noble and chief men are said to go to a better country than those of the rest. . . . It is for this reason that in Cochin China, common people do not entertain the souls of their friends on the same day of the All-Souls' feast as that on which the nobility have invited theirs; because otherwise those souls when returning would have their former servants to carry the gifts received."—*Bastian, Fernh. Psychologie*, p. 89.

*Superstitions of the Russians.*—Under foregoing heads the examples of each form of superstition resulting from the ghost-theory, are taken from divers societies. Here it will be instructive to present an entire series of these several forms of such superstitions as exhibited in the same society. This is done in the following extracts from Mr. Ralston's *Songs of the Russian People*.

Because they believe one of the forms of the soul to be the shadow "there are persons there who object to having their silhouettes taken, fearing that if they do so they will die before the year is out." (p. 117.)

"A man's reflected image is supposed to be in communion with his inner self." (p. 117.)

"The Servians believe that the soul of a witch often leaves her body while she is asleep, and flies abroad in the shape of a butterfly." (pp. 117-8.)

"After death the soul at first remains in the neighbourhood of the body, and then follows it to the tomb. The Bulgarians hold that it assumes the form of a bird or a butterfly, and sits on the nearest tree waiting till the funeral is over." (p. 115.)

"A common belief among the Russian peasantry is that the spirits of the departed haunt their old homes for the space of six weeks, during which they eat and drink, and watch the sorrowing of the mourners." (p. 118.)

"Great care is taken to provide the dead man with what he requires on his long journey, especially with a handkerchief and towel, . . . and with a coin . . . for the purpose of buying a place in the other world . . . The custom of providing money for the corpse has always been universal among the Slavonians." (pp. 315-6.)

Mourning "was formerly attended by laceration of the faces of the mourners, a custom still preserved among some of the inhabitants of Dalmatia and Montenegro." (p. 316.)

Among the old Slavonians "in some cases at least, human sacrifices were offered on the occasion of a burial." (p. 324.)

"In addition to being accompanied by his widow, the heathen Slavonian, if a man of means and distinction, was solaced by the sacrifice of some of his slaves." (p. 328.)

On Dmitry's Saturday "the peasants attend a church service, and afterwards they go out to the graves of their friends, and there institute a feast, lauding . . . the virtues and good qualities of the dead, and then drinking to their eternal rest." (p. 260.)

"In olden days a memorial banquet was held in his [the departed one's] honour on the third, sixth, ninth, and fortieth day after his death, and on its anniversary, and he was remembered also in the feasts celebrated . . . in memory of the Fathers. . . . To these feasts it was customary to invite the dead. . . . Silently the living . . . threw portions of the food under the table for their spirit-guests." (pp. 320-1.)

"Among the (non-Slavonic) Mordvins in the Penza and Sarafof Governments, a dead man's relations offer the corpse eggs, butter, and money, saying: 'Here is something for you: Marfa has brought you this. Watch over her corn and cattle.'" (p. 121.)

"The festival called *Rādumisa* . . . is chiefly devoted to the memory of the dead. In certain districts the women and girls still take food and drink to the cemeteries, and there 'howl' over the graves of their dead friends and relatives. When they have 'howled' long enough, they . . . proceed to eat, drink, and be merry, deeming that the dead can 'rejoice' with them." (p. 222.)

"Here is a specimen of a *Prichitanie*, intended to be recited over a grave on the twentieth of April . . .

'O ye, our own fathers and mothers! in what have we angered you, our own, that you have no welcome for us, no joy, no parental charm? . . .'

And here . . . is a specimen of an orphan's wailing above her mother's grave:—

'O mother dear that bare me, O with sadness longed-for one! To whom hast thou left us, on whom are we orphans to rest our hopes? . . . Have a care for us, mother, dear, give us a word of kindness! No, thou hast hardened thy heart harder than stone, and hast folded thy uncaressing hands over thy heart.'" (pp. 343-4.)

There is good evidence that "the Domovoy or house-spirit" (p. 119) is an ancestor. "The Ruthenians reverence in the person of the Domovoy the original constructor of the family hearth." (p. 122.) "In some districts tradition expressly refers to the spirits of the dead the functions which are generally attributed to the Domovoy, and they are supposed to keep watch over the house of a descendant who honours them and provides them with due offerings." (p. 121.)

"The Russian peasant draws a clear line between his own Domovoy and his neighbour's. The former is a benignant spirit, who will do him good, even at the expense of others; the latter is a malevolent being, who will very likely steal his hay, drive away his poultry, and so forth, for his neighbour's benefit." (pp. 129-130.)

"The domestic spirits of different households often engage in contests with one another." (p. 130.)

"In Bohemia fishermen are afraid of assisting a drowning man, thinking the Vodyany [water-sprite] will be offended, and will drive away the fish from their nets." (p. 152.)

"According to some traditions she [the witch Baba Yaga] even feeds on the souls of the dead. The White-Russians, for instance, affirm that ' . . . the Baba Yaga and her subordinate witches feed on the souls of people.'" (p. 163.)

During a drought some peasants "dug up the body of a Raskolnik, or Dissenter, who had died in the previous December, and had been buried in the village graveyard. Some of the party then beat it about the head, exclaiming, 'Give us rain!'" (pp. 425-6.)

"In White-Russia the Domovoy is called *Tsmok*, a snake, . . . This House Snake brings all sorts of good to the master who treats it well, and gives it omelettes, which should be placed on the roof of the house or on the threshing-floor." (pp. 124-5.)

"By the common people of the present day snakes are there [in Russia] looked upon with much respect and even affection. 'Our peasants,' says Afanasief, 'consider it a happy omen if a snake takes up its quarters in a cottage, and they gladly set out milk for it. To kill such a snake would be a very great sin.'" (p. 175.)

"Some traces of tree-worship may be found in the song which the girls sing as they go into the woods to fetch the birch-tree . . .

"Rejoice, Birch-tree, rejoice green ones! . . .  
To you the maidens!  
To you they bring pies,  
Cakes, omelettes.

"The catables here mentioned seem to refer to sacrifices offered in olden days to the birch, the tree of the spring." (p. 238.)



"They [the old heathen Slavonians] appear to have looked upon the life beyond the grave as a mere prolongation of that led on earth—the rich man retained at least some of his possessions; the slave remained a slave." (p. 114.)

Many instructive passages might be added. The dead are said to complain of the pressure of the earth on them; describe themselves as cold; and at festivals to which they are invited, are sympathized with as tired and hungry. Ancestral spirits are carried to new homes; diseases are evil spirits often with bodily shapes; there are wizards who control the weather; they ride in dust-whirlwinds. But the above suffice to show how completely the ghost-theory has developed into an ancestor-worship, betraying, notwithstanding the repressive influences of Christianity, all the essentials of a religion—sacrifices, prayers, praises, festivals.

*Apotheosis in Polynesia.*—The more the evidence furnished by every race is looked into, the more irresistible becomes the conclusion that gods were originally men: sometimes even ordinary men, but usually men in some way superior, belonging either to the tribe or to a conquering tribe. That which the traditions of the Egyptians tell us, namely, that Egypt was originally ruled by a dynasty of gods; that which we see in Greek beliefs as set down by Herodotus, who distinguishes Minos as preceding the generations of men, and belonging to the dynasty of the gods; that which is implied by the Japanese story that Jimmu, "the fifth ruler in descent from the sun goddess," was "considered to have been the first mortal ruler" (Adams' *History of Japan*, vol. i, p. 7); is shown us by the uncivilized. These now entertain ideas like those entertained by the progenitors of the civilized. Here are a few instances:—

"Rangi requested the invincible warrior Tangia to send him one of his sons as a god." (Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 25.)

"And yet, strangely enough, associated with these original gods are the deified heroes of antiquity, in no wise inferior to their fellow divinities." (*Ibid.*, p. 20.)

"The proper denizens of Avaiki [Hades—an underground world] are the major and lesser divinities, with their dependents. These marry, multiply, and quarrel like mortals. They wear clothing, plant, cook, fish, build, and inhabit dwellings of exactly the same sort as exist on earth. The food of immortals is no better than that eaten by mankind. . . . Murder, adultery, drunkenness, theft, and lying are practised by them. The arts of this world are fac-similes of what primarily belonged to nether-land, and were taught to mankind by the gods." (*Ibid.*, p. 154.)

There is a tradition of a council of gods to determine as to man's immortality. "While the discussion was proceeding a pouring rain came on and broke up the meeting. The gods ran to the houses for shelter." (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 8-9.)

Concerning the natives of San Christoval, Solomon Islands, we are told that:—

"The bodies of common people are thrown into the sea, but men of consequence are buried. After a time they take up the skull or some part of the skeleton, and put it in a small building in the village, where upon occasions they pray or sacrifice to obtain help from the spirit." (Codrington, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x, 300.)

But perhaps the clearest evidence, as well as the most abundant, is that furnished by the Fijians. Since writing the comparison made in § 201, between the Greek pantheon and the pantheon of the Fijians, an unknown friend has been good enough to forward me a statement which bears, in an interesting way, on the question. It is contained in a parliamentary paper, *Correspondence respecting the Cession of Fiji*, presented February 6, 1875, p. 57. This document concerns the native ownership of land; and the passage I refer to appears to be appended for the purpose of showing how the native idea of ownership is affected by the associated creed:—

"NOTE.—Their fathers or their Gods.—It may not be out of place in connection with the above memorandum to advance one or two facts with the object of showing that the head of the tribe, *i.e.*, its highest living male ascendant, was regarded as its father. He held absolute authority over the persons, property, and lives of his people, and both before and after death had the same reverence shown to him as to a God.

"The Fijian language makes no distinction, in terms, between the marks of respect and reverence rendered to a Chief and those rendered to a God. I will select a few words, with their meanings, from Hazelwood's Fijian Dictionary. 1. Tama—a father. 2. Tama-ka—to reverence, to clap hands, or to make some expression of a God or Chief. 3. Cabora—to offer or present property to a God or to a Chief. 4. Ai seu—the first dug yams, the first fruits, which are generally offered to the Gods and given to a Chief of a place. 5. Tauvu, and Veitauvu—Literally, to have the same root, or sprung from the same source; used of people who worship the same God.' . . .

"The swearing of Fijians is like that of the High Asiatic peoples. Two men quarrelling never swear at each other personally, nor even utter their respective names; they will curse their fathers, their grandfathers, and their most remote ancestry. The reason being that to curse a Fijian's father is to curse his God. . . . The successive stages of authority among the Fijian people is first, that of the individual family; secondly, the association of many families, which constitute the Qali; and thirdly, the union of these Qalis under their recognized hereditary Chief, which constitutes the Mata-nitu. It is the Family, Gens, and Tribe of early history found extant, and as a system still closely observed in Polynesia at the present day."

This account agrees completely with the indications given by earlier voyagers and missionaries; as witness the following extracts:—

"It is impossible to ascertain with any degree of probability how many gods the Feejeeans have, as any man who can distinguish himself in murdering his fellow-men may certainly secure to himself deification after his death." (Erskine's *Western Pacific*, p. 246.)

The lower order of Fijian gods "generally described as men of superior mould and carriage," "bear a close analogy to the *lares, lemures*, and *genii* of the Romans." "Admission into their number is easy, and any one may

secure his own apotheosis who can insure the service of some one as his representative and priest after his decease." (Williams, *Fiji, etc.*, pp. 218-9.)

*Nature-Gods.*—Here are a few further facts supporting the conclusion that after the rise of the ghost-theory, the various kinds of objects which irregularly appear, disappear, and reappear, in the heavens, are frequently regarded as ghosts. Says Gill, concerning the fates of the Mंगाians after death :—

"Not so warriors slain on the field of battle. The spirits of these lucky fellows for a while wander about amongst the rocks and trees in the neighbourhood of which their bodies were thrown. . . . At length the first slain on each battle-field would collect his brother ghosts," and lead them to the summit of a mountain, whence "they leap into the blue expanse, thus becoming the peculiar clouds of the winter." [Compare with North American Indians among whom the name "Cloud" is frequent in Catlin's list.] (Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, pp. 162-3.)

"It was supposed that in these lower regions there were heavens, earth and sea, fruits and flowers, planting, fishing and cooking, marrying and giving in marriage—all very much as in the world from which they had gone. Their new bodies, however, were singularly volatile, could ascend at night, become luminous sparks [stars] or vapour, revisit their former homes and retire again at early dawn to the bush or to the Polotu hades. These visits were dreaded, as they were supposed to be errands of destruction to the living, especially to any with whom the departed had reason to be angry. By means of presents and penitential confession all injurers were anxious to part on good terms with the dying whom they had ill-used." (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 259.)

. . . . "Others saw their village-god in the rainbow, others saw him in the shooting-star; and in time of war the position of a rainbow and the direction of a shooting-star were always ominous." (*Ibid.*, p. 21.)

*Mountain Deities.*—In § 114, I suggested two ways in which ancestor-worship originates beliefs in gods who reside on the highest peaks and have access to the heavens. Burial of the dead on mountain crags, I indicated as one origin; and the occupation of mountain strongholds by conquering races, as probably another origin. I have since met with verifications of both suggestions.

The first of them is contained in the *Travels in the Philippines*, by F. Jagor. Giving proof that before the Spanish settlement the people had the ordinary ideas and customs of ancestor-worshippers, he describes the sacred burial caves; and shows the survival of the religious awe with which these caves were originally regarded. He visited some of these caves at Nipa-Nipa; and says (p. 259) that "the numerous coffins, implements, arms, and trinkets, protected by superstitious terrors, continued to be undisturbed for centuries. No boat ventured to cross over without the observance of a religious ceremony, derived from heathen times, to propitiate the spirits of the caverns, who were believed to punish the omission of it with storm and shipwreck." Moreover he tells us that the boatmen who went with

the pastor of Basey to the cave to get remains, regarded a thunderstorm which broke on their way back, as "a punishment for their outrage." After thus exhibiting the popular beliefs as they still exist, notwithstanding Catholic teaching, he proves, from early writers, what these beliefs originally were. It appears that men when dying often chose their burial-places; and he quotes one authority to the effect that "those who were of note" sometimes had their coffins deposited "on an elevated place or rock on the bank of a river, where they might be venerated by the pious." (p. 262.) He says that Thévenot describes them as worshipping "those of their ancestors who had most distinguished themselves by courage and genius, whom they regarded as deities. . . . Even the aged died under this conceit, choosing particular places, such as one on the island of Leyté, which allowed of their being interred at the edge of the sea, in order that the mariners who crossed over might acknowledge them as deities, and pay them respect." (p. 263.) And he also quotes Gemelli Careri, who says that "the oldest of them chose some remarkable spot in the mountains, and particularly on headlands projecting into the sea, in order to be worshipped by the sailors." (p. 263.) This combination of facts is, I think, amply significant. We have distinguished persons becoming gods after death; we see them providing for this apotheosis, and in a sense demanding worship; we find them choosing high and conspicuous burial-places to facilitate the worship; we see that approach to burial-places is regarded as sacrilege; and we see that the ghosts of the dead have become deified to the extent that they are supposed to vent their anger in thunderstorms. Here are all the elements from which might result a Philippine Sinai.

The instance to which I refer as showing that invaders, or dominant men, seizing a high stronghold (see § 114), may give origin to a celestial hierarchy, whose residence is a mountain top, I take from Bancroft's version of the Quiché legend. It begins with a time when as yet there was no Sun (possibly a fragment of some still more ancient story brought southwards by dwellers in the Arctic regions); and in the first place narrates a migration in search of the Sun.

"So the four men and their people set out for Tulan-Zuiva, otherwise called the Seven-caves or Seven-ravines, and there they received gods, each man as head of a family, a god; though inasmuch as the fourth man, Iqi-Balam, had no children, and founded no family, his god is not usually taken into the account. . . . Many other trials also they underwent in Tulan, famines and such things, and a general dampness and cold,—for the earth was moist, there being as yet no sun. . . . They determined to leave Tulan; and the greater part of them, under the guardianship and direction of Tohil, set out to see where they should take up their abode. They continued on their way amid the most extreme hardships for want of food. . . . At last

they came to a mountain that they named Hacavitz, after one of their gods, and here they rested,—for here they were by some means given to understand that they should see the sun. . . . And the sun, and the moon, and the stars were now all established. Yet was not the sun then in the beginning the same as now; his heat wanted force, and he was but as a reflection in a mirror. [This is explained if we suppose migration from the far north.] . . . Another wonder when the sun rose! The three tribal gods, Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz, were turned into stone, as were also the gods connected with the lion, the tiger, the viper, and other fierce and dangerous animals. . . . And the people multiplied on this Mount Hacavitz, and here they built their city. . . . And they worshipped the gods that had become stone, Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz. . . . They began to wet their altars with the heart's blood of human victims. From their mountain hold they watched for lonely travelers belonging to the surrounding tribes; seized, overpowered, and slew them for a sacrifice. . . . The hearts of the villagers were thus fatigued within them, pursuing unknown enemies. At last, however, it became plain that the gods Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz, and their worship, were in some way or other the cause of this bereavement: so the people of the villages conspired against them. Many attacks, both openly and by ruses, did they make on the gods, and on the four men, and on the children and people connected with them; but not once did they succeed, so great was the wisdom, and power, and courage of the four men and of their deities. . . . At last the war was finished. . . . And the tribes humiliated themselves before the face of Balam-Quitze, of Balam-Agab, and of Mahucutah. . . . Now it came to pass that the time of the death of Balam-Quitze, Balam-Agab, Mahucutah, and Iqi-Balam drew near. . . . And they said; we return to our people. . . . So the old men took leave of their sons and their wives. . . . Then instantly the four old men were not; but in their place was a great bundle. . . . So it was called the Majesty Enveloped. . . . and they burned incense before it." [Such a bundle was said "to contain the remains of Camaxtli, the chief god of Tlascal." ] *Native Races, etc.*, vol. iii, pp. 49-54.

*Men in the Sky.*—Already the Esquimaux have furnished in the text an illustration of the primitive belief that stars, etc., were originally men and animals who lived on the Earth (§ 190). In the work of Dr. Rink, I find a detailed account of Esquimaux ideas concerning the physical connexion between the upper and lower worlds, and the routes joining them:—

"The earth, with the sea supported by it, rests upon pillars, and covers an under world, accessible by various entrances from the sea, as well as from mountain clefts. Above the earth an upper world is found, beyond which the blue sky, being of a solid consistence, vaults itself like an outer shell, and, as some say, revolves around some high mountain-top in the far north. The upper world exhibits a real land with mountains, valleys, and lakes. After death, human souls either go to the upper or to the under world. The latter is decidedly to be preferred, as being warm and rich in food. There are the dwellings of the happy dead called *arsissut*—viz., those who live in abundance. On the contrary, those who go to the upper world will suffer from cold and famine; and these are called *arsartut*, or ball-players, on account of their playing at ball with a walrus-head, which gives rise to the aurora borealis, or northern lights. Further, the upper world must be considered a continuation of the earth in the direction of height, although those individuals, or at least those souls temporarily delivered from the body, that are said to have visited it, for the most part passed through the air. The upper

world, it would seem, may be considered identical with the mountain round the top of which the vaulted sky is for ever circling—the proper road leading to it from the foot of the mountain upwards being itself either too far off or too steep. One of the tales also mentions a man going in his kayak [boat] to the border of the ocean, where the sky comes down to meet it." (pp. 37-8.)

"The upper world is also inhabited by several rulers besides the souls of the deceased. Among these are the owners or inhabitants of celestial bodies, who, having been once men, were removed in their lifetime from the earth, but are still attached to it in different ways, and pay occasional visits to it. They have also been represented as the celestial bodies themselves, and not their *inue* only, the tales mentioning them in both ways. The owner of the moon originally was a man, called Aningaut, and the *inua* of the sun was his sister. . . . The *erdlaveersissok*—viz., the entrail-seizer—is a woman residing on the way to the moon, who takes out the entrails of every person whom she can tempt to laughter. The *siagtut*, or the three stars in Orion's belt, were men who were lost in going out to hunt on the ice." (pp. 48-9.)

There could scarcely be better proof that the personalization of heavenly bodies has resulted from the supposed translation of terrestrial beings—men and animals—to the sky. Here we have the upper world regarded as physically continuous with the lower world as well as like it in character; and the migration to it after death parallels those migrations to distant parts of the Earth's surface after death, which primitive races in general show us. While we have no evidence of Nature-worship, we have clear evidence of identification of celestial bodies with traditional persons. That is to say, personalization of the heavenly bodies, *precedes* worship of them, instead of *succeeding* it, as mythologists allege. Joining these facts with those given in the text, the origin of names for constellations and the genesis of astrology, are made, I think, sufficiently clear.

*Star-Gods.*—While the proofs of these pages are under correction [this refers to the first edition], I am enabled to add an important piece of evidence, harmonizing with the above, and supporting sundry of the conclusions drawn in the text. It is furnished by a Babylonian inscription (Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions, etc.*, iii, 53, No. 2, lines 36, etc.), which, as translated by Prof. Schrader, runs thus:—

"The star Venus at sunrise is Ishtar among the gods,  
The star Venus at sunset is Baaltis among the gods."

We have thus another case of multiple personality in a heavenly body, analogous to the cases of the Sun and Moon before pointed out (§ 191), but differing in definiteness. For whereas, before, the belief in two or more personalities was inferred, we here have it directly stated. This belief, inexplicable on any current theory, we see to be perfectly explicable as a result of birth-naming.

*Religion of the Iranians.*—Dr. Scheppig has translated for me

some important passages from the work of Fr. Spiegel, *Eränische Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii (1873), pp. 91, etc. While this work brings clearly into view the many and various indications of ancestor-worship in the *Zend-Avesta*, it contains highly significant evidence concerning the ideas of ghosts (*fravashis*) and of ghost-mechanism throughout creation, which were held by the Persian branch of the Aryans.

Nature of the Fravashi.—(p. 92.) “The *fravashi* is in the first place a part . . . of the human soul. In this sense the word is used in the *Avesta*. . . . Later works of the Parsees give us more exact information about the activity of the *fravashi*. The *frohar* or *fravashi*—so it is stated in one of those works, the *Sadder Bundehesh*—has the task of making useful what a man eats, and removing the heavier parts. Accordingly, the *fravashi* is the part intermediating between body and soul; but it is conceived as a person, independent in general, and particularly from the body. The *Sadder Bundehesh* recognizes other psychic powers besides: the vital power (*jân*), the conscience (*akho*), the soul (*revân*), the consciousness (*bôî*). [This recalls the theory of the Egyptians, by whom also each man was supposed to unite within himself four or five different entities. These seemingly-strange beliefs are not difficult to account for. As shown in §§ 56, 57, 94, 95, shadow, reflexion, breath, and heart are all regarded as partially-independent components of the individual, sometimes spoken of as separable during life, and as going to different places after death.] Of these the vital power is so intimately connected with the body that the latter perishes as soon as the former has vanished. In a body thus doomed to perish the other psychic powers cannot stay either: they leave it; the conscience, because it has not done anything wrong, makes straightway for heaven, while soul, consciousness, and *fravashi* remaining together, have to answer for the deeds of the man, and are rewarded or punished.”

Fravashis of Gods and Men.—(p. 94.) “Every living being has a *fravashi*, not only in the terrestrial but in the spiritual world. Not even Ahura-Mazda [the chief god] is excepted; his *fravashi* is frequently alluded to (Vd. 19, 46, Yt. 13, 80) as well as the *fravashis* of the Amesha-çpentas and the other Yazatas (Yç. 23, 3, Yt. 13, 82). Most frequently the *fravashis* of the Paouryô-tkaeshas are invoked, *i.e.*, those of the pious men who lived before the appearance of the law. To them, generally, the *fravashis* of the nearest relations, and the *fravashi* of the person himself, are added. . . . It may appear surprising that the *fravashis* of the ‘born and unborn’ are invoked (Yç. 26, 20). The clue may be found in Yt. 13, 17, where it is stated that the *fravashis* of the pious who lived before the law, and of the beings who will appear in future, are more powerful than those of other

people, living or dead. Here worship of manes and of heroes is mixed up. Among these *fravashis* the ancestors of the particular family, and of the particular clan or tribe, were worshipped."

Powers of the Fravashis.—(p. 95.) "The *fravashis* were not deficient in power. Their chief task was the protection of living beings. It is by their splendour and majesty that Abura-Mazda is enabled to protect the Ardvîçûra Anâhita (Yt. 13, 4) [a certain spring and a goddess], and the earth on which the water runs and the trees grow. The *fravashis* protect, as well, the children in the womb. . . . They are very important for the right distribution of terrestrial benefits. It is by their assistance that cattle and draught beasts can walk on the earth; and but for their help sun, moon, and star, as well as the water, would not find their way, nor would the trees grow (Yt. 13, 53, etc.)." (p. 95-6.) "Accordingly, the peasant will do well to secure the assistance of these important deities. The same holds true for the warrior; for the *fravashis* are helpers in battles, . . . Mithra, Rashun, and the victorious wind are in their company. . . . It is of great importance that the *fravashis* remain in close connection with their families. They demand water for their clans, each one for his kin, when it is taken out of the Lake Vourukasha; . . . each of them fights on the spot where he has got to defend a homestead, and kings and generals who want their help against tormenting enemies, must specially call on them; they then come and render assistance, provided they have been satisfied and not offended (Yt. 13, 69-72). The *fravashis* give assistance not only as warriors; they may be invoked against any thing alarming, . . . against bad men and bad spirits." . . .

Fravashis and Stars.—(p. 94.) We read in the Mîno-khired: "All the innumerable stars which are visible are called the *fravashis* of the terrestrial ones [men?]; because for the whole creation created by the creator Ormuzd, for the born and the unborn, a fravashi of the same essence is manifest.' Hence it appears that the *fravashis*, or the stars, form the host that . . . fights against the demons." . . .

Worship of the Fravashis.—(p. 97.) "As in the case of other genii of the Zoroastrian religion, much depends on the satisfactory propitiation of the *fravashis*; for their power, and consequent activity, depends on the sacrifices. Probably they were worshipped upon the 19th day of each month: their chief feasts, however, were on the . . . intercalatory days added to the year at its termination. About that time the *fravashis* descend to the earth, and stay there for 10 nights, expecting to be met with appropriate sacrifices of meat and clothes. (Yt. 13, 49.) [Compare with the German and Slavonian superstitions.] . . . There cannot be any doubt that the worship of the *fravashis* played an important part with the Iranians, though perhaps more in private



than in public. It would appear that there were two different sorts of it. General, certainly, was the hero-worship—the veneration of the *Paoiryô-tkaeshas* [pious men before the law]. With this, in some ages perhaps, the worship of *fravashis* of the royal family was combined. The ancestor-worship, on the other hand, was of a strictly private character."

Parallelisms.—(p. 98.) "The custom of honouring the memory of ancestors by sacrifices would appear to have been characteristic of the Indo-Germans from the very first. It is for this reason that quite striking similarities are found in the cult, which no doubt refer to very old times. . . . It has been justly pointed out that, as the *fravashis* are conceived as stars, so, in the opinion of the ancient Hindoos, the blessed men beam in form of stars (see *Justi, Handbuch, s.v., fravashi*, p. 200). Nor should it be overlooked that this star-worship is very like the worship of the heavenly host mentioned in the Old Testament."

Here, then, concerning these ancient Aryans of Persia, we have, on high authority, statements proving a dominant ancestor-worship; and also yielding support to various of the doctrines set forth in Part I. While it is only one of several souls possessed by each individual, the *fravashi* is the predominant and propitiated soul. It is supposed to need food, like the other-self of the dead savage. Not ordinary men only, but deities, up to the supreme one, have each his ghost; implying that he was originally a man. We see, too, that these *fravashis* which are ancestral ghosts, become the agents to whom the powers of surrounding objects are ascribed—fetich ghosts. We see that they have peopled the heavens—have become the in-dwelling spirits of sun, moon, and stars. And we see that worship of them, beginning with worship of those of the family and the clan, originates in time the worship of conspicuous traditional persons, as ancient heroes and gods; just as among the Fijians and others at the present day.

*Aryan Ancestor-worship.*—The more I have looked into the evidence, the more I have marvelled at those who, in the interests of the mythological theory, assert that the Aryans have been distinguished from inferior races by not being ancestor-worshippers; and who ascribe such ancestor-worship as cannot be overlooked, to imitation of inferior races. If the American filibuster Ward, now apotheosized in China, has a temple erected to him there, the fact is accepted as not unnatural among the ancestor-worshipping Chinese. But in India, among Aryans, we must ascribe to the bad example of lower peoples, the erection of a temple at Benares to the English filibuster Warren Hastings. —(*Parl. Hist.*, xxvi, pp. 773-7.)

I find nothing but such unwarranted assumption to place

against the clear evidence that ancestor-worship was dominant among primitive Aryans, long remained dominant among civilized Aryans, survived in considerable strength in mediæval Christendom, and has not yet died away. When we learn that the *Avesta* describes sacrifices for the dead, and contains prayers calling upon them—when we read in the *Institutes of Menu* (Sir W. Jones's translation, vol. iii, p. 147) that "an oblation by *Brâhmens* to their ancestors transcends an oblation to the deities; because that to the deities is considered as the opening and completion of that to ancestors"—when, turning to the Aryans who migrated West, we remember how active was their propitiation of the dead, calling from Grote the words "sepulchral duties, sacred beyond all others in the eyes of a Greek"—when we are reminded how the early Romans, ascribing to their manes-gods a love of human blood, duly administered to it; our boldness of assumption must be great if we can say that Aryan ancestor-worship was not indigenous but adopted.

Were it true that necrolatry was not rooted in the primitive Aryan mind, as in other primitive minds (a marvellous difference, did it exist), it would be strange that though superficial it was so difficult to extirpate. Christianity spread without extinguishing it. In a capitulary of 742, Karloman prohibits "sacrifices to the dead" (*Baluzius*, i, 148). Nor has it been extinguished by modern Christianity, as was shown in § 152. Here is further evidence from Hanusch, *Die Wissenschaft des Slawischen Mythus*, p. 408:—

"According to Gebhardi . . . the Misnians, Lausitzians, Bohemians, Silesians, and Poles, upon the first of March, early in the morning, went forth with torches, going to the cemetery and offering up food to their ancestors. [According to Grimm] the Esthonians leave food for the dead in the night of the second of November, and are glad if in the morning something is found to be consumed. . . . With all Slaves it was a custom to have a meal for the dead, not only upon the day of funeral but annually; the former was intended for the particular dead, the latter for the dead in general. . . . At the latter they believed the souls to be present personally. Silently little bits of food were thrown for them under the table. People believed they heard them rustle, and saw them feed upon the smell and vapour of the food."

I may close with the conclusive testimony of one who has had unusual opportunities of studying Aryan superstitions as now being generated, and whose papers in the *Fortnightly Review* show how competent he is both as observer and reasoner—Sir A. C. Lyall. In a letter to me he says:—"I do not know who may be the author of the statement which you quote [in § 150], that 'No Indo-European nation seems to have made a religion of the worship of the dead;' but it is a generalization entirely untenable. Here in Rajputana, among the purest Aryan tribes, the worship of famous ancestors is most prevalent; and all their heroes are more or less deified."

*Ancestor-worship among the Greeks.*—The foregoing evidence, published in the first edition, I can now re-inforce. The already-quoted essay *A Sepulchral Relief from Tarentum*, by Mr. Percy Gardner, contains clear proofs, brought to light by recent investigations, that ancestor-worship was no less dominant among the Greeks than among inferior peoples. The first two of the following extracts, concerning Lycians and Etrurians, I prefix to show that the Greeks had identical conceptions and usages:—

“Thus so far as Lycia is concerned there can be no doubt that as early as the fourth century B.C. dead heroes were represented on their tombs as receiving homage from the living.” (pp. 14–15.)

“And that the feast here [on a sarcophagus] is a feast after death, is shown by the analogy of the wall paintings of several of the large tombs of Etruria, in which the occupant of the tomb is seen eating, drinking, and making merry, as if he had but to continue in the tomb the life which while he was in the flesh he had found so pleasant.” (p. 15.)

“These reliefs readily attach themselves to the more archaic class of Spartan monuments, and throw a fresh light on their character, so that after seeing them Milchhoefer retracted his previously expressed opinion, and no longer hesitated to believe that in all alike dead mortals held the post of honour, and that all referred to the cultus of ancestors.” (p. 18.)

“The worship of the dead did not occupy among the *élites* of Greece the same space in men’s minds which at an earlier time it had held, and which is still held in the more conservative districts.”

“Nevertheless, a careful search will disclose many passages even in the Attic writers which illustrate this form of religion. The opening passage of the *Choephori*, for example, tells of cultus kept up at the tombs of deceased worthies. In the *Alceste*, the heroine of the play is scarcely dead before she is invoked by the chorus as a spiritual power, able to give and to withhold favours.” (p. 21.)

“At a lower level than that of poetry, in the laws and the customs, more especially the burial-customs, of the Greeks, we find ample proof of the tenacity with which they clung to the belief that the dead desired offerings of food and incense, and were willing in return to furnish protection and aid.” (p. 22.)

“The dead man, living in his tomb as he had lived in his house, requires frequent supplies of food and drink, rejoices in the presence of armour and ornaments, such as he loved in life, and is very sensitive to discourteous treatment. These ideas were part of the mental furniture of the whole Aryan race, before it separated into branches, and are found in all the countries over which it spread.” (p. 22.)

“It is well known with what care the early Greeks provided in the chamber in which they placed a corpse, all that was necessary for its comfort, I had almost said its life. Wine and food of various kinds were there laid up in a little store, a lamp was provided full of oil, frequently even kept burning to relieve the darkness; and around were strewn the clothes and the armour in which the dead hero had delighted; sometimes even, by a refinement of realism, a whetstone to sharpen the edge of sword and spear in case they should grow blunt with use. The horse of a warrior was sometimes slain and buried with him that he might not in another world endure the indignity of having to walk. Even in Homeric days the custom survived of slaying at the tomb of a noted warrior some of a hostile race to be his slaves thereafter.” (p. 23.)

“If a body was left unburied, or if the tomb in which it was laid was not

from time to time supplied with food and drink, then the ghost inhabiting such a body became a wretched wanderer on the face of the earth, and neither had peace itself nor allowed survivors to be at peace." (p. 24.)

"The lectisternia of the Romans, in which they spread feasts for certain of the gods, and laid their images by the tables that they might enjoy what was provided are well known, and most people fancy that the custom was of Latin origin, but it is certain that the Romans in this matter were mere imitators of the Greeks. We should naturally suppose that the custom of feasting the gods arose from that of feasting deceased ancestors. And this view receives fresh confirmation when we consider that these banquets were, among the Greeks, bestowed not upon all the gods, but nearly always on those of mortal birth, such as the Dioscuri, Asclepius and Dionysus. They are bestowed indeed upon Zeus and Apollo, and this may seem strange, unless we remember how commonly Zeus Patroius or Herceius, and Apollo were confused in cultus with the traditional family ancestor." (pp. 32-33.)

*Origin of Egyptian Gods.*—Amid incongruities, the general meaning of the passages which follow is sufficiently clear. Brugsch writes:—

"In . . . the primeval history of their land" the Egyptians "supposed three ages which followed one another, till Mena placed the double crown upon his head. During the first age, a dynasty of the Gods reigned in the land; this was followed by the age of the Demi-gods, and the dynasty of the mysterious Manes closed the prehistoric time. . . . It is to be regretted that the fragments of the Turin papyrus (once containing the most complete list of the kings of Egypt in their chronological order) have preserved not the slightest intelligible information about those fabulous successors of the God-Kings. A single shred allows us to make out with tolerable certainty the names of sacred animals, such as the Apis of Memphis and the Mnevis of Heliopolis, so that it would appear as if these also had contributed to the number of the prehistoric rulers of Egypt." (*History of Egypt*, i, 33, 39.)

The continuity of the series from these early divine personages, some of them figured as animals and half-animals, down to gods who were unquestionably deified men, is implied by the fact that to the worship of those earliest rulers whose vague personalities, surviving from remote times, had become gods proper, there was joined a worship of early historic kings, which, similar in nature, similarly lasted through many ages. Here is a passage from Maspero's *Une Enquête Judiciaire à Thèbes* (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. viii), pp. 62-3:—

"A Memphis on trouve, jusque sous les Ptolémées, des prêtres de Ménès, d'Ata, de Sahôra et d'autres pharaons appartenant aux plus anciennes dynasties (De Rougé, *Étude sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, pp. 31, 53, 83) ; à Thèbes, le culte des Usortesen, des Ahmès, des Aménophis (voir au *Papyrus Abbott*, pl. i, l. 13, la mention d'un prêtre d'Aménophis), ou de certaines reines comme la reine *Nefer-t-aré* (Lieblein, *Deux papyrus, etc.*, p. 31, pl. iii. l. 6 ; Sharpe, *Eg. Insc.* ii), fut florissant pendant des siècles. Si nous ne saisissons pas chez les particuliers les indices d'une vénération aussi vivace, c'est que, dans les tombes privés, les cérémonies étaient accomplies non par des prêtres spéciaux, mais par les fils ou les descendants du défunt. Souvent, au bout de quelques générations, soit négligence, soit déplacement, ruine, ou extinction de la famille, le culte était suspendu et la mémoire des morts se perdait."

To which passage, showing that the permanent worship of the dead kings was a more developed form of the ordinary ancestor-worship, I may add a confirmatory passage from E. de Rougé:—

"Each pyramid had by its side a funeral building, a sort of temple, where were performed the ceremonies of a cult dedicated to the deified sovereigns. I have no doubt that this cult commenced during their lifetime."—*Mém. de l'Ac. des Inscr.*, pt. xxv, 2, p. 254.)

And yet in face of such evidence, harmonizing with all the other evidences we have found, it is alleged that the early Egyptian gods were personalized powers of nature!

"*Gods and men*" in *Hebrew Legend*.—Further grounds for taking the view expressed in § 200, respecting the "gods and men" of the Hebrew legend, have since been disclosed in the *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith. Here is a passage from the new edition edited by Prof. Sayce, published in 1880:—

"One of the most curious statements made in these hymns is that the race of men created by the deity was black-headed. The same race of men is mentioned elsewhere in the ancient literature of the Accadians. . . . In the bilingual tablets the black race is rendered in Assyrian by the word *Adamatu* or 'red-skins.' A popular etymology connected this word *Adamatu* with the word *Adamu*, or *Admu*, 'man,' partly on account of the similarity of sound, partly because in the age of Accadian supremacy and literature, the men *par excellence*, the special human beings made by the Creator, were the dark-skinned race of Accad. The Accadian Adam or 'man' was dark; it was only when the culture of the Accadians had been handed down to their Semitic successors that he became fair. The discovery that the Biblical Adam is identical with the Assyrian *Adamu* or 'man,' and that the Assyrian *Adamu* goes back to the first created man of Accadian tradition who belonged to the black, that is, to the Accadian race, is due to Sir Henry Rawlinson. He has also suggested that the contrast between the black and the white races, between the Accadian and the Semite, is indicated in the sixth chapter of Genesis, where a contrast is drawn between the daughters of men or *Adamu*, and the sons of God." (pp. 81-83.)

Verification is also hereby afforded of the suggestion made in § 178 (note), that the forbidden fruit was the inspiriting and illuminating product of a plant which the conquering race forbade the subject race to consume. The objection, not unlikely to be raised, that the words "fruit" and "eating" do not countenance this interpretation, would be sufficiently met by cases of our own metaphorical uses of these words ("fruit of the womb," "opium-eating"); but it may be met more directly. Of the Zulus, Bp. Callaway says—"The natives speak of beer as food—and of eating it. They also call snuff food, and speak of eating it."

*Theology of the Accadians*.—The distinguished Assyriologist, Prof. A. H. Sayce, in his article on "Babylonia" in the new

edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (iii, 192-3), writes as follows:—

“The earliest religion of Accad was a Shamanism resembling that of the Siberian or Samoyed tribes of to-day. Every object had its spirit, good or bad; and the power of controlling these spirits was in the hands of priests and sorcerers. The world swarmed with them, especially with the demons, and there was scarcely an action which did not risk demoniac possession. Diseases were regarded as caused in this way. . . . In course of time certain spirits (or rather deified powers of Nature) were elevated above the rest into the position of gods. . . . The old Shamanism gradually became transformed into a religion, with a host of subordinate semi-divine beings; but so strong a hold had it upon the mind, that the new gods were still addressed by their spirits. The religion now entered upon a new phase; the various epithets applied to the same deity were crystallized into fresh divinities, and the sun-god under a multitude of forms became the central object of worship.”

This account of Accadian beliefs harmonizes with the numerous foregoing facts illustrating the genesis of religion from the ghost-theory. The first stage above described is one in which spirits, originally human, have become identified with, or inhabitants of, surrounding objects, as we saw they everywhere tend to do. Just as among the Esquimaux and others, Sun and Moon thus come to be residences of particular ghosts, so with the Accadians. Prof. Sayce has just pointed out to me (June, 1885) that he had in 1874 expressed the belief that “the worship of dead ancestors” is the primitive form of religion.

As given by M. Lenormant, in his *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, the following is part of an incantation against pestilence:—

“De la fièvre, esprit du ciel, souviens-t'en! Esprit de la terre, souviens-t'en! . . . Esprits mâles et femelles, seigneurs des étoiles, souvenez-vous en! . . . Esprits mâles et femelles de la montagne sublime, souvenez-vous en! Esprits mâles et femelles de la lumière de vie, souvenez-vous en! . . . Esprits femelles du père et de la mère de Moul-ge [the Assyrian god Bel] souvenez-vous en! . . . Esprit de la Déesse-onde, mère de Êa, souviens-t'en! Esprit de Ninouah, fille de Êa (Nouah), souviens-t'en! . . . Esprit du dieu Feu, pontife suprême sur la surface de la terre, souviens-t'en!” (p. 128.)

Here, then, the address is uniformly made to ghosts; and these are the ghosts of beings allied by name to traditional human beings—the ghosts of beings who have come to be called gods and goddesses: ghosts regarded as lords and spirits of stars, mountains, fire. And this too, as we saw above, was the creed of the Iranians. The *fravashis* were the ghosts or spirits possessed alike by men and by gods—even by the chief god.

Moreover, little as the fact is recognized, the Hebrew god is habitually spoken of in a parallel way and with the same implication. “The Spirit of the Lord” is a consistent expression if, as in the Accadian belief, and in the beliefs of existing Bedouins, the original conception of a god was that of a powerful

terrestrial ruler—a ruler such as the one hospitably entertained by Abraham, with whom he covenanted to yield allegiance in return for territory. But the expression “Spirit of the Lord,” reasonably applied to the double of a potentate after his death, is nonsense if otherwise applied; since, as every critical reader must have observed, if the Lord was originally conceived as a Spirit, then the Spirit of the Lord must have been conceived as the spirit of a spirit. Such an expression as that in Isaiah xlvi, 16, “the Lord God, and His Spirit, hath sent me,” which is reconcilable with the primitive idea that every human being, whether king or subject, includes at least two individualities, is irreconcilable with the current theology; for the word spirit, whether interpreted in the sense accepted alike by savage and civilized, or whether referred back to its derivation as meaning breath (which it does in Hebrew as in various other languages), inevitably connotes a body of which it is the spirit.

Thus all three of the widely unlike types of men inhabiting these eastern regions—the so-called Turanians, the Aryans, and the Semites—had the same theory of supernatural beings. However otherwise different, deities, like men, were conceived by them as having doubles. The notion is perfectly congruous with the conclusion everywhere else forced upon us, that deities are the expanded ghosts of dead men, and is utterly incongruous with any other theory.

It was pointed out in § 202 that in various essential respects the Hebrew conception of god was at one with all other conceptions of gods; and here we see this unity implied even in the descriptive phrases used by the Hebrews in speaking of their god.

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NOTE.—I am indebted to the Bishop of Gloucester, and more recently to Prof. St. George Mivart, for pointing out that the statement on page 783, concerning the sacrifice of lambs to St. Agnes at Rome is incorrect. It appears that the lambs are not actually sacrificed, but only offered. We may regard the usage, therefore, as a form substituted for what was once a reality.

## APPENDIX B.

### THE MYTHOLOGICAL THEORY.

[*Though in the text, while setting forth that negative criticism on the mythological theory which is constituted by an opposed theory, I have incidentally made some positive criticisms, I have preferred not to encumber the argument with many of these; nor can I here afford space for a lengthened exposition of reasons for rejecting the mythological theory. What follow must be regarded as merely the heads of an argument, the elaboration of which must be left to the reader.*]

An inquiry carried on in a way properly called scientific may, according to the nature of the case, proceed either inductively or deductively. Without making any assumptions, the inquirer may, and in some cases must, begin by collecting together numerous cases; and then, after testing by the method of difference the result yielded by the method of agreement, or subjecting it to others of the tests needful to exclude error, he may, if it withstands all such tests, accept the induction as true. Or, otherwise, if there exists a pre-established induction, or an *a priori* truth (which is an induction organically registered), he may set out from this, and deduce his conclusion from it.

In his *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, Professor Max Müller does not adopt either of these methods. As given on page 143 (new edition of 1882), his theory is that, in the case of other races as in the case of the Turanian race there dealt with, men's religious ideas arise thus:—"First, a worship of heaven, as the emblem of the most exalted conception which the untutored mind of man can entertain," expanding to . . . "a belief in that which is infinite. Secondly, a belief in deathless spirits or powers of nature; . . . Lastly, a belief in the existence of ancestral spirits." To give anything like a scientific character to this theory, he ought to do at least one of two things. Either he should cite a number of cases in which among men whose state is the rudest known, there exists this heaven-worship and resulting conception of the infinite, or else he should prove that his theory is a necessary deduction from admitted laws of the human mind. He does



not fulfil either of these requirements, or even attempt to fulfil either. Not simply does he fail to give such numerous cases of Nature-worship existing without any other kind of worship, as would serve for the basis of an induction, but I am not aware that he has given a single case: the reason being, I believe, that no cases are to be found; for my own inquiries, which are tolerably extensive, have not brought one to my knowledge. On the other hand, so far from being able to deduce his conclusion from laws of mind, he is obliged deliberately to ignore laws of mind which are well established. If, as he alleges, men began with worshipping heaven as symbolizing the infinite, afterwards worshipping the powers of Nature as personalized, and finally ancestral spirits, then the progress of thought is from the abstract to the concrete: the course implied is the reverse of that known to be followed.

While it cannot, I think, be admitted that what is called by Professor Max Müller the *Science of Religion* has any claim whatever to the name *science*, we find evidence that his conclusion was from the outset a foregone conclusion, and one certainly not belonging to the class distinguished as scientific. Here are two extracts which throw light on the matter:—

“The elements and roots of religion were there, as far back as we can trace the history of man. . . . An intuition of God, a sense of human weakness and dependence, a belief in a Divine government of the world, a distinction between good and evil, and a hope of a better life, these are some of the radical elements of all religions. Though sometimes hidden, they rise again and again to the surface. . . . Unless they had formed part of the original dowry of the human soul, religion itself would have been an impossibility.”  
*Chips, etc.*, vol. i, pref. x.

The other extract is from the closing paragraph of the preface written by Professor Max Müller to the *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*. Speaking of that work, he says—

“But it contains much that . . . will comfort those who hold that God has not left Himself without a witness, even among the lowest outcasts of the human race.”

Noting how the theological here hides the scientific, I may add that anyone who reads Mr. Gill's volume and contemplates the many verifications it contains of the inference otherwise so amply supported, that ancestor-worship is the root of all religions, will be surprised to see how readily a foregone conclusion can find for itself support in a mass of evidence which to other readers will seem fatal to it.

But now leaving this general criticism, let us examine deliberately and in detail the hypothesis of Professor Max Müller, and that mythological theory associated with it.

1. A more special science cannot be fully understood until

the more general science including it is understood; and it is a corollary that conclusions drawn from the more special cannot be depended on in the absence of conclusions drawn from the more general. Philological proofs are therefore untrustworthy unless supported by psychological proofs. Not to study the phenomena of mind by immediate observation, but to study them immediately through the phenomena of language, is necessarily to introduce additional sources of error. In the interpretation of evolving thoughts, there are liabilities to mistake. In the interpretation of evolving words and verbal forms, there are other liabilities to mistake. And to contemplate the mental development through the linguistic development, is to encounter a double set of risks. Though evidence derived from the growth of words is useful as collateral evidence, it is of little use by itself; and cannot compare in validity with evidence derived from the growth of ideas. Hence the method of the mythologists, who argue from the phenomena which the symbols present, instead of arguing from the phenomena symbolized, is a misleading method.

One illustration will suffice. In a lecture delivered at the Royal Institution, on March 31st, 1871, Prof. Max Müller said—“The Zulus call the soul the shadow, and *such is the influence of language* that, even against the evidence of the senses, the Zulus believe that a dead body can cast no shadow, because the shadow—or, as we should say, the ghost—has departed from it.” (*Times*, 1 Ap., 1871.) Here the explanation is regarded as entirely linguistic. The course of thought which, among so many races, has led to identification of soul and shadow, and which has for its corollary the departure of the soul or shadow at death, is ignored. Those who have digested the abundant evidence given in the text, will see how profound is the misconception caused.

2. In another way—allied though different—does the method of the mythologists reverse the right method. They set out with the ideas and feelings possessed by the civilized. Carrying these with them they study the ideas and feelings of the semi-civilized. And thence they descend by inference to the ideas and feelings of the uncivilized. Beginning with the complex they get from it the factors of the simple. How great are the errors to be anticipated, an analogy will show. So long as biologists gathered their cardinal conceptions from much-developed organisms their interpretations were quite wrong; and they were set right only when they began to study little-developed organisms—the lower types and the embryos of the higher types. That the teeth, though rooted in the jaws, do not belong to the skeleton, but are dermal structures, is a truth which no anatomist, dealing with adult mammals only, would

ever have imagined; and this truth is but one out of many disclosed by examining animals in the order of ascending evolution. Similarly with social phenomena, including the systems of belief men have formed. The order of ascending evolution must be followed here too. The key to these systems of belief can be found only in the ideas of the lowest races.

3. The distortion caused by tracing the genesis of beliefs from above downwards, instead of tracing it from below upwards, is exemplified in the postulate of Prof. Max Müller, that there was at first a high conception of deity which mythology corrupted. He says (*Sci. of Lan.*, ii, 467) that "the more we go back, the more we examine the earliest germs of every religion, the purer, I believe, we shall find the conceptions of the Deity." Now, unless we assume that Prof. Max Müller is unacquainted with such facts as are brought together in Part I, we shall here recognize a perversion of thought caused by looking at them in the wrong order. We shall be the more obliged to recognize this, on remembering that his linguistic researches furnish him with abundant proofs that men in low stages have no terms capable of expressing the idea of a Universal Power; and can, therefore, according to his own doctrine, have no such idea. Lacking words even for low generalities and abstractions, it is utterly impossible that the savage should have words in which to frame a conception uniting high generality with high abstractness. Holding so unwarranted a postulate, it is very improbable that Prof. Max Müller's mythological interpretations, harmonized as we must suppose with this postulate, can be true.

4. The law of rhythm in its social applications, implies that alternations of opinion will be violent in proportion as opinions are extreme. Politics, Religion, Morals, all furnish examples. After an unqualified acceptance of the Christian creed, those who inquired passed to unqualified rejection of it as an invention of priests: both courses being wrong. Similarly, after belief in classic legends as entirely true, there comes repudiation of them as entirely false: now prized as historic fact, they are now thrown aside as nothing but fiction. Both of these judgments are likely to prove erroneous. Being sure that the momentum of reaction will carry opinion too far, we may conclude that these legends are neither wholly true nor wholly untrue.

5. The assumption that any decided division can be made between legend and history is untenable. To suppose that at a certain stage we pass suddenly from the mythical to the historical, is absurd. Progress, growing arts, increasing knowledge, more

settled life, imply a gradual transition from traditions containing little fact and much fancy, to traditions containing little fancy and much fact. There can be no break. Hence any theory which deals with traditions as though, before the time when they are classed as historic, they are entirely unhistoric, is inevitably wrong. It must be assumed that the earlier the story the smaller the historic nucleus; but that some historic nucleus habitually exists. Mythologists ignore this implication.

6. If we look at the ignoring of this implication under another aspect, we shall be still more startled by it. A growing society coming at length to recorded events, must have passed through a long series of unrecorded events. The more striking of such will be transmitted orally. That is to say, every early nation which has a written history, had, before that, an unwritten history; the most remarkable parts of which survived in traditions more or less distorted. If, now, the alleged doings of heroes, demi-gods, and deities, which precede definite history, are recognized as these distorted traditions, the requirement is satisfied. If, otherwise, these are rejected as myths, then there comes the question—Where are the distorted traditions of actual events? Any hypothesis which does not furnish a satisfactory answer to this question is out of court.

7. The nature of pre-historic legends suggests a further objection. In the lives of savages and barbarians the chief occurrences are wars. Hence the trait common to mythologies—Indian, Greek, Babylonian, Tibetan, Mexican, Polynesian, etc.—that the early deeds narrated, even including the events of creation, take the form of fightings, harmonizes with the hypothesis that they are expanded and idealized stories of human transactions. But this trait is not congruous with the hypothesis that they are fictions devised to explain the genesis and order of Nature. Though the mythologist imagines the phenomena to be thus naturally formulated; there is no evidence that they tend thus to formulate themselves in the undeveloped mind. To see this, it needs but to ask whether an untaught child, looking at the surrounding world and its changes, would think of them as the products of battles.

8. The study of superstitions by descending analysis instead of by ascending synthesis, misleads in another way. It suggests causes of Nature-worship which do not exist. The undeveloped mind has neither the emotional tendencies nor the intellectual tendencies which mythologists assume.

Note, first, that the feelings out of which worship *really* grows, as shown in Part I, are displayed by all forms of the

undeveloped mind—by the mind of the savage, by the mind of the civilized child, by the mind of the civilized adult in its uncultured state. Dread of ghosts is common to them all. The horror a child feels when alone in the dark, and the fear with which a rustic passes through a churchyard by night, show us the still-continued sentiment which we have found to be the essential element of primitive religions. If, then, this sentiment excited by supposed invisible beings, which prompts the savage to worship, is a sentiment conspicuous in the young and in the ignorant among ourselves; we may infer that if the savage has an allied sentiment directed towards powers of nature and prompting worship, this, also, while manifest in him, must be similarly manifest in our own young and ignorant.

So, too, with the thought-element which mythologists ascribe to the savage. The speculative tendency which they suppose causes primitive interpretations of Nature, is a tendency which he should habitually display, and which the least developed of the civilized should also display. Observe the facts under both these heads.

9. The familiar Sun excites in the child no awe whatever. Recalling his boyhood, no one can recall any feeling of fear drawn out by this most striking object in Nature, or any sign of such feeling in his companions. Again, what peasant or what servant-girl betrays the slightest reverence for the Sun? Gazed at occasionally, admired perhaps when setting, it is regarded without even a tinge of the sentiment called worship. Such allied sentiment as arises (and it is but an allied sentiment) arises only in the minds of the cultured, to whom science has revealed the vastness of the Universe or in whom the perception of beauty has become strong. Similarly with other familiar things. A labourer has not even respect for the Earth he digs; still less any such emotion as might lead him to treat it as a deity. It is true that the child may be awed by a thunderstorm and that the ignorant may look with superstitious terror at a comet; but these are not usual and orderly occurrences. Daily experiences prove that surrounding objects and powers, however vast, excite no religious emotion in undeveloped minds, if they are common and not supposed to be dangerous.

And this, which analogy suggests as the state of the savage mind, is the state which travellers describe. The lowest types of men are devoid of wonder. As shown in § 45, they do not marvel even at remarkable things they never saw before, so long as there is nothing alarming about them. And if their surprise is not aroused by these unfamiliar things, still less is it aroused by the things witnessed daily from birth upwards. What is more marvellous than flame?—coming no one sees

whence, moving, making sounds, intangible and yet hurting the hands, devouring things and then vanishing. Yet the lowest races are not characterized by fire-worship.

Direct and indirect evidence thus unite to show us that in the primitive man there does not exist that sentiment which Nature-worship presupposes. And long before mental evolution initiates it, the Earth and the Heavens have been peopled by the supernatural beings, derived from ghosts, which really draw out his hopes and fears, and prompt his offerings and prayers.

10. Similarly with the implied thought-element. The ignorant among ourselves are unspeculative. They show scarcely any rational curiosity respecting even the most imposing natural phenomena. What rustic asks a question as to the constitution of the Sun? When does he think about the cause of the Moon's changes? What sign does he give of a wish to know how clouds are formed? Where is the evidence that his mind ever entertained a thought concerning the origin of the winds? Not only is there an absence of any tendency to inquire, but there is utter indifference when explanation is offered. He accepts these common-place things as matters of course, which it does not concern him to account for.

It is thus, also, with the savage. Even in the absence of proof it would be inferable that if the great mass of minds in our own race are thus unspeculative, the minds of inferior races must be still more unspeculative. But, as was shown in § 46, we have direct proof. Absence of rational curiosity is habitually remarked by travellers amongst the lowest races. That which Dr. Rink says of the Esquimaux, that "existence in general is accepted as a fact, without any speculation as to its primitive origin" (p. 36), is said by others in kindred ways of various rude peoples. Nay, savages even ridicule as foolish, questions about the ordinary course of Nature; no matter how conspicuous the changes displayed.

Thus the intellectual factor, too, implied by the alleged mythopoeic tendency, is wanting in early stages; and advancing intelligence does not begin to manifest it until long after the ghost-theory has originated a mechanism of causation.

11. Joined with these two erroneous assumptions is the assumption, also erroneous, that the primitive man is given to "imaginative fictions." Here is another mistake caused by ascribing to undeveloped natures, the traits which developed natures exhibit. As shown in § 47, the savage conspicuously lacks imagination; and fiction, implying imagination, arises only as civilization progresses. The man of low type no more

invents stories than he invents tools or processes; but in the one case, as in the other, the products of his activity evolve by small modifications. Among inferior races the only germ of literature is the narrative of events. The savage tells the occurrences of to-day's chase, the feats of the fight that happened yesterday, the successes of his father who lately died, the triumphs of his tribe in a past generation. Without the slightest idea of making marvellous stories, he makes them unawares. Having only rude speech full of metaphor; being prompted by vanity and unchecked by regard for truth; immeasurably credulous himself and listened to by his descendants with absolute faith; his narratives soon become monstrously exaggerated, and in course of generations diverge so widely from possibility, that to us they seem mere freaks of fancy.

On studying facts instead of trusting to hypotheses we see this to be the origin of primitive legends. Looked at apart from preconceptions, the evidence (see *Descriptive Sociology*, "Æsthetic Products") shows that there is originally no mythopoeic tendency; but that the so-called myth begins with a story of human adventure. Hence this assumed factor is also wanting.

12. One more supposition is made for which there is, in like manner, no warrant. The argument of the mythologists proceeds on the assumption that early peoples were inevitably betrayed into personalizing abstract nouns. Having originally had certain verbal symbols for abstractions; and having, by implication, had a corresponding power of abstract thinking; it is alleged that the barbarian thereupon began to deprive these verbal symbols of their abstractness. This remarkable process is one of which clear proof might have been expected; but none is forthcoming. We have indeed, in his *Chips*, etc. (vol. ii, p. 55), the assertion of Prof. Max Müller that "as long as people thought in language, it was simply impossible to speak of morning or evening, of spring and winter, without giving to these conceptions something of an individual, active, sexual, and at last personal character;" (i.e., having, somehow, originally got them without concrete meanings, it was impossible to avoid making their meanings concrete); but to establish the alleged impossibility something more than authoritative statement is needed. And considering that the validity of the entire theory depends on the truth of this proposition, one might have looked for an elaborate demonstration of it. Surely the speech of the uncivilized should furnish abundant materials.

Instead, I find put in evidence certain personalizations of abstracts made by ourselves. Prof. Max Müller quotes passages

in which Wordsworth speaks of Religion as a "mother," of "father Time," of "Frost's inexorable tooth," of "Winter like a traveller old," of "laughing hours." But in the first place it is to be remarked that these, where not directly traceable to the personages of classic mythology, have obviously arisen by conscious or unconscious imitation of classic modes of expression, to which our poets have been habituated from boyhood. And then, in the second place, we find no trace of a tendency for this fanciful personalization to generate beliefs in actual personalities; and unless such a tendency is proved, nothing is proved.

13. Sanskrit is, indeed, said to yield evidence of this personalization. But the evidence, instead of being direct, is remotely inferential; and the inferences are drawn from materials arbitrarily selected.

How little confidence can be placed in the mode of dealing with the language of the Vedas, may be inferred from the mode of dealing with the Vedic statements. Appeal is professedly made to the ideas of highest antiquity, as being, according to theory, freest from mythopœic corruptions. But only such of these ideas as suit the hypothesis are taken; and ideas of as high, and indeed of higher, antiquity, which conflict with it are ignored. Of numerous cases, here is one. Soma-worship being common to the Rig-Veda and the Zend-Avesta, is thereby proved to have existed before the diffusion of the Aryans. Further, as before shown (§ 178), the Rig-Veda itself calls Soma "the creator and father of the gods," "the generator of hymns, of Dyaus, of Prithivi, of Agni, of Surya, of Indra, and of Vishnu." According to this highest authority, then, these so-called Nature-gods were not the earliest. They were preceded by Soma, "king of gods and men," who "confers immortality on gods and men:" the alleged sun-god, Indra, being named as performing his great deeds under the inspiration of Soma. Hence if antiquity of idea, as proved both by the direct statements of the Rig-Veda itself, and by community of belief with the Zend-Avesta, is to be taken as the test, it is clear that Nature-worship was not primordial among the Aryans.

If we look more closely at the data taken from this "book with seven seals" (which is Prof. Max Müller's name for the book from which, strangely enough, he draws such positive conclusions) and observe how they are dealt with, we do not find ourselves reassured. The word *dyaus*, which is a cardinal word in the mythological theory, is said to be derived from the root *dyu*, to beam. In his *Science of Language*, vol. ii, p. 469, Prof. Max Müller says of it—"A root of this rich and expansive meaning would be applicable to many conceptions: the



dawn, the sun, the sky, the day, the stars, the eyes, the ocean, and the meadow." May we not add that a root so variously applicable, vague in proportion to the multiplicity of its meanings, lends itself to interpretations that are proportionately uncertain? The like holds throughout. One of the personalized Vedic gods, inferred to have been originally a Nature-god, is the Earth. We are told that there are twenty-one Vedic names for the Earth. We learn that these names were applicable to various other things; and that consequently "earth, river, sky, dawn, cow, and speech, would become homonyms" (*Chips*, ii, 72). On which statements our comment may be, that as homonymous words are, by their definition, equivocal or ambiguous, translations of them in particular cases must be correspondingly questionable. No doubt roots that are so "rich," allow ample play to imagination, and greatly facilitate the reaching of desired results. But by as much as they afford scope for possible inferences, by so much do they diminish the probability of any one inference.\*

Nor is this all. The interpretation thus made by arbitrary manipulation of ill-understood materials, is made in pursuance of what seems a self-contradicting doctrine. On the one hand, primitive Aryans are described as having had a speech formed from roots, in such manner that the abstract idea of *protecting* preceded the concrete idea of a *father*. On the other hand, of ancient Aryans coming after these primitive Aryans, we are told that they "could only speak and think" (*ibid.*, 63) in personal figures: of necessity they spoke, not of sunset, but of the "sun growing old"—not of sunrise, but of "Night giving birth to a brilliant child"—not of Spring, but of "the Sun or the Sky embracing the earth" (*ibid.*, 64). So that the race who made their concretes out of abstracts, are described as led into these Nature-myths by their inability to express abstracts except in terms of concretes!

\* How doubtful must be these interpretations may be judged from the following synonyms and homonyms for the Sun, taken from the *Sanskrit Dictionary* of Mr. Monier Williams. *Sura*—a god, divinity, deity, a symbolical expression for the number 33; a sage, learned man, the sun. *Sūra*—the sun; the Soma; a wise or learned man, teacher: a hero, king. *Sūra*—a hero, warrior, champion, valiant man, great or mighty man; a lion, a boar; the sun, N. pr. of certain plants and trees. *Savitri*—a generator; sun; epithet of Indra and Siva; a particular plant. *Arka*—a ray, flash of lightning, sun, fire, crystal, copper, N. of Indra and of a plant; *membrum virile*, hymn, singer, learned man, elder brother, food. *Aryaman*—a bosom friend, play-fellow, N. pr., sun, Asclepias plant. *Vivasvat*—N. pr. of the Sun, Aruna, and others. *Sirākara*—N. pr., a crow, the sunflower, sun. And there are several others. Though these are from a general Sanskrit Dictionary, and not from a Dictionary of Vedic Sanskrit, yet it must be admitted that the Vedic Sanskrit is as vague or vaguer, unless it be affirmed that languages become less specific as they develop.

May we not say, then, that the doctrine of the personalization of abstracts, unsupported by evidence which existing races furnish, is not made probable by ancient evidence?

14. We need not, however, leave off simply with the conclusion that the hypothesis is unsustainable. There is a definite test, which, I think, completely disproves it.

As part of the reason why abstract nouns and collective nouns became personalized, Prof. Max Müller says:—"Now in ancient languages every one of these words had necessarily a termination expressive of gender, and this naturally produced in the mind the corresponding idea of sex" (*Chips*, ii, 55). Here the implication is that the use of a name carrying with it the idea of sex in the thing named, therefore carried with it the idea of something living; since living things alone possess the differences expressed by gender. Observe, now, the converse proposition necessarily going with this. It is implied that if an abstract noun has no termination indicating a masculine or feminine nature, any liability there may be to give more concreteness to its meaning, will not be joined with a liability to ascribe sex to it. There will be no tendency to personalize it accompanying the tendency to make it concrete; but it will become a neuter concrete. Unquestionably if a termination implying sex, and therefore implying life, therefore implies personality; where there is no termination implying sex, no implication that there is life and personality will arise. It follows, then, that peoples whose words have no genders will not personalize the powers of Nature. But the facts directly contradict this inference. "There are no terminations denoting gender in Quichua" (Markham, p. 23), the language of the ancient Peruvians; and yet the ancient Peruvians had personalized natural objects and powers—Mountains, Sun, Moon, the Earth, the Sea, etc.; and the like absence of genders and presence of Nature-worship, occurred among the Chibchas, and among the Central Americans. Thus personalization of the great inanimate objects and agents, can have had no such linguistic cause as that alleged.

15. The many reasons for rejecting the interpretations which mythologists offer us, thus fall into several groups.

Some of them are *a priori*. The method adopted is doubly wrong—wrong as seeking in the characters of words, explanations which should be sought in the mental phenomena symbolized by those words; and wrong as seeking in developed thoughts and feelings the keys to undeveloped ones, instead of the converse. The assumption, associated with this method, that the human mind had originally a conception of deity such

as we now call pure, is directly contradicted by the evidence which the uncivilized present ; and suicidally implies that there were abstract thoughts before there was even an approach to words abstract enough to convey them.

A second group of *a priori* reasons is otherwise derived. The mythological theory tacitly assumes that some clear division can be made between legend and history ; instead of recognizing the truth that in the narratives of events there is a slowly increasing ratio of truth to error. Ignoring the necessary implication that before definite history, numerous partially-true stories must be current, it recognizes no long series of distorted traditions of actual events. And then, instead of seeing in the fact that all the leading so-called myths describe combats, evidence that they arose out of human transactions, mythologists assume that the order of Nature presents itself to the undeveloped mind in terms of victories and defeats.

Of *a posteriori* reasons for rejecting the theory, come, first, those embodied in denials of its premises. It is not true, as tacitly alleged, that the primitive man looks at the powers of Nature with awe. It is not true that he speculates about their characters and causes. It is not true that he has a tendency to make fictions. Every one of these alleged factors of the mythopoeic process, though present in the developed mind, is absent from the undeveloped mind, where the theory assumes it.

Yet further reasons are forthcoming. From premises unwarranted by evidence, the conclusions are reached by processes which are illegitimate. It is implied that men, having originally had certain signs of abstract conceptions, and therefore power of forming such conceptions, were obliged, afterwards, to speak and think in more concrete terms—a change not simply gratuitously assumed, but exactly opposite in direction to that which the developments of thought and language actually show us. The formation of ideal persons out of abstract nouns, which is ascribed to this necessity, ought to be clearly demonstrated from the speech of existing low races, which it is not. Instead, we have deductions from an ancient Sanskrit work, unintelligible to the extent of having “seven seals,” from which conclusions called unquestionable are drawn by taking some statements and ignoring others, and by giving to words which have a score of meanings those most congruous with the desired conclusion.

Finally comes the fact which, even were the argument in general as valid as it is fallacious, would be fatal to it—the fact that personalization of natural powers, said to be suggested by verbal terminations expressive of sex, occurs just as much where there are no such terminations.

## APPENDIX C.

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### THE LINGUISTIC METHOD OF THE MYTHOLOGISTS.

Already in § 188, I have given an example of myth-interpretation carried on after the current manner: the instance being the myth of Saramâ, which, on the strength of the alleged derivation of the word, one mythologist regards as a figurative account of the dawn, and another as a figurative account of the storm. This conflict seems typical rather than exceptional. Concerning the true renderings of these early words, philologists are often at issue; and no wonder, considering that according to Prof. Max Müller, Sanskrit is "a language which expressed the bright and the divine, the brilliant and the beautiful, the straight and the right, the bull and the hero, the shepherd and the king, by the same terms." (*Rig-Veda*, i, 121.) Examples of the resulting confusion are continually thrust on the attention even of outsiders. The *Academy* for January 17th, 1885, contains a letter in which, speaking patronizingly of Mr. Dwijender Nath Tagore, a young Hindoo philologist, Prof. Max Müller quotes some passages showing that they are at issue concerning "the original meaning [? meanings] of *Mâtri*, 'mother', *Bhrâtri*, 'brother', and *Svasri*, 'sister'." Here are passages showing the disagreement.

"Max Müller says that the meaning of the word *Mâtri* is *Maker* (*nirmâtri*); we say that its meaning is *measurer* (*parimâtri*). . . . Prof. Max Müller says that the primary meaning of *bhrâtri* is one who bears a burden, but we say it is *bhâgin*, or *sharer*," etc., etc.

In the same number of the *Academy* is a letter from Mr. Rhys, Professor of Celtic at Oxford, in which, after quoting Dr. Isaac Taylor's question—"Does any one doubt that Odin is the wind?" he says—"My impulse would have been just as confidently to ask, Does anyone still think that Odin is the wind?" And then he refers to the first "among the Norse scholars of the present day" as saying that Odin means primarily heaven, and afterwards the god of wisdom. In a subsequent number of the *Academy* (February 14th), M. Henri Gaidoz remarks on the scepticism likely to be produced concerning mythological

interpretations, when "one says Odin is the heaven; another, Odin is the wind; according to a third, Odin is the storm:" adding that "each of these opinions is supported by a learned etymology which pretends to be the genuine one."

By way of further showing on what a quicksand rests the vast and elaborate structure of mythological interpretations, let me here place for comparison two translations of the same passage in the *Rig-Veda* :—

R.V. i, 85, 1. "Those who glance forth like wives and yoke-fellows, they are the powerful sons of Rudra on their way. The Maruts have made heaven and earth to grow, they, the strong and wild, delight in the sacrifices."—*Max Müller*.

"The Maruts who are going forth decorate themselves like females: they are gliders (through the air), the sons of Rudra, and doers of good works, by which they promote the welfare of earth and heaven: heroes, who grind (the solid rocks), they delight in sacrifices."—*Wilson*.

Here we see how readily a language like Sanskrit lends itself to those various figurative interpretations in which the mythologists delight.

Deeper than objections hence arising, is an objection which may be made to the assumption on which philologists at large proceed—the assumption that there exists in all cases, or in nearly all cases, a rational root for a word—a root, that is, to which reason may trace back the word's origin. Now any one who observes the transformations of words and strange deviations of meanings occurring among ourselves, notwithstanding the restraints imposed by education and by printing, will find reason to challenge this assumption. If at present there goes on what may be called by contrast an irrational genesis of words, we may be sure that in early times such a genesis was active, and that a considerable part of language resulted from it. To help us in conceiving the transformations which then took place perpetually, let us observe a few of the transformations which now take place occasionally.

By gardeners and greengrocers the name artichokes has been abridged to "chokes;" and this name appears even in the bills sent to householders. They have made a still greater transformation of the word asparagus. Misapprehension first led them to call it "asparagrass;" then it became "sparrowgrass;" and finally "grass;" which is the name now current in London among those who sell it. In early days before there had arisen any thoughts about correct speech, or any such check upon change as results from literature, these abbreviated and corrupted words would have replaced the original words. And then, if at a later period search had been made for the origins of them, philologists would inevitably have gone wrong. What more obvious than that the name "choke" given

to an article of food, must have had reference to some alleged effect of swallowing it; or what more obvious than that the name "grass" arose from a mistaken classing of the plant with grasses at large.

Agreeing as we must with the philologists that from the beginning dialectical changes have been perpetually transforming words, let us note some of the transformations which dialects of our own language exhibit, that we may help ourselves to imagine what must have resulted from kindred divergences during thousands of years. In the Berkshire dialect, the word "that" has become "thak;" and in the Devonshire dialect "this" has become "thickie." On referring to "The general table of Grimm's Law," as given in Prof. Max Müller's *Science of Language*, vol. ii, p. 246, I see no precedent for a change of the *s* into the *k*. Passing over this, however, I put a further question. Possibly the additional syllable in the metamorphosed word "thickie" might not prevent identification of it as modification of "this," when its grammatical uses were studied. But suppose that in conformity with Grimm's law, which shows that in Gothic *th* may be represented by *d*, and in old high German becomes *d*; suppose, I say, that this word "thickie" became "dickie," what philologist would then be able to identify it with "this"? Again, in the Somersetshire dialect "uncle" has become "nunk." Who, in the absence of written language, would find the true derivation of this word? Who would imagine that it had descended from the Latin *avunculus*? Even were it admitted that the dropping of the first syllable and of the last two syllables, might be suspected without the aid of books (which is extremely improbable), what warrant could be given for supposing a change of the remaining syllable *vunk* into *nunk*? Grimm's law does not show us that *v* changes into *n*; and in the absence of books there would be no clue. Once more, in the Somersetshire dialect "if" has become "nif." Instead of that abridgement commonly undergone by words in course of time, we here have expansion—a prefixed consonant. It seems not unlikely that this change arose from the habit of always using "if" with a prefixed "and"—"and if;" which, quickly spoken, became "an' if," and still more quickly spoken "nif;" but though this supposition is countenanced by a change in the same dialect of the word "awl" into "nawl" (which, probably at first "an awl," became "a nawl"), it does not harmonize with the associated change of "lunch" into "nunch." But however it has arisen, this growth of "if" into "nif" is one which effectually hides the derivation of the word. Were the Somersetshire dialect to become an independent language, as it might have done in times like those of the primitive Aryans, no philologist

could have traced "nif" to its root. The conclusion that "nif," used as the sign of a hypothetical proposition, was derived from "gif," meaning to hand over something, would have seemed utterly unwarranted by the meaning, and quite at variance with the laws of phonetic change.

Beyond such obscurations as these, there are obscurations caused by introductions of new words needed in new occupations, institutions, processes, games, etc., which are subsequently transferred to other spheres of use, while their original uses cease. We have an instance in the name "booking-office," as applied at railway-stations. Why booking-office? Young people cannot say; though people whose memories go back fifty years can. In the old coaching-days, when the accommodation for passengers was small, it was a usual precaution to secure a place one or more days before the day of an intended journey. A clerk entered in a book the passenger's name, the place taken by him, and the date for which he took it. He was then said to be "booked;" and hence the office was called a booking-office. Railway-managers had at first a slightly modified system. There was a book with paper tickets and counterfoils, of a kind like that now used in post-offices for registering letters. On paying his fare the passenger had his name written on the ticket and counterfoil, and the ticket was then torn off and given to him. This method was in use on the London and North Western Railway (then the London and Birmingham) as late as 1838, if not later. Presently came the invention of that little stamping apparatus which made it economical of time and trouble to adopt the stiff tickets now universally used. The books and booking disappeared, but the name "booking-office" survived. When all who remember pre-railway days are dead, any one who asks the derivation of the word "booking" as thus applied, will be utterly misled if he sets out with the ordinary assumption that the word has arisen by modifications of some word having an appropriate meaning. Railway-business, or rather railway-making, supplies us with another familiar instance. Labourers occupied in excavating cuttings and forming embankments, are called "navvies." Whence the name? In future times any one who asserts that "navvy" is short for navigator, will probably be laughed at. How is it credible that a man occupied in digging and wheeling earth, should be called by a name which signifies one who sails the seas, and especially one who directs the course of a ship? Yet impossible as this affiliation will seem to those ignorant of recent history, it is the true one. In the days when they were made, canals were thought of as lines of inland navigation—so commonly so, that sometimes a tavern built by the side of a canal was called a "Navigation

Inn." Hence it happened that the men employed in excavating canals were called " navigators," and for brevity "navvies." When railway-making began to replace canal-making, the same class of men being employed in kindred work, carried with them this abbreviated name, now no longer having even a remotely appropriate meaning. And the name has eventually been established as applying to any man engaged on earth-works of whatever kind. Now if, even in our times, there are aberrant origins of words—if these are at present numerous among the uncultured, how multitudinous must they have been among early peoples, who, on the one hand, were not restrained by education from making changes, and who, on the other hand, were compelled by the poverty of their vocabularies to use metaphors far more than they are used now. Indeed, as extension of the meanings of words by metaphor has played a chief part in the genesis of language, we may conclude that the metaphorically-derived words which eventually became established and apparently independent, form the most numerous class of words. And we may further conclude that since modifications go on very rapidly in early speech, the connexions of such words with the words from which they were derived were most of them soon lost, and endeavours now made to find their derivations must consequently be futile.

It has been replied to me when I have raised objections of this kind, that philologists distinguish between words of which the roots can be found, and words of which the roots cannot be found. At the time when this reply was given, little force was recognized in my rejoinder, that no trustworthy test is assignable; but I abide by this rejoinder until a trustworthy test is assigned. It seems to me impossible to devise any method by which there may be distinguished words of which it is hopeless to find the derivations, from words of which the derivations may reasonably be sought. Indeed, false derivations sometimes present far more the appearance of true derivations than do many of the derivations which really are true. Here are some extracts from an imaginary dictionary of derivations, which we will suppose to be compiled a century hence.

BURKE, *v. t.* From a root which meant a refuge, usually inclosed, but which from the original sense of inclosure with security came to mean inclosure with suppression. In Icelandic, Swedish, and Danish we have *borg*, "a fort or castle;" in Anglo-Saxon we have *burh*, *burg*; and in middle English we have *burgh*, *borgh*, "a place of shelter." In middle English *borough* meant "a den, cave, or lurking place," whence in English came *burrow* and *borough*. Anglo-Saxon had also the word *beorgan* to protect, which, as usual, dropped the terminal syllable. Hence, as *borg*, *burh*, *burgh* meant a place of shelter or fortified place, to *beorg* meant to protect by inclosure; and this *beorg* or *beorgh* changing its guttural (as the Scotch word *loch* has changed into the English *lock*), finally became *burke*. But a place made secure by walls is also a place of imprisonment; and the meaning of



being shut in eventually became the predominant meaning. A clear analogy is furnished by the changed use of the word *prevent*. Of old, as in the Bible (Ps. lix, 10) and in the Church of England service, it meant to go before with the effect of helping, but it now means to go before with the effect of arresting. In like manner to *burgh* or *burke*, having originally meant to inclose with the effect of protection, has come to mean to inclose with the effect of suppression. Hence a discussion is said to be *burked* when it is suppressed. How natural is the connexion of ideas may be perceived at a public meeting, when, to a prosy speaker, there comes a shout of "shut up." Here there is obviously in this process of *burking* a speech, an unconscious reference to the original fortified place, which, while it may be shut up to keep out foes, may also be shut up to imprison inhabitants.

Now when, in a few generations, there has been forgotten the story of the murderers Burke and Hare, who suffocated their victims by clapping pitch-plasters on their mouths, this might very well pass for a true derivation. The changes are natural, and not greater than those which continually occur. But let us take another case.

Post, *v. z.* To put a letter or packet into a place whence it is taken for delivery by public officials. This word is derived from the substantive *post*, a piece of timber set upright,—a name which was commonly transferred to an upright pillar of iron (at one time not unfrequently an old cannon) fixed at the corner of a street or other public place. The hollow iron upright receptacles for letters, which in large towns were placed at the corners of streets, were for this reason called *posts*. Hence to post a letter meant to put a letter into one of these hollow iron posts; just as to warehouse goods meant to put goods into a warehouse, or to ship a cargo meant to put a cargo into a ship.

I do not see how a century hence any one could, without an elaborate inquiry, detect the fallacy of this derivation; and in the absence of a literature, detection of the fallacy would be impossible. Far less licence is taken than philologists habitually take, and far fewer reasons for scepticism can be assigned. We shall at once see this when we look at some samples of the derivations which are put forth and widely accepted.

It is said that the Aryan word which in Sanskrit is *Dyaus*, eventually became *Tyr* in Old Norse. This may be true; though to establish such a strange genealogy seems to call for more evidence than has survived during the lapse of thousands of years, filled with numerous migrations and consequent social changes. One may admit it as possible that our word *daughter* comes from an ancient word *duhitar*, milker, from *duh*, to milk; though in accepting this conclusion we have to suppose that an earlier word for daughter (which must have existed before the Aryans reached the cattle-keeping stage) was replaced by this new word, notwithstanding the inapplicability of the new word to daughters in childhood and to married daughters. Prof. Max Müller may be right in tracing back the various European names for the moon to a primitive name which in Sanskrit is *mās*; and it may be, as he says, that "this *mās*

in Sanskrit is clearly derived from a root *mā*, to measure, to mete" (*Science of Language*, i, 7); though if, as he supposes, "the moon was originally called by the farmer the measurer," we must suppose either that before the Aryans reached the farming stage and also the stage at which the general use of measures had generated the conception of measuring, there existed no name for the moon, or else that the pre-existing familiar name had its place usurped by this unfamiliar metaphorical name: the usurpation being one which suggests the probability that in America "shooting-iron" will by-and-by replace rifle. But without contesting the correctness of these derivations, one may naturally ask by what criterion they are distinguished from the false derivations given above:—may, may even naturally ask how it happens that the false ones have a greater apparent probability than these alleged true ones.

Fully to appreciate the linguistic method of interpreting myths, we must, however, contemplate an example. Here is an abbreviated passage from the *Lectures on the Science of Language*, vol. ii, pp. 395—9.

"From *rik* in the sense of shining, it was possible to form a derivative *rikta*, in the sense of lighted up, or bright. This form does not exist in Sanskrit, but as *kt* in Sanskrit is liable to be changed into *ks*, we may recognise in *riksha* the same derivative of *rik*. *Riksha*, in the sense of bright, has become the name of the bear, so called either from his bright eyes or from his brilliant tawny fur. The same name, *riksha*, was given in Sanskrit to the stars, the bright ones. . . . Now, remember, that the constellation here called the *Rikshas*, in the sense of the bright ones, would be homonymous in Sanskrit with the Bears. . . . You will now perceive the influence of words on thought, or the spontaneous growth of mythology. The name *riksha* was applied to the bear in the sense of the bright fuscous animal, and in that sense it became most popular in the later Sanskrit, and in Greek and Latin. The same name, in the sense of the bright ones, had been applied by the Vedic poets to the stars in general, and more particularly to that constellation which, in the northern parts of India, was the most prominent. . . . The Hindus also forgot the original meaning of *riksha*. It became a mere name, apparently with two meanings, star and bear. In India, however, the meaning of bear predominated, and as *riksha* became more and more the established name of the animal, it lost in the same degree its connection with the stars."

So that setting out from the root *rik* shining and the derivative *rikta* (which *might* have existed in Sanskrit but did not), and assuming that the changed derivative *riksha* was applied to the bear because of his "bright eyes," or "brilliant tawny fur" (traits which do not distinguish him from other animals), we have built up for us by various other assumptions and suggestions the interpretation of the Great Bear myth!

To complete our conception we must not forget a certain postulate with which this method of interpretation sets out;—the postulate, namely, that there were originally certain roots supernaturally given. Says Prof. Max Müller—"nothing new

has ever been added to the substance of language . . . all its changes have been changes of form . . . no new root or radical has ever been invented by later generations, as little as one single element has ever been added to the material world in which we live . . . in a very just sense, we may be said to handle the very words which issued from the mouth of the son of God, when he gave names to 'all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field!'" (*Science of Language*, vol. i, 28—9). Hence the implication is that while those divisions of language which we know anything about, have arisen by processes of evolution, there was a special creation preceding the evolution—an endowment of linguistic capital in the shape of roots having abstract meanings. Further, we are taught that mankind lost their original ability to frame abstract ideas and use the corresponding abstract words; and that whether or not there was any other "fall of man," there was a linguistic fall of man.

Thus as a basis for the "science" of language, we are asked to accept the Hebrew legend of the creation. Then the linguistic theory built upon this foundation of legend, is used as a key to the "science" of religion; which "science" of religion sets out with absolute negations of the two fundamental methods of science. It asserts, as innate in the primitive man, a religious consciousness which instead of being proved to exist by an induction from many cases is not exemplified in a single case; and for the established deduction from the laws of thought, that the development of ideas is from concrete to abstract, it substitutes the assertion that the development of religious ideas has been from the abstract to the concrete. Lastly, the conclusions reached by taking a modified Babylonian superstition as a postulate, and reasoning by inverted scientific methods, we are asked to accept instead of the conclusions which observation of the languages and religions of rude tribes of men everywhere force upon us!

## REFERENCES.

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To find the authority for any statement in the text, the reader is to proceed as follows:—Observing the number of the section in which the statement occurs, he will first look out in the following pages, the corresponding number, which is printed in conspicuous type. Among the references succeeding this number, he will then look for the name of the tribe, people, or nation concerning which the statement is made (the names in the references standing in the same order as that which they have in the text); and that it may more readily catch the eye, each such name is printed in Italics. In the parenthesis following the name, will be found the volume and page of the work referred to, preceded by the first three or four letters of the author's name; and where more than one of his works has been used, the first three or four letters of the title of the one containing the particular statement. The meanings of these abbreviations, employed to save the space that would be occupied by frequent repetitions of full titles, is shown at the end of the references; where will be found arranged in alphabetical order, these initial syllables of authors' names, &c., and opposite to them the full titles of the works referred to.

- § 3. *Congo* (Tuck. 178)—*Termites* (Schwein. i, 350). § 16. *East Africa* (Burt. "Cen. Af." i, 94)—*Negroes* (Liv. "Miss. Tra." 78; Schwein. i, 148; Speke, 330). § 17. *Coral* (Dana, 289)—*Greece* (Toz. 3; Grote, ii, 296). § 19. *India* (Fay. "Tiger," 42-3; Fay. "Than." 32)—*Bechuana* (ref. lost)—*Orinoco* (Hum. ii, 273)—*East Africa* (Liv. "Zambesi," 190).—*Termites* (Hum. ii, 288). 24. *Chinooks* (Lew. & Cl. 425)—*Shoshones* (Lew. & Cl. 312)—*Guiana* (Brett, 25)—*Arawaks* (Ber. 29)—*Guaranis* (Waitz, iii, 413)—*Tamulian* (As. S. B. xviii, pt. ii, 710)—*Puttoos* (As. S. B. xxv, 296)—*Fuegians* (Wilkes, i, 121)—*Andamanese* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. iv, 210)—*Veddahs* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. ii, 282)—*Bushmen* (Arb. 243; Bar. i, 233)—*Akka* (Schwein. ii, 140)—*Bushmen* (ref. lost). § 25. *Ostyaks* (Pall. iv, 52)—*Kamschadales* (Krash. 175)—*Kookies* (As. S. B. xxiv, pt. ii, 636)—*Chinooks* (Lew. and Cl. 425)—*Guaranis* (Waitz, iii, 413)—*Patagonians* (Fitz. ii, 134)—*Akka* (Schwein. ii, 129, 141). § 26. *Kamschadales* (Krash. 175)—*Bushmen* (Bar. i, 234)—*Akka* (Schwein. ii, 129, 141)—*Veddahs* (Ten. ii, 450)—*Damaras* (Gal. 192)—*Yakuts* (Wrang. 327, note; Coch. i, 255)—*Comanches* (School. i, 231)—*Bushmen* (Thomp. i, 99). § 27. *Tasmanians* (Bon. 120)—*Papuans* (Macgill. i, 277)—*Danaras* (Roy. G. S. xxii, 150; Gal. 173)—*Dakotahs* (Burt. "Saints," 127). § 28. *Yakuts* (Wrang. 384)—*Tamulian* (As. S. B. xviii, pt. ii, 709). § 29. *Bushmen* (Licht. ii, 194)—*Zulus* (Gard. 233)—

- Abipones* (Dob. ii, 32). § 32. *Savage* (Wal. —). § 33. *Creeks* (School. v, 274)—*Guiana* (Ber. 46; Hum. "Trav." iii, 5)—*Indian* (Wal. "Amazon," 92)—*Creeks* (School. v, 272)—*Chinook* (Ross, "Fur. Hun." i, 125)—*Brazilian* (South. i, 223)—*Kamschadales* (Lath. i, 496)—*Kirghiz* (Lath. i, 344)—*Bedouin* (Burt. "El Medinah," iii, 45)—*Arabs* (Den. i, 411; Palg., W. G., i, 155)—*East African* (Burt. "Cen. Af." ii, 325—326)—*Damaras* (Gal. 233)—*Hottentots* (Burch. ii, 67)—*Bushmen* (Arab. 243, 245—6)—*Malagasy* (Ell. "History," i, 140)—*Papuan* (Wal. "Mal. Arch." ii, 448)—*Fijians* (Ersk. i, 263; Wilkes, iii, 76)—*Andamanese* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. iv, 210)—*Tasmanians* (Bon. 56)—*Fuegians* (Fitz. ii, 188; Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. i, 264)—*Australians* (Hayg. 102; Sturt, "Cent. Austr." i, 124)—*Bushman* (Licht. ii, 224). § 34. *Australians* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. iii, 223)—*Hottentots* (Kol. i, 46)—*Bushmen* (Bar. i, 244)—*Todas* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. vii, 241)—*Bhils* (As. S. B. xx, 506)—*Santals* (Hyn. i, 155)—*Kookies\** note (As. S. B. xxiv, pt. ii, 636)—*Loango\** note (Pink. xvi, 563)—*Esquimaux* (Hall, i, 130). § 35. *Mantras* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S., iii, 79, 78)—*Borneo* (Lub. "Origin," 10)—*Bushmen* (Arab. 243—4)—*Brazil* (Bates, 169)—*Caribs* (Edw. i, 42)—*Bhils* (Roy. A. S. "Trans." i, 88)—*Bodo* (As. S. B. xviii, pt. ii, 746)—*Lepchas* (Eth. S. "Journal," N.S. i, 152)—*Bedouin* (Burck. i, 250—1; Palg., W. G., i, 70)—*New Guinea* (Earl, "Papuan," 6)—*Kamschadales* (Krahs. 175)—*Damaras* (Gal. 232—3)—*Malay* (Wal. "Malay," ii, 443)—*Todas* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. vii, 241)—*Fijians* (Sec. 192). § 36. *South America* (Wal. "Malay," ii, 460). § 37. *Australia* (Sturt, "South Austr." ii, 143)—*Java* (Earl, "East Seas," 111)—*Pacific* (Ersk. 318)—*Faté* (Tur. "Nineteen," 395)—*Makololo* (Liv. "Miss. Tra." 511)—*Fuegians* (Wilkes, i, 126)—*New Guinea* (Kolff, 301)—*Bushmen* (Mof. 58)—*Andamanese* (Mouat, 285)—*Bushmen* (Licht. ii, 194—5; Mof. 136; Bur. ii, 54)—*New Caledonians* (Forst. 240)—*Tannese* (Forst. 242)—*New Guinea* (Earl, "Papuan," 49, 80)—*Tahitians* (Ell. "Pol. Res." new ed. i, 96)—*Dyaks* (Brooke, ii, 89, and i, 57)—*Javans* (Raf. i, 245)—*Malays* (Wal. "Malay," i, 380)—*Brazilians* (South. i, 223)—*Fijians* (Will., T., i, 129)—*Damaras* (Roy. G. S. xxii, 159; Ando. 156)—*Bhils* (Roy. A. S. "Journal," viii, 191)—*Nagas* (As. S. B. xxiv, 609)—*Bodo* (As. S. B. xviii, pt. ii, 745—6)—*Lepchas* (Hooker, i, 129, 128)—*Fans* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. iii, 41)—*Cucumas* (Bates, 293). § 38. *Houssas* (ref. lost)—*Creeks* (School. v, 691)—*Africans* (Liv. "Miss. Tra." 206)—*Dyaks* (Tylor, "Prim. Cult." i, 71). § 40. *Bushmen* (Bar. i, 234)—*Karens* (As. S. B. xxxv, pt. ii, 13)—*Siberian* (Prich. iv, 449)—*Brazilians* (Hern. 143)—*Abipones* (Dob. ii, 32, 13)—*Veddahs* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. ii, 289)—*Bedouins* (Palg., W. G., ii, 240; Burt. "El Medinah," i, 369)—*Hottentots* (Burch. i, 175)—*Damaras* (Gal. 145)—*Prairie Indians* (Burt. "Saints," 154)—*Brazilian* (Bates, 222)—*Arawaks* (Roy. G. S. ii, 231)—*Guiana* (Brett, 344; Schom. ii, 75)—*Esquimaux* (Eth. S. "Journal," i, 290)—*Hottentots* (Kol. i, 241)—*Fuegians* (Fitz. i, 55)—*Tongans* (Wilkes, iii, 19)—*Santals* (As. S. B. xx, 555). § 41. *Brazilian* (Bates, 277)—*East African* (Burt. "Cen. Af." ii, 337)—*Damara* (Gal. 176—7)—*Bedouin* (Palg., W. G., i, 137)—*Sumatrans* (Mars. 208)—*Malagasy* (Ell. "History," i, 136). § 42. *Dyaks* (St. John, S., i, 28)—*Karens* (As. S. B. xxxvii, pt. ii, 123)—*Kamschadales* (Kots. ii, 16)—*Mountain-Snake* (Ross, "Fur. Hun." i, 250)—*Brazilian* (Hern. 236)—*Patagonians* (Wilkes, i, 114)—*Guaranis* (Dob. ii, 63)—*Fuegians* (Wed. 154)—*Andamanese* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. ii, 46)—*S. Australians* (Sturt. "South. Aust." i, 106). § 43. *Fuegians* (Fitz. i, 24)—*Andamanese* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. v, 45)—*Ahts* (Lub. "Origin," 9—10)—*Brazilian* (Spix, ii, 253; Bates, 277)—*Abipones* (Dob. ii, 59)—*East Africans* (Burt. "Cen. Af." ii, 200)—*Malagasy* (Ell. "History," i, 136)—*Damaras* (Gal. 133)—*Hill-tribes* (As. S. B. xviii, pt. i, 242)—*Brazilians* (Spix, ii, 251—2). § 45.

- Australians* (How, i, 68)—*Patagonians* (Hawk, i, 376)—*Veddahs* (Prid. 460)—*Samoiedes* (Pink, i, 534). § 46. *Bushman* (Burch, i, 461)—*Samoans* (Wilkes, ii, 127)—*Tahitians* (Ell. "Pol. Res." ii, 19)—*Cucama* (Bates, 294, 277)—*Negroes* (Park, i, 265). § 47. *Nile basin* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. v, 233). § 48. *Equat. Africa* (Reade, 244)—*Negro* (Burt. "West Af." i, 259)—*Aleuts* (ref. lost)—*East African* (Burt. "Cen. Af." ii, 324)—*Australians* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. iii, 223). § 52. *Esquimaux* (Hayes, 125-6; Eth. S. "Journal," i, 141)—*Fijians* (Trak. 435)—*Orinoco* (Hum. "Trav." ii, 423)—*Dakotah* (Burt. "Saints," 144)—*Abipones* (Alcedo, i, 3)—*Guaranis* (South, ii, 368)—*Caribs* (Edw. i, 47)—*Bullons* (Winter, i, 255)—*Africans* (Ast. ii, 664)—*Iroquois* (Morg. 174)—*Creeks* (School, v, 269)—*Karens* (As. S. B. xxxiv, pt. ii, 195)—*Malagasy* (Ell. "History," i, 393). § 54. *Egyptians\** note (St. John, B., 79). § 55. *Insecte* (Wal. "Nat. Sel." 56, 58, 54, 59-60). § 56. *Benin* (Bas. "Mensch," ii, 352)—*Wanika* (Bas. "Mensch," ii, 45)—*Greenlanders* (Crantz, i, 185)—*Fijians* (Will., T., 241). § 57. *Fijians* (Will., T., i, 241). § 58. *Abipones* (South, iii, 404)—*Cumana* (Herr. iii, 311)—*Niger* (Lander, R. and J., iii, 242). § 59. *New Zealanders* (Thoms., A. S., ii, 203)—*Bushman* (Ande. 28)—*Arawak* (Brett, 108)—*Esquimaux* (Eth. S. "Journ." i, 141). § 60. *Child\** note (Rev. Phil. i, 14). § 61. *Peruvians* (Cieza, 228)—*Abipones* (Dob. ii, 183)—*Zuni* (Pop. S. M. 1876, 580)—*Bushman and Arapahos* (Lub. "Origin," 413). § 70. *N. A. Indians* (School, vi, 664)—*Greenlanders* (Crantz, i, 185)—*New Zealanders* (Thoms., A. S., i, 113)—*Fiji* (Will., T., i, 242)—*Dyaks* (St. John, S., i, 189)—*Karens* (As. S. B. xxxiv, pt. ii, 199)—*Peruvians* (Gar. i, 129)—*Jews* (Mills, 56). § 71. *Chippewas* (Keat, ii, 155)—*Malagasy* (Drur. 179)—*Sandwich Islds.* (Ell. "Hawaii" 251)—*Congo* (Reade, 248)—*Wanika* (Krapf, 171)—*Kaffirs* (Shooter, 399)—*Zulus* (Cal. 146-7)—*Hebrews* (Genesis xv, 1, & xx, 3; I Samuel iii, 10)—*Iliad* (Hom. bk. xxiii). § 76. *Chippewas* (Keat, ii, 158)—*Myths* (Fiske, "Myths," 78). § 77. *Zulus* (Cal. 232). § 79. *Karens* (As. S. B. xxxiv, pt. ii, 199, and xxxv, pt. ii, 28)—*Algonquins* (Tylor, "Prim. Cult." i, 436)—*Dyaks* (St. John, S., i, 189)—*Australians*, &c. (Tylor, "Prim. Cult." i, 439)—*Greenlanders* (Crantz, i, 184)—*S. Australians* (Scheur, 28, 73). § 81. *Death* (For. & T. iii, 316). § 82. *Bushman* (Arb. 255)—*Tasmanians* (Bon. 174)—*Toda* (Per. 314)—*Damara* (Gal. 190)—*Tupis* (South, i, 248). § 83. *Arawaks* (Roy. G. S. ii, 70)—*Banks Islanders* (Nat. A. I. "Jour." x, 281)—*Hos* (As. S. B. ix, pt. ii, 705)—*Fantees* (Cruc. ii, 246)—*Caribs* (Heriot, 545)—*Samoa* (Turn. "XIX" 272)—*Loango* (As. iii, 222)—*Gold Coast* (Beech. 227)—*Hebrews* (Gru. 19)—*Todas* (Hark. 52)—*Bechuanas* (Mof. 308)—*Innuits* (Hall, ii, 197)—*Bagos* (Cail. i, 164)—*Kookies* (As. S. B. xxiv, 621)—*Malagasy* (Drur. 235)—*Mexicans* (Clav. i, 322-3)—*Peruvians* (Yucas, 44). § 84. *Arru* (Koff, 167)—*Tahitians* (Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 524)—*Malanaus* (Brooke, i, 78)—*Curumbars* (Hark. 133)—*Fantees* (Beech. 228)—*Karens* (As. S. B. xxxv, pt. ii, 28)—*New Zealanders* (Ang. ii, 71)—*Brazilians* (Herr. iv, 97)—*Peruvians* (ref. lost)—*Sherbro* (Schön, 31)—*Loango* (Pink. xvi, 597)—*Dahomans* (Burt. "Dahomé," ii, 164)—*Bhils* (As. S. B. xx, 507)—*Caribs* (Irv. 9)—*Chibchas* (Sim. 258)—*Peruvians* (Tschu. ii, 393)—*Kookies* (But. 86)—*Central Am.* (Ovi. pt. iii, 49). § 85. *Bodo* (As. S. B. xviii, pt. ii, 736)—*Kookies* (As. Res. vii, 194)—*Innuits* (Hall, ii, 197)—*N. American Indians* (School, iv, 66)—*Mexico* (Tor. 31)—*Peruvians* (Yucas, 47-8; Piz. 238-40). § 86. *Guaranis* (South, ii, 371)—*Esquimaux* (Lub. "Prehistoric," 524)—*Peruvians* (Arri. 41)—*Iroquois* (Morg. 175)—*Brazilians* (Burt. "Brazil," ii, 50)—*Sherbro* (Schön, 31)—*W. Australians* (Eth. Soc. "Trans." N.S. iii, 245). § 87. *Chibchas* (Sim. 258)—*Egyptian* (Ebers, i, 334)—*Damaras* (Chap. ii, 282)—*Matimba* (Bas. "Mensch," ii, 378)—*Kamschadales* (Krash. 220)

- New Zealand* (Thoms., A. S., i, 188)—*Muruts* (St. John, S., ii, 129)—*Tahitians* (Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 525)—*Bechuana* (Liv. "Miss. Tra." 90)—*Bogota* (Sim. 271)—*Urua* (Cam. ii, 110)—*Mandans* (Cat. "N. A. Indians," i, 89)—*Guiana* (Hum. ii, 488)—*Chibchas* (Sim. 258)—*Peruvians* (Cieza, ch. 63)—*Mandingoes* (Park, i, 271)—*Esquimaux* (Crantz, i, 217)—*Bodo* (As. S. B. xviii, pt. ii, 736)—*Damara* (Ande. 228)—*Inland Negroes* (Park, ii, 196)—*San Salvador* (Squier, 344)—*Guatemala* (Xim. 213)—*Chibchas* (Cieza, ch. 63; Acos., Joag., 126-7). § 88. *Mexicans* (Herr. v, 126).—*Peruvians* (Gar. i, 127)—*Loango* (Pink. xvi, 596)—*Chibchas* (Sim. 258)—*Peruvians* (Gar. ii, 92). § 89. *Patroclus* (Hom. "Iliad," Lang, bk. xxiii, p. 454)—*Tasmanian* (Bon. 97)—*Soosoo* (Winter. i, 239)—*Coast Negroes* (Cruic. ii, 218)—*Damaras* (Ande. 227)—*Hawaii* (Ell. "Hawaii," 146)—*Samoa* (Tur. "Nineteen," 227)—*Tongans* (Marin. i, 393)—*New Zealanders* (Thoms., A. S., i, 188)—*Tannese* (Tur. "Nineteen," 319)—*Madagascar* ("Eng. Indep." July 30, 1868, p. 810)—*Greenlander* (Crantz, i, 219)—*Chinook* (Ross, "Oregon," 97)—*Todas* (Eth. S. "Trans." N. S. vii, 244)—*Arabs* (Burek. i, 101)—*Abipones* (Dob. ii, 274)—*Peruvians* (Cieza, 151)—*Tasmanians* (Bon. 97)—*Greenlanders* (Crantz, i, 219)—*Chinooks* (Ross, "Oregon," 97)—*Comanches* (School. ii, 133-4)—*Dakotahs* (Burt. "Saints," 150)—*Sandwich Islârs.* (Ell. "Hawaii," 147-8)—*Dahomans* (Burt. "Dahomé," ii, 167)—*Mexico* (Tor. 22; Herr. iii, 209 and 216)—*Samoa* (Tur. "Nineteen," 227). § 90. *Ambamba* (Bas. "Af. R." 82)—*Inland Negroes* (Lander, R. & J., iii, 113)—*Zambesi* (Liv. "Miss. Tra." 578)—*Fijians* (Will., T., i, 204)—*Peru* (Gar. i, 127)—*Moslem* (Tur. "El Med." ii, 110)—*Cremation* ("Times," July 6, 1874). § 91. *Negro* (Park, i, 91).—*Man* (Genesis, ii, 7). § 92. *Australians* (Bon. 185)—*New Caledonians* (Tur. "Nineteen," 424)—*Darnley Island* (Macgill. ii, 29)—*Krumen* (Burt. "Dahomé," ii, 165)—*Karens* (As. S. B. xxxiv, pt. ii, 198)—*Araucanians* (Alcedo, i, 411)—*Quimbaya* (Fern. 297)—*Peruvians* (Gar. i, 127; Acos., Jos. de, ii, 314)—*Samoa* (Tur. "Hundred," 150)—*Peruvians* (Arri. 34)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 354)—*Fiji* (Will., T., i, 243)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 355). § 93. *Tahitians* (Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 516)—*Yakuts* (Hill, ii, 278)—*Yucatan* (Oroz. 157)—*Nicobar* (As. S. B. xv, 349)—*Egyptians* (Rev. Scien. 1 March, 1879)—*Greeks* (Thirl. i, 224; Hom. "Iliad," Buckley, bk. xxiii, p. 420)—*Semi-substantiality* (Tylor, "Prim. Cult." i, 455-6). § 94. *Nicaraguans* (Ovi. pt. iii, 43, 45)—*Chancas* (Cieza, 316)—*Central Amer.* (Ovi. pt. iii, 42)—*Dying men* (Reit.)—*Greenlanders* (Crantz, i, 185)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 91)—*Iroquois* (Morg. 176)—*Fraser Island* (Smyth, i, 121)—*Ansayrii* (Walpole, iii, 349). § 95. *Tasmanians* (Roy. S. V. D. iii, 180)—*Aztecs* (Brin. 50). § 96. *Karens* (As. S. B. xxxiv, pt. n, 211)—*Chippewas* (Keat. ii, 158)—*Fijians* (See. 398; Will., T., i, 241)—*Mexicans* (Tern. iv, 195)—*Laches* (Fern. 14). § 97. *Bongo* (Schwein. i, 307)—*Karens* (As. S. B. xxxiv, pt. ii, 196)—*Malagasy* (Ell. "History," i, 429)—*Mexicans* (Clav. i, 242)—*Malagasy* (Ell. "History," i, 429-30). § 98. *Basutos* (Lub. "Origin," 219)—*Fijian* (Will., T., i, 245). § 99. *Comanches* (School. i, 237)—*Guatemala* (Brin. 216). § 100. *Manganjas and Negroes* (Lub. "Origin," 216, 234). § 101. *Chinooks* (Wilkes, v, 118)—*Comanches* (School. v, 685)—*Yucatan* (Steph. i, 421)—*Tupis* (South. i, 243)—*Fiji* (Will., T., i, 247). § 102. *Creek* (School. v, 269)—*Comanches* (School. i, 237)—*Patagonians* (Falk. 114)—*New Hebrides* (Eth. S. "Journal," iii, 62)—*Peruvians* (Arri. 41)—*Todas* (Marsh. 125)—*Tasmanians* (Tas. "Jour." i, 253)—*Dakotahs* (School. ii, 178). § 103. *Tongous* (Atk. 483)—*Abipones* (Dob. ii, 269)—*Dahomans* (Burt. "Dahomé," ii, 164)—*Patagonians* (Falk. 119)—*Nagas* (As. S. B. xxxiv, 615)—*Guiana* (Ral. 109, note)—*Papuan* (Eurl. "Papuan," 85)—*Yuca* (Pres. "Peru," i, 29)—*Ancient Mexican* (Tern. i, 213)—*Chibcha* (Sim. 258)—*Malagasy* ("Eng. Indep." July 30, 1868, p. 810)—*Mishmis* (As. S. B. xiv, pt. ii, 488)—*Old*

- Calabor* (Burt. "Dahomé," ii, 262)—*Fantees* (Beech. 229)—*Dyaks* (Low, 203-4)—*Kirghiz* (Atk. 433)—*Toda* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. vii, 245)—*Vatean* (Tur. "Nineteen," 450)—*Peru* (Tschu. ii, 355). § 104. *Mexicans* (Herr. iii, 220-21)—*Vers Pas* (Xim. 212)—*Mexicans* (Clav. i, 325)—*Peru* (Pres. "Peru," i, 29-30)—*Japanese* (Rev. Scien. Jan. 18, 1879)—*Guaranis* (Waitz, iii, 419)—*Yaca* (Gar. —; Cieza, 223)—*Chibchas* (Sim. 258)—*Tonguis* (Tav. plate)—*Yorubans* (Lan. —)—*Congo* (Ast. iii, 260)—*Chinook* (Kane, 178)—*Anciteum* (Tur. "Nineteen," 372). § 105. *Tahitians* (Hawk. ii, 239; Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 328)—*Tongans* (Marin. ii, 103-4)—*Fiji* (Will. T. i, 188)—*Chibchas* (Sim. 258)—*Karens* (As. S. B. xxxiv, pt. ii, 205)—*Kookie* (As. S. B. xxiv, 632)—*Dahomans* (Forb. i, 170)—*Kaffirs* (Shooter, 161)—*Akkra* (Bas. "Mensch," ii, 91)—*Assyrian* (Records, i, 143-6)—*Greeks* (Hom. "Odyssey," bk. xi)—*Zeus* (ref. lost)—*Petit* (Mons. i, 247). § 106. *Dahomey* (Burt. "Dahomé," ii, 24)—*Kaffirs* (Shooter, 161)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 354)—*Jews* (Sup. Rel. i, 110). § 107. *Fijian* (Ersk. 247; Will. T. i, 218-246)—*Greeks* (Blackie, 6, note; Hom. "Iliad," bk. v)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 203-4)—*Tahitians* (Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 517). § 108. *Kaffirs* (Shooter, 240)—*Australian* (Lub. "Origin," 378)—*Koossas* (Licht. i, 260)—*Bagos* (Cail. i, 164-5)—*Comanches* (School. v, 685)—*Chippewayans* (Frank. 132)—*Chinese* (Thoms., J., "Straits," 393). § 110. *Sandwich Islds.* (Ell. "Hawaii," 251)—*Madagascar* (Ell. "History," i, 393)—*Guiana* (Ber. 100)—*Gold Coast* (Cruc. ii, 135)—*East Africans* (Liv. —)—*Zambesi* (Liv. "Miss. Trav." 434)—*Aleutian* (Bas. —)—*Kamschadales* (Krush. 221)—*Lepchas* (Eth. S. "Journal," N.S. i, 149)—*Creek* (School. v, 270)—*Balonds* (Liv. "Miss. Trav." 314)—*Hottentots* (Kol. i, 126)—*Boobies* (Bas. "Af. R." 320)—*Bechuanas* (Thomp. i, 214). § 111. *New Caledonia and Eromanga* (Tur. "Nineteen," 428 and 496)—*Gold Coast* (Bas. "Mensch," ii, 56)—*Bullons* (Winter. i, 222-8)—*Caribs* (Brett, 125)—*Comanches* (School. ii, 133)—*Patagonians* (Fitz. ii, 158)—*Arabia* (Burek. i, 290)—*Dyaks* (Low, 245; St. John, S., i, 172)—*Tahiti* (Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 516)—*India* (Lub. "Origin," 374)—*Khonds* (Roy. A. S. "Journal," vii, 197)—*Cave-burial* (Nilsson, 155)—*Patagonians* (Falk. 115). § 112. *Peruvians* (Pres. "Peru," i, 29)—*Mandans* (Lew. & Cl. 102)—*Mangaia* (Gill. —)—*New Zealand* (Thoms., A. S. i, 96)—*Santal* (Hum. i, 153)—*Teutonic* (ref. lost)—*Chonos* (Eth. S. —)—*Araucanians* (Alcedo, i, 410)—*Peruvians* (Tschu. ii, 398)—*Ottomacks* (Schom. ii, 319)—*Central Americans* (Ovi. pt. iii, 43)—*Chinooks* (Waitz, iii, 339)—*Chippewas* (Keat. ii, 158)—*Kalmucks* (Pall. i, 574)—*Kookies* (As. S. B. xxiv, 632)—*Todas* (Marsh. 126)—*Eromanga* (Tur. "Nineteen," 496)—*Lifu* (Tur. "Nineteen," 401)—*Mapuchés* (Smith, E. R., 173)—*Damaras* (Ande. 226)—*Bechuanas* (Mof. 307)—*America* (Cat. "Last Ram." 325)—*Basuto* (Arb. 131)—*Sechele* (Tylor, "Researches," 359)—*Todas* (Marsh. 125)—*Fiji* (Will. T., i, 188)—*New Caledonians* (Tur. "Nineteen," 425)—*Mexicans* (Clav. i, 322-3)—*Esquimaux* (Lub. "Prehistoric," 524)—*Gold Coast* (Bos. 156)—*South America* (Hum. ii, 361)—*Kanovits* (St. John, S., i, 42)—*Malanau* (Brooke, i, 78)—*Chinooks* (Ban. i, 247)—*Fijian* (See. 399)—*Samoa* (Tur. "Nineteen," 235 & 322)—*Sandwich Is.* (Ell. "Hawaii," 106)—*New Zealand* (Ang. ii, 71, 154; Thoms., A. S., i, 187)—*Chonos* (Eth. S. "Trans." —)—*Araucanians* (Waitz, iii, 520)—*Australians* (Bon. 92; Ang. ii, 228)—*Chinooks* (Ross, "Oregon," 97)—*Ostyaks* (Bas. "Mensch," ii, 381). § 113. *Samoa* (Tur. "Nineteen," 237)—*Tongans* (Marin. i, 55; ii, 99, 128)—*Nicaragua* (Ovi. pt. iii, 42)—*Patagonians* (Falk. 115)—*Babylonians*\* note (Smith, "Ass. Dis." 212). § 114. *Borneo* (St. John, S., i, 172)—*Mexico* (Tern. i, 158)—*Panches* (Fern. 319)—*Peruvians* (Ulloa, i, 473)—*Borneo* (Brooke, i, 235; ii, 106-57)—*Dyaks* (St. John, S., i, 189-90)—*Zulus* (Cal. 380, 385)—*Ancient Mexicans*\* note (Clav. i, 251-2). § 117.



- Australians* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. iii, 228)—*Veddahs* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. ii, 301)—*Tasmanians* (Roy. S. V. D. iii, 180)—*Amazons* (Wall. "Amazons," 498)—*Karen* (A. S. B. xxxiv, pt. ii, 196)—*Tahitians* (Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 525)—*Nicobar* (A. S. B. xv, 343-49)—*Arab* (Bas. "Mensch." ii, 109-10). § 118. *Karens* (As. S. B. xxxiv, pt. ii, 204)—*Nicobar* (Bas. —)—*Rocks* (Liv. —)—*Danakil* (Harr, W. C., i, 352)—*Tropical* (Hum. iii, 183)—*Araucanians* (Alcedo, i, 411)—*Póhono\** note (Ban. iii, 126). § 119. *Veddah* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. ii, 301-2)—*Australian* (Roy. S. V. D. iii, 179)—*Ashantees* (Beech. 181-2) *Homeric* (Hom. "Iliad," Buckley, *passim*)—*Araucanian* (Alcedo, i, 410)—*African* (Liv. "Miss. Trav." 607). § 120. *Dyaks* (St. John, S., ii, 66). § 122. *Congo* (Reade, 250)—*East Africans* (Burt. "Cen. Af." ii, 354)—*Arabic* (Bas. "Mensch." ii, 591)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 263, 361, 368). § 123. *Amazulu* (Cal. 185)—*Abyssinians* (Parkyns, ii, 145)—*Tongans* (Marin, i, 102-3)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 263)—*Khonds* (Per. 333)—*Yakuts* (Coch. i, 293)—*Kirghiz* (Atk. Mrs., 154). § 124. *Arabs* (Peth. 221)—*Samoans* (Tur. "Nineteen," 221)—*Sumatrans* (Mars. 191)—*East* (Ramb. 190)—*Jews* (Sup. Rel. i, 120, 113)—*Church* (Burn, iv, 651). § 125. *Amazulu* (Cal. 269)—*Samoans* (Tur. "Nineteen," 236)—*Dyaks* (St. John, S., i, 62)—*Arawaks* (Brett, 362)—*Land Dyaks* (St. John, S., i, 178)—*Karens* (As. S. B. xxxv, pt. ii, 24)—*Lepchas* (Hooker, i, 135)—*Bodo and Dhimals* (As. S. B. xviii, pt. ii, 722)—*Coast Negroes* (Winter, i, 236)—*Koossas* (Licht, i, 255)—*Zulu* (Cal. 204)—*Comanches* (Eth. S. "Journal," ii, 268)—*Mundurucus* (Hern. 315)—*Babylonians* (Smith, "Ass. Disc." 176)—*Greeks* (Hom. "Iliad," Lang, bk. i, 2-3)—*Visitation of the sick* (Prayer). § 126. *Uaupés* (Wal. "Amazon," 500)—*Chippewayans* (Hearne, 338)—*Kalmucks* (Pall. —)—*Kookies* (As. S. B. xxiv, 630)—*Khonds* (Roy. A. S. "Journal," vii, 197)—*Bushmen* (Arb. 254)—*Bechuanas* (Burch. ii, 551)—*Coast Negroes* (Winter, i, 235)—*Africa* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. iii, 45)—*Loango* (Ast. iii, 224)—*Tahitians* (Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 515)—*Naga* (But. 150)—*Tasmanians* (Bon. 180)—*Kora-Hottentots* (Licht, ii, Appendix ii). § 129. *Diomedé* (Hom. "Iliad," Lang, bk. v, p. 86)—*Egyptians* (Records, ii, 70-72). § 130. *Tahitians* (Ell. "Pol. Res." ii, 235)—*Homeric* (Blackie, 11)—*Helen* (Hom. "Iliad," Lang, bk. iii, p. 53)—*Homeric* (Blackie, 15, 14)—*Congosee* (Tuck. 162)—*Takkalis* (Brin. 253)—*Ordaining Priests* (Prayer). § 131. *Amazulu* (Cal. 387, 259, 264, 260, 273)—*Fijian* (Will., T., i, 224)—*Santals* (As. S. B. xx, 571)—*Homer* (Blackie, 43)—*Zulu* (Cal. 265). § 132. *Mishmis* (As. S. B. xiv, pt. ii, 487)—*Sumatrans* (Mars. 191)—*Californian* (Ban. iii, 160)—*Koniaga* (Ban. i, 85)—*Columbians* (Ban. i, 286)—*Cumana* (Herr. iii, 310)—*Raphael* (Sup. Rel. i, 102)—*Exorcism* (Hook, 328; Lee, i, 59-69)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 161). § 133. *Kaffirs* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. v, 290)—*Tahitians* (Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 121)—*Australians* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. iii, 235)—*Jewish* (ref. lost)—*Australians* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. i, 289)—*Cucamas* (Gar. i, 56)—*Tariánas* (Wal. "Amazon," 498)—*Arawaks* (Waitz, iii, 388)—*Koniagas* (Ban. i, 76)—*Chinooks* (Ban. i, 245)—*Mapuchés* (Smith, E. R. 222)—*N. Americans* (Burt. "Saints," 142)—*S. Americans* (Smith, E. R. 222)—*Chinook* (Kane, 205; Ban. i, 245)—*Dyaks* (St. John, S., i, 197)—*Tasmanians* (Tas. "Jour." i, 253-4)—*Patagonians* (Fitz. ii, 163)—*New Zealanders* (ref. lost)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 270)—*Ancient Peruvians* (Arri. 21-22)—*Tannese* (Tur. "Nineteen," 89, 91)—*Chippewas* (Keat. ii, 163)—*Ardrás* (Bas. "Mensch." ii, 357)—*Ancient Peruvians* (Arri. 21-2)—*Europe* (ref. lost)—*England* (Stat. iv. pt. 2, 1028)—*Thlinkkeets\** note (Ban. iii, 147)—*Koniaga-whalers* (Ban. i, 76)—*Ashantee* (Beech. —)—*Damaras* (Ande. 179, 330)—*Dyak* (Boyle, 207)—*Brazilian* (Spix, ii, 244). § 134. *Bechuanas* (Bas. "Mensch." ii, 265)—*Forubas* (Burt. "Abeokuta," i, 303)—*Umquekana* (Cal. 391, 379)—*Brazilian* (Stade, 106-7). § 136.

- Dakotahs* (School. ii, 195)—*Hottentots* (Kol. i, 138)—*Tonga* (Marin. i, 88)—*New Zealand* (Ang. i, 279)—*Tahitians* (Cook, —)—*New Zealanders* (Ang. ii, 71)—*Anciteum* (Tur. "Nineteen," 371)—*Ashantis* (Beech. 213)—*Sandwich Islds.* (Cook, —). § 137. *Veddahs* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. ii, 296)—*Bongo* (Schwein. i, 234)—*Lohaheng* (Liv. "Miss. Trav." 124)—*Arawaks* (Schom. ii, 458)—*Guiana* (Hum. ii, 488)—*Creeks* (School. v, 270)—*Fantees* (Beech. 229)—*Dahomans* (Burt. "Dahomé," ii, 164)—*Yucatanese* (Landa, 196)—*Caribs* (Edw. i, 60)—*Brazilian* (Spix, ii, 250)—*Peruvians* (Tschu. ii, 393)—*New Guinea* (Earl. "Papuans," 85)—*Tahitians* (Hawk. ii, 95; Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 519)—*Sumatra* (Mars. 388)—*Tonga* (Marin. i, 144)—*Dyaks* (Brooke, ii, 270)—*Fijians* (Wilkes, iii, 119)—*Tahitians* (Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 521)—*Peruvians* (Acos., Jos. de, ii, 312)—*Collas* (Cieza, 364)—*Egyptians* (Diod. 60-61; Mar. i, 89)—*Etruria* (Ferg. "Hist. of Arch." i, 284)—*Darius* (Ferg. "Hist. of Arch." i, 194)—*Chaldean* (Ferg. "Hist. of Arch." i, 159). § 138. *Topes* (Ferg. "Tree," 88; Cun. 11)—*Chaitya* (Cun. 9)—*Tahiti* (Hawk. ii, 168)—*Central Americans* (Xim. 213)—*Egyptian* (Wilk. iii, 85, 430)—*Bedouins* (Burek. i, 101; Palg., W. G., j, 10)—*European* (Blunt, 16; Ferg. "Tree," 89). § 139. *Lower Californians* (Ban. i, 569)—*Coras* (Ban. i, 641)—*Damaras* (Ande. 222)—*Vancouver Island* (Roy. G. S. xxvii, 301)—*Mosquito* (Ban. i, 744)—*Karen* (As. S. B. xxxiv, pt. ii, 196; xxxv, pt. ii, 29)—*Bodo and Dhimalis* (As. S. B. xviii, pt. ii, 708)—*Mexican* (Ban. i, 641)—*Pueblos* (Ban. i, 555, note)—*Sea Dyaks* (St. John, S., i, 71)—*Hottentot* (Ande. 327)—*Samoa* (Tur. "Nineteen," 349)—*Fiji* (See. 392)—*Bhils* (Roy. A. S. "Trans." i, 88)—*Araucarians* (Smith, E. R., 275)—*Virzimbors* (Drur. 406)—*Berotes* (Liv. "Miss. Trav." 331)—*Kaffirs* (Gard. 314)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 175)—*Sandwich Is.* (Cook —)—*Greeks* (Blackie, 45)—*Agamemnon* (Hom. "Iliad" bk. ii, Lang. p. 33-4)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 239, 197)—*Kaffirs* (Shooter, 165)—*Zeus* (Hom. "Iliad," bk. v, Lang. p. 65)—*Athens* (Hom. "Odyssey," bk. iii, Lang. p. 45)—*Sandwich Islds.* (Ell. "Hawaii," 136)—*Egyptians* (Wilk. iii, 427-9). § 140. *Dyaks* (Low, 204)—*Gold Coast* (Beech. 229)—*Toda* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. vii, 245)—*Indians* (Ban. i, 126)—*Bagos* (Cail. i, 164)—*Gold Coast* (Cruc. ii, 218)—*Dahomans* (Burt. "Dahomé," ii, 163)—*Yucatanese* (Landa, 196)—*Egyptians* (Wilk. iii, 443)—*Polynesian* (Grey, "Pol. Myth." 43). § 141. *Samoa* (Tur. "Hundred," 48-9)—*Fijians* (Will., T., i, 231)—*Mexicans* (Clav. i, 279)—*Chibchas* (Fern. 141; Acos., Josq., 213)—*Khonds* (Camp. 211)—*Tahitians* (Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 488)—*Tongans* (Marin. ii, 208)—*Mexicans* (Clav. i, 325)—*Dahomey* (Burt. "Dahomé," ii, 25)—*Australia* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. ii, 246)—*Fijian* (Will., T., i, 20)—*Vateans* (Ersk. 334)—*Haidahs* (Ban. iii, 150)—*Nootkas* (Ban. iii, 152)—*Dahomey* (Burt. "Dahomé," ii, 164)—*Ulysses* (Hom. "Odyssey," bk. xi, Lang. p. 179)—*Dahomans* (Burt. "Dahomé," ii, 167)—*Mexicans* (Herr. iii, 210-13)—*Baal* (i Kings, xviii, 28)—*Nateotetains* (Ban. i, 127)—*Mexicans* (Men. 108)—*Guancavilcas* (Cieza, 181)—*Sandwich Is.* (Ell. "Hawaii," 147, 30)—*Peruvians* (Gar. i, 118; Acos., Jos. de, ii, 309). § 142. *Alutians* (Ban. iii, 518)—*Tupis* (South. i, 249)—*Californians* (Ban. i, 570)—*Chippewas* (School. "Mississippi," 122)—*San Salvador* (Pala. 81)—*Chibchas* (Sim. 259)—*Peruvians* (Cieza, 365)—*Tahiti* (Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 530)—*Mandingoes* (Cail. i, 344)—*Egyptians* (Wilk. iii, 443, 450)—*Brazilian* (Heriot, 539)—*Peru* (Gar. ii, 114; Pres. "Peru," i, 30)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 147, 145, 239, 203). § 143. *Bambiri* (Liv. "Miss. Trav." 605)—*Africa* (Reade, 249)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 140)—*Veddahs* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. ii, 301-2)—*Dakotah* (School. iii, 226)—*Banks' Islds.* (Anth. i, x, 285)—*Vateans* (Tur. "Nineteen," 394)—*Tannese* (Tur. "Nineteen," 88)—*Chryses* (Hom. "Iliad," Lang. bk. i, p. 2)—*Rameses* (Records, ii, 70)—*Rig Veda\** note (Raj. i, 427). § 144. *East Africans* (Liv. —)—*N. Amer. In-*

- dians (School. iv, 65)—*Turkomans* (Vam. 61)—*Iroquois* (Morg. 119)—*Egyptians* (Wilk. iii, 430, 378)—*Malagasy* (Drur. 233)—*Chinese* (Edk. 71)  
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- Fetich* (Bech. 179-80)—*Congo* (Bas. "Af. R." 82). § 162. *Juángs* (Dalt. 157-8)—*Andaman* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. ii, 42, 35)—*Damaras* (R. G. S. xxii, 159)—*Chirihuanas* (Gar. i, 50)—*Peruvians* (Gar. i, 47)—*India* (Lub. "Origin," 286; "Fort." Feb. 1872, 131). § 164. *Peruvians* (Gar. i, 75; Cieza, ch. 90). § 165. *Brasil* (Burt. "Brazils," ii, 366).
- § 166. *Thlinkets* (Ban. iii, 129)—*Karens* (As. S. B. xxxiv, pt. ii, 217)—*Abyssinia* (Parkyns, ii, 144; Wilk. iii, 285)—*Khonds* (Camp. 44)—*Bulloms* (Winter. i, 256)—*Mexicans* (Men. 109)—*Honduras* (Herr. iv, 141)—*Chibchas* (Sim. 245; Fern. 50)—*Africans* (Liv. "Miss. Trav." 615)—*Gallabat* (Schwein. i, 307-8)—*Tete* (Liv. "Miss. Trav." 642)—*Guiana* (Brett, 374)—*Sumatrans* (Mars. 292)—*Apachés* (Ban. iii, 135)—*Californians* (Ban. iii, 131)—*Tlascala* (Clav. i, 243)—*Calabar* (Hutch. 163). § 167. *Zulus* (Cal. 130, 196, 197, 198, 199, 368, 362, 202, 200, 201)—*Culiacan* (Ban. i, 587)—*Amazulu* (Cal. 215, 200)—*New Zealanders* (Thoms. A. S., i, 29)—*Russian* (ref. lost)—*Babylonians* (Smith, "Ass. Disc." 191)—*Animal-Worship* ("Fort." Feb. 1870, 196; Nov. 1869, 566). § 168. *Idzubar* (Smith, "Ass. Disc." 202-3)—*Ishtar* (Records, i, 143)—*Ventriloguists* (Del. "Isaiah," i, 240)—*Greeks* (Hom. "Odyssey," Lang. bk. xi, p. 190)—*Philippine* (Jag. 169)—*Assyrians* (Records, iii, 134)—*Arabs* (Cans. i, 349).
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- § 170. *Australians* (Ang. i, 92)—*Damara* (Ande. 225)—*Boto & Dhimals* (As. S. B. xviii, pt. ii, 734)—*Kaffir* (Shooter, 219)—*Comanches* (School. ii, 132)—*Chippewayan* (Hearne, 93)—*Bedouins* (Burck. i, 97)—*Kaffirs* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. v, 295)—*Tupis* (South. i, 239)—*Kareys* (As. S. B. xxxv, pt. ii, 10)—*New Zealand* (Ang. ii, 88)—*Dakotah* (Burt. "Saints," 141)—*Forubans* (Lander, R., ii, 228)—*Hottentots* (Pink. xvi, 141)—*Makololo* (Liv. "Miss. Trav." 221)—*King Koffi* (Rams. 72)—*Tothmes* (Records, *passim*)—*Assyrian* (Smith, "Ass. Disc." 171)—*Rameses* (Records, ii, 75, 76).
- § 171. *Mahomet* (Kor. ch. xciv)—*Central Asiatic* (Michell, 96)—*Sea Dyaks* (Brooke, i, 62)—*Bechuana* (Liv. "Miss. Trav." 13)—*Patagonians* (Falk. 114)—*Columbia* (Ross, "Oregon," 88)—*California* (Ban. iii, 87)—*Zapotecs* (Ban. iii, 74)—*Haidahs* (Ban. iii, 97)—*Ahts* (Ban. iii, 96)—*Chippewayans* (Ban. i, 118)—*Koniagas* (Ban. iii, 104)—*Californians* (Ban. iii, 88, 92)—*Dog-rib* (Frank. 293). § 172. *Papagos* (Ban. iii, 76)—*Kamschadales* (Krasch. 205)—*Dakotahs* (School. —)—*Negro* (Liv. "Miss. Trav." 608)—*Chippewas* (School. "Mississippi," 98-99)—*Ostyaks* (Harr., J., ii, 924)—*Kookies* (Ind. xxvii, 63)—*Indian* (Ban. iii, 93)—*Bechuanas* (Liv. "Miss. Trav." 13)—*Australia* (Lub. "Origin," 261).
- § 173. *Congo* (Bas. "Mensch," iii, 199)—*Thlinkets* (Ban. i, 109)—*Ashantee* (Rams. 306)—*Madagascar* (Ell. "History," i, 356)—*Egyptians* (Records, ii, 70-76, iv, 56; Brugsch, i, 74)—*Veddahs* (Kth. S. "Trans." N.S. iii, 71). § 174. *Aleutians* (Ban. iii, 104)—*Kirghiz* ("Fort." Oct. 1869, 418)—*Egypt* (Wilk. iii, 312). § 175. *Pacific States* (Ban. iii, 127)—*Salish, &c.* (Ban. iii, 97)—*Land Dyaks* (St. John, S., i, 196)—*Batakians* (Hawk. iii, 756). § 177. *Opium-eaters* (Vam. 14)—*Mandingoes* (Bas. "Mensch," iii, 194)—*Arafura* (Kolf, 161). § 178. *Soma* (Muir, i, ii, iii, v, *passim*)—*Peru* (Gar. i, 88; Mark. "Travels," 232)—*Chibchas* (Fern. 20)—*North Mexico* (Ban. i, 587)—*Philippine Is.* (Jag. 267-9)—*Soma,\** note (Muir, *passim*)—*Peru,\** note (ref. lost). § 179. *Bechuanas* (Mof. 262)—*Basuto* (Cas. 240; Arb. 131)—*Damaras* (Roy. G. S. xxii, p. 159; Ande. 218; Gal. 204, 188)—*Congoese* (Bas. "Af. R." 81, 172). § 180. *Arabic* (Falg., W. G., i, 458)—*Santali* (Hun. i, 173)—*Kamschadales* (Hill, ii, 402)—*Damaras* (Gal. 176)—*Great Nicobar* (Röep. 76). § 181. *Tasmanians* (Roy. S. V. D. iii, 281)—*Karens* (As. S. B.

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- 67)—*Koossas* (Licht. i, 286)—*Ashantee* (Cruc. ii, 242)—*Araucanians* (Alcedo, i, 405). § 252. *Sandwich Is.* (Ell. "Hawaii," 402)—*Tahitian* (Ell. "Pol. Res." ii, 363)—*Samoa* (Tur "Nineteen Years," 284)—*Beetjuans* (Licht. ii, 329 and 298)—*Bachapin* (Burch. ii, 431)—*Koossas* (Licht. i, 286)—*Zulus* (Arb. 140)—*Dahomey* (Dalz. 121; Burt. "Dahomé," i, 53, 276)—*William* (Stubbs, "Select Charters," 16-17). § 253. *Fuegians* (Dar. iii, 238)—*Tasmanians* (Bon. 21)—*Tannese* (Tur. "Nineteen Years," 326)—*Fijians* (Wilkes, iii, 332)—*New Zealanders* (Thoms., A. S., i, 77)—*Mexicans* (Clav. i, 345)—*Peruvians* (Gar. ii, 119-20)—*Persians* (Herod. iv, 344)—*Elizabeth*—*Cromwell* (Smiles, i, 185). § 254. *Mandans* (Lew. and Cl. 113)—*Comanches* (Marcy, 29)—*Kookies* (As. S. B. xxiv, 635)—*Santals* (Hun. i, 217)—*New Zealand* (Ang. ii, 50)—*Sandwich Isdars.* (Ell. "Hawaii," 292)—*Tonga* (Wilkes, iii, 22)—*Kadayans* (St. John, S., ii, 269)—*Celebes* (Wal. "Malay," i, 387)—*East Africa* (Burt. "Cen. Af." ii, 865)—*Inland Negroes* (Allen, i, 321)—*San Salvador* (Pala. 83)—*Mundurucús* (Bates, 274)—*Patagonians* (Wilkes, i, 115)—*Sakarran* (Low, 184)—*Dahomans* (Burt. "Dahomé," i, 52)—*Guatemala* (Xim. 203)—*Mexico* (Zur. 56-7)—*France* (Levas. i, 167; Bourq. ii, 208-9)—*English* (Lap. ii, 352-3 and ii, 355-6; Hallam, "Con. Hist." ch. viii; Macaulay, i, 416). § 259. *Zulus* (Shooter, 268; Gard. 34)—*Fijians* (Ersk. 431)—*Mexico* (Clav. i, 342)—*Fiji* (Will., T., i, 32)—*Madagascar* (Ell. "History," i, 346-9)—*Dahomans* (Burt. "Dahomé," i, 220)—*Ashantee* (Bas. "Mensch," ii, 333)—*Mexico* (Saha. iii, 1, &c.)—*Peru* (Gar. i, 143)—*Fijians* (Will., T., i, 208)—*Dahomey* (Burt. "Dahomé," ii, 19, 167)—*Mexicans* (Herr. iv, 213)—*Peru* (Yncas, 54-6)—*Peru* (Gar. i, 132)—*Mexico* (Clav. i, 271)—*Fijians* (Ersk. 250)—*Tahiti* (Ell. "Pol. Res." ii, 208; Hawk. ii, 240)—*Mexico* (Clav. i, 270; Saha. i, 277)—*Peru* (Gar. i, 132)—*Ancient Peruvians* (Gar. ii, 34)—*Madagascar* (Ell. "History," i, 197)—*Peru* (Gar. ii, 34)—*Egyptians* (Wilk. i, 299)—*Fiji* (Will., T., i, 30)—*Peruvians* (Gar. ii, 113)—*Persians* (ref. lost). § 260. *Arafuras* (Kolf, 161)—*Todas* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. vii, 239, 241)—*Bodo & Dhimals* (As. S. B. xviii, pt. ii, 741)—*Mishmis* (As. S. B. xiv, pt. ii, 491, and vi, 332)—*Pueblos* (Ban. i, 536, 546)—*Samoa* (Tur. "Nineteen Years," 287)—*Phœnicia* (Ezekiel, xxviii, 3, 4, 5). § 265. *Rechabites* (Jeremiah, xxxv, 7)—*Nabataean* (Robert. xxiii)—*Hill Tribes* (As. S. B. xv, 65)—*Africa* (ref. lost)—*Equatorial Africa* (Reado, 535)—*Bechuanas* (Thomp. i, 344). § 269. *States* (Plato, iii, 432; Hobbes, iii, ix-x). § 277. *Offspring*,\* note (Fiske, "Outlines," ii, 342-3). § 278. *Chippewayans* (Hearne, 104)—*Slave Indian* (Hooper, 303)—*Bushmen* (Licht. ii, 48)—*Queensland Australians* ("Times," July 21, 1875)—*Dogrib* (Lub. "Prehistoric," 533)—*Queensland Australians* ("Times," July 21, 1875)—*Australians* (Mit. i, 307). § 279. *Bushmen* (Spar. i, 357)—*Chippewas* (Keat. ii, 157)—*Esquimaux* (Hall, ii, 312)—*Aleuts* (Ban. i, 92)—*Arawáks* (Brett, 101)—*Feddahs* (Ten. ii, 441)—*Lower Californians* (Ban. i, 565)—*Todas* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. vii, 243)—*Port Dory* (Earl, "Papuan," 85)—*Navajos* (Ban. i, 512)—*Chippewayans* (Hearne, 313)—*Pericúí* (Ban. i, 565)—*Tupis* (South. i, 24)—*Tasmanians* (Bon. —)—*Kasias* (As. S. B. xiii, pt. ii, 624)—*New Zealand* (Thoms., A. S. i, 178)—*Tahiti* (Ell. "Pol. Res." i, 338)—*Nicaraguans* (Herr. iii, 340-41). § 280. *Cumana* (Herr. iii, 304)—*Esquimaux*, &c. (Lub. "Origin," 126)—*Bushmen* (Licht. ii, 48)—*Greenland Esquimaux* (Lub. "Origin," 531)—*Benguela* (Bas. "Mensch," iii, 321)—*Mexicans* (Herr. iii, 340-41)—*Darien* (Ban. i, 773)—*Andamanese* (Lub. "Origin," 105)—*Hassanyeh* (Peth. 140-4)—*Chibchas* (Sim. 255)—*Columbians* (Ban. i, 277)—*Modocs* (Ban. i, 350)—*Abeokuta* (Burt. "Abeokuta," i, 211)—*Zambesi* (Liv. —)—*Feddahs* (Eth. S. "Trans." N.S. ii, 293). § 281. *Chippewayans* (Hearne, 130)—*Kadiaks* (Ban. i, 81)—*Karens* (As. S. B. vii, 856)—

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(For this Index the Author is indebted to F. HOWARD COLLINS, Esq.,  
of Edgbaston, Birmingham.)

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 ERRATA.

- Page 155, line 24, for "sirh" read "sirih."  
 " 468, " 2, "arrow . . . profession" *should not be within quotation marks.*  
 " 626, " 16, for "through" read "though."  
 " 636, " 19, "prevails . . . America" *should not be within quotation marks.*  
 " 723, " 30, for "remarkable" read "remarkably."



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### EXTRACT FROM THE PROVISIONAL PREFACE.

Something to introduce the work of which an instalment is annexed, seems needful, in anticipation of the time when completion of a volume will give occasion for a Permanent Preface.

In preparation for *The Principles of Sociology*, requiring as bases of induction large accumulations of data, fitly arranged for comparison, I, some twelve years ago, commenced, by proxy, the collection and organization of facts presented by societies of different types, past and present; being fortunate enough to secure the services of gentlemen competent to carry on the process in the way I wished. Though this classified compilation of materials was entered upon solely to facilitate my own work; yet, after having brought the mode of classification to a satisfactory form, and after having had some of the Tables filled up, I decided to have the undertaking executed with a view to publication; the facts collected and arranged for easy reference and convenient study of their relations, being so presented, apart from hypothesis, as to aid all students of Social Science in testing such conclusions as they have drawn and in drawing others.

The Work consists of three large Divisions. Each comprises a set of Tables exhibiting the facts as abstracted and classified, and a mass of quotations and abridged abstracts otherwise classified, on which the statements contained in the Tables are based. The condensed statements, arranged after a uniform manner, give, in each Table or succession of Tables, the phenomena of all orders which each society presents—constitute an account of its morphology, its physiology, and (if a society having a known history) its development. On the other hand, the collected Extracts, serving as authorities for the statements in the Tables, are (or, rather will be, when the Work is complete) classified primarily according to the kinds of phenomena to which they refer, and secondarily according to the societies exhibiting these phenomena; so that each kind of phenomenon as it is displayed in all societies, may be separately studied with convenience.

In further explanation I may say that the classified compilations and digests of materials to be thus brought together under the title of *Descriptive Sociology*, are intended to supply the student of Social Science with data, standing towards his conclusions in a relation like that in which accounts of the structures and functions of different types of animals stand to the conclusions of the biologist. Until there had been such systematic descriptions of different kinds of organisms, as made it possible to compare the connexions, and forms, and actions, and modes of origin, of their parts, the Science of Life could make no progress. And in like manner, before there can be reached in Sociology, generalizations having a certainty making them worthy to be called scientific, there must be definite accounts of the institutions and actions of societies of various types, and in various stages of evolution, so arranged as to furnish the means of readily ascertaining what social phenomena are habitually associated.

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