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RESPECTS OF Mr. Eells

WORSHIP AND TRADITIONS  
OF THE  
ABORIGINES OF AMERICA;

OR

*Their Testimony to the Religion of the Bible.*

BY

REV. M. EELLS,

*Missionary of the American Missionary Association among the Indians,  
Skokomish, Mason County, Washington Territory, U.S.A.*

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BEING A PAPER READ BEFORE THE VICTORIA INSTITUTE, OR  
PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

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*THE WORSHIP AND TRADITIONS OF THE  
ABORIGINES OF AMERICA; or their Testimony  
to the Religion of the Bible.*—By REV. M. EELLS,  
Missionary of the American Missionary Association  
among the Indians, Skokomish, Mason County,  
Washington Territory, U.S.A.

“**T**O undertake to trace ethnic relations between widely-separated peoples, by similarity of manners and customs, is an uncertain guide. Man, apart from his improvable reason, has, what we call in the higher animals, instinct; and, as the beaver everywhere constructs his dam according to a definite plan, so will man perform certain acts instinctively, after a certain manner. Hence among barbarous nations we may expect to find a similarity of manners and customs, without necessarily supposing that they are the result of inheritance; but, when we come to the higher manifestations of art, the result of improvable reason, there are found certain characters, original and unique, which become infallible guides in tracing national affinities.”\*

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\* Foster's *Prehistoric Races of America*, p. 310.

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In the writer's opinion the highest manifestations of art are found in the department of religion. Some have brought forth, as arguments to prove the unity of the race, the similarity of their architecture, pottery and stone implements, their language and various habits, but religious belief and ceremonies are more deeply seated in the human mind than any other customs.

Those who have attempted to civilise the heathen have found them much more willing to adopt the manners and customs of civilised nations which have reference to food, clothing, architecture, ornament, implements of common use and war, and even social, governmental, and educational customs, than those which have reference to their religion. It is but natural, hence, to suppose that among the savages their religious ideas have changed less than the others, and that, if there are any customs which become "infallible guides in tracing national affinities," these are the ones.

When America was discovered it was peopled by an unknown race. When and how they came here, and from where they came, are questions which are not satisfactorily answered. There are not a few persons, who have become distinguished as scholars, who have maintained that they never came to America, but that they were created or developed (according to the theory which they hold) on this continent, and that the words of the Bible are not true, when it says that "God hath made of one blood all nations to dwell on the face of the earth."

It is the object of the present paper to examine the religions of these natives, to compare them with those of the rest of the world, especially with that of the Bible, and to see if there is not here an argument in favour of the unity of the race, as well as to sustain various parts of the Bible.

True, if a stranger were to go among the Indians, and for the first time hear the noise and see the incantations of their religious ceremonies, he would be likely to say that there is nothing like it in all the world, and that Solomon was slightly mistaken when he said that there is nothing new under the sun; that rather, if he had come to America, he would have changed his mind. To the writer, at least, it appeared so at first.

But a more careful view of the subject has entirely changed his opinions, and has led him to believe that Solomon was right. It is probable that he even saw more of savage incantations than a large share of the human race.

Not only does this seem to be true, but the principles of their religion, when stripped of their outside ceremonies, their

outside envelope, seem to agree so well with those of the other parts of the world as to give a strong argument, though they may not absolutely prove it, that if they had no direct revelation from Heaven since they came here (and no one claims this, I believe), they must have descended from those who had direct intercourse with Heaven.

Religion may naturally be divided into four parts: the Beings in the Spirit World more powerful than Man; Man as a Spiritual Being; the relations between Man and these Beings of the other world; and Man's future State.

I.—THE BEINGS OF THE SPIRIT WORLD.

(a) *The Supreme Being.*—The Indians are generally supposed to have a belief in some such Being, not exactly the God of the white man, but some Great Being, superior to man and all other spirits. In a general way, almost any history of America makes this statement, though without perhaps speaking of the different shades of belief among the different tribes, or any apparent or real exceptions to it. Lossing, Wilson, Quackenbos, and others do so.

But, beginning with the southern extremity of the continent, the Patagonians pray to a Great Spirit, who is worthy of all veneration, and does not live in the world. The inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego have similar ideas, and the same is true of the Brazilian tribes and those about the Orinoco river.\*

Says Rev. W. H. Brett, for many years a missionary among the tribes of Guiana: "There is a confused idea dwelling in their minds respecting the existence of one Good Spirit. They regard him as their Creator, and their ideas of his nature are in many points surprisingly correct. As far as we could learn, they regard him as immortal, omnipotent, invisible, and omniscient; but, notwithstanding this, we have never discovered any traces of religious worship paid to him. They seem to consider him as a Being too high to notice them, and, not knowing him as a God who hears prayer, they concern themselves but little about him. Ages have elapsed since their ancestors gradually forsook God, yet still tradition has handed down a belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, which the observation of nature has confirmed, for lightning and thunder convinced them of his power, and the growth of their cassava and other food of his goodness."†

\* Bradford's *American Antiquities*.

† Brett's *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, pp. 67, 283.

Previous to the race who inhabited Peru when it was discovered, another race dwelt there. Their creed was greatly disfigured with superstitions, yet it still had a conception of a Supreme Being whose name was Con, who was an invisible and omnipotent spirit, which inhabited the universe. He had a son whose name was Pachacamac, who did much to renovate the world. One of the Incas, however, afterwards introduced the worship of the sun, and declared him to be the Supreme Divinity, and taught the people that Con and Pachacamac were his children. Most of the people accepted this in the course of time, but not all.\*

The Carios of Columbia had no temples, but worshipped the stars, and believed in one God.†

In Yucatan, Nicaragua, and Michoacan the people believed in a Supreme Being, the First Cause and invisible. The Chihuahuans worshipped a Great God called Captain of the Heaven, while a lesser divinity inspired the priests. In Durango they called the principal power the "Maker of all things," and the Mexicans adored him under the name of Tloque Nahuaque, "The Cause of all things," the same Being as the "Heart of Heaven" of Guatemala.‡

The Aztecs also had a Supreme Ruler and Lord of the universe.

The Zuñis, according to Mr. F. C. Cushing, believe there is one Supreme Ruler over all the gods, whose name is Hano-onawilona, or holder of the roads of light, and he is represented by the sun itself. He is believed to be able not only to see the visible actions of men, but also their thoughts.§

The Moquis believe in a Great Father, who lives where the sun rises, the father of evil, war, pestilence, and famine, and a mother, whose home is where the sun sets, from whom we have joy, peace, plenty, and health. The Mojaves believe in a material Creator of heaven and earth, who has a son, Mastanho, who made the water and planted trees; the Apaches have a Supreme Power in heaven, the Creator and Master; and the natives of Nevada a great, good, kind Spirit.||

The Karoks of California have a conception of a Supreme Being, whom they call Kareya, the old man above, who sometimes descends to the earth as a venerable man to teach the medicine men, though, like most California tribes, the Coyote

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\* Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, chap. vii.

† *American Antiquarian*, July, 1882, p. 177.

‡ Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. iii. chap. vi.

§ *Popular Science Monthly*, June, 1882.

|| Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. iii.

is their most practical Deity. The Supreme Being of the Yuroks is called Gard, who created all things and gave them their language. The name of the Supreme Being of the Wintuns signifies the Great Spirit of the West, and the Maidus and Palligawonaps describe him as the old man, the Creator. But most of the California tribes evidently had but little idea of a Supreme Being, except so far as he dwelt in the Coyote. He it was who created man, animals, everything, and, according to some, even the world,—not exactly the Coyote, but the great active principle residing in the Coyote.\*

The Clatsops, Cathlamets, Chénooks, and Wahkiakums around the mouth of the Columbia River believe in an omnipotent, benevolent Spirit, the Creator of all things. Usually he inhabits the sun, but occasionally wings his way through the ethereal regions, and sees all that is doing on the earth, and thunders, lightnings, and tempests are ways in which he exhibits his displeasure.†

The Twanas or Skokomish Indians of Puget Sound believe in a Great Being, not the Saghahie Tyee, or Wis Sowulus or Chief above, of whom they have learned of the whites, but one whose name is Dó-ki-batl, the Changer, because long ago he changed many of the ancient race of beings into deer, beaver, birds, stones, and the like. The Clallams had a similar belief, though they thought that the sun was God, and their children were told to be afraid to do wrong because the sun would see them and be angry.

The Makahs,‡ Nez Percés, and Flatheads likewise believe in a Great Spirit, the Blackfeet that they were created by him, and the Rocky Mountain Indians invoke his aid.§

The Haidahs believe the Great Solar Spirit to be the Creator and Supreme Ruler, but some worship nothing. The Nootkas have a tradition of a Great Supernatural Teacher and Benefactor, who came to them from Puget Sound long ago; the Ahts believe the sun and moon, as man and wife, to be Supreme; the Okanagans have a good Spirit, called Skyappe, to whom they sometimes pray; the Thlinkets have no Deity, but believe the raven to be the Creator; and the Aleuts recognised a Creator God, who made the world, but do not worship him.||

\* S. Powers in *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iii. pp. 24, 35, 64, 161, 182, 214, 241, 287, 394.

† Dunn, *On Oregon Territory*, p. 90.

‡ Swan's *Makah Indians of Cape Flattery*, p. 61.

§ Dunn, *On Oregon Territory*, pp. 212, 213, 219.

|| Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. iii. p. 141, &c.

The Newetee Indians about Millbank Sound, in British Columbia, believe in a Great Spirit who is good, and made us and the world; and the Bella Bellas thought they could make a steamship, when they first saw one, with the help of the Great Spirit.\*

Missionaries among the Dakotas or Sioux have been unable to satisfy themselves that those Indians had any idea of the Great Spirit before the coming of the whites, but that He was a dream of the poets and sentimentalists; yet, besides their numerous gods, the great object of their veneration was their Takoo Wakan, the Great Mysterious, which comprehended all mystery, secret power, and divinity, who dwells everywhere, rather a pantheistic God, yet so much of a being that the Indian exclaims in prayer, "Mystery, Father have mercy on me."†

Dr. W. Mathews agrees with them, and yet says one designated as the Old Man Immortal has no vague existence in their minds, for he made all things and instructed their forefathers in their ceremonies.‡

From this I understand that these Indians did not believe in the Great Spirit of the Indians as described by some writers, and yet that *they had a conception of a Supreme Being greater than all their other gods.*

Among the Omahas, the Wakonda is believed to be the greatest and best of beings, who has various attributes of the Supreme Being, and punishes men for their evil deeds.§

Captain Carver relates an interesting incident of the worship of the Great Spirit at the Falls of St. Anthony, by a young Winnebago Chief.||

The Algonquins, both of Canada and the United States, give him the name of the Great Hare, Michabou; the Agreskoui of the Hurons, and the Agreskouse of the Iroquois, is the Sovereign Being of these tribes, and the New England tribes conceived of one Almighty Being who dwells in the south-west regions, who was superior to all other divinities.¶

McCoy speaks of the same ideas among the Indians of Indiana and the Indian Territory, especially the Pottawottamies; \*\* Bradford certifies to them among the Eskimo, Osages, Arikarees, Pawnees, Indians of Virginia, Algonquins, and

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\* Dunn, *On Oregon Territory*, pp. 173, 184.

