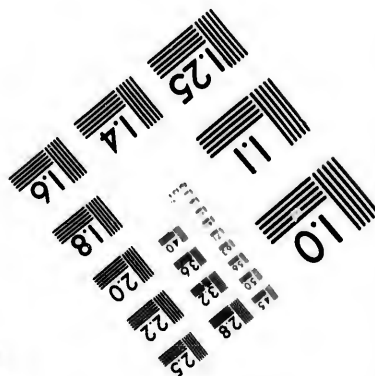
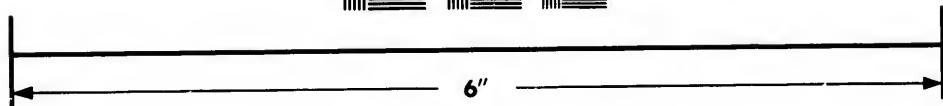
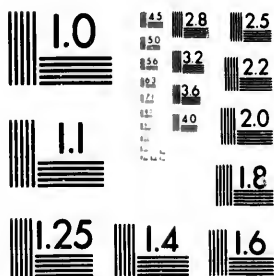


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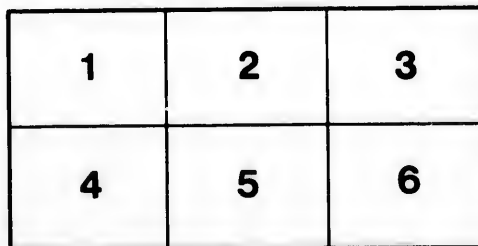
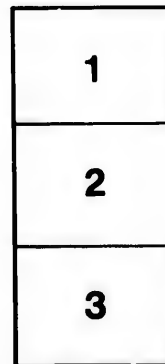
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ISRAELITE AND INDIAN
A PARALLEL IN PLANES OF CULTURE

BY
GARRICK MALLERY

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ISRAELITE AND INDIAN: A PARALLEL IN PLANES OF CULTURE.*

By GARRICK MALLERY.

I.

AXIOMS and postulates long limited man's study of man. This hampering has been peculiarly marked in reference to America, the assumption being that it must have been peopled from the eastern hemisphere, and that its languages, religions, and customs must have been inherited from nations registered in Eurasian records. Whatever was found here was assumed to have come through descent or derivation. The conceptions of autogeny and of independent growth, by which men in the same plane of culture act and think alike, with only the modifications of environment, had not arisen to explain observed facts.

Many authors have contended that the North American Indians were descendants of the "ten lost tribes of Israel." Prominent among them was James Adair, whose work, highly useful with regard to the customs of the southeastern Indians, among whom he spent many years, was mainly devoted to proof of the proposition. The Rev. Ethan Smith is also conspicuous. Even the latest general treatise on the Indians, published last year, and bearing the comprehensive title, "The American Indian," favors the same theory.

The authors of the school mentioned rest their case on the fact, which I freely admit with greater emphasis, that an astounding number of customs of the North American Indians are the same as those recorded of the ancient Israelites. The lesson to be derived from this parallel is, however, very different from that drawn by those who have advocated the descent in question.

The argument, strongly urged, derived from an alleged similarity between Hebrew and some Indian languages, especially in identity of certain vocables, may be dismissed forthwith. Perhaps the most absurd of all the coincidences insisted upon by Adair was the religious use of sounds represented by him to be the same as the word Jehovah. The "lost" Israelites when deported did not use orally the name given in the English version as "Jehovah," and the mode of its spelling and pronunciation is at this moment in dispute, though generally accepted as Jahveh; therefore, it would be most extraordinary if the tribes of Indians supposed to be descendants of the lost ten tribes of Israel should at this time know how to pronounce a name which their alleged ancestors practically did not possess.

* Address of the Vice-President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Section II, Anthropology, delivered at the Toronto meeting, August, 1889.

Father Lafiteau was so much excited by coincidence in sound of some of the Iroquoian names and expressions with the language of the ancient inhabitants of Thrace and Lycia that he based thereon a theory of descent. On similar grounds ancestors of the Indians have been found among the Phœnicians, Scandinavians, Welsh, Irish, Carthaginians, Egyptians, Tartars, Hindus, Malays, Chinese, Japanese, and all the islanders of Polynesia. It is not wonderful that, with the choice of three hundred Indian languages, besides their dialects, from which to make selections of sounds, some one should be likened to some other language, for all spoken languages can in that manner—i. e., by a comparison of vocables—show identity of sound and a percentage of coincidences of significance. Philology now applies more discriminating rules of comparison.

But all arguments that the Indians are descended from the "lost tribes" are demolished by the fact, now generally accepted, that those tribes were not lost, but that most of their members were deported and absorbed, their traces remaining during centuries, and that others fled to Jerusalem and Egypt. If any large number of them had remained in a body, and had migrated at a time long before the Columbian discovery, but later than the capture of Samaria in the seventh century B. C., their journey from Mesopotamia to North America would have required the assistance of miracles that have not been suggested except in the Book of Mormon.

For brevity, the term "Indians" may be used—leaving the blunder of Columbus where it belongs—without iterating their designation as North American, though I shall not treat of the aboriginal inhabitants south of the United States. This neglect of Mexico and Central and South America is not only to observe my own limits, but because some of the peoples of those regions had reached a culture stage in advance of the northern tribes. To avoid confusion, the term "Israelites" may designate all the nation. Although the tribes became divided into the kingdoms of Israel and of Judah, when it is necessary to speak of the northern tribes they may be designated as the kingdom of Samaria. The shortest term, Jews, would be incorrect, as the people now scattered over the world and called "Jews" are chiefly the descendants of the southern branch or fractional part of the children of Israel, and have a special history beyond that common to them and their congeners.

The parallel presented is not selected because its two counterparts are more similar to each other than either of them is to other bodies of people among the races of the earth. A similar parallel can be drawn between both the Indians and the Israelites and the Aryan peoples, from which I and most of my hearers are supposed

to have descended. The selection is made for convenience, because this audience is assumed to be familiar with the Old Testament, so that quotations and citations from it are less necessary; and also because many of them in this, the Anthropologic Section, are familiar with the Indians, so that the collocation of facts without a prolix statement is sufficient for comparison.

Although the Indians are divided into fifty-eight linguistic stocks and three hundred languages, and although there is great variety in their manners, customs, and traditions, yet there is sufficient generic resemblance between all of them to afford typical instances, where European civilization and missionary influence have not effected serious change, or where the early authorities are reliable. It is essential to examine the other side of the parallel—the Israelites—at a period coincident in development with that of the Indians. That part of the history and records of the Israelites must be chiefly considered which relates to the times before they had formed a nationality and had become sedentary. The general use of writing was nearly contemporaneous with that nationality, and the era of King David is a proper demarkating line. The Indians never having arrived at the stage of nationality, though some of them (as the Iroquois and the Muskoki) were far on the road to it, and never having acquired a written language, their stage of culture at the Columbian discovery shows a degree of development comparable with that of the Israelite patriarchal period and the early Canaanite occupation before the rule of kings.

It is important to establish the time when writing was first known among the Israelites, because then their traditions would first become fixed. No reliable history can exist before writing. An illiterate people remembers only fables and myths; from these the history of the years before writing was used must be winnowed. There is no reason to suppose that the Hebrew language was written at the time of the exodus, though some such mnemonic system might have been invented as was used by several of the Indian tribes. If Moses had all the knowledge of the Egyptians, but no more, he could not have used any better mode of writing than their hieratic, in which it was not possible to write intelligibly any long document in the Hebrew language, simply because the advance made by the hieratic, in which the use of phonetics began, was not sufficient to express all the Hebrew vocables.

There has been an attempt to show that the old Hebrew alphabet, which has been classed as partly Phœnician and partly Babylonian, was obtained from Assyria at a time before the exodus, but the proposition is not yet established. Even if Assyrian characters adaptable to the Hebrew language did then exist, it is not probable that the Israelite herdsmen and bondmen did so

adapt them. If any one of them—e. g., Moses—had done so as an individual act, the feat would have had but one historic parallel, which would have furnished another coincidence between Israelite and Indian. It was performed by the Cherokee, Sequoia, who in less prosaic days would have become the hero of a Kadmos myth. But Sequoia left very distinct marks of his invention, while there is no evidence that the Israelites possessed an alphabet before they settled in Canaan, and there are strong inferences against that supposition.

The compilers of the Old Testament felt no doubt that the law could have been written on Sinai at the time of the exodus. They knew how to write and knew that their predecessors for several generations had written, so it did not occur to them that there had ever been a time in which persons of the higher classes were ignorant of writing.

It is probable that in the days of Samuel the Israelites had made some progress in the art of writing. An alphabet had been known to some of them before; but its common use is of greater consequence, and that depends much upon the substances used for writing, their cost, and the convenience of procuring them. The use, not the mere invention, of writing, not only divides the mythical and the historical periods, but reacts upon the character of the people in all their institutions, forming a new epoch in culture. The people did, perhaps, write under David at about 1100 B. C.

Moses flourished about fifteen centuries before Christ, and the oldest legends relating to him are, in their present shape, four or five centuries later than his death. He did not practically organize a new formal state of society, or if he did, temporarily, by his personal power, it had no direct consequence or historical continuity. The old system of clans and religions continued as before. If the legislative portion of the Pentateuch was the work of Moses, it remained a dead letter for centuries, and not until the reign of Josiah did it become operative in the national history.

The historical account undoubtedly states that Moses was, by inspiration, the founder of the Torah; but the question is, What was that Torah? It was not the finished legislative code. Long after the exodus a dramatic account was furnished of the promulgation of the whole law at Sinai to produce a solemn impression, and thus the code, which had slowly and imperceptibly grown during centuries, was represented as having been pronounced on one occasion celebrated by tradition as momentous.

The code now ascribed to Moses was a revised code, and in an unusual sense a mosaic work. When the Israelites attained the use of writing they did as all people in the world have done when they began to use writing—i. e., they wrote out their own myths, traditions, and legends as they knew them at the time of writing.

But during the long time in which the traditions were transmitted orally, the growth of the nation's ideas produced a change in them without any fabrication or design, and it is probable that the traditions affected only to this extent were set forth in the earlier documents, long since lost, namely, the "Book of the Wars of Jahveh" and the "Jasar." There were, however, special temptations in the later history of Israel, in the contests between the Elohist and the Jahvist, to manipulate the earlier documents. When the compilers belonging to the two schools produced the two versions, intermixed and confused in the books we now have, they differed from all people in history if the contestants, for political and personal power, did not color the records to suit their own views.

Students who have devoted their lives to the study of the last compilation have been able to identify, by linguistic and historical exegesis, the fragments of the original traditions, the epic tales of the first documents, the theocratic deductions and the later sacerdotal visions, though the two versions appear on the same page and sometimes in the same paragraph. The results of this immense labor by the Hebraists of this generation have lately been presented by Renan in a popular form. His works, as well as those of other authors whose names will be mentioned in this address, I have used freely, though generally without exact quotation.

In addition to the linguistic and historical tests, other internal evidences, especially the antedating of conceptions several centuries (some instances of which will be mentioned), show that the books, as now presented, were written long after the periods referred to in them.

The main document on the primitive age is the Book of Genesis, regarded for the reasons mentioned, not as literally historical, but as the tradition, written at a respectable antiquity, of an age that really existed. In examining it the historical part is discovered, not by belief in the miraculous, but by the proper comprehension of the mythical.

Much can be learned from myths and legends of the times anterior to strict history. The Homeric epics are not history, yet they throw a flood of light upon Greek life a millennium before the Christian era. The ante-Islam tales and the Arthurian and Niebelungen romances of the middle ages are not true in fact, yet they are storehouses, preserving the social life of the days when they were composed and to a less though still useful degree of the time embraced by the still earlier traditions. The generalizations derived from the details of ancient texts are truths obtained by induction.

It is expedient to make a disclaimer before entering upon the necessary comparisons of religions. I absolutely repudiate any

attack upon any religion. Let us learn a lesson from the Indians, not only in tolerance but in politeness. One of the early Jesuit missionaries in Canada recounts how he pleased a Huron chief by his discourse upon the cosmology set forth in the Scriptures, and felt that he had secured a convert until the chief, thanking him for his information, added, "Now you have told me how your world was made, I will tell you how my world was made"; and proceeded to give the now familiar story of the woman falling from the sky, and the turtle. He was willing that the priest should retain his belief, with which his own, in his opinion, did not conflict. Dr. Franklin tells of a Susquehannock who, after a similar lecture from a Swedish missionary, was answered in the same manner; but this missionary became angry and interrupted the Indian, whereupon the latter solemnly rebuked him with pity: "I have listened politely to what you told me; if you had been properly brought up, you would have believed me as I believed you."

Religion, as accurately defined, embraces only the perficient relations between divinity and man, and the mode in which such relations operate. Popularly it includes cosmology and theology. For present convenience the broad subject may be divided into Religious Opinions and Religious Practices.

In this comparison, all religious views personally entertained must be laid aside and the study conducted strictly within the scope of anthropology. Modern thinkers adopt the rule not to use a miraculous factor when unnecessary. *Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus*. It is now regarded as puerile to explain all puzzling phenomena, as was done for ages—

"When solved complete was any portent odd
By one more story or another god."

This attitude, however, is still not universal. When experience of observed facts and of the orderly working of the forces of nature are not sufficient for explanation, some minds yet resort to the miraculous. Others humbly confess ignorance and work for light. This light when gained is real and lasting, not the delusive hues of cloud-region, varying with each instant and to each observer's eye, and soon resolving into the same old mists and fogs from which escape was sought.

In their explanation of phenomena, all the peoples of the world have resorted to revelations. Every myth or early teaching is directly or indirectly through revelation; but as the revelation is on both sides of the equation, it can be eliminated from any parallel such as is now presented.

A cardinal of more than titular eminence was rash when, admitting that the doctrine of the devil and his command of demons was first learned by the Israelites during the Babylonian captiv-

ity, he insisted that it might be divine revelation, notwithstanding its immediate source. He said that if God made Balaam's ass speak, it would also be easy for him to provide that the heathen should give correct instruction. The non-existence of Satan is not demonstrable; so it may be well to examine into subjects on which we have knowledge, such as geology and astronomy. It appears from bricks in palaces at Nineveh that the Mosaic cosmology was also obtained from the same source as the Satanic doctrine. Any revelation on the subject would in order of time have been given to, and according to all evidence was promulgated by, the cultured Assyrians, not the ignorant captives. The priority, however, is of little moment, as the revolving dish-cover theory, whether as originally noted on clay or on rolls of sheep-skin, is now obsolete. All dependence on revelations practically means that those suiting us are true and all others false. When judgment upon the truth or falsehood of an alleged revelation can be made in accordance with the prejudices of the judge, the subject becomes too eclectic and elastic to be considered by science, or indeed by common sense.

The scope of anthropology is to study within the category of humanity. If theology comes from man's conceptions, it is embraced in anthropology. If theology is of divine origin, anthropology may discuss what men think and do about it. But the truth or falsity of revelation can not be dealt with in this address. To raise that point acts as a *clôture*, cutting off all debate.

RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.—Religious writers have often explained the differences in beliefs among the various peoples of the world on the hypothesis that true religious knowledge was implanted at one time in the ancestors of all those peoples, and that the divergence now found is through decay of that supernatural information. The early missionaries to America, of all denominations, were imbued with this dogma and sought, and therefore found, evidences of the one primeval faith. Sometimes they limited themselves to the similar beliefs of the Indians and the Israelites, but often they passed beyond that stage to locate the vestiges of Christianity. These they said came by the hands of Christian pre-Columbian visitors, and one explanation was by the importation of the apostle Thomas. The coincidences found were exaggerated, but when facts were opposed they were not less satisfactory, as the adverse power of Satan then appeared. Such mental pre-termination nearly destroys the value of those missionary accounts.

The most generally entertained parallel between the Indians and the Israelites, repeated by hundreds of writers, was that they both believed in one overruling God. This consensus, if true, would at once establish a beatific bridge of union between the two peoples, but its iris arch vanishes as it is viewed closely.

After careful examination, with the assistance of explorers and linguists, I reassert my statement, published twelve years ago, that no tribe or body of Indians, before missionary influence, entertained any formulated or distinct belief in a single, overruling "Great Spirit," or any being corresponding to the later Israelite or the Christian conception of God. All the statements of the missionaries and early travelers to the opposite effect are erroneous. Even some of the earliest writers discovered this truth. Lafiteau says that the names "Oki" and "Manito" were given to various spirits and genii. Champlain said that Oki was a name given to a man more valiant and skillful than common. Manito signifies "something beyond comprehension." A snake was often a manito, and seldom were snakes molested. "Hawaneu," reduced to correct vocables, only means loud-voiced—i. e., thunder. "Kitchi Manito" is not a proper name for one god, but an appellation of an entire class of great spirits. So with the Dakota term "Wakan," which means only the mysterious unknown. A watch is a wakan. The Chahta word presented as "God" for two centuries is now found to mean a "high hill."

Some Indians, perhaps, had a vague idea of some good spirit or being whom they did not worship and to whom they did not pray. They prayed and sacrificed to the active daimons, concerning whom they had many myths. In their various cosmologic myths there was sometimes a vague and unformulated being who started the machinery by which the myth proceeded; but when once started no further attention was paid to such originator. Perhaps some modern advanced thinkers have no clearer definition of a great first cause.

Praise has been lavished upon the Indians because they did not take the name of God in vain. The true statement, however, has a different significance. They did not, according to the best linguistic scholars, have any word corresponding with the English "God" either to use or misuse, and they deserve no more praise for avoidance of profanity than for their total abstinence from alcoholic drinks before such had been invented or imported. The terms too liberally translated as "Master of Life" and "Maker of Breath" were epithets merely. Perhaps there was an approach to a title of veneration when the method of their clan system was applied to supernatural persons, among whom there would naturally be a chief or great father of the "beast gods," on the same principle as there was a chieftaincy in tribes.

The missionaries who have persistently found what did not exist are not without excuse. Wholly independent of any design to force welcome answers, an interviewer who asks a leading question of an Indian can always obtain the answer which is supposed to be desired. The sole safe mode of reaching the Indian's men-

tal attitude is to let him tell his myths and make his remarks in his own way and in his own language. When such texts are written out, translated, and studied they are of great value. It is only within about twelve years that this has been done in a systematic manner, but it has already resulted in the correction of many popular errors.

In attempting to translate the epithets mentioned, the missionaries and travelers often honestly used the word which, in their own conception, was the nearest equivalent. An instructive example is where Boscana describes a structure in southern California as a "temple." It was a circular fence, six feet high, not roofed in—a mere plaza for dancing; but the dancing was religious, and the word "temple" was the best one he could find, by which mistake he has perplexed archæologists who have sought in vain for the ruins.

A consideration not often weighed is that the only members of the Indian tribes who are willing to give their own ideas on religious matters to foreigners are precisely those who are most intelligent and most dissatisfied with their old stories. There were minds among them groping after something newer and better, and it would be easy to translate their vague longings into the conception of an overruling Providence. But the people had made no such advance.

The missionaries who announced that the Indians were fixed in the belief in one god were much troubled by the statement of the converted native, Hiaccomes, of Martha's Vineyard, who, having enumerated his thirty-seven gods, gave them all up. This, however, was a typical instance of the truth. The Indians had an indefinite number of so-called gods corresponding with the like indefinite number of the Elohim of the Israelites before the supremacy of Jahveh.

The biblical religion of Israel has been popularly held to be coeval with the world, but its own beginning was by no means archaic. About a thousand years before Christ it did not exist, and at least four hundred years were required for its development. The religious practices of David and Solomon did not materially differ from those of their neighbors in Palestine. Not until the time of Hezekiah, about seven hundred and twenty-five years before Christ, did the Israelite religion attain to a distinct formulation. Its ordinances and beliefs advanced from crudity and mutation to ripeness and establishment. It was a system long in growth, and so could not early possess authoritative documents.

The nomad Semite believed, with other barbarians, that he lived amid a supernatural environment. The world was surrounded and governed by the Elohim—myriads of active beings,

seldom with distinct proper names, so that it was easy to regard them as a whole and confound them together. Yet the power bore different names in different tribes. In some cases it was called El, or Alon, or Eloah; in other cases Elion, Saddai, Baal, Adonai, Ram, Milik or Moloch.

The Elohim, though generally bound together, sometimes acted separately; thus each tribe gained in time its protecting god, whose function was to watch over it and direct it to success.

In the transition to nationality, the Israelites conceived a national god, Jahveh, who was not just, being partial toward Israel and cruel toward all other peoples. The worship of a national god is not monotheistic, but henotheistic, recognizing other gods of other peoples. The work of the later prophets consisted in restoring the attributes of the ancient elohism under the form of Jahveh, and in generalizing the religious cult of a special god.

Jahveh was not at first the god of the universe, but subsequently became so because he was the God of Israel, and very long afterward was claimed to be the only god, mainly because the Israelites claimed to be the peculiar people. Even down to the time of the prophet Isaiah, there was alternation of conflict and of co-ordination between Jahveh and the other gods of Canaan, especially Baal.

The revolution accomplished by the prophets did not change expressions. The concept of Jahveh was too deeply rooted to be removed, and the people spoke of Jahveh as they had formerly spoken of the Elohim. He thus became the supreme being who made and governed the world. In time even the name of Jahveh was suppressed and its utterance forbidden; and it was replaced by a purely theistic word meaning the Lord. Undoubtedly the prophets, at the time of the kings and later, taught the worship of one God, but the people were not converted to the doctrine until after the great captivity.

When established in Palestine, the Israelites entered into communion with the Canaanites, their kindred, and worshiped Baal. Later they frequently bowed down to the Dagon of the Philistines, probably because he was the god of their warlike victors. Solomon, perhaps from admiration of Sidonian culture, introduced the service of Astarte, which was intermitted; but later, Ahab established the worship of the Sidonian divinities in the kingdom of Samaria. It was subsequently readopted in the kingdom of Judah, and not until the reign of Josiah were the Sidonian altars finally demolished.

The true parallel, therefore, between the Indians and the Israelites, as to belief in a single overruling God, is not that *both*, but that *neither*, held it.

In the stage of barbarism all the phenomena of nature are

attributed to the animals by which man is surrounded, or rather to the ancestral types of these animals, which are worshiped. This is the religion of zoötheism. Throughout the world, when advance was made from this plane, it was to a stage in which the powers and phenomena of nature are personified and deified. In this stage the gods are anthropomorphic, having the mental, moral, and social attributes of men, and represented under the forms of men. This is the religion of physitheism. The most advanced of the Indian tribes showed evidence of transition from zoötheism to physitheism. The Israelites, in the latter part of the period selected, showed the same transition in a somewhat higher degree than the Indians did when their independent progress was arrested.

It is needless to enlarge upon the animal gods of the Indians, or to furnish evidence that they gave some vague worship to the sun, the lightning, to fire and winds.

There is no doubt that the Israelites were for a long period in the stage of zoölatry. They persisted in the worship of animal gods—the golden calf, the brazen serpent, the fish-god, and the fly-god. The second commandment is explicitly directed against the worship of the daimons of air, earth, and water, which is known to have been common; and the existence of the prohibition shows the necessity for it, especially as it was formulated, after the practice had existed for centuries, by a religious party which sought to abolish that worship.

The god of Sinai was a god of storm and lightning, which phenomena were strange to the Israelites after their sojourn in plains. The ancient local god of the Canaanites began in the exodus to affect the religious concepts of the Israelites, so that they associated Jahveh with the god whose lands they were planting and whose influence they felt. Sinai was thenceforward the locality of their theology. Jahveh, through all after-changes, remained there as his home; he spoke with the voice of thunder, and never appeared without storm and earthquake.

Another class of gods connected with beast-worship and also with the totemic institution (to be hereafter specially noted) was tutelar, the special cult of tribes, clans, and individuals. It was conspicuous both among the Israelites and the Indians.

Jahveh may first have been a clan or tribal god, either of the clan to which Moses belonged or of the clan of Joseph, in the possession of which was the ark. No essential distinction was felt to exist between Jahveh and El, any more than between Ashur and El. Jahveh was only a special name of El, which had become current within a powerful circle, and which, therefore, was an acceptable designation of a national god. When other tutelar gods did not succeed, there was resort to Jahveh, probably in the early in-

stances because he was the most celebrated of all the tutelary gods, and the reason for that celebrity was that the most powerful of the clans claimed him as tutelary.

Hecatotheism is a title given to the earliest form of religion known, which belongs specially to the plane of savagery. In it every object, animate or inanimate, which is remarkable in itself or becomes so by association, is a *quasi* god. The transition between savagery and barbarism, as well as between the religions of hecatotheism and zoötheism, connected with them, was not sharply marked, so that all their features could coexist at a later era, though in differing degrees of importance.

This intermixture is found both among the Israelites and Indians. An illustration among many is in the worship of localities and of local gods. Conspicuous rocks, specially large trees, peculiar mountains, cascades, whirlpools, and similar objects received worship from the Indians; also the places where remarkable occurrences, as violent storms, had been noted; and among some tribes the particular ground on which the fasting of individuals had taken place, with its accompanying dreams. The Indians frequently marked these places, often by a pile of stones. The Dakotas, when they did not have the stones, used buffalo skulls.

In the Old Testament frequent allusions are made to a place becoming holy where dreams or remarkable events had occurred. They were designated by pillars. The Israelite compilers adopted the pillar of Bethel for the same reason that required Mohammed to adopt the Caaba. Though struggling for monotheism, they could not always directly antagonize the old hecatotheism.

Future State.—The topic of a future state may be divided into (1) the simple existence of the soul after death, (2) the resurrection of the body, and (3) a system of rewards and punishments in the next world.

The classical writers often distinguished two souls in the same person—one that wandered on the borders of the Styx until the proper honors had been given to the corpse: the other being a shadow, image, or simulacrum of the first, which remained in its tomb or prowled around it. The latter could be easily invoked by enchanters.

Some of the Indians thought that the souls of the dead passed to the country of their ancestors, from which they did not dare to return because there was too much suffering on the road forward and backward. Nevertheless, they believed that there was something spiritual which still existed with their human remains, and they tell stories of it. Thus there are two souls, and the Dakotas have four, one of which wanders about the earth and requires food, the second watches over the body, the third hovers around the village, and a fourth goes to the land of spirits.

The Iroquois and Hurons believed in a country for the souls of the dead, which they called the "country of ancestors." This is to the west, from which direction their traditions told that they had migrated. Spirits must go there after death by a very long and painful journey, past many rivers, and at the end of a narrow bridge fight with a dog like Cerberus, and some may fall into the water and be carried away over precipices. This road is all on the earth; but several of the Indian tribes consider the Milky Way to be the path of souls, those of human beings forming the main body of the stars, and their dogs, which also have souls, running on the sides. In their next world the Indians do the same as they customarily do here, but without life's troubles.

The Israelites believed in a doubling of the person by a shadow, a pale figure, which after death descended under the earth and there led a sad and gloomy existence. The abode of these poor beings was called Sheol. There was no recompense, no punishment. The greatest comfort was to be among ancestors and resting with them. There were some very virtuous men whom God carried up that they might be with him. Apart from these elect, dead men went into torpor. Man's good fortune was to be accorded a long term of years, with children to perpetuate his family and respect for his memory after death.

The Indians did not believe in existence after death in a positive and independent state. The spirit does not wholly leave the body and the body is not resurrected. Perhaps a good commentary upon their belief is furnished by a tribe of Oregon Indians who, hearing missionaries preach on the resurrection, immediately repaired to an old battle-field and built great heaps of stones on the graves of their fallen foes to prevent their coming up again. They did not want any of that.

Among the Israelites the resurrection of the body was a foreign idea imbibed during the captivities in Assyria and Babylonia. Perhaps the first reference made to it is in the prophet Daniel. It was not fully believed in so late as the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate.

Among the Indians privation of burial and funeral ceremonies was a disgraceful stigma and cruel punishment. There was trouble about children who died shortly after their birth, and also about those whose corpses were lost, as in the snow or in the waters. In ordinary cases of death the neglect of full and elaborate ceremonies caused misfortune to the tribe.

The story of the "happy hunting-ground" among the Indians has not been generally apprehended. As regards what we now consider to be moral conduct there was no criterion. A good Indian was one who was useful to his clan and family, and at the time of his death was not under charges of violating the clan rules,

for which the Polynesian word *tabu* has been adopted. The moral idea of goodness of a Pani chief is to be a successful warrior or hunter. The actual condition at the moment of death decided the condition in the future far more than any conduct during the past. In the portions of the continent where the scalp was taken, the scalped man remained scalped in the world of spirits, though some tribes believed that scalping prevented his reaching that world. If he had but one leg or eye here, he had but one leg or eye afterward. In tribes where they cut off the ears of slain foes the spirit remained without ears. A special instance is where the victim was considered too brave to be scalped, but the conquerors cut off one hand and one foot from the corpse to keep him from inflicting injury upon the tribe of the conquerors in the next world. Some of the tribes thought that if an Indian died in the night he remained in total darkness ever afterward.

One of the most curious of their beliefs was in connection with drowning and hanging, the conceit being that the spirit (which was in the breath) did not escape from the body. This doctrine was made of special application to prevent suicide, which was generally performed either by hanging or drowning, the deduction being that suicides could not go to the home of the ancestors.

It is probable that the various trials which the spirit is supposed to undergo before reaching the other world were devised to secure confidence in the absence thereafter of the ghosts of the dead, because the same difficulty would attend their return. As without the assistance of mortuary rites the ghosts would not be able to reach their final home, their permanent absence was secured because there were no repetitions of those rites to assist their return. Fear of the ghosts, not only of enemies but of the dearest friends, generally prevailed. After a death all kinds of devices were employed to scare away the spirit. Sometimes a new exit, through which the corpse was taken, was cut through the wigwam and afterward filled up, it being supposed that the spirit could re-enter only by the passage through which it went out. Sometimes the whole wigwam was burned down. There was often a long period, which travelers called that of mourning, during which drums and rattles were used to drive away the spirits. After firearms were obtained, they were discharged in and around the late home of the deceased with the same object. The loud cries of so-called lamentation had probably a similar origin, and this is more marked when the lamenters were strangers to the dead, and even professionals, not unlike the Irish keeners.

In this general connection it is proper to allude to the common abstinence from pronouncing the true name of any dead person. This is more distinct than the sociologic custom where the man's true name should not be used in his life except on special occa-

sions. There was some fear that, by calling his name, he might come back.

It would be wrong to accuse the Indians of want of feeling indicated by their horror of the dead. In one of the most ancient accounts—that of Cabeza de Vaca—it is declared that the parents and other relatives of the sick show much sympathy while life remains, but give none to the dead—do not speak of them or weep among themselves, or make any signs of grief or approach the body. This domestic reticence is entirely different from, but not antagonistic to, the obligatory mortuary rites which were practiced.

To secure the living from the presence of the spirits of the dead was the first object, and the second was to assist those spirits in the journey to their destination. These were the prevailing ideas of all the mortuary customs of the Indians. It may be true that there was in some cases (though missionary influence is to be suspected) a belief that there were two different regions in which the bad and the good would severally remain, but that was not of general acceptance. There was but one future country, and the only question was whether the spirits got there or not. There was no hell.

The Israelites, in their sacred books, do not show the influence of fears or hopes concerning a future state with reference to individual morality. Among them death at any age was not an inevitable necessity, as they thought that life might be prolonged to an indefinite extent, but it was inflicted as a punishment and their signs of mourning were acts of penitence and contrition, with the idea that the survivors might have been the cause of the death. All deaths were classed with public calamities, such as pestilence, famine, drought, or invasion, being the work of an enemy—perhaps a punishing god, perhaps a dæmon or a witch. They regarded it so great an evil to die unlamented that it was one of the four great judgments against which they prayed, and it was called the burial of an ass. These are the inferences to be derived from the books as we have them. It is, however, questionable whether rites attending upon death were not with them similar in intent to those of the Indians—i. e., to provide, by means of those rites, for the future welfare of the departed, rather than in accordance with our modern sentiment, to show respect and personal sorrow. Passages of the Old Testament may be noted—e. g., the one telling how the bodies of Saul and his children were rescued from Bethshan and taken to Jabesh, where they were burned and the bones buried. The ceremony in this case and others seems to have been the burning of the flesh and the burial of the bones, as was frequently done by the Indians on occasions of haste, without waiting as usual for the decay of the flesh, the later gathering of the bones being at stated periods of years.

There is no evidence that the Israelites feared the corpse and

its surroundings beyond that to be inferred from the ordinances concerning pollution, which, however, are significant.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES.—There should always be a cross-reference in thought between what in time became a religious practice and the earlier sociology, to be mentioned in its place, with which it was closely connected.

Josephus remarks about the Israelites that "beginning immediately from the earliest infancy, nothing was left of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and disposal of the person himself."

The same is true regarding the Indians. Their religious life is as intense and all-pervading as that of the Israelites. It is yet noticed in full effect among tribes as widely separated, both by space and language, as the Zuñi and the Ojibwa, and their practices are astonishingly similar in essence and even in many details to some of those still prevailing in civilization.

Among the Hurons and Iroquois there were religious rites for all occasions, among others for the birth of a child, for the first cutting of its hair, for its naming, and for its puberty, for the admission of a young man into the order of warriors, and the promotion from warrior to chieftain, for making a mystery-man, for first using a new canoe, for breaking tillage-ground, for sowing and harvest, for fixing the time to fish, for deciding upon a warlike expedition, for marriages, for the torturing of captives, for the cure of disease, for consulting magicians, invoking the daimons, and lamenting the dead.

Shamans.—Among the Indians there was frequently an established and recognized priesthood, provided by initiation into secret religious societies, corresponding in general authority to that of the Levites, although the order of the latter was instituted in a different manner, perhaps imitated from the exclusive class of the priesthood in Egypt. The shamans in all tribes derived a large part of their support from fixed contributions or fees.

Adair describes a special ceremony for the admission or consecration of a priest among the southern tribes, as follows: "At the time of making the holy fire for the yearly atonement of sin the Sagan clothes himself with a white ephod, which is a waistcoat without sleeves, and sits down on a white buckskin, on a white seat, and puts on it some white beads, and wears a new pair of white buckskin moccasins, made by himself, and never wears these moccasins at any other time."

Similar exclusive use by the high priest of the garments used on the day of the atonement is mentioned in Leviticus.

In addition to the organized class referred to, there were other professional dealers in the supernatural who may be called conjurers, sorcerers, or prophets. They were independent of and often

antagonistic to the regular shamans. Instance the Jossakeed of the Ojibwa, rivals of the Midé, as the Israelite prophets were of the Levites. At the time of the Judges the prophets were isolated and without any common doctrine. These irregular practitioners arrived at recognition individually by personal skill in an exhibition of supernatural power—that is, they wrought miracles to prove themselves genuine.

At the time of the exodus there were, among all the Semitic tribes, sorcerers who possessed mysterious secrets and enjoyed some of the power of the elohim. They were paid to curse those whose ruin was desired. Balaam was the most distinguished sorcerer of that time.

One of the most frequent purposes for employing supernatural agency was to bring on rain in time of drought. The practitioner generally tried to delay his incantations as long as possible in hopes of a meteorologic change. Sometimes, on failure, he was killed, as he was supposed to be an enemy who possessed the power he professed but was unwilling to use it; and to prevent this dangerous ordeal in a dry season, he charged in advance certain crimes and "pollutions" against the people, on account of which all his skill would be in vain. The more skillful rain-makers among the Sioux and the Mandans managed not to be among the beginners, but toward the last of the various contestants. The rain would surely come some time, and when it came the incantations ceased. The shaman who held the floor at the right time produced the rain.

Frequent reference to rain-making is found in the Old Testament, in which the prophets were the actors.

The mystery-men were consulted on all occasions as sources of truth, not only to explain dreams, but to disclose secrets of all kinds; to predict successes in war; to tell the causes of sickness; to bring luck in the hunt or in fishing; to obtain stolen articles; and to produce ill luck and disease. Their processes, together with thaumaturgic exhibitions, included some empiric knowledge, and also tricks of sleight-of-hand and hypnotic passes.

The Chahta had a peculiar mode of finding the cure for disease, by singing successively a number of songs, each one of which had reference to a peculiar herb or mode of treatment. The preference of the patient for any song indicated the remedy.

The Israelites believed that diseases as well as accidents without apparent cause, and other disasters, were the immediate acts of the elohim or were caused by evil spirits; therefore they relied upon prophets, magicians, or enchanters for exorcism. Hezekiah's boil was cured by Isaiah. Benhadad, King of Syria, and Naaman, the Syrian, applied to the prophet Elisha. All the people resorted to their favorite mystery-men.

Even so late as the time of Josephus it was believed that Solomon had invented incantations by which diseases were cured, and some handed down by tradition were commonly used. Incense banished the devil, which also could be done by the liver of a fish. Certain herbs and roots had the same power. Their medical practices might be recited, with slight change of language, as those of the Indians. The further back examination is made into savagery and barbarism, the more prevalent faith-cure appears.

Witches.—The Indians were in constant dread of witches, wizards, and evil spirits; but the activity of the good spirits was not so manifest. They, however, told Adair how they were warned by what he calls angels, of an ambuscade, by which warning they escaped. Bad spirits, or devils, were the tutelary gods of enemies, to be resisted by a friendly tutelary. The idea of a personal Satan was not found before the arrival of the missionaries.

Among the Indians witches were often indicated by the dreams of victims. They were sometimes killed merely upon accusation, and it is interesting to notice, with relation to comparatively modern history, that the accused frequently confessed that they were sorcerers, and declared that they could and did transform themselves into animals, become invisible, and disseminate disease.

A sufficient reference to the Israelites in this connection is to quote the ordinance, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." This injunction, in the higher civilization, is observed by destroying the idea that witches live, ever have lived, or ever can live.

Dreams and Divinations.—The topics of inspiration by dreams and divination by oracles may be grouped together.

The Indians supposed that with, and sometimes without, a special fasting, and other devices to produce ecstasy, the spirits or daimons manifested themselves in dreams. It was sometimes possible in these dreams for the soul to leave the body, and even to visit the abode of departed spirits.

Among the Iroquoian tribes the suggestions made by dreams were implicitly followed, not only by the dreamer, but by those to whom he communicated his dreams. For instance, an Iroquois dreamed that his life depended upon his obtaining the wife of a friend, and, though the friend and his wife were living happily, and parted with great reluctance, the dreamer had his wish. The same tribe had a special feast which was called the "feast of dreams," and partook of the nature of Saturnalia. Every object demanded by the dreamers must be given to them. In some instances they were unable to remember their dreams, and the special interposition of the mystery-men was invoked to state what their dreams were in fact and what was their significance.

Among the invaluable reports of the Jesuit missionaries, one

in 1639 gives the general statement that the Indians consulted dreams for all their decisions, generally fasting in advance; that, in fact, the dream was the master of their lives; it was the god of the country, and dictated their decisions concerning important matters—hunts, fishing, remedies, dances, games, and songs.

The belief in revelations through dreams was universal, and the power of explaining them was also by revelation. Their legends on this subject recall those about Joseph and Daniel. In addition, Job xxxiii, 15, 16, may be quoted:

“In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed,

“Then He openeth the ears of men and sealeth their instruction.”

And in Deuteronomy a prophet is equivalent to a dreamer of dreams.

There were various oracles among the Indians. Those most interesting to me are connected with pictography. Among many tribes, especially the Mandan, Hidatsa and Minnitari, after certain fasts and exercises, hieroglyphics deciding the questions which had been propounded appeared next morning on rocks. They were deciphered by the shaman who had made them.

The apparatus by which Jahveh was consulted was the urim and thummim, a form of oracle described as connected with the ark. It ceased to be known in the fifth century before Christ, and is now but vaguely understood. From the description and tradition it could, physically, have been worked by a custodian.

Severe fasts were probably the most common religious practices of the Indians. These were continued until they saw visions, sometimes sought for personal benefit as deciding upon their names to be adopted from the advent of a guardian spirit, and sometimes for tribal advantage. The doctrine of all of them, as Father Lafiteau quaintly observes, was the same that prevailed among many people of his day, to lead the mind from gross and carnal obstructions of the body. The real effect was to produce mental disorder. This ecstasy obtained by fasting was often accelerated by profuse sweating and the use of purgative or emetic drinks. Violent and prolonged exercise by dancing in a circle until the actors dropped in a swoon sometimes concluded the ceremonies.

The Israelite prophets were excited to inspiration by external means, such as dances and orgiastic proceedings resembling those of the dervishes and those of the Indian mystery-men. Music was a general accompaniment of the ecstasy. When they were about to prophesy, they wrought themselves into a condition of frenzy. When Elisha sent one of the children of the prophets to anoint Jehu, it was said of him, “Wherefore cometh this mad fellow?”

Pollution and Purification.—The subject of pollution and purification has been much and properly insisted upon as affording a striking parallel between the Israelites and the Indians. The Indians made special huts for the women, at certain periods, when they were considered so unclean that nothing which they touched could be used. A Muskoki woman, after delivery of a child, was separated from her husband for three moons (eighty-four days). This may be compared with the Levitical law by which the mother of a female child was to be separated eighty days and of a male forty days. Dr. Boudinot says that in some Indian tribes there was similar distinction between male and female children.

Among the southern Indians wounded persons having running sores were confined beyond the village, and kept strictly separate, as by the Levitical law. An Israelite dying in any house or tent polluted all who were in it and all the furniture in it, and this pollution continued for seven days. All who touched a corpse or a grave were impure for the same time. Similarly, many of the Indians burned down the house where there had been a death.

Many writers have asserted, as one of the excellences of the Israelite customs, that the "purification" imposed upon those who had been engaged in a burial was a sanitary regulation, a measure rendered expedient in a hot country. As no great proportion of the Israelites generally inhabited a country hot to the degree indicated, and as none of them had any conception of disease or the cause of death, this explanation is hardly sufficient. Much later the compilers might have gained some sanitary knowledge by which the old superstition was utilized. Its true explanation is from supernatural, not from natural, concepts. It is probably connected with a point mentioned before—i. e., the avoidance of corpses from the fear of the spirit of the dead and of the bad spirit which had caused the death, and the purificatory ceremony was for the daimon, not for the disease. The neglect of sanitation is well illustrated among the Navajo, who are little affected by civilization. Upon the death of one of their members they block up the shelter containing the corpse, and, from fear of the spook or of the agent of death, or of both, not from fear of the corpse itself, they never again visit it. Other tribes simply piled stones on the corpse, which prevented its disturbance by beasts, but did not absorb the effluvium. Still others exposed the dead on scaffolds. To leave corpses to putrefy freely is certainly not a sanitary measure, yet it was a practice existing together with the mortuary rites before mentioned, though many of the tribes practiced earth-burial, and a few used cremation.

On a broad examination of the topic of "pollution," so styled by most writers, it seems to be best explained by our recent understanding of *tabu*.

Sacrifice.—Man once imagined forces superior to himself, who yet could be invoked and moved to and from any purpose. The divine world was produced in his own image, and he treated its gods as he liked to be treated by his inferiors. He believed that the way to placate the forces surrounding him was to win them over as men are won over, by making presents to them. This clearly continued among the Israelites until the eighth century B. C., but it is to be regarded as a stage succeeding a former condition of zoölatry and totemism, without notice of which its details can not be understood.

Most people sacrificed to their divinities plants, fruits, and herbs, and animals taken from their flocks. People who had no domestic animals offered those taken in the hunt. The Indians offered the maize from their fields and the animals of the chase, and threw into the fire or water tobacco, or other herbs which they used in the place of tobacco. Sometimes these objects were hung up in the air above their huts. The northern Algonquins tied living dogs to high rods, and let them expire. In a similar manner other Indians stuck up a deer, especially a white deer, on poles. The plains tribes gave the same elevation to the head or skin of an albino buffalo on mounds, not having poles convenient. The spotted red heifer of the Israelites may be compared with the spotless white animals of the chase.

The southern Indians always threw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire when eating or before they began to eat. They commonly pulled their newly killed venison several times through the smoke of the fire—perhaps as a sacrifice, and perhaps to consume the life-spirit of the animal. They also burned a large piece and sometimes the whole carcass of the first buck they killed, either in the winter or the summer hunt. The Muskoki burn a piece of every deer they kill.

The Israelites offered daily sacrifice, in which a lamb (except the skin and entrails) was burned to ashes. In some of their sacrifices there was not only distinction between animals that were fit and unfit, but in the manner of treatment. Sometimes the victim was not to be touched, but should be entirely consumed by fire. In others the blood should be sprinkled around the altar and the fat and the entrails burned, the remainder of the body to be eaten by the priests. But it was a crime to eat flesh that had been offered in sacrifice to a false god—i. e., god of another people.

The offering of the first-fruits, and therefore of the first-born, to the divinity, was one of the oldest ideas of the Semites. Moloch and Jahveh were conceived as being the fire, devouring whatever was offered to it, so that to give to the fire was to give to the god. In time, a substitute was suggested; the first-born was replaced by an animal or a sum of money. This was called the "money of the lives."

The "green-corn dance," common to many Indian tribes, is essentially the same ceremony of thanksgiving, or, more correctly, rejoicing with payment, for the first-fruits of the earth. Adair says that at the festival of the first-fruits the Southern Indians drank plentifully of the *cusseena* and other bitter liquids, to cleanse their bodies, after which they bathed in deep water, then went sanctified to the feast. Their annual expiation of sin was sometimes at the beginning of the first new moon in which their corn became full-eared, and sometimes at the recurrent season of harvest. They cleansed their "temple" and every house in the village of everything supposed to pollute, carrying out even the ashes from the hearths. They never ate nor handled any part of a new harvest till some part of it had been offered up; then they had a long fast "till the rising of the second sun." On the third day of the fast the holy fire was brought out from the "temple," and it was produced, not from any old fire, but by the rubbing of sticks. It was then distributed to the people.

Lafiteau says that the first animal the young hunter kills he burns with fire as a sacrifice. Another festival was a kind of holocaust, where nothing of the victim was left, but it was all consumed, even to the bones, which were burned. There were also feasts of first-fruits.

The Dakotas allowed no particle of the food at any of their religious feasts to be left uneaten. All bones were collected and thrown into the water, that no dog might get them or woman trample over them. It was a rule among many of the tribes that no bones of the beast eaten should be broken. There is no doubt that this was connected with zoölatry, and was intended to prevent anger on the part of the ancestral or typical animal, the result of which would be the disappearance of the game. There were many other ceremonies of the same intent. When the Mandans had finished eating, they often presented a bowlful of the food to a buffalo-head, saying, "Eat this," evidently believing that, by using the head well, the living herds of buffalo would still come and supply them with meat.

It is probable that what many authors have called the "day of atonement" or "expiation" was really a general wiping out of offenses—a settlement of accounts between individuals and particularly between clans, after which there should be no reprisal. This is illustrated by a peculiar ceremony among the Iroquois, strongly resembling the scapegoat of the Israelites. A white dog, before being burned at the annual feast, was loaded with the confessions or repentings of the people, represented by strings of wampum. The statute of limitations then began to operate.

In the Jahvistic version, the passover, an old festival held in the

spring, was historically connected with the departure from Egypt. The ceremonies are too well known to require narration, but will readily be compared with those of the Indians.

Incense.—The use of incense among Indians was the same as among Israelites—i. e., to bring and to please the spirit addressed. A genuine instance among the Iroquois was where tobacco was offered as late as 1882, and in archaic formal language still preserved, translated as follows :

Address to the fire : “ Bless thy grandchildren, protect and strengthen them. By this tobacco we give thee a sweet-smelling sacrifice, and ask thy care to keep us from sickness and famine.”

Address to the thunder : “ O grandfather! thou large-voiced, enrich and bless thy grandchildren; cause it to rain, so that the earth may produce food for us. We give this tobacco, as thou hast kept us from all manner of monsters.”

The Dakotas not only burned tobacco in their “ buffalo medicine ” to bring the herds, but often fragrant grass. Other tribes burned the leaves of the white cedar. These forms of incense were sometimes used to entice the inimical spirits, the shaman being supposed to be able, when they had arrived in the form of a bear or some other animal, to kill them with his rattle. Some of the Indians believed that incense and sacrifices generally were to be used only for the spirits from whom they feared harm. They said it was not necessary to trouble themselves about the good spirits, who were all right anyhow.

Fetiches.—Among many of the tribes of Indians there is a tribal totem (and often several clan totems) which, in later times becoming chiefly symbolic and emblematic, was once used in objective form for the most important religious purposes. Particularly, it was carried on extensive warlike expeditions. Adair, who calls it an “ ark,” describes it as made of pieces of wood, fastened together in the form of a square, to be carried on the back. It was never placed on the ground, nor did the bearers sit on the earth even when they halted. In many other tribes it was a bag of skins and its contents varied, but generally were “ blessed ” or “ sacred ” fragments of wood, stone, or bone. Among the Omaha it was a large shell, covered with various envelopes, and was never wholly exposed to sight, for that would occasion death or blindness.

A custodian was appointed every four years by the old men of the Blackfeet, to take charge of the sacred pipe, pipe-stem, mat, and other implements, which he alone was permitted to handle.

The ark of the Israelites was probably derived from the Egyptians, who had a real ark which was carried on the shoulders of the priests in processions. When the exodus began, the Egyptian ark for convenience was changed into a chest fitted with staves

for bearers. It became the standard of their warring and wandering life.

In addition to what has been called the ark or tribal fetich, the mystery-bag that each Indian had is to be compared with the Israelite teraph, which was a family or tutelary fetich independent of the national worship, and later was the subject of frequent denunciation. It was probably made of carved wood, and was often carried on the person, but was generally held as a household god or domestic oracle. The teraphim markedly resembled the Roman *penates*.

This comparison is explanatory of the statement that neither the Israelites nor the Indians worshiped idols. Its truth depends upon what is considered to be an idol. If the definition is limited to the human form the assertion is true, because their religion was not anthropomorphic; but fetiches were certainly the objects of worship, the recrudescence forms of which, appearing even in civilization, have been amulets, lucky-stones, pieces of wood and charms.

Sabbath.—It is not possible, in discussing the Israelites, to neglect the institution of the Sabbath. The four quarters of the moon made an obvious division of the month, and wherever the new moon and full moon are made religious occasions there comes a cycle of fourteen or fifteen days, of which the week of seven or eight days forms half. It is significant that in the older parts of the Hebrew Scriptures the new moon and the Sabbath are almost invariably mentioned together. Among the Israelites, and perhaps among the Canaanites, joy on the new moon became the type of religious festivity in general. There is an indication that in old times the feast of the new moon lasted two days, so that an approximation to regular recurrence of the subdivisions constituting the week was gained. The Babylonians and Assyrians had an institution dividing the month into four parts, by which, on the days assigned, labor was forbidden; but originally the Israelites' abstinence from labor was only incidental to their not working at the same time that they were feasting. While they were nomads, with only intermittent work, they had no occasion for a fixed day of rest.

The new moons were at least as important as the Sabbath until the seventh century before Christ. When the local sacrifices were abolished and the rites and feasts were limited to the central altar, which practically could be visited only at rare intervals, the general festival of the new moon ceased. The Sabbath did not, but became an institution of law divorced from ritual. The connection between the week of seven days and the work of creation is now recognized as secondary. The original sketch of the decalogue probably did not contain any allusion to the creation, and it

is even doubtful whether the original form of Genesis distributed creation over six days.

Subsequent history of the Sabbath shows a reflex action between religion and sociology. Religion prevailed against better arrangements for periods of rest. Sociology used religion to get what it could.

The Indians reached only the first part of the inception of the Sabbath in the ceremonies of the new and full moon, which were to them of great importance, those of the new moon being most noted.

Circumcision.—This, generally regarded as a distinctive mark of the Israelites, is by no means peculiar to them, and is found in so many parts of the world, with such evidences of great antiquity, as to contravene its attribution to them. Its origin is a subject of much dispute. As practiced indiscriminately in infancy, it is perhaps a surgical blunder. It is certain that among the Israelites it was not at first a religious rite. The operation was not then performed by the priesthood, but by a secular person of skill, without ceremonials. Afterward it was regarded as an initiatory ceremony, and as such its parallels connected with the sexual organization may be found all over the world, but as a special national distinction the declared object was not attained. Besides the Egyptians, Arabs and Persians, with whom the coincidence might be expected, many tribes of Africa, Central and South America, Madagascar, and scores of islands of the sea, show the same mark, and it has even been found in several of the North American tribes. The sole motive for alluding to this very comprehensive subject is to correct the popular belief that the custom is peculiar to the Israelites. In this as in many other alleged respects they were not "peculiar."

II.

PARALLEL MYTHS.—The early religious opinions and practices of all peoples appear in myth and by myths are explained. When a religion has endured among a people for a long time after the use of writing has become general, its myths are collected and collated and formed into a system. This system generates dogmas which require support from glosses on the text of the original myths; indeed, these texts are often buried under a mass of homilies and predications, or, when still used in their purity, are interpreted *ad libitum*. Such is the history of the myths and the religion of Israel.

The Indians have myths and legends which explain their religious opinions and practices; but, as they did not acquire the art of writing, they did not formulate articles of faith. Their beliefs must be ascertained, therefore, by the collection and study of the myths themselves as now reduced to writing and translated. The

comparison of the myths of the Indians with the myths of the Israelites displays striking similarity and exhibits more clearly than a mere statement of doctrines the likeness of the religions of the two peoples. The likeness of the two collections of myths to one another, and their comparison with similar collections from other peoples, indicates that when the same events are represented as occurring everywhere, they really occurred nowhere, but were the mental conceptions of men in the same stage of intellectual culture.

It is not necessary to mention deluge legends common in all countries where inundations have occurred, and only a general interest attaches to the mythical culture hero. He was sometimes an inspired man, and sometimes a benevolent god in shape of man, but in his more archaic forms he was a beast with human metamorphoses. He taught all that is known of hunting, fishing, the properties of plants, picture-writing, and indeed of every art, and founded institutions and established religions. After his achievements he generally disappeared with mystery, his actual death being seldom established, leaving a hope of his return as a triumphant benefactor. The legends relating to Michabo, Ioskeha, Hiawatha, and Manabosho will occur to all special students as showing their analogues in the biography of Moses. But the point of peculiar interest is that the myths referred to are not only similar generically, but that they are strikingly identical in their minute details with those of the Israelites. A few of them will be noticed.

It will be understood that in all instances presented scrupulous care has been taken to eliminate European influence and to obtain assurance of the aboriginal and ancient origin of the legends.

An Ojibwa tradition tells the adventures of eight, ten, and sometimes twelve brothers, the youngest of whom is the wisest and the most beloved of their father and especially favored by the high powers. He delivers his brothers from many difficulties which were brought about by their folly and disobedience. Particularly, he supplies them with corn. A variant statue of Lot's wife who, after escaping from the destruction of her village, was turned into stone instead of salt, is still shown near the Mississippi River. The Chahta have an elaborate story of their migrations in which they were guided by a pole leaning in the direction which they should take, and remaining vertical at each place where they should encamp. A still closer resemblance to the guidance of the Israelites in the desert by a pillar of fire is found in the legendary migrations of the Tusayan, when indication was made by the movement and the halting of a star. The Pai Utes were sustained in a great march through the desert by water which continually filled the magic cup given to the Sokus Waiunats in a dream,

until all were satisfied; and a similarly miraculous supply of food to the starving multitude is reported by the same people. In the genesis myth of the Tusayan, the culture-hero was enabled to pass dry shod through lakes and rivers by throwing a staff upon the waters, which were at once divided as by walls.

Among the Ojibwa traditions there is a variant of the conception that man could not look upon the form of a divine being and live. According to these traditions the divine beings were obliged to wear veils, and when one of them unintentionally let his eyes fall upon the form of a man the man fell dead as if struck by lightning.

The Midéwiwin rite was granted to the Ojibwa at a time of great trouble, through the intercession of Minabozho, their universal uncle, and at the same time rules of life were given to them, which are still represented in hieroglyphics on birch-bark. They have a resemblance in motive to the Biblical legends and laws. At the time of a great pestilence, which came "when the earth was new," the Ojibwa were saved by one of their number to whom a spirit, in the shape of a serpent, revealed a root which to this day they name the "snake-root," and songs and rites pertaining to the serpent are incorporated in the Midéwiwin.

Mr. W. W. Warren, in his "History of the Ojibwa Nation," tells that he sometimes translated parts of Bible history to the old Ojibwa men, and their expression invariably was, "The book must be true, for our ancestors have told us similar stories generation after generation since the earth was new." Only last year a well-informed representative in Washington of the Muskoki answered questions about the myths and legends of his people by the simple remark: "They are all in the Old Testament. Read them there, without the trouble of taking them down from our people."

SOCIOLOGY.—The golden age of the Israelites, as recorded in the Old Testament according to modified tradition, was the age ending with the Judges. The people lived in a state nearest to their ideal under a supposed theocracy, which really was not instituted until the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. The exploits of Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson are pictures of antiquity equal in grandeur and like in import to those of the Homeric heroes. If the Indians could have written about their own past, they would have portrayed a similar golden age, which, indeed, is mirrored in their traditions and myths.

But it must always be borne in mind that the Indians were not nomads, and were never in the true pastoral stage; hence their tales of the good old times were more archaic than those presented to us in the Israelite records.

Nomadic life requires the possession of either domesticated

animals for sustenance or of burden-bearing animals by whose aid fresh game areas may be readily occupied. The persistent nomads—e. g., the Arabs—have possessed both kinds of animals. The Indians had neither. The large majority of the historic Indians never saw a horse until centuries after the Columbian discovery. The Dakota, Comanche, and some other tribes became nomads adventitiously, and only after the introduction of the horse by Europeans. The means of subsistence of these tribes in a nomadic life were afterward increased by their obtaining fire-arms.

The pastoral stage also depended upon the possession of some of the animals mentioned. It expedited the transition of the Israelites from savagery to barbarism, but it was not experienced by the Indians. Therefore, supposing that the two peoples were at one time equally advanced in culture, it might well have required three thousand years longer for the Indians to reach the stage in which they were discovered than for the Israelites to attain to the culture shown in the days of the Judges.

At the time taken for proper comparison between the two peoples, which has before been designated, both were living under the clan or totemic system, which was formerly called the gentile system.

A clan is a body of kindred in which kinship is established by laws now long disused, and so strange to our present ideas as to be comprehended with difficulty. Some of the more salient features of the system appear in the division of the people into tribes which are interpermeated by clans, with special rules of government, adoption, punishment, protection, property, and marriage.

The totemic stage was first intelligently noticed among the aborigines of America and Australia, and typical representations of it are still found among them. In Australia it is called *ko-bong*. An animal or a plant, or sometimes a heavenly body, is connected with all persons of a certain stock, who believe that it is their totem, their protecting daimon. They regard themselves as descendants of the totem, and they bear its name. The line of descent is normally female. When a clan becomes dominant, its totem daimon prevails together with it, and commands the worship of all the clans or tribes in the group, the daimons of other clans and tribes becoming subordinate.

The clan system, lately found in actual force in two large geographical divisions of the world, has preserved a clew to the moldered mode of man's early institutions. What is now known of the clans, tribes, and league of the Iroquois explains what was formerly mystical about the tribes of Israel.

Each clan or tribe took as a badge or objective totem the representation of the totemic daimon from which it was named.

It was generally an animal—e. g., an eagle, a panther, a buffalo, a bear, a deer, a raccoon, a tortoise, a snake, or a fish, but sometimes one of the winds, a celestial body, or other impressive object or phenomenon.

The Israelites had such badges or totems which have been called standards. The blessings of Jacob and of Moses, which mention several of them, were not merely metaphoric. In the blessing of Jacob, Judah is named as a lion, Issachar as an ass, Dan as a serpent, Naphtali as a hind, Benjamin as a wolf, Joseph as a bough. In that of Moses, four such names occur—Ephraim as a bullock, Manasseh as a bison, Gad as a lion, and Dan as a lion's whelp. From all the evidence on the subject there is reason to believe that these were the leading totems in the tribes mentioned, and the discrepancies in the lists may be accounted for by the fact that the head clans in some tribes had changed in the interval.

David seems to have belonged to the serpent stock. The most prominent among his ancestors bore a serpent name. Some passages in his life show his connection with a serpent totem.

Critics have doubted whether Moses was as much opposed to idolatry as is asserted in the records, for a brazen serpent, perhaps an ancient idol of Jahveh, said to have been set up by him, was in existence until the reign of Hezekiah, who broke it into pieces. True, it may have been an idol of Jahveh, or perhaps it was worshipped as a teraph; but it may have been simply a totem. The lifting up of the brazen serpent by Moses in the wilderness may be more consistently explained by totemism than by idolatry in its usual sense.

Government.—The Israelites in their normal condition were governed by a number of their elders who were presumed to have the greatest wisdom and experience. Special powers were conferred in emergencies upon one man and were intended to be of short duration, but while they lasted they were dictatorial. The judges were despots without a standing army or an organized government. Their selection was due neither to inheritance, to suffrage, nor to violence, but to personal superiority in strength, wisdom, and courage. The usual result was, that the power gained by a ruler was held during his life, and it was sometimes contended for by one of his sons with temporary success. The government of the Indians was substantially the same.

The alliance of the tribes was loose. They seldom hesitated to make war upon one another. Even after nationality had been initiated, the genius of David and the magnificence of Solomon could not permanently weld them together; and doubtless without the later and cohesive establishment of Jahvism they would have often, though perhaps but temporarily, fallen back into an incoher-

ent state. The Indians did not gain such a conservative bond, and the alliances of their tribes were more loose and transient.

The characteristics of the Israelite and of the Indian, as of the Homeric Achæans and of the extant Bedouins, were predatory. The tribe and its clans, with their occasional allies, went forth against the rest of the world.

In the investigation of totemism among the Israelites it is important to observe its continued existence in Arabia, because the state of society there still remains more primitive than that prevalent in the land of Israel even at the time of imposing antiquity when the Old Testament was written.

A large number of tribes having animal names are still found among the Arabs. Some of these tribal names are Lion, Wolf, Ibex, She-fox, Dog, Bull, Ass, Hyena, and Lizard. The origin of all these names is referred by the people to an ancestor who bore the tribal or gentile name. The animal names given in the tribal genealogies are also often found belonging to sub-tribes, the same animal name sometimes occurring in subdivisions of different tribes. These particulars correspond with the Indian clan system.

The tribes of the southern and eastern parts of Canaan had affinities both to Israel and to the Arabs. The Arab princes of Midian were The Raven and The Wolf—heads of tribes of the same names. More than one third of the Horites, the descendants of Seir the He-goat, bear animal names; so do the clans of the Edomites. The real name of Moses's father-in-law is in dispute, but he had some connection with the Kenites. The list in Genesis xxxvi is a count of tribal or local divisions and not a literal genealogy. It is full of animal names. The Antelope stock was divided over the nation in a way only to be explained on the totemic and not on a genealogic system. The same names of totem tribes that appear in Arabia, reach through Edom, Midian, and Moab into Canaan, where they show local distribution, which is intelligible only on the assumption that the totemic system prevailed there also when the first books of the Old Testament were written.

Prof. Robertson Smith gives a select list of about thirty persons and towns in point, bearing names derived from animals and plants. Dr. Joseph Jacobs has expanded that list into a hundred and sixty such names, though he considers their importance to be lessened by the frequency of such names in England, forgetting, apparently, that the clan system also existed among the ancestors of the English people.

The twenty-sixth chapter of Numbers gives the clans of the Israelite tribes. Altogether seventy-two clans are mentioned, and of these at least ten occur in two tribes, among which the Arodites or Wild Ass clan, found both in Gad and in Benjamin, should be

noted. Other clans also have animal names: the Shillimites or Fox clan, of Naphtali; the Shuhamites or Serpent clan, of Benjamin; the Bachrites or Camel clan, of Ephraim and Benjamin; the Elonites or Oak clan, of Zebulon; the Tolaites or Worm clan, of Issachar; and the Arelets or Lion clan, of Gad.

A special suggestion comes from the tribe of Simeon. In the blessing of Jacob, Simeon is coupled with Levi as a tribe scattered in Israel. Some Simeonites lived in the south of the territory of Judah, but they do not appear there as an independent local tribe. It would seem that Simeon remained as a divided stock, having representatives through the female line in the different local groups. When the old system was transformed, Simeon lost importance and ultimately dropped from the list of tribes. The name of the tribe was lost but not the people, as has been noticed also in careful statistical examination of the Indians.

The tribe of Judah received the powerful accession of the Dog tribe, the Calebites (to be again mentioned), among whom there were many animal names.

In view of the above, and the additional fact that the early Israelites freely intermarried with the surrounding nations, it becomes highly probable that the totemic system of those neighbors existed in all Israel, as was obviously the case in Judah.

Punishment.—In the stage of barbarism man belongs not to himself, but to his clan and tribe. In civilization crime is the act of an individual for which he is responsible to the whole community, and there can be no crime without a malicious intent. In the totemic stage the clan was responsible to all its members and to all other clans for the offense of any of its own members, and the act itself, not its intent, constituted the offense. Hence the rules respecting obedience, punishment, and protection differ from those of civilized man.

Punishments among the Indians were chiefly death or expulsion from the tribe—the latter, from the unprotected state of the offender, being tantamount to death. The code consisted in the application of the *lex talionis*. The vengeance of blood for homicide was exacted as a clan duty. It was executed by the clan of the person killed, generally by the nearest of clan kinship, and it was required even if the death were by accident, unless the killing was condoned by payment. Among the Israelites the *lex talionis* was likewise the fundamental law, and the duty of blood revenge also devolved on the kin by the mother's side—i. e., the kindred according to the normal clan system.

Sanctuary.—The doctrine that no crime could be individual, but might be committed against a clan by a clan through one of its members, rendered it necessary to have some special provision

to restrict vengeance and maintain peace. Hence the right of sanctuary, which appeared later as a prerogative of religion, was in its origin sociologic.

The avenger of blood among the Indians generally had the right to slay the criminal if found within a specified time, for instance, two days after the act; but if he should escape beyond such period, the avenger could no longer pursue, and was himself liable if he should persevere. The clan or clans concerned interfered at that stage in prescribed modes. Among some tribes localities (called by Adair the "cities of refuge") were designated, in which the accused could remain in safety until the general settlement of accounts at the next annual festival. Compare Numbers xxxv, 12: "And they shall be with you cities of refuge from the avenger; that the man-slayer die not, until he stand before the congregation in judgment."

The functions of the avenger of blood are only referred to in the Pentateuch, but were well known in ordinary cases. The law treats of the exceptional circumstances of an accidental homicide. There is a trace, in Deuteronomy xxiii, of the general communal sanctuary in Israel. It enacts that any town or village shall be an asylum for an escaped slave. In Exodus xxi, the altar (presumably any one of the numerous village altars) is mentioned as a refuge. In the cities of refuge the sanctuary was used only for the mitigation of the revenge of blood.

A mode of bringing to notice the barbarian stage of the Israelites at the time under consideration is to translate into English familiar personal names from the Old Testament, such as the Dog, the Dove, the Hyena, the Lion's Whelp, the Strong Ass, the Adder, and the Running Hind. This brings into immediate connection the English translation of Indian names, such as Big Bear, White Buffalo, Wolf, Red Cloud, Black Hawk, Fox, Crow, and Turtle. Such Israelite names were probably of Gentile origin, that is, from the clan or gens, for the Israelites were surely Gentiles in the true sense, although later they abjured the charge. But individuals among them may also have adopted such names because they could be represented objectively. Such selection is made by some Indians apart from their totemic designation. Indians possess very few names that can not be represented in pictographs; and the very large topic of tattooing is connected with this device antecedent to writing. The compilers of the Old Testament probably desired to break down a former practice, as is shown in Leviticus xix, 28: "Ye shall not print any marks upon you." And there are other similar indications.

Adoption.—The early history after the exodus shows many cases of adoption from among the neighboring tribes in which the captive or the stranger adopted became a member of one of

the clans. This was an essential part of the totemic system as is noticed universally among the Indians. Without membership in a clan there could be no status in the tribe.

Caleb is first known as the son of Jephunneh, the Kenezite. Next he appears as a chief of the tribe of Judah; finally, in the book of Chronicles, his foreign descent is lost. He becomes Caleb, the son of Hezron, the son of Judah. This is an instance of adoption and is not contradictory. He is first described in accordance with his actual descent, but when adopted with his family and followers, who probably formed a sub-clan, he would be called by the name of the family that adopted him.

The whole population of the country which, according to Deuteronomy, was doomed to be exterminated, slowly became amalgamated with the invaders. In this way alone their rapid increase can be accounted for.

The doctrine that no quarter should be shown to the enemy and no alliance should be made with the Goim (a word meaning the "nations," with the implication of "heathen") was not established until the late prophetic influence. The use of the word Goim dates from the ninth century B. C. It is gratifying to be convinced that the stories of the wholesale extermination and cruel outrages injected into the historical narrative were afterwards intended to be examples for the future, and that they never actually occurred. If the stories are true, the brutality of the Israelites to the conquered was more horrible than that of the Indians, among whom captivity was tempered by adoption.

An interesting custom of the Indians connected both with the rite of sanctuary and that of adoption is that called by English writers "running the gantlet." When captives had successfully run through a line of tormentors to a post near the council-house, they were for the time free from further molestation. In the northeastern tribes this was in the nature of an ordeal to test whether or not the captive was vigorous and brave enough to be adopted into the tribe; but among other tribes it appears in a different shape. Any enemy, whether a captive or not, could secure immunity from present danger if he could reach a central post, or, if there were no post, the hut of the chief. A similar custom existed among the Arikara, who kept a special pipe in a "bird-box." If a criminal or enemy succeeded in smoking the pipe contained in the box, he could not be hurt. This corresponds with the safety found in laying hold of the horns of the Israelite altar.

Land.—In the earlier history of the Israelites there could be no individual property in land—it belonged to the clan, as it did among the Indians. After arriving at sedentary and national life the Israelites found it expedient to permit a compromise between

the permanent possession of land by the clan and a right of individual occupancy for periods sufficient to offer a proper stimulus for improvements. This was done by the institution of the Sabatical year or the year of jubilee. The Indians, not having reached the true sedentary stage (except in rare instances), were not obliged to invent that device. Thus it holds true among both peoples that no man could acquire an absolute property in land. The estate was not in him but in his clan.

Forbidden Food.—The Indians long observed a prohibition against killing or eating any part of the animal connected with their totem. For instance, most of the southern Indians abstained from killing the wolf; the Navajo do not kill bears; the Osage never killed the beaver until the skins became valuable for sale. Afterward some of the animals previously held sacred were killed; but apologies were made to them at the time, and in almost all cases a particular ceremony was observed with regard to certain parts of those animals which were not to be used for food on the principle of synecdoche, the temptation to use the food being too strong to permit entire abstinence. The Cherokee forbade the use of the tongues of the deer and bear for food. They cut these members out and cast them into the fire sacramentally. A practice reported this year as still existing among the Ojibwa is in point, though with instructive variation. There is a formal restriction against members of the bear clan eating the animal, yet by a subdivision within the same clan an arrangement is made so that sub-clans may among them eat the whole animal. When a bear is killed, the head and paws are eaten by those who form one branch of the bear totem, and the remainder is reserved for the others. Other Indians have invented a differentiation in which some clansmen may eat the ham and not the shoulder of certain animals, and others the shoulder and not the ham.

The Egyptians did not allow the eating of animals that bore wool. This prohibition has been attributed to the sacred character of the sphinx, and it has other religious connections. It is supposed by some writers that the legislation of Moses with reference to forbidden food was aimed to antagonize social union with the Egyptians by prohibiting to the Israelites edibles generally used by the Egyptians, and *vice versa*. It is true that some kinds of food forbidden to one of these nations were allowed to the other, but the rule was not general, and in particular the abstinence of both peoples from swine is inconsistent with the hypothesis. A more conclusive criticism is that the legislation so interpreted would have been too late for application. The Israelites had left Egypt before even the alleged time of its promulgation.

The survival of totemism may be inferred from the lists of forbidden food in Leviticus xi and Deuteronomy xiv. It would

appear that about the time of the exodus the Israelites were organized on the basis of families or clans tracing through female lines, and named Hezir (swine), Achbor (mouse), Aiah (kite), Arod (wild ass), Shaphan (coney), and so on. Each of the clans refrained from eating the totem animal, or only ate it sacramentally. As the totemic organization declined, the origin of the abstinence would be lost, but the custom lasted, and when the legislation was codified it was incorporated in the code. The hypothesis would explain certain anomalies in the list—e. g., coney, or rock badger, for which no other explanation deserving attention has been given. The division into clean and unclean food by the two tests of cloven foot and rumination was a later induction from the animals regarded as *tabu*. This is confirmed by the want of any systemization in the list of birds given in Leviticus.

It would accord with other examples in totemism that animal names connected with the animal worship before mentioned should be adopted by clans, and by individual men among the Israelites. There is some evidence that men, bearing a common animal stock name, though in different tribes or nations, recognized a unity of stock. Our most definite information on the subject is derived from Ezekiel viii, which indicates that the head of each house acted as priest, the family or clan images, which are the objects of idolatry, being those of "unclean" reptiles or quadrupeds—i. e., those which are prohibited from use as food. Although the whole inference of Prof. Smith on this subject is not admitted by Dr. Jacobs, his objection is to the survival, not to the early existence, of the cult.

No satisfactory explanation of the Israelite division between clean and unclean animals, apart from that afforded by the totemic system, has hitherto been made. No rational motive can be assigned for the avoidance of certain animals, in themselves hygienically good. The explanation that swine's flesh was liable to bring disease, and therefore was prohibited for a sanitary reason only, covers but a small part of the subject and is not in itself satisfactory. The meat of the hog is, in fact, as wholesome in Syria as it is in Cincinnati, and the discovery of trichinosis had certainly not been made in the times under consideration. The avoidance of all meat, indeed of all food, for purposes of fasting and producing ecstacy, is in a different category and has already been mentioned.

Marriage.—The laws of marriage in the stage of barbarism are intricate, but attention may be directed to a few points which strongly distinguish them from the marriage laws of civilization. Their most general characteristic is the regulation of marriage within strict limits of conventional kinship.

The levirate, named from the word *levir*, a husband's brother, is in brief the customary right and obligation combined of a brother—normally the eldest surviving brother—to marry the widow of his deceased brother. Prof. E. B. Tylor reports that this law appears among one hundred and twenty peoples—i. e., in about one in three of the distinct peoples of the world. It was almost universal among the Indians, sometimes with additional duties and privileges. A widow, as a rule, could not marry any one but her deceased husband's brother except on his refusing to marry her, nor until after a long time of mourning, or more properly of ordeal, after which she could be freed from the *tabu*.

In several tribes marrying an elder sister gave to the husband rights over all the other sisters of the wife. Sometimes the son-in-law, especially when he married the eldest daughter, became entitled to all the younger sisters of his wife at his option. Other men could not take them except with his formal consent. This right of the son-in-law to all the unmarried younger sisters sometimes continued after the death of the first wife. Not unfrequently a man married a widow and her daughters at the same time.

Among the Israelites it was common to have several wives of equal status, who often were sisters. A widow had a right to appeal to her brother-in-law, or some member of her husband's family, to provide her with a second husband, and an evasion of the duty *in personam* was a gross offense. Deuteronomy xxv shows the degrading terms of the formality by which alone the brother-in-law could be freed from the obligations of marriage and the widow be allowed to marry another man. Judah admitted that Tamar's conduct was perfectly correct. It was but a legitimate extension of the levirate law.

There is the clear statement in Leviticus that the Egyptians and the Canaanites formed such marriages as were in accordance with the totemic system, but which were made incestuous by the Israelite law. The laws of incest given in Leviticus are probably later than the code of Deuteronomy, in which the prohibition is directed against marriage by a man with his father's wife. That precept denounces the practice in Arabia by which the son inherited his father's wife.

In the framework of the Deuteronomic code there were three incestuous prohibitions, viz., father's wife, sister, and wife's mother. To these offenses Ezekiel adds marriage with a daughter-in-law. According to the prophets, all those forms of *quasi*-incest were practiced in Jerusalem; and the history indicates that all at some time were recognized customs. The taking in marriage of a father's wife was not wholly obsolete in the time of David.

As regards the Israelite system of descent in the female line, it may be noticed that the children of Nahor by Milkah were dis-

tinguished from his children by his other wives. Rebekah's descent is practically valued as descent from Milkah, and the family or clan connection is traced entirely through Milkah and Sarah. Their rules of kinship regarding what we now call incest are partly indicated by the following instances: Moses' father married his father's sister; Nahor married his brother's daughter; Abraham married Sarah, the daughter of his father but not of his mother.

A passage in Judges relates to exogamy, recording that Ibzan had thirty sons, and also thirty daughters whom he sent abroad, and took thirty daughters from abroad for his sons. But exogamy could not be kept up after the Israelites had become mainly an agricultural people, and in the times of the kings only survivals of it remained.

Mr. John Fenton, in "Early Hebrew Life," makes some acute remarks upon the story of Lot's daughters, but he did not exhaust the subject. According to the clan system, it was not only proper for Lot to marry his daughters, but under the circumstances it was obligatory upon him to do so. The logical propriety of the marriage of a father to his daughters, on the ground that they did not belong to the same clan, is clear, and the practice exists to-day among a number of the tribes of Indians not much affected by European intercourse. A father was not of kin to his own children. They belonged to the mother's clan, and not to his. An interesting example of this clan law is furnished by Dr. George M. Dawson as still existing among tribes of British Columbia. A certain rich Indian would have nothing to do with the search for his aged father, who was lost and starving in the mountains. He did not count his father as a relative, and said, "Let his people go in search of him." Yet that son was regarded as a particularly good Indian.

There are other instances in which the son would fight against the father to the death. Such cases would occur where, according to the obligations of clan law, a son married a woman of a clan other than that of his father and went to live with her people; and when there was warfare between her clan and that of his father, the son was by association expected to fight against his father. The real tie of blood gave no reason why he should not be alien and antagonistic to his father and his father's clan.

But it is true that, in many tribes of Indians, since they have been observed by Europeans, the marriage of father and daughter has been very rare. It may be suggested as a reason that a gradual change has occurred from the mother-right to the father-right, in which the attitude is reversed; but practically the fact that, by treating the daughter as an object of value or merchandise, either the father or mother could secure presents from the suitor, naturally tended to break down this part of the clan mar-

riage system before any other, and, the custom ceasing, the practice became wrong. So it is true to-day among Indians, as it was in a much more marked degree among the Israelites at the time of the compilation of the existing version of the Old Testament, that the marriage of a father and daughter is reprobated. In this connection it is instructive to notice that the Navajo have a myth, undoubtedly genuine, that in the old time one of their race took his daughter to wife, and their offspring became the ancestor of the Utes, the hereditary enemies of the Navajo. This is a parallel with the stigma inflicted upon the Moabites and Ammonites, who were the descendants of Lot and the enemies of the Israelites who wrote the history, but yet were recognized by the latter as of the same stock.

The part of the story of Lot as it appears in our version, which tends strongly to show its later manipulation, is that the authors of that version, having at that time the idea of a horrible incest, explained that the man, specially designated by tradition as eminently good, was guilty only because he was betrayed through intoxication. They were obliged, in accordance with one tradition, to make him the ancestor of Moab and Ammon. By another tradition he was left without any sons and no wife, the two daughters being all of his family who survived the destruction of Sodom. They reconciled their data, therefore, by the excuse of intoxication, but there was no occasion for such excuse. In the age to which the tradition related the transaction was perfectly proper, did not involve sexual passion, and was required by law to keep up the stock. The clan rules had been forgotten when the book of Genesis was written.

In the stage of barbarism the marriage of brother and sister was common all over the world. Where polygamy existed, as was the case among the Israelites, and probably among all the Indians, a man, according to the rules of the totemic system, could not marry into his own clan. If he took several wives, they would sometimes be of different clans, not only from his own, but from one another. In such cases, the child of the wife of clan A was not of the same clan as the child of the wife of clan B, and they could marry. The marriage of uterine brothers and sisters was not consistent with the clan rules.

Writers on the clan system have extolled it as a system showing profound physiological insight respecting the supposed evils of inbreeding; but the best and latest physiologists doubt whether inbreeding is bad, unless there is a taint of blood which should prohibit the marriage of either party to any one. A true understanding of the clan system would have shown that inasmuch as it certainly permitted marriage between a man and his half-sister, and between a man and his aunt, his father's sister, if not the

more violent case of marriage between father and daughter, it did not accomplish that for which it has been so highly praised.

The late prohibition of a man's marriage to his deceased wife's sister can not be successfully defended on any principle of physiology or sociology. It is a blunder that perhaps arose in the transition stage from the matriarchate to the patriarchate method.

CONCLUSIONS.—The Indians have been characterized as peculiar among the races of men. One school of writers has pronounced them to be *feræ naturæ*, and wholly incapable of receiving civilization. Others have held the opposite view, that they were eminently spiritualistic, as was proved by their having preserved the pure pristine faith to a degree beyond all other secluded peoples. Both of these assertions are disproved. When Indians have been allowed reasonable opportunities, they have advanced in civilization, and have thriven under it. While their religion may in one sense be pristine, it does not differ materially from that found in many other regions.

The peculiarity of the Semites, and especially of that branch of them lately styled the Syro-Aramæans (which is only an ethnographic name including the Israelites), has been accepted as an axiom. It was pronounced that they were specially adapted to a spiritual religion; that whether through an exclusive revelation, or because their racial constitution was exceptionally receptive to such revelation, their idiosyncrasy disposed them readily to spiritual ideas, which to modern minds means monotheism. This is not the record of the historical books of the Old Testament, even after their manipulation. The prophets of Israel declared the exact contrary; they denounced their own people as rejecting spiritual truth, and as not deserving the favor of Jahveh.

The historical books of Israel which we possess are not historical records, but are historic legends reduced to writing by writers who had sometimes political and sometimes religious ends in view. The argument of those tales is that all the people habitually worshiped Jahveh, and him alone, during which normal period they were prosperous, but that sometimes under evil influence they abandoned him and fell into disaster, until, after sufficient chastisement, they returned to the true worship. The historic truth is that the old Israelites, when disasters came, as they always do come, gave up the worship of their national god as not a success, and tried the gods of their neighbors. They returned to Jahveh because the other gods did not satisfy them any better. In fact, the people had no fixed or distinct faith, and it is not correct to accuse them of backsliding when they were only vacillating.

The prophets tried to pull the Israelites too rapidly through

the zoötheistic and physitheistic stages into monotheism, and spasmodically succeeded; but the body of the people never reached the stage of monotheism until after the Babylonian captivity. Most writers have explained this on the theory that the terrible chastisement of that captivity finally brought them to submission; but it is more probable that their forced relations with their more cultured conquerors gave them new ideas never before entertained, which infused modifications into their religion. The resulting combination produced those characteristics of that religion which have been regarded as the most admirable.

The general account of the Israelite lapses is not unlike that given in modern times by missionaries, who also have been impetuous in attempting the instantaneous transport of Indians through stages that are marked by ages. Tribes of Indians have been converted, and they were reported and recorded as being in that permanent condition. A few years later, from some dissatisfaction, they returned to their shaman and their dreams, which return was then reported as a lapse. It was not, in fact, a lapse, but the claim that they had been converted was premature. There is, however, this distinction between the Israelites and the Indians: that the former were allowed to return to Palestine and carry out their old ideas with improvements; while the Indians, remaining under the same foreign influences and continually growing weaker, were forced to abandon all their faith and to accept that of their conquerors without composition.

The stories of the conversion of Indians by thousands would seem false to one who did not know that they were ready to believe any new thing because they before had no fixed belief. The record of the Israelites is not so clear, because old; but they surely adopted the Satanic doctrine and the "Mosaic cosmology," and continued adopting foreign beliefs until a late date in their history.

The most judicious remarks ever made by missionaries were those of the Rev. Messrs. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, who, after ten years in Oregon of what has been considered successful work, announced their abandonment of their former tenet that if the heathen were converted to Christianity civilization followed of course. They confessed that civilization must begin before Christianity could even be understood. Acute travelers throughout the world have perceived the same fact; and it is not a too violent simile to say that Christianity, belonging to the plane of civilization and to that only, sits on a savage or barbarian as a bishop's mitre would on a naked Hottentot.

The Israelites were not suddenly lifted from their barbarian condition. It was not possible. As regards the culture strata we may take a lesson from geology. Coal is not found in the Si-

lurian formation, therefore wise miners do not look there for coal. The higher mammals are not found earlier than the Cenozoic, though their precursors are in the Jurassic. Man in the savage stage may be examined in the same spirit as the Jurassic stage is studied to trace what may afterward appear in the barbarian and Cenozoic, and is developed in the present epoch; but to search for the complete ideas of civilization in the period of barbarism would be as judicious as to dig for manuscripts among the workshops of flint arrow-heads.

The beliefs and practices of both the Israelites and the Indians were substantially the same as those of other bodies of people in the same stage of culture. They were neither of them a "peculiar" people.

There is, racially, no peculiar people in the sense intended. Mankind is homogeneous in nature, though its divisions at any one time are found in differing and advancing grades of culture. Such advancement has been from causes known to be still in continuous operation. What is called blood in a racial sense may be likened unto the water of the earth: as the water comes from the clouds it is chemically the same, and it is subjected, wherever it is, to the same laws. The early course of a rill may be turned by a pebble, and from the elevations and depressions met it may become a lake, or a river, or a stagnant marsh. From the character of soil encountered it may be clear or muddy, alkaline, chalybeate, or sulphurous. In one sense, which belongs to modern and not to ancient history, the Jews are a peculiar people, from the fact that for many centuries, until lately, they proclaimed themselves to be such, and observed religiously the doctrine about the Goim, and therefore did not intermarry with other peoples; but that should not be a reason for their boasting. Persecution made them pariahs and other peoples would not intermarry with them. During recent centuries the so-styled purity of their race has been kept up by isolation, but the assumption of great purity in the stock at the Christian era is not tenable. Now that their prejudices and those of the Goim against them are dissolving, it is probable that what has been improperly called the Jewish race will disappear by absorption as the Indians are now disappearing. To renew the simile, both Israelite and Indian will be lost in the homogeneous ocean which all mankind seems destined to swell.

It will be noticed that this presentation of views practically ignores the scholastic divisions of mankind into distinct races. The result of my own studies on the subject is a conviction that all attempts at the classification of races have failed. The best statement of the condition of scientific opinion regarding such classification may be taken from the address of Prof. W. H. Flower to the Section of Anthropology of the British Association for

the Advancement of Science. He says: "I am compelled to use the word race vaguely for any considerable group of men who resemble each other in certain common characters transmitted from generation to generation." Some satisfactory solution of the problem may be made in the future, but for the present the most useful direction of the work of anthropologists is not in attempts to establish racial divisions, but in the determination of the several planes of culture with recognition of specific environments.

A rabbinical legend tells that Lot was the first to argue the existence of one god ruling the universe, from the irregular phenomena observed on land and sea and among the heavenly bodies. "If these had power of their own," he said, "they would have had regular motions, but as they had no regularity they were subservient to the occasional exercise of a higher will." In times of greater scientific knowledge these supposed irregular motions are found to be in accordance with laws considered to be permanent, if not immutable, and the recognition of such tremendous laws gives a higher conception of their maker. The notion that such laws are or can be suspended or violated suggests irresolution and caprice, shocks human reason, and obscures the glory of divinity.

The doctrine attributed to Lot is false, because the conception of nature implied in it permeated all the early philosophy. We now define a miracle specifically as a deviation from the laws of nature. But to those for whom nature had no laws, the prime definition as "the wonderful" was alone correct. A supernatural being could do anything whatever in accordance with his arbitrary will, and was expected to act in that manner. Men who were inspired or empowered by the supernatural were also expected, indeed were required, to work wonders. It would hardly be a paradox to assert that only the supernatural was natural, and that only the irregular was regular.

That both the Indians and the Israelites were in this stage of philosophy has been conclusively shown. It is also evident that the principle of ancientism was potent in their religion.

Ancientism, which still has surviving influence, declares the old thought, that of the ancient men, to be always the best. This is false, unless the theory is true that all knowledge comes from revelation, which was given only to the ancient men, who therefore had it in its pure condition. To cling to the old merely because it is old is bad; in fact, is the crudest superstition. Some advocates of the old reject all new thoughts, but the more intelligent of its praisers seek to force a reconciliation between the old thought and the new. What they now believe must be right. What they are not accustomed to is shocking, and therefore wrong. So the old, which was always right, must be distorted so

as to comprehend in it the new, which is also right, and whatever there is of the old that can not be managed otherwise must be explained away.

There is an apparent exception in favor of the old thoughts and teachings where there has been a general degradation in culture; then a return to the results of the former and forgotten culture is most desirable. This is illustrated in the revival of the old learning after the dark ages in Europe, when the classic writings as discovered brought fresh illumination to the world. But this was simply a resumption of advance after a check; and the wisdom of the ancients, which has appeared marvelous, owes much of its splendor to the intervening darkness. The process of development, not chronology, makes a proper criterion. Though *antiquitas seculi juvenus mundi*, the archaic is that which relates to the earliest steps of human advance. We have the history of the Israelites for forty centuries; we have that of the Indians for little more than three centuries; and, though the Israelites in recorded times advanced beyond the plane of the Indians, who shall say which of the two peoples is in years the older?

The points before mentioned—that neither the Israelites nor the Indians had any formulated and established faith, and in particular did not believe in a single god, and that they did not have any system of rewards and punishments after death—had important consequences. They were never persecutors for religious opinion. With regard to the Indians that assertion will at once be admitted; with regard to the Israelites it will be disputed by those who take the statements of the compilers of the Old Testament as literally historical.

I have before mentioned one reason, that of the amalgamation of the Israelites with the inhabitants of Canaan, why there could not have been any such fanatic massacre as is narrated. There are other potent reasons. This plane of culture of the Israelites being established, it is proper theoretically to make the deductions belonging to that plane. The Indians carefully concealed their special mystery-daimons. As a matter of fact, the Israelites were generally in accord with their neighbors in religious opinions and practices, so there could have been no antagonism from religious motives. If while worshiping Jahveh they made war for any reason, Jahveh was their reliance, and he conquered or was defeated with them; but they did not make war to force the worship of Jahveh upon others. They would have regarded that as the worst possible policy, as it would have allowed their enemies to pirate upon their divine monopoly which was the essential part of their military equipment.

When men live in the midst of many religions, which imply many revelations, they are charitable to all of them. It is only

the isolated and ignorant who are bigoted. A still higher degree of light gained by those who have come out of the caves of superstition will induce them to imitate the decision of the witty sage with regard to ghosts—he had seen so many that he could not believe in any.

When a future state of rewards and punishments, depending upon belief in a particular dogma, has been established, the attitude of believers becomes antagonistic. They maintain that a denial of their belief is disrespect to their god, and they angrily stigmatize such denial as blasphemy or skepticism, or use some other term of vituperation, and they say that their anger is righteous. But it is simply egotistic. The true ground of their hostility to any dissentient opinion is the cloud cast on their title to future happiness. This must be fought as titles are contested in courts of law, or by the last resort of war, or by such persecution as silences the objectors to the title. But as the Israelites claimed no such title, they were not sensitive about its disparagement. In the religious stage described, neither the Indians nor the Israelites sought to make religious proselytes. The noble motive of missionaries is to save souls; but the peoples now compared could not have had, indeed could not have understood, that motive.

At the commencement of this address the rule was laid down that it was essential to omit all reference to revelation as deciding the points discussed. Many points, however, have been touched upon which properly bring to notice the order of the development of revelation in general, without discussion of its decisive authority. This procedure may be submitted to students of anthropology as applicable to all revelations save those which each one individually credits.

It is evident that some practice existed early for which a natural explanation may be given. This practice became a formal custom which, after a time, was considered to be obligatory under the vague but compelling idea that it was "bad luck" not to observe it. Bad luck is necessarily connected with the supernatural. Hence the custom or the congeries of customs became a religion, and that was always supported and explained at a later time by a myth. That was not necessarily an explanation made by imposture or with intent to deceive, but grew from the curiosity of men and their hurry to account for everything. All such myths are declared to be obtained, through revelation, from a power higher than man. The result is, therefore, that revelation, which is the last step in the evolution of religion, is enounced, by antedating, to be the first step. When supposed revelation is once regnant, men cling to it as a refuge from the doubt which must always result from reasoning on subjects which do not admit of demonstration. Such clinging becomes fanatical with most

men because they dread as the greatest calamity to be cast into the hands of Giant Doubting, who to them is but another name for Giant Despair. But the path of Doubt leads to the portal of Truth.

It has been no part of my purpose in this address to impugn the character of the books of the Old Testament. On the contrary, I regard that noble work as the most important anthropologic record possessed by man—a work which richly repays the most diligent study. I gladly accept it as a genuine record, and believe that, though it has been colored by time and by the work of designing men, it was never invented. It is sometimes said that persons who are absorbed in scientific studies fear or pretend to scorn the Bible. I neither fear nor scorn it. I admire it, and study it, and gain much from it; but no intelligent person takes as of the same authority all its versions, or, indeed, all the contents of the books which are arbitrarily styled canonical, and about the very names and numbers of which scholars, churches, and sects dispute.

The Hexateuch contains that intrinsic evidence of truth which so impressed the Ojibwa elders, before mentioned, who said that the work was true because they and their fathers "had heard the same stories since the world was new." To those who can read it understandingly it is a true story of a plane of culture.

"Now as to myself I have so described these matters as I have found them and read them; but, if any one is inclined to another opinion about them, let him enjoy his different sentiments without any blame from me."