† *Gospel Among the Dakotas*, chap. v.

‡ *Hidatsa Indians*, p. 47.

§ *Long's Expedition*, 1819-20, vol. i. p. 267.

|| *Century of Dishonour*, pp. 239, 240.

¶ *Hayward's Book of All Religions*, pp. 210-212.

\*\* *History of Indian Missions*, p. 457.

Caribs of the West Indies;\* and Heckwelder gives the same testimony about the Delawares, Munsees, Tuscaroras, and other tribes of Iroquois lineage, and the Indians of Pennsylvania and New York.†

Thus much on one side. A little may be said on the other

Says Bancroft, "It is not till we reach the golden mean in central California that we find whole tribes subsisting on roots, herbs, and insects, having no boats, no clothing, no laws, no God, the lowest of their neighbours save only perhaps the Shoshones or Snake Indians on their east. In the vocabulary of the tribes at San Francisco Bay Father Junipero Serra in 1776, when he established the mission of Dolores, found no word for God, angel, or devil."‡ The Thlinkets, too, Bancroft says, are said not to believe in any Supreme Being.§ Powers speaks of the same among the Patwins of California, but says it must be taken *cum grano sulis*.|| F. M. Galt received the same statement from the missionaries among the Peruvian Indians, who could find no ideas among them of a Supreme Being, or the soul's immortality, except that they seemed to have a vague idea of an Evil Spirit.¶ J. Baegert, a German Jesuit missionary among the tribes of the California peninsula during seventeen years of the second half of the last century, dwells at length on the same statement among the Indians there;\*\* and Rev. J. M. Jemison, missionary among the Shoshones in Idaho, in a letter to the writer, says the same is true of those Indians. The Eskimo, and Tinnehs are stated also to have no belief in a Supreme Being, though they have in lesser divinities.††

It may all be true. The writer is not prepared to deny it, yet it may be found that something takes the place of this Supreme Being in the belief of most of these Indians, for, as already stated, the Thlinkets believe the raven to be the Creator.‡‡ Col. Bracket says of the Shoshones that they have not much idea of a God, though they believe in Tamapah or Sun-Father, who is the Father of the Day, the Father of us all, and who lives in the Sun;§§ and the California Deity

\* *American Antiquities*.

† *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iv. p. 49.

‡ Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. i. p. 400.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 145.

|| *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iii. p. 224.

¶ *Smithsonian Report*, 1877, p. 311. \*\* *Ibid.*, 1864, p. 390.

†† Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. iii. p. 141.

‡‡ P. 5 of this Paper.

§§ *Smithsonian Report*, 1879. p. 330.

dwelt in the Coyote.\* This will be more fully discussed in the conclusion.

(b) *Good Spirits*.—These in the east are called Manitous; in the north-west, Tamanous. The belief in them is fully as wide-spread as in a Great Spirit, and to the Indian much more practical. The Supreme Being, it is true, made all things long ago, but the good spirit of each individual or household takes care of him now, hears his prayers, and is his guardian angel.

Says Schoolcraft, who is good authority in regard to Indians, "The belief in Manitous is universal, all tribes have such a word."

From the southern extremity of the continent, the Patagonians and inhabitants of Tierra Del Fuego, to the northward among the Brazilian tribes, the Indians on the northern part of South America, the Caribs of the West Indies, the Algonquins and Indians of Virginia and California, and the Eskimo all believe in a multiplicity of spirits, both good and evil.†

In Peru, they had innumerable deities, less than the Supreme Being, historical deities, those of the nation, those of different towns called Huacas, and household gods similar to the lares and penates of the Romans, of various material, gold, silver, copper, wood, stone, clay, &c., and of various forms, both human and inhuman.‡

In the Latimer collection of antiquities from Porto Rico are a number of stone images and amulets. The inhabitants of Hispaniola had small images of their gods, which they bound about their foreheads when they went to battle, and each cacique had a temple where an image of his tutelary deity of wood, stone, clay, or cotton was kept.§

Bancroft || devotes one hundred and ninety octavo pages to a description of the Mexican deities and their worship, and says that the Chihuahuans recognised many lesser deities dwelling in and inspiring their priests.

According to Mr. F. C. Cushing, the Zuñi Indians have beneath their supreme deity a long line of lesser deities, very numerous, divided into six classes—the hero-gods, gods of the forces of nature, sacred animal gods, gods of prey, gods of the divinities of places, and demon-gods.¶

\* P. 5 of this Paper.

† Bradford's *American Antiquities*.

‡ Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, chap. vii.

§ *Smithsonian Report*, 1876, p. 378.

|| *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. iii.

¶ *Popular Science Monthly*, June, 1882.

According to the personal knowledge of the writer, the Clallam, Twana, Chemakum, Snohomish, Skagit, Chehalis, Puyallup, Makah, Nisqually, Spokane, and Cayuse Indians make this the practical part of their religion. When a boy has grown to be a young man, he goes off to the woods by himself, and remains there from ten to fourteen days without eating, but often bathing himself, when his guardian spirit reveals itself to him in some animal; not that the animal is a spirit, but his guardian spirit dwells in the animal.

Mr. Swan gives a similar description of this practice among the Makahs.\* The Nass Indians around Fort Simpson, British Columbia, carry the images of their gods in a box, which is sacred and hardly ever seen by the common people.† The Innuits of Alaska have a similar belief,‡ and the Eskimos, while they are said to have no belief in a Supreme Deity, yet do have an indefinite number of supernatural beings of various names, as do also the Tinnehs.§

The Dakotas have their Armour God as the deity of each young man, the Spirit of the Medicine Sack for those who belong to the secret order of the Medicine Dance, and household gods in the form of small images.||

In Canada, the Indians hold to an infinite number of Spirits, both good and evil;¶ the Knistenaux, around Hudson's Bay, have private feasts, when various articles are brought out in the medicine-bag, the principal of which is a household god, a curiously-carved image about eight inches long; \*\* and Rev. S. D. Peet, the editor of the *American Antiquarian*, is well satisfied, from the idols discovered, that the Mound Builders had their tutelary divinities.††

Thus we see that this belief is widespread, if not universal.

(c) *Evil Spirits*.—The belief in an Evil Spirit of great power, and also in a large number of imps of less power, is also very common.

The natives of Patagonia and Tierra Del Fuego believe in a multiplicity of evil spirits as well as good ones;‡‡ those of Guiana thought the Great Spirit too high to notice them, and hence had the most abject fear of the evil principle, and sought to propitiate the devil, and evil spirits called the

\* *Makah Indians*, p. 61.

† *Dunn, On Oregon Territory*, p. 188.

‡ *Dall's Alaska*, p. 145.

§ *Bancroft's Native Races of the Pacific*.

¶ *Gospel Among the Dakotas*, pp. 69, 70.

|| *Hayward's Book of All Religions*.

\*\* *Dunn, On Oregon Territory*, p. 72.

†† *American Antiquarian*, vol. iii. p. 101.

‡‡ *Bradford's American Antiquities*.

Yau-ya-hau;\* and the Peruvians believed in the existence of a powerful Being, opposed to the Supreme Being, full of hatred to the human race, reminding one of the Ahriman of the Persians, or the Satan of the Jews.†

Bancroft, in describing a burial on the Mosquito coast in Central America, says that, as it is supposed that the Evil Spirit seeks to take possession of the body, means are taken to prevent it.‡

Among the Navajos, when a dead body is removed from a house, it is burned down, and the place always abandoned, as the belief is that the devil comes to the place and remains where it is.§

The name of the Evil Spirit of the Mojaves is Newathie,|| and the Pimas of California believe in a Great Evil Spirit and a multitude of witches who cause sickness.¶

The Tatu of California are terribly afraid of snakes, because they believe them to contain the spirits of wicked people, sent back to this world by the devil; the Ashochimi worship the owl and the hawk, because they believe them to be the dwelling-place of powerful and wicked spirits whom they must appease; the Patawat believe in innumerable sprites in the shape of men and women, who do various terrible things; they do not appear to be dead Indians returned to life, but pre-existing demons taking the human form; the Tatus and others have secret societies, whose object is to keep the women in subjection by "raising the devil"; and the Maidus hold a great spirit dance to propitiate the evil demons.\*\*

The Klamath and Trinity Indians of Northern California keep a fire and howl around the grave of a deceased person to prevent him from being captured by the devil on his way to the spirit-land.††

The Shoshones believe in the existence of imps or demons, the natives of Nevada in that of an Evil Spirit; the name of that of the Okinagans is Chacha, and, of the Konigas, Eyak.‡‡

The Indians around the mouth of the Columbia River had a belief in an Evil Spirit which inhabits the fire, and which,

\* Brett's *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 336.

† Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, p. 152.

‡ *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. i. p. 744.

§ Yarrow's *Introduction to the Study of Mortuary Customs*, p. 13.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 14. ¶ *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. iii.

\*\* *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iii. pp. 98, 142, 144, 199, 286.

†† Yarrow's *Introduction*, p. 10.

‡‡ Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. iii.

although less powerful than the Great Spirit, is occasionally employed to do his services. The Evil Spirit of the Newettee Indians has hoofs and horns, while the Nez Perces and Flat-heads also believe in a similar being.\*

In Washington Territory the belief in these spirits is just as plain as that we see a medicine man perform his incantations, for the reason of it is that they believe an evil spirit in the form of some treacherous animal has been sent into the heart of the sick person, and it is the business of the good Indian doctor to remove it. So, too, they generally tear down or leave the houses in which a person has died, for the evil spirit which killed the deceased is still supposed to remain there, ready to attack others, especially children.

The sum and substance of the Dakota religion is demon worship. These demons are ever ready to pounce on the unwary; spirits of darkness, spirits of light, spirits of earth, air, fire, and water surround the Indian on every side, with but one object in view, the misery and destruction of the human race.†

According to the Iroquois, there was a Good and a Bad Mind who fought with each other for two days, when the Good Mind conquered, and drove the Evil Mind to the world of despair and darkness.‡

In New England, the people stood in greater fear of the devil than they did of the Supreme Being, and worshipped him from a principle of fear.§

In the preceding section on Good Spirits, reference is also made to a belief in evil spirits among the Brazilian tribes, the Indians of the northern part of South America, West Virginia, and Canada, the Caribs, Algonquins, and Eskimo.

Yet, on the other hand, Long, in 1819-20, says of the Omahas that they have no idea of a devil.|| Whether more recent investigations have confirmed or contradicted this, I do not know.

Dr. Brinton has, indeed, said that an American Indian has no idea of a devil. If by this he means such a one as Milton describes, it is so; but they certainly do have one or many, only as much less than ours as an Indian's imagination is less than that of Milton.¶

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\* Dunn, *On Oregon Territory*, pp 90, 173, 213.

† *Gospel Among the Dakotas*, pp. 93, 94.

‡ Schoolcraft's *Notes on the Iroquois*.

§ Hayward's *Book of All Religions*, p. 212.

|| *Long's Expedition*, vol. i.

¶ *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iii. p. 414.

## II.—MAN AS A SPIRITUAL BEING.

(a) *His Immortality.*—When we look at a graveyard on Puget Sound, and see there canoes, muskets, cloth, clothes, dishes, looking-glasses, bows and arrows, and almost everything that is valuable to an Indian in this life, silently yet eloquently they say one thing, that those who placed us here believed in the immortality of the soul; that, as these articles decay, they will be carried by spirits away to the deceased in the next world, there to be put together again and used. And what is thus said here is also said all over America, from the frozen regions of the north to Tierra Del Fuego on the south, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with, it is barely possible, a few exceptions, and it is not certain about these.

Faith in the immortality of the soul was one of the fundamental ideas among the Peruvians. Food and valuables were placed in or near the graves, and the servants and wives of great men were there often killed, or killed themselves in order to attend him in the next world.\*

The Mexicans did much the same, two hundred persons having sometimes been killed, and three or four thousand dollars in gold buried with royal persons.

Want of time and space forbids my doing much more than referring to the writers who speak of this and the names of the tribes.

Dr. Yarrow† speaks of articles being buried with the Omahas, Sierra Nevadas, Utahs, Achomawi, and Karoks of California, Tolkotins [Tualatins] of Oregon, Indians about the Cascades, the Yakamas, Makahs, and Skagits of Washington Territory, Sioux, Blackfeet, Navajos, Panama Indians, and Indians of Leech Lake, Minnesota. In a further article in the *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1879–80, the same writer likewise refers to the Mohawks, Sacs, and Foxes, Creeks, Seminoles, Otoes, Pueblos, Wichitas, Doraches of Central America, Round Valley Indians, and Keltas of California, Congarees of South Carolina, Innuits and Ingaliks of Alaska, Apaches, Gros Ventres, Mandans, Chinooks, Chippewas, Nebraska and Virginia Indians; while he directly states a belief in the immortality of the soul among the Comanches, Caddoes, Sionx, Pauamas, and Natas, Wascopums, and Yuroks.

Bancroft speaks of the same among the Ahts and Nevadas.‡

\* Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, pp. 151, 126, 200–202.

† *Introduction to the Study of Mortuary Customs.*

‡ *Native Races of the Pacific.*

Jones, in his *Antiquities of Tennessee* (chapter ii.), speaks of the same facts among the Iroquois, Creeks, Santee Sioux, Mandans, Omahas, Hurons, Choctaws, and Natchez; sometimes the human victims at such places strangling themselves with joy.

Similar facts have been found to be true of the Indians of Southern Oregon\* and Southern California.† The Aleuts have the same belief,‡ and also the Indians of Southern Alaska,§ and the Miamis.||

According to the personal knowledge of the writer, twelve tribes, in Washington Territory, Oregon, and Idaho, believe the same.

We know very little of the Mound Builders, and yet much of what we do know is preserved to us, because that they believed the same, and hence buried so many articles in their tombs, which have been unearthed during the present age.

In fact, there are very few, if any, exceptions to it. Schoolcraft says he never heard of any. When Dr. Jemison, a missionary among the Shoshones of Southern Idaho, asked an Indian what became of him when he died, he received the reply, "That is all of him." This is a tribe which is said not to believe in a Supreme Being. The Miwoks, Yokuts, and Monos of California seem likewise to have no belief in the future existence of the soul, but believe in its utter annihilation. They mourn for their dead as without hope; their effects are all burned, so that there may be nothing to remind the living of them; and their names are never mentioned.¶ Jacob Baegert says that, after diligent inquiries, he could never find the slightest ideas of a future life among the Indians of the California Peninsula,\*\* and F. M. Galt says the same of some Peruvian Indians.†† Most of these tribes have been referred to in the first section as having no belief in a Supreme Being.

On the other hand, all that will be said on the subject of future rewards and punishments bears on a belief in immortality.

(b) *Sinfulness*.—I will not dwell long on the subject of man's sinfulness, as nearly all that will be said about sacrifices,

\* *Smithsonian Report*, 1874, pp. 341, 345, 350.

† Haden's *Bulletin U.S. Survey*, vol. iii. No. 1, pp. 34, 38.

‡ Dall's *Remains of Later Prehistoric Man in Alaska*.

§ *American Antiquarian*, vol. iv. p. 137.

|| *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 24.

¶ *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iii. pp. 349, 383.

\*\* *Smithsonian Report*, 1864, p. 390.

†† *Ibid.*, 1877. p. 311.

among the various tribes there mentioned, proves a belief in this doctrine, because those sacrifices were offered to atone for sin.

According to the Sioux, bad spirits are sometimes sent back to the earth in the shape of animals, to undergo penance for their sins;\* and the Sacs and Foxes, by parting with articles at the graves, believe that they will propitiate the Great Spirit for sins committed during the life of the deceased.†

### III.—THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MAN AND THE SUPERIOR BEINGS OF THE OTHER WORLD.

(a) *What these spirits have done and are doing for man.*

(1) *Creation.*—Says Schoolcraft, the Indians seem to have but few ideas of the past, one is creation, then nothing more until they speak of the Deluge, and then nothing until about the present time. Their traditions about creation, like those about the Supreme Being, are such that the central idea is plain, and yet they are so mixed with curious surroundings as to show that they did not get the idea from the whites.

The shortness of space forbids my giving many of these traditions; reference can only be made to some which are specially interesting.

According to the first race who inhabited Peru, their deity, Con, by his word alone, created the world, elevated the mountains, excavated the valleys, filled the rivers, lakes, and seas with water, gave life to man and provided him with the things necessary to his happiness.‡

The Quiches, of Guatemala, say that there was a time when nothing existed; nothing, nothing but silence and darkness, except the Creator, Former, Dominator, Feathered Serpent, and the heavens, below which all was empty, unchanging solitude. Then appeared a vast expanse of water, on which Divine Beings moved in brightness. They said, "Earth!" and instantly the earth was created. It came into being like a vapour, mountains rose above the waters like lobsters, and were made. Next, animals were created, and after them four men, after three unsuccessful attempts; and then four women, while the men were asleep.§

Bancroft, in vol. iii. of his *Native Races of the Pacific*, devotes

\* *American Antiquarian*, vol. iv. p. 138.

† *Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, 1879-80, p. 97.

‡ Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, p. 147, &c.

§ Baldwin's *Ancient America*, p. 194.

about eighty pages to the traditions of creation as given by the Quiches, Mexicans, Tezcucans, Moquis, Navajos, Pueblos, Thlinkeets, California Indians, Aztecs, Miztecs, natives of Guatemala, Sinaloas, Cochimis and Pericues of Lower California, Gallimeros, Los Angeles Indians, and others of Southern California.

The Pimas say that the Creator took clay and mixed it with the sweat of his body, kneaded the whole into a lump, blew upon the lump till it was filled with life and began to move, and it became man and woman.\*

Powers gives traditions of creation by several tribes of the California Indians, the Karoks, by Great Kareya, the Mattoals, Senels, Maidus, Miwoks, by the Coyote, and Palligawonaps by the Old Man.† Some of these traditions are silly enough, but contain one central idea, creation by a superior being.

The Clallams and Twanas have also some curious traditions. Those around the mouth of the Columbia believed that man was originally made by the Superior Deity, but in an imperfect state, being rather a statue of flesh than a living being. A second divinity, less powerful, pitied him, opened his eyes, gave him motion and taught him what to do.‡

According to Bancroft, the Ahts, Chinooks, Cayuses, Nez Perces, and Walla Wallas, believe that man was made from the lower animals, while the Selish, Nisquallies, and Yakamas think that animals were created from man [*i.e.*, an ancient race who were foolish, M.E.]. The Taculies, of British Columbia, believe that the world was created by the musk rat; the Thlinkeets, by Yehl, the raven; the Aleuts say the dog was the originator, but some say it was an old man who came from the mainland; the Tinnehs have a bird and dog origin; and the name of the Great Deity of the Konigas is Shljam Schoa, or Creator.§

The Chippewyans of British America believe that the world was first a vast ocean, and that the Great Spirit, in the form of a great bird, came down, whose eyes were fire, whose glances were lightning, and the clapping of whose wings was thunder, who rested on the ocean, and immediately land arose. He then created animals from the earth, and the Chippewyans from a dog.||

There are also traditions of the same event by the Okina-

\* Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. iii. p. 75.

† *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iii. pp. 35, 110, 171, 293, 358,

394 ‡ Dunn, *On Oregon Territory*, p. 91.

§ Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. iii.

|| Dunn, *On Oregon Territory*, pp. 75, 76.

gans,\* Hidatsas,† Indians of New York, Pennsylvania, and neighbouring States,‡ New Jersey,§ and Canada.||

By referring to what has been already said about the Supreme Being, it will also be seen that his name, *Creator*, has reference to this work among the tribes of Guiana, Mich-coacan, Durango, Mexico, Yucatan, the Aztecs, Mojaves, Apaches, Karoks, Yuroks, Maidu, Palligawonaps, Chinooks, Blackfeet, Newettee Indians, Haidas, Thlinkets, Aleuts, Omahas, Algonquins, and Indians of New England.

(2) *Providence*.—I have already spoken of the almost universal belief in Manitous, or Guardian Spirits, and every time there is an incantation by the Indians, it plainly says, We believe that the Supreme Being or his subordinates govern the world. I shall yet speak of the Deluge and worship, and these likewise prove a belief in Providence among the tribes there mentioned; for the Deluge shows that the Supreme Being has interfered among the affairs of men, while every time that a prayer is offered, a sacrifice made, or a religious feast takes place, they plainly say the same. The very name given to the Supreme Being by the Quiches is "He by whom we all live and breathe," and by the Mexicans, "He by whom we live."

When the small-pox first visited the tribes around the mouth of the Columbia River, and they were unable to cure those sick with it, they became desperate, and believed that the Great Spirit had surrendered them to the Evil Spirit, because of their wickedness.¶

(3) *The Deluge*.—Almost identical with Providence, and yet of so much importance as to be treated as a subject by itself, is the Deluge, the punishment of sin in this world. First the creation, next the Deluge, and then the Indians know of but little more until about the present time.

The Peruvians say that, as in the first age of the world Con punished the human race with frightful barrenness, so in the second Pachamac vented his wrath in a deluge; an ark was constructed, and a small portion of the human family were preserved.\*\*

According to the Brazilian tribes, two persons were saved

\* *Council Fire*, October, 1879. † Mathew's *Hidatsa*, p. 47.

‡ *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iv. p. 49

§ Hayward's *Book of All Religions*, p. 212. || *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¶ The ground cursed for Adam's sin (?).

\*\* Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, p. 152. Another tradition is given in the *Journal of the Victoria Institute* for 1869, p. 297.

by climbing to the tops of the loftiest mountains, but some say four were saved.\*

The original inhabitants of Cuba are said to have had a tradition, which speaks of a Noah, an ark, the animals introduced into it, and the sending out of a bird (in this instance a crow) to look for dry land, and its return to the ark.†

Bancroft devotes five octavo pages to the Mexican account of the Deluge, and also tells of that of Guatemala.‡ The Carios of Colombia likewise have their tradition of the same.§

The Pimas of California say that the Flood was known to the eagles, who told it to a prophet, but he paid no attention to it. After a time, he warned him a second time, and then a third time. A cunning wolf told it to another prophet, who, knowing the wolf to be a sagacious animal, prepared a boat for himself, and made provision to take with him all kinds of animals then known. Suddenly the winds arose and the rains descended in torrents; thunder and lightning were terrific, and darkness covered the world. Everything on the earth was destroyed, and all the Pimas except one good chief, Soho, who was saved by a special interposition of Providence, from whom the Pimas are descended. The Papagos claim to be descended from the prophet, who rode safely through the storm, and landed safely on Santa Rosa, and they yearly visit this mountain in Arizona in commemoration of this event, and it is said they will not kill a wolf.||

According to the Shastikas, long, long ago there was a good young Indian on earth, and when he died all the Indians wept so much that a flood came on the earth, rose up to heaven, and drowned all people except one couple. The Tolowas lay it to a rain, which drowned all except a man and wife, who reached the high land, and subsisted on fish, which they cooked under their arms, as everything was so water-soaked that no fire could be produced. From them all the Indians of the present day are descended, and also the game, insects, &c.; for, as the Indians died, their spirits took the form of deer, elk, bear, spiders, insects, snakes, and the like. The flood of the Karoks occurred at Klamath, and Taylor's Peak is the Ararat of the Mattoals. The Ashochimi say all were drowned except the Coyote, who planted birds'

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\* *Edinburgh Review: Art. Deluge.*

† *Appleton's Cyclopædia: Art. Deluge.* See also *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, 1869, p. 298, for another tradition.

‡ *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. iii. See also *Journal of the Victoria Institute*, 1869, p. 298.

§ *American Antiquarian*, vol. iv. p. 177.

|| *Smithsonian Report*, 1871.

feathers, which sprouted, and turned to men and women; and the Maidus attribute it to a mighty rushing of the waters which came down the Sacramento Valley.\*

The Twanas on Puget's Sound speak of it, and that only good Indians were saved, though there were quite a number of them. It occurred because of a great rain, and all the country was overflowed. The Indians went in their canoes to the highest mountains near them, which is in the Olympic range; and, as the waters rose above the top of it, they tied their canoes to the tops of the trees on it, so that they should not float away. Their ropes were made of the limbs of the cedar-trees, just as they sometimes make them at the present time. The waters continued to rise, however, above the tops of the trees, until the whole length of their ropes was reached, and they supposed that they would be obliged to cut their ropes and drift away to some unknown place, when the waters began to recede. Some canoes, however, broke from their fastenings, and drifted away to the west, where they say their descendants now live, a tribe who speak a language similar to that of the Twanas. This they also say accounts for the present small number of the tribe. In their language, this mountain is called by a name which means "Fastener," from the fact that they fastened their canoes to it at that time. They also speak of a pigeon which went out to view the dead. I have been told by one Indian that, while this highest mountain was submerged, another one, which was not far distant from it, and which was lower, was not wholly covered.

The Clallams, whose country adjoins that of the Twanas, also have a tradition of a flood, but some of them believe that it is not very long ago, perhaps not more than three or four generations since. One old man says that his grandfather saw the man who was saved from the flood, and that he was a Clallam. Their Ararat, too, is a different mountain from that of the Twanas.

The Lummi Indians, who live very near the northern line of Washington Territory, also speak of a flood, and Mount Baker is their Ararat.

The Puyallup Indians, near Tacoma, say that the flood overflowed all the country except one high mound near Steilacoom, and this mound is called by the Indians "The Old Land," because it was not overflowed.

"Do you see that high mountain over there?" said an old

\* *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iii. pp. 19, 70, 111, 200, 251, 290.

Indian to a mountaineer, as they were riding across the Cascade Mountains, about seventeen years ago. "I do," was the reply. "Do you see that grove to the right?" the Indian then said. "Yes," said the white man. "Well," said the Indian, "a long time ago there was a flood, and all the country was overflowed. There was an old man and his family on a boat or raft, and he floated about, and the wind blew him to that mountain, where he touched bottom. He stayed there some time, and then sent a crow to hunt for land, but it came back without finding any. After some time he sent the crow again, and this time it brought a leaf from that grove, and the old man was glad, for he knew that the water was going away."

The Yakima Indians also have their traditions, but, at this time, writes Rev. J. H. Wilbur, their agent and missionary, it is impossible to tell what was their original tradition, and what has been mixed with it from the early teachings of missionaries who were with them thirty or forty years ago.

When the earliest missionaries came among the Spokanes, Nez Percés, and Cayuses, who, with the Yakimas, live in the eastern part of the Territory, they found that those Indians had their tradition of a flood, and that one man and wife were saved on a raft. Each of those three tribes also, together with the Flathead tribes, has their separate Ararat in connection with this event.

The Makah Indians, who live at Neah Bay, the north-west corner of the Territory, next to the Pacific Ocean, also the Chemakums and Kwillyutes, whose original residence was near the same region, speak of a very high tide. According to their tradition: "A long time ago, but not at a very remote period, the waters of the Pacific flowed through what is now the swamp and prairie between Waatch village and Neah Bay, making an island of Cape Flattery. The water suddenly receded, leaving Neah Bay perfectly dry. It was four days reaching its lowest ebb, and then rose again, without any waves or breakers, till it had submerged the Cape, and in fact the whole country except the tops of the mountains at Clyquot. The water on its rise became very warm, and as it came up to the houses those who had canoes put their effects in them, and floated off with the current, which set very strongly to the north. Some drifted one way, some another, and when the waters assumed their accustomed level a portion of the tribe found themselves beyond Nootka, where their descendants now reside, and are known by the same name as the Makahs in Classet, or Kwenaitchechat. Many canoes came down in the trees and were destroyed, and

numerous lives were lost. The water was four days in gaining its accustomed level."

It is the opinion of Hon. J. G. Swan that this was simply a rising of the tides, and has no reference to the Deluge of Noah. I suggest, however, that if they had preserved any tradition of the flood in their migrations, when they settled at Neah Bay, where nearly all of their floods, though smaller, were caused by the rising of the tide, that they would naturally, in a few generations, refer it to the same cause. The natives of the Sandwich Islands, where floods are caused in the same way, have a tradition of a great flood, but refer it to the rising of the tide.

The Indians of the Warm Spring Reservation in Oregon, and of the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho, as far as I can learn, have no such tradition. It is possible, however, that they may have concealed it from their questioners, if they have one, as Indians do many of their traditions.\*

The Creeks place the event before the Creation of Man. Two pigeons were sent forth in search of land, while the earth was still covered with water. At first they were unsuccessful, but a second time they returned with a blade of grass, and soon after the waters subsided. The Cherokees do not place the event until after the Creation, and say that it was revealed by a dog.†

The Iroquois,‡ Mandans,§ and the Hidatsas|| and the Thlinkets¶ also have traditions of the Flood, but want of space prevents my giving them here.

Some have objected to these traditions, that perhaps they were not handed down from former ancestors, but were received from early traders and teachers; but for four reasons I cannot accept the objection: (1) Because the first travellers have often learned this tradition; (2) they will even now often distinguish between the traditions of their ancestors and the teachings of the first whites who came here; (3) they have names of their Ararat, the great monument of the Flood, as "Fastener" and "Old Land;" (4) the Mexicans, when discovered, although they had no system of writing, yet had a way of representing events by pictures, and this event was recorded among others.

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\* The writer, in the *American Antiquarian*, vol. i. p. 70.

† Schoolcraft's *Notes on the Iroquois*.

‡ *Edinburgh Review: Art. Deluge*.

§ *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 1869, p. 298.

|| Mathew's *Hidatsa Indians*, p. 9.

¶ Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific*.

Hence we must either conclude that all the traditions had little or no foundation, which would be absurd, or that there were a large number of floods, which would be almost as absurd; for in that event the tradition of one flood in each tribe could not have been preserved so distinctly, especially when a bird of some kind, and a branch of some tree, is often mentioned in connection with it, or else that there was one great flood, so great that most of the descendants of those saved have preserved a tradition of it, and if so all must have descended from the few who were saved.\*

(4) *Divine Teaching and Incarnation.*—There are many Indians who speak of having received instructions from a Great Being, and some of these traditions remind us of an incarnation, while some remind us more of the descent of one from the spirit world, as when the Lord told Abraham of the destruction of Sodom, than of the coming of Christ.

After the Fall of man, according to the Peruvians, it was the Son of Con, the Supreme Deity, who took pity on man, punished as he was, re-created him, and took special charge of him; but, after the introduction of the worship of the Sun, the Inca declared himself to be the Son of the Sun, and that his father had permitted him to become incarnate in order to teach the people the arts and sciences, and the will of the Supreme Being.†

Montezuma (after whom the Aztec king was named) was the God of the Pueblo Indians, who was once among them in bodily human form, and who left them with a promise that he would return again at a future day. In this may be recognised the Hiawatha of Longfellow, and the Ha-yo-wen't-ha of the Iroquois. It is in each case a ramification of a widespread legend among the tribes of America, of a personal human being with supernatural powers, an instructor in the arts of life, an example of the highest virtues, beneficent, wise, immortal.‡

The Zuñis believe that immediately beneath the Supreme Holder of the Roads are the twin children of the Sun, mortal yet divine, who fell for the salvation of mankind. They are the ancestors of the priests of the order of the bow.§

The Karoks of California have a conception of a Supreme Being called Kareya, who sometimes descends to the earth to instruct the medicine men, when he appears as a venerable

\* *American Antiquarian*, vol. i. p. 72. Article by the writer.

† Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, pp. 147, 149.

‡ *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iv. p. 153.

§ *Popular Science Monthly*, June, 1882.

man, in close-fitting tunic and long white hair, having a medicine-bag. The Turoks have a legend of a person named Gard, who was almost perfect in life and teaching, but one day disappeared. They searched for him for a long time, when he again came from the land of spirits, re-affirmed his former teachings, and established the dance of peace, which is still known. The Pomos have an idea of a Great Man above, but he is a negative being, for the active principle, the creator has always resided in the Coyote,—their idea of incarnation. The Maidus have a tradition of a child who grew up in four or five days, was more powerful than anybody, did many wonderful works, conquered a she-devil, redeemed his tribe from servitude, taught them many things, went to heaven, and once reappeared in the form of the rainbow.\* The name of the Son of the Creator, according to the Pimas, was Szeukha, who lived in the Gila Valley.†

The Twanas and Clallams of Washington Territory are as full of the *tradition* of the coming of Dokibatl, the Changer, as they are of the *practice* of incantations. He changed worthless men into animals, stones, and mountains, taught them many things, did other wonderful works, and his foot-tracks still remain, as they believe, in a rock. I have never satisfied myself that it was a tradition of the Son of God, but when they had learned of Him they said that Dokibatl was the Son of God, and occasionally called him Jesus.

The Iroquois have a beautiful tradition of one who came from heaven, set a good example, sacrificed his daughter to the Supreme Being, at which time he was much dejected, said they must submit to the divine will, and again ascended to heaven amid beautiful strains of music.‡

(b) *What man owes to the Supreme Being and other deities.*

(1) *Thanksgiving.*—As a favoured being, man should thank these spirits.

In Peru, when a poor labourer ascended a hill, he unburdened himself and said three times, "I adore him who enables me to endure, I give thanks to him who has given me strength to endure thus far;" and then a slight offering was made, it might be a hair of the eye-lash, a twig, straw, handful of earth, or small stone. These small heaps of earth and stone exist to the present day. Of their four great feasts, the first was in the summer, and was a national feast of gratitude. It is fully described by Tschudi.§

\* *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, pp. 24, 80, 161, 298–305.

† Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. iii. p. 78.

‡ Schoolcraft's *Notes on the Iroquois*.

§ Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, p. 153.

The Viards of California have an annual thanksgiving dance in the autumn, which is followed by an oration from an old man, who recounts the mercies of the year. The Wailiki have their black bear dance when they have killed one of these animals, and the clover dance when it gets juicy to eat; the Yukis, the green corn dance; the Kato Pomos, the acorn dance; the Wintuns, the pine-nut and clover dances; and other tribes the manzanita, first grass, second grass, and fish dances, because of the gifts of these kinds of food.\*

The tribes around the mouth of the Columbia River had a festival at the opening of the salmon season, and offered the first salmon to the Great Spirit as a thank-offering; and the Knistenaux have private feasts in acknowledgment of mercies.†

The Omahas when the bison are discovered go through a ceremony, saying, "Thanks, Master of Life";‡ and among the Dakotas the feast of first fruits is the most common, in gratitude for the increase of the earth and the fruits of the hunt. On many occasions, even the most trivial, the gods are thanked, and a small thank-offering made.§

The Pottawottamies likewise had a day of thanksgiving, when they heard a speech from an old man, worshipped the Great Spirit and thanked him for his care.||

(2) *Prayer*.—Man, as a weak being, should ask assistance from the more powerful.

The Patagonians of southern, and the Araucanians of northern, South America prayed.

The Peruvians implored the protection of their deity on a new-born child, and implored assistance at their second national feast in the autumn and at the third in winter for protection and aid.¶

Habel gives eight figures of sculptures on which are the Deity in the upper part, and in the lower part a person with upturned face, in adoration, while curved lines proceeding from the mouth of each supplicant show that they were praying.\*\*

Bancroft gives more than twenty-six octavo pages of Mexican prayers on various occasions, and also says that the

\* *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, pp. 105, 118, 133, 155, 237, 324, 354, 208.

† Dunn, *On Oregon Territory*, pp. 73, 87.

‡ Long's *Expedition*, 1819-20, vol. i. p. 207.

§ *Gospel Among Dakotas*, pp. 77, 85.

¶ McCoy's *Indian Missions*.

¶ Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, pp. 153, 191, 192.

\*\* Habel's *Guatemala*, pp. 64-86.

Aztecs offered prayers several times a day in the temple of the Sun.\*

The Pueblos of New Mexico had periodical assemblages of the authorities and people for offering prayers in order to supplicate favours; and sometimes one or more persons will separate themselves absolutely from all intercourse with the world for eighteen months, and devote themselves to prayer for the people.†

The Maidu Indians observe the acorn dance in order to insure a bountiful crop of acorns, when two venerable silver-haired priests offer a solemn supplication to the spirits for the favour desired; and an instance is given of a Karok Indian praying while hunting.‡

The writer has learned of forms of prayer formerly used by the Twanas and Clallams of Washington Territory. Swan speaks of the same practice among the Makahs,§, Dunn among the Knistenaux, and Rocky Mountain Indians;|| Pond among the Dakotas;¶ and McCoy among the Pottawottamies.\*\*

One image has been found in Tennessee, which evidently belonged to the Mound Builders, in which the figure is kneeling, and the hands are clasped across the breast in the attitude of prayer.††

Other reference has been made to this subject in the part of this paper which speaks of the Supreme Being, in regard to the Indians of Guiana, the Zuñis, Okinagans and Winnebagoes. Much too of their incantations, spoken of in the part which relates to the Good Spirits, so very common among all tribes, is really prayer to their guardian spirits.

(3) *Sacrifices*.—Man as a sinful being needs atonement. In connection with these sacrifices are priests, temples, and altars.

In Peru the earliest ideas of the race were that mankind became very wicked for which they were terribly punished, but they were restored by the Son of the Deity, whereupon they offered sacrifices in the temple in a most abject manner. When the worship of the Sun was introduced, sacrifices became very numerous, and included their most valuable

\* Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. ii. chap. ix. and vol. iii.

† *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iv. pp. 151, 153.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 285.

§ Swan's *Makah Indians*, pp. 61, 62.

|| Dunn, *On Oregon Territory*, pp. 73, 219.

¶ *Gospel Among the Dakotas*, p. 57.

\*\* McCoy's *Indian Missions*.

†† *Aboriginal Remains in Tennessee*, p. 44.

possessions, 200,000 llamas having been offered at one time; and sometimes even their children were offered. Their temples were numerous, large, and costly, whose ruins still exist, and their priests also numerous, held in great esteem, carefully educated, and under a High Priest who claimed to be a descendant of the Sun.\*

Habel in his *Sculptures of Guatemala*† gives several figures, which have been referred to in the section on prayer, and in connection with them are men in the act of offering sacrifices, fierce beasts, and human victims, with the altar and sacrificial knife.

The priests, sacrifices, and temples of Mexico, Zapotec, and the Magas and Toltecs have become somewhat famous. When discovered their temples and high places reminded one of Babylon, there having been two thousand in the city of Mexico, and forty thousand (as estimated) in the whole country, with an ecclesiastical body estimated at nearly a million! Their sacrifices included human beings, twenty thousand of whom were offered annually in the city of Mexico, and eighty thousand at the dedication of one temple.‡

The first of September is a red-letter day among the Karoks of California, when the great dance of propitiation is held, at which all the tribe are present, and also deputations from other tribes, and in the valley of the Geysers stands an image of stone, which tradition says was made there by an old prophet of the Ashochimi, as a propitiation for sin on account of earthquakes and sickness.§

Cushing speaks plainly of this belief in sacrifices, of the priests and temples among the Zuñis,|| Dunn testifies to the idea of sacrifices among the tribes around the mouth of the Columbia River, the Knistenaux, and the Rocky Mountain Indians,¶ and the writer has found the same among the Skokomish and Clallam Indians of Washington Territory.

Among the Dakotas the most primitive and ancient form of worship is sacrifice. It is the foundation of all their ancient ceremonies, and shows itself in every-day life. It may be something small, as paint, or the down of the female swan, or it may be dog-meat, one of the greatest luxuries a

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\* Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, pp. 147, 157, 197, 241, 288.

† Appleton's *American Cyclopædia*: *Art. Am. Antiquities*.

‡ Bancroft's *Native Races of the Pacific*.

§ *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, pp. 28, 200.

|| *Popular Science Monthly*, June, 1882.

¶ Dunn, *On Oregon Territory*, pp. 71, 90, 219.

Dakota Indian can have for himself; but the highest form is self-immolation, and exists in the Sun-dance. Previous to the latter the rite of purification is performed so as to make him and his sacrifice successful.\*

The natives of Virginia had great reverence for their priests;† the Narragansett Indians of New England, the Natchez of Louisiana,‡ the Creeks and Cherokees had temples, in which they kept perpetual fires burning, priests, and altars for sacrifice; and, among the external ceremonies of the Indians of Indiana and Ohio, were sacrifices for the purpose of propitiating the Deity.§

One great class of mounds left by the Mound Builders is that for religious purposes, embracing altar or sacrificial mounds and temple mounds. Both are very numerous. The altar mounds contain altars, ashes, and often the remains of sacrifices and sacrificial articles, some of which are the most valuable articles which they had; one having been found in Iowa which contained figures cut in stone, showing a sacrificial scene, in which three human victims were offered to the sun. Some of the temple mounds are very large, the largest of all being near East St. Louis, 700 by 500 feet at the base, 450 by 200 feet at the top, and 90 feet high.||

(4) *Other Forms of Worship*.—Bancroft devotes five octavo pages¶ to a ceremony of purification of infants by water among the Mexicans somewhat akin to infant baptism at the time the child is named. It may or may not have been a relic of primitive baptism, but it was an emblem of purification from sin, and several prayers were offered in connection. It was done by the midwife. Among the Mayas it was done by the priest, whereby the child received a purer nature, without which it could not live a good life or get married. He also says that ten or twelve writers speak of baptism in some form, and that the use of water, more or less sanctified or holy, in a rite avowedly purifical for inherent sin, runs back to a period far pre-Christian among the Mexicans, Mayas, and other American nations.\*\* It was also common among the Peruvians west of the Andes in a certain form, though it had little in common with the Christian sacrament, except the giving of

\* *Gospel Among the Dakotas*, pp. 87, 88.

† *Hayward's Book of All Religions*, p. 214.

‡ *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. ii.

§ *McCoy's History of Indian Missions*.

|| *Tschudi's Peruvian Antiquities*, chap. viii.

¶ *Native Races of the Pacific*, vol. ii. chap. v.

\*\* *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 49.

the name. It was intended to conjure away all future malign influences.\*

Bancroft also says that a ceremony akin to circumcision was practised by the Aztecs, Totonacks, and Mijes. It was done by the high priest and assistant, and mostly among the children of great men.

Fasts were common among the Peruvians, Dakotas, and California Indians, so that, says Mr. Powers, of the latter, one is reminded of the ancient Israelites.

Dancing, too, as a religious ceremony was practised by the Peruvians, California and Puget Sound Indians, Dakotas, Pueblos, and a large number of other Indians.

Among the Navajos, the person who touches or carries a dead person is unclean; and, after doing so, puts off his clothes, and washes himself with water, before mingling with the people.†

#### IV.—MAN'S FUTURE ABODE.

The happy hunting-grounds of the Indian are proverbial; a belief in future punishment is not so widespread, yet somewhat common.

The name of the Heaven of the Peruvians was "Hanau-pacha," or "upper world," and that of the place of punishment "Ucu-pacha," or "lower world," and sometimes "Supaya," or "devil's house."‡

The Mexicans had more than one heaven for different classes of people, and their hell involved no more suffering than that it was a place of utter darkness.§

"Seh-un-yah" was the name of the place where the Pueblo Indians came from, and to it they went when they died. It was under Great Salt Lake, and is a big Indian Pueblo.||

The Achomawi of California hold that the righteous reach the spirit-land quickly, but the wicked walk for ever and ever, and never reach it; a very fitting emblem to the lazy Californian of future punishment.¶ The Karoks, Yuroks, Tolowas, Keltas, Tatus, Kato-Pomos, Poam-Pomos, Senels, Ashochimis, Patwins, Wintuns, and Maidus, of California also have some ideas of a very happy place for the good, but they

\* Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, p. 180.

† *Introduction to Mortuary Customs*, p. 14.

‡ Longeon in *N. Y. Tribune*.

§ Plato's *Immortality of the Soul*, p. 170.

¶ *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iv. p. 152.

¶ *Ibid*, vol. iii.

give different descriptions of it, some of which are full of nonsense, and most of them have some kind of punishment for the wicked ; but with many it is not a place, but a transmigration into some bad animal. The Miwoks, Yokuts, and Monos, as they believe in annihilation, have no place of future rewards or punishments.\*

But the limit of this article forbids my giving any detailed statement of the beliefs of all the tribes ; I can do but little more than to name them. The Nez Percés, Flatheads, Bella-Bellas, Chippewyans, and Indians around the mouth of the Columbia River, believe both in a place of future rewards and punishments,† as do also the Skokomish Indians ; but the latter do not fear hell very much, as only the very bad go there. The Alaskans believe that the bodies of those who are burned will be warm in the next world, and the rest cold. The Dakotas believe in a land of Good Spirits, but some believe in a punishment only in this life, and others in a future house of the Bad Spirit.‡

The Arikarees, Osages, inhabitants of the West Indies,§ Omahas,|| Sacs and Foxes, and Caddoes,¶ inhabitants of New England and New Jersey\*\* believe in both a state of rewards and punishments, and the Iroquois†† and Eskimo in, at least, a place of happiness.‡‡

According to Bancroft, in his *Native Races of the Pacific*, the Thlinkets, Sicannis, Kenai, Tinnehs, Aleuts, Clallams, Nez Percés, Flatheads, Haidahs, Nevada Indians, Snakes, Pimas, Maricopas, Comanches, and Miztecs believe in a heaven ; the natives of Millbank Sound, Selish tribes, Chinooks, Californians, Mojaves, Yumas, Mayas, and Nicaraguans have both a heaven and hell ; the Ahts, Apaches, and Pend O'Reilles believe in neither ; the Nez-Percés, Flatheads, and Haidahs believe in the restoration of the wicked ; and the Apaches in metempsychosis.

Even among the relics of the Mound Builders has been found a stone which had on one side a representation of a sacrificial scene, and on the other one of the happy hunting grounds.

*Resurrection.*—Prescott says that it was a belief in the

\* *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iii.

† Dunn, *On Oregon Territory*.

‡ Mathew's *Hidatsas and Gospel Among the Dakotas*.

§ Bradford's *American Antiquities*.

|| Long's *Expedition*.

¶ *Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, 1879-80, p. 95.

\*\* Hayward's *Book of All Religions*.

†† *Ibid.*

‡‡ Major J. W. Powell, article in *San Francisco Pacific*.

resurrection which led the Peruvians to preserve the bodies with so much care even to the embalming of them.

*End of the World.*—The Peruvians believed that the end of the world would come after a frightful famine; that the sun would be obscured, and the moon fall into our planet, and that everything would be enveloped in thick darkness.\* The Senels of California also believed in the final consumption of the world by fire.†

*Conclusions.*—Thus some of the facts in regard to the religious belief of the aborigines of America have been enumerated. I will not stop to prove that they are held by the great majority of the rest of the world, both Christian and heathen. It remains to draw some conclusions from them.

(1) They must be vital. The Bible, indeed, gives them to us, stating their truth, and that, as far as they have reference to us practically, they are for our good. But some men, whose opinion is entitled to respect, deny this. But, outside of the Bible, there comes this testimony from the people who have inhabited a country *the farthest removed from the birth-place of the Bible and the longest isolated*, saying that they believe in and practise these principles. Notwithstanding the fact of this wide separation, and also that they have surrounded their beliefs with so many savage customs, yet inside of this rubbish the principles still live. This shows how well they are adapted to the wants of mankind. Thousands of miles, thousands of years, the utmost ignorance and most savage practices cannot kill them, when once planted in the hearts of mankind. Or, if we believe that these ideas are *innate*, we must certainly believe that they are planted in man's heart by the Creator, and for his good.

(2) But they especially bring a strong argument to prove the unity of the race.

It is not claimed that a belief in these ideas is *universal* in America. Some of them are more common than others—as the belief in a Supreme Being, and lesser divinities, the immortality or future existence of the soul, the creation, and a future state of happiness. The evidence is strong that others are not so widespread—as a belief in a devil, a place of future punishment, sacrifices, and the Deluge.

These ideas must probably have been originated in one of three ways: development, tradition, or have been born in man.

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\* Tschudi's *Peruvian Antiquities*, p. 152.

† *Contributions to N. A. Ethnology*, vol. iii.

Some believe that religion has developed in savage minds on account of the felt want of it. But, if this were so, it is strange that some of these ideas have developed so nearly alike among such different people. True, some may hold to the idea that a belief in a Supreme Being and lesser deities, the immortality of the soul, providence, and a future state of happiness has been developed, and it may be a little difficult to prove that it is not so. But can it be claimed with any degree of reason that a tradition of a deluge to punish sin was developed because man wanted it, or that man wanted to believe himself a sinner, or in a devil, or a hell, or prayer, or sacrifice? The facts are decidedly against this idea. We see civilised men who reject the Bible, and does a felt want in their hearts make them pray, or offer sacrifices, or believe themselves sinners, or accept the idea of hell? It is not so, in fact. Such men are the first to reject these ideas. The development is the other way. Hence we must believe that *some* of these ideas were not developed, and, if some, perhaps *all*.

(3) Are they innate? This may be held in regard to some of them, as a Supreme Being and immortality. It is very difficult to prove it, or to prove the contrary, because all nations, or nearly all, believe them, and teach them to their children about as soon as they teach them anything. Yet, as far as I know, the weight of evidence is against it. Deaf and dumb children, who have never been taught by their parents of a God, when they have been taken to an asylum, have, I believe, almost or quite uniformly been found to have no idea of a God.

I have also given some facts about certain tribes, among whom there is no positive proof that they believed either in a Supreme Being or immortality. I have given the statements as the observers have written them, and am not prepared to deny their truthfulness, nor to assert that further investigation may not prove them false.

If these two ideas are innate, it simply proves the existence of a God and immortality, for I can hardly believe how they should be born in man and not be true.

(4) But, if they are not innate, we are forced to the last alternative, *i.e.*, that they have been handed down from some one who received these truths by revelation. And, whatever we may think in regard to these two subjects, I am not aware that any persons claim that all the other subjects discussed are innate; as, the creation, deluge, sacrifice, future punishment, sin, divine teaching, and, perhaps, an incarnation. If these are neither developed nor innate, they must have come through

*teaching*. This becomes the more apparent when we notice the minutiae of some of these subjects, which are believed by many; as, for instance, that the Supreme Being is a spirit, lives out of the world, is immortal, invisible, omniscient, omnipresent, good, sees our thoughts, and punishes evil; that the greatest evil spirit is less powerful than the greatest good spirit; that creation was by command, sudden; that there was darkness, spirits moved on the water; that man was first made from clay, woman afterwards, and sometimes when men were asleep; while there are still so many absurdities among the traditions,—that the deluge was sent because man was wicked, but few were saved, a high mountain is mentioned, and a bird is often connected with the story. Then some things in regard to the incarnation are singular; sacrifices often involved the most valuable blood, and were connected with altars, temples, priests, and a high priest; prayer is connected with fasts, and thanksgiving with feasts, &c. It can hardly be accepted that all these minute circumstances, agreeing so well with the belief of many of the rest of mankind, were either developed or born in man. If not, they must have come from those who had intercourse with the Creator, either on this Continent or the Eastern. There is not the slightest evidence that it was on the Western, there is much that it was on the Eastern.

If now we were to reason *à priori*, we would expect to find things much as they are. Had man been created in Asia, and received a revelation from heaven, we should expect that the further his descendants had wandered from that centre, and the more they had become ignorant, the less they would know of these truths, and the more they would be covered with rubbish, while it would not be strange if some of them should be lost in some places. The idea of a Supreme Being, of lesser protecting deities, immortality, a providence, and future happiness would be kept because they are so great and welcome. Yet, among some of the lowest people, it would not be strange if some of these ideas should become so degraded that they could believe that the Coyote or Raven might contain the creating principle, and that some might lose them. Other ideas, not so great, natural, or acceptable, would be less likely to be preserved,—as a belief in a devil, a deluge, a teacher from heaven, thanksgiving, prayer, and sacrifice; nor would it be strange if some should believe the Coyote to be an incarnation. This, too, we find to be a fact. The most civilised peoples of America have preserved these truths the best, and the most degraded have them now the least.

Finally, to sum it all up, the testimony of the savages points toward the truth of the Bible in regard to all these subjects discussed, and especially to the fact that "God hath made of one blood all nations to dwell on the face of the earth," and likewise that "Eve was the mother of all living."

The CHAIRMAN (Surgeon-General C. A. GORDON, C.B.).—I feel sure I but express your wishes when I say that we have listened with the greatest interest to this very valuable paper, and that we are deeply indebted as a Society to the author. While we regret his absence, we feel that every justice has been done to his paper by Mr. Henry Cadman Jones, who has been so good as to read it. I am sure those of us here—more especially those who have travelled a good deal in different countries—must be well aware how applicable are many of the remarks made with regard to the superstitions and beliefs entertained by the natives of America to those entertained in other parts of the world. I myself will not take up the time of the Society by doing more than alluding to those that prevail throughout India, both on the Bengal side and on the westward side, and also those that prevail in certain parts of Africa. Nor need we go to India or Africa for many of those beliefs. I myself recollect, when a boy in the Highlands of Scotland, that many of the superstitions so vividly portrayed in this paper were most rigidly believed in in the Highlands; and some of the remarks in the paper brought to my own mind very vividly the superstitions and tales with which, as a boy in the Highlands, I was familiar. There are some gentlemen here, I believe, who have a special acquaintance with the subject brought before the Society, and I hope they will favour us with their remarks to-night. I have just received an intimation that the Marquis of Lorne has written, expressing his regret that he is unable to be present. I am sure, had he been here, some of the information he would have been able to give would have been most valuable and interesting. May I ask the Rev. Canon Hurst to be so good as to favour the Institute with some remarks.

Rev. CANON HURST, B.D.—I can only say with the Chairman that I have listened with the greatest pleasure to this paper. I can also remember, when I was a boy, some similar superstitions amongst persons that I knew in this country, and can testify that many of the things stated in this paper are true. I do not say any of them are not true, because it is impossible for any one man ever to become acquainted with all that is going on in every part of North and South America. This paper tries to deal with almost every tribe of Indians in the whole of America; and they are so very different, and above all so different in their ideas, that it is utterly impossible for any one person to do more than collect information on these matters from various authors. I have seen a good deal of Indians in Canada, and heard much about them in the west and north-west of America; and, although I may not have known from personal

observation many of the things stated in this paper, yet, at the same time, I have heard and seen similar things, and had them related to me by the Indians themselves. We could not help feeling, I think, as we listened to this paper, that it is amongst the Indians, as it was amongst the Greeks and Romans and others in old times, that "they had gods many, and lords many." Both the Old and the New World are alike in that; and that helps to prove the identity of the race. There is among the Indians, so far as I have seen, no little confusion about their gods; and it is not surprising, for they have no written books, and what comes down by tradition may become confused. I was much interested in what is stated in the paper about the Manitou. Every tribe of Indians I know have a Manitou. But many of them make no distinction between their Great Spirit and Manitou. They are both one. The Ojibway tribe, which is, perhaps, the most intelligent in British North America, and the most widely spread, all look up to Manitou as the Great Spirit, and the Great Spirit is their Manitou. I was greatly struck with one statement in the paper, but I cannot find fault with it, because the beliefs of the Indians vary so much. But the idea seemed to be thrown out that they do not offer sacrifices to Manitou. Well, some may not, but others do. For instance, some of the Ojibways do. They try to propitiate, by offering prayers and sacrifices to Manitou. An Indian informed me that his father used to travel a long way and make sacrifices when he had done anything wrong, to propitiate Manitou. They will go up a very high hill, to an almost inaccessible place, and there deposit something precious to them. Perhaps what was most precious to them was a plug of tobacco. To part with that something, and take it up a high hill, and deposit it in the cleft of a rock, is their sacrifice. I have known an Indian travel many miles to the Falls of Niagara, and there take out a plug of tobacco and throw it into the Falls, and comfort himself saying, "There now, Manitou will have a good smoke to-night!" (Laughter.) That could be nothing but propitiation. With regard to the traditions about the Flood, I agree with the writer that we must take them *cum grano salis*. They have, no doubt, real traditions of the Flood, as they have of the Creation and of the Fall of man, which, I think, is not mentioned in the paper; but they have occasional floods in the north-west of America, and they are very terrible. Sometimes they carry houses with them, boats drift away, the crews are quite lost, and find themselves in places they had never been in before; and a good many of these traditions about the waters coming down this, that, and the other valley arise from occurrences such as I have described. I remember Bishop Anderson, who still lives at Clifton, giving me a description of a flood in the north-west while he was there, and he has written an account of it. There is a thrilling novel, written, I think, by Ballantyne, called "The Red Man's Revenge," and published in *The Boy's Own Paper* by the Religious Tract Society, which gives about as good a picture as can be of a similar flood in the north-west of America. But drop all

this, and yet there remains an aggregation of evidences of a tradition of what could be nothing else but Noah's flood, some of them wonderfully correct and surprising, and even of the Fall of man, in language that struck me sometimes as running very parallel with the Scripture account. The story of the fall was related to me something like this—that there was a deputy from the Supreme Being came down to the earth and told the people what they should do and what they should not do, and if they went contrary to the Supreme Being they would be punished. The story ran that he came down by a rope, and that he forbade them to touch that rope, or something would happen. But a woman, whose curiosity was great, was anxious to try the rope. She did so, and the rope broke. She was hurt, and never recovered from that hurt. That is something like a tradition of the Fall. There is a woman concerned, a hurt, and no full recovery. I could relate other things, but it is now too late, and if I did they could add nothing to this paper. I have in my own mind a full conviction that the Indians have traditions which correspond with Holy Writ; but there are things in their beliefs which I question whether they are derived from tradition at all—at least, in the same way. For instance, we read of sun worship. Whether that was developed before the Flood is a question. If not, where did they get it? It is not at all unlikely that, if persons drifted in very early times to the Continent of America, and settled here and there and became heads of tribes, others may have drifted over in subsequent ages, and thus a considerable amount of tradition has come to them gradually from persons arriving in small batches. In consequence of this there has arisen a mixture of ideas. I think that not unlikely, for we find among them things which could hardly have come from times so early as before the Flood. I am sorry to have said so much; but I will just add one thing—that the peculiarities in the traditions among the Indians, some believing in a devil and some not, some believing in a future state and some not, are easily understood. If you take, say, a hundred people from this country, and let them drift to a land where there is no one living, and they become heads of tribes, then you can imagine that their descendants would have different ideas. Their ideas would, more or less, correspond with those of their patriarchs. So with the Indians; and that, I think, will account to a great extent for the great differences among them. Suppose an infidel drifted away to strange shores, he would teach infidelity; and suppose another taught the doctrine of everlasting punishment, and so on; and this, I think, accounts for the great differences in the traditions being derived from some one patriarch. (Cheers.)

Rev. T. DUNN.—I should like to make a few remarks on one or two things brought forward in this paper. I have seen a great many of the North American Indians, both those in the northern part of the United States, and also the Indians who live along the coast of British Columbia, from Puget Sound to Alaska. I think one cannot but be struck with the resemblance of these Indians, in their features, to the Mongolians of

Eastern Asia; and I cannot help thinking, and believing, that these Indians came, originally, across Behring's Straits from Asia to America. My reason for thinking so is that a canoe voyage of that distance is not an unknown event, even in the memory of living men. I cannot call it a tradition, because living men remember their fathers telling about it—about a canoe being driven by the winds from Queen Charlotte's Islands to the Sandwich Islands, that they lived there some years, built a kind of sloop, and came back again to their own land, Queen Charlotte's Islands, on the Pacific Coast. I make these remarks, in connexion with what I read on page 2, that "when and how they came here, and where they came from, are questions which are not satisfactorily answered." Again, many of the customs are so similar to what we see in Asia. That is another striking fact. For instance, what the Red Indians on the Pacific Coast call devil-dancing, the healing of the sick by devil priests is just exactly what I have seen among the Cingalese people in Ceylon. The Indians on Queen Charlotte's Island, in order to drive out the evil spirit from the sick person, make little images of the person, on which they operate; and that is what the devil-dancers do in Ceylon, and among the Tamils of the South of India, and I have no doubt in many other parts of India. Then, the customs of the inhabitants are so much like those which I have heard described as existing among the New Zealanders. That is another striking fact. Then, on page 5, we are told that "the Twanas, or Skokomish Indians of Puget Sound, believe in a great being, not the Saghalie Tyee, or Wis Sowulus or Chief above, of whom they have learned of the whites, but one whose name is Dó-ki-batl, the Changer." The word "Saghalie Tyee" is not in the native language, but in what we call the Chénook jargon, which is partly made up of English, Canadian-French, and Indian words, and was introduced by the Hudson's Bay traders. That word "Saghalie Tyee" is the exact rendering of the Northern Pacific Indian for the chief who lives above; but the "Saghalie Tyee" of the Chénook, of course, came later than the Indians' own language. Therefore, the Indians had known of the "chief above" before the white man came there at all. Again, on page 9, the writer says, "The Nass Indians around Fort Simpson, British Columbia, carry the images of their gods in a box." Now, I have lived amongst these Indians, and I have never seen anything in the shape of a god. They do not worship gods as images. I showed them, several times, small images of Buddha, which I had got from Ceylon, and they laughed at the idea of worshipping such a thing as that. The things he refers to as being kept in a box are the insignia of office of the chief. For instance, they keep in a box a piece of copper. Now copper was in former times among the Indians very valuable, and the chiefs especially had a right to possess it, and the greater the chief the greater his piece of copper. But I am not aware that they worship copper in any other way than many a white man worships gold. They call these things "nlthoduksha," that is, anything valuable or sacred to the person who

keeps it. They are handed down from one chief to his successor. They are a kind of heirloom, but not images or gods which they worship. They believe in evil spirits certainly, and I was struck by the description the writer gives of a spirit in the shape of a bird. Now, the Niskah Indians believe in a spirit-bird, and they say thunder is caused by the flapping of his wings, and lightning by the flashing of its eyes. Thunder out there is so rare, that for twenty-five years it may not be heard more than three or four times. When the Indians do hear it they are exceedingly frightened, and think the spirit-bird is angry with them and has come to terrify them. There is nothing in the shape of sacrifice among them. The Indians believe in a future life, but the belief is very vague indeed; I have never been able to find that they had any idea of hell as a place of punishment, but they believe in the heaven which is above. It is only the chiefs who can be happy; the others go to the same place, but they go to attend on the chief as his slaves. On the death of a chief it was the custom of the Tongas Indians, south of Alaska, to kill one or two slaves of the chief in order that the slaves might accompany the chief. I knew one man who escaped from Alaska and came to British territory to avoid being killed. I think these are all the remarks I need make; the others which I have in my mind are similar to what Canon Hurst has already told you. (Cheers.)

Rev. F. A. ALLEN, M.A.—As a member of the "Americanist" Society, which is very much interested in this question, I have for years tried to draw the attention of the British public to American archæology, but I could get few to join us except Sir John Lubbock and one or two specialists. We had a congress at Brussels, and the next is to be at Turin, I think next year; and I hope the English will show a little more interest in the subject than they have hitherto done. It may occur to some to say—Why should American archæology throw light on Eastern archæology? I think the reason is—as Sir J. W. Dawson said in a series of articles to *The Leisure Hour*—that America is a sort of microcosm of the whole history of man. At the present day it is the only continent where we see in miniature all that we know of the past. The stone period, the bronze period, the iron period are still going on there, and I think we can hardly see that anywhere else. Then, the American race, so long secluded, has developed more homogeneity, more individualism, and thus we are able to trace their legends to the fountain-head. That is why it is so important to study American archæology. Sir J. W. Dawson said it was the key to the proper understanding of the early history of the human race.\*

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\* Mr. Allen wishes to add, with regard to the remark on p. 9—as to the Nass Indians around Fort Simpson "carrying the images of their gods in a box,"—that he is glad to see the author is careful to allude to this statement as given, not on his own authority, but simply as reported in Mr. Dunn's work; he (Mr. Allen) cannot regard it as a fact, for "it is utterly unlike these tribes to have idols at all, and the images in the box must have been either totems (tribal crests), or maces, or insignia of office.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am very sorry that this very interesting meeting must be brought to a close. Before we separate I may be allowed to make a few remarks on my own personal experience. I was very much interested, and I am sure we all were, to hear the remarks made with regard to the question of American archæology as bearing on that larger question of the distribution of our race. A remark of special interest to myself was the connexion between the native American Indians and the Mongolian inhabitants of Eastern Asia. By way of giving strength and confirmation to that remark, I would mention that a good many years ago, while serving in China, I had a very interesting passage up the coast from south to north, and among my fellow-passengers was Sir Robert Hart, a gentleman whose name is familiar to you all. He had taken a world of interest in this question of the distribution of man, and he had inquired among the different Pacific islands to see whether he could trace any grounds for the belief that the American continent owed its population to the Asian continent.\* In the Aleutian Islands he observed a peculiar circumstance which was the manner in which the natives reckoned their relationship, and he found that it coincided with that in use among the Chinese, and he could trace it nowhere else. I heard on Saturday from an American gentleman, with whom I was talking of the descendants of the slave population, that the descendants of the original Africans who went to America as slaves are assuming a less black colour than their forefathers, showing, of course that a modification takes place in man's appearance according to locality. If that is taking place in so short a time as two or three generations, I can readily believe that it would be much more the case in a number of centuries. When I was in China; among other places I visited were the native prisons in Canton, and I saw a number of prisoners in all conditions of wretchedness; but what struck me was that their hair having been allowed to grow long, their features assumed almost exactly the characteristics of those representations of American Indians with which all are familiar. Of course, they had flat, high cheek-bones, which indicated the Mongolian race distinctly. But, inasmuch as the modification I have alluded to in the African race is perceptible in so short a time as has elapsed since the slave trade took place with America, we can suppose how a similar modification would take place in the course of generations in the Mongolian population who have passed to America. Another circumstance I noticed was an illustration of the way in which a race may become distributed. Quite lately I had occasion to cross the Bay of Bengal from the Carpathic coast to Burmah. We experienced by no means favourable weather, but, as we approached the mouth of the Irrawaddy, I was surprised to find a native craft signalling us by loading her masts with flags. We knew she wished to speak, a boat was lowered and the ship communicated with. Shortly afterwards a native Burman and his canoe were

\* This subject is also referred to in Mr. Whitmee's paper, vol. iv.

hoisted down to the steamer's boat and brought on board. The story was this:—The man had been out fishing on the Irrawaddy, a flood came and swept him out to sea, and he was buffeting about in the Bay of Bengal for days until he was fortunately picked up by this native craft. The idea that struck me was that this was an illustration of the way in which the populations of continents may be transmitted to islands and other continents. Within a parenthesis I may say that the reason they covered all their masts with bunting was that they knew they had the proper signals on board, but, not knowing exactly which they were, they thought the best way was to put up all they had. (Laughter.) There was allusion made to dancing in connexion with the cure of diseases. Those who have been in India must know very well of the ceremonies performed to Sitala, the goddess of small-pox, to ward off the small-pox. I recently had an opportunity of seeing dances performed to the goddess of cholera, whose name is remarkable—Maree Ama, "Maree" being the Hindustani for "great sickness."

The meeting was then adjourned.

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#### REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

By the Reverend R. COLLINS, M.A., late Principal of Cottayam College.

Orthodox Christians are not unfrequently accused of coming to the study of such subjects as this with preconceived notions, towards which they make all evidence to bend. It may, perhaps, have been so in some instances; and the disease may sometimes have affected even those who do not belong to that class of persons. But this is, therefore, all the more reason for approaching the religious history of man with the strictest guard over any tendency to prejudice.—Do such facts as those, so interestingly brought together in Mr. Eells' paper, candidly and honestly considered, make for the truth of the theories either of Mr. Herbert Spencer or Mr. Frederic Harrison?

One subject touched upon in this paper is instinct or intuition. Is there not a good deal of confusion of mind amongst writers on the subject of religion as to these instincts? Man has no instinct, surely, towards the objective, towards definite and complex ideas of the mind and the resulting acts. Whatever be the analogy, or want of analogy, between what has been called instinct in animals—that which leads a bird to the complex act of building a certain kind of nest, or a bee to construct a definite form of cell—and that which leads a man to construct the definite form, arising from a complex idea, of a chair or a steam-engine, it is certain that such ideas of man are not innate in any true sense, but are the result of powers of reason and memory, which alone are the innate. And yet we find some

Christian apologists treating of the idea of a God, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, the centre of justice, the Creator, the method of worship due to Him, and even the very complex idea of sacrifice, as though these were instincts in man. Man must either have reasoned out the ideas of Deity, and the idea of worship due to Him, or these ideas must have been communicated. The mere study of man's nature would seem to lead to this conclusion.

The first alternative is that taken by Mr. Herbert Spencer and Mr. Frederic Harrison. According to them, man has reasoned out his religion, hitherto imperfectly, but yet progressively: according to one, reason will at last lead men, as it has already led himself, to the acknowledgment only of an unknown eternal energy, from which all things proceed, and far removed from any definite acts of worship, shorn of all anthropomorphic surroundings; according to the other, man's reason will reduce his religion to the worship of humanity—whatever that may mean. Of course, these theories cannot both be true. The other alternative remains, which is that man is a religious being, because the ideas of religion have been communicated to him.

On this part of the question Mr. Eells' paper is very luminous and valuable. However much of the illustrations of belief in spirits or ghosts might be taken by Mr. Spencer as contributing to his view, there is one part of his theory on which Mr. Eells' evidence is silent, and that is as to the chronological sequence of idea, which is a very vital part of Mr. Spencer's theory. There is no evidence to be obtained from these unwritten traditions as to which portion of belief has priority in point of time. There is no evidence that the *first* step in the religions of these Indian tribes was a "belief in a double belonging to each individual, which, capable of wandering away from him during life, becomes his ghost or spirit after death"; that "from this idea of a being eventually distinguished as supernatural there develop, in course of time, the ideas of supernatural beings of all orders up to the highest"; that from the fact of "social grades and rulers of different orders," among men, "there resulted that conception of a hierarchy of ghosts or gods which polytheism shows us"; and that, "with the growth of civilisation and knowledge, the minor supernatural agents became merged in the major supernatural agent, this single great supernatural agent gradually losing the anthropomorphic attributes at first ascribed."\* The real value of Mr. Eells' investigation seems to lie in the remarkable parallelism, so far as traceable, between these *traditions* and the *written* records and monuments of other ancient peoples. The really scientific method of inquiry is to ask how the early history of other nations, who *have left records of very early times*, chronologizes (if such a word be allowable) these beliefs. And such early records certainly indicate belief in one Deity, the Creator, &c.,

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\* *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1884, p. 838.

as preceding all other beliefs as to spirits, thus entirely reversing the chronology of Mr. Spencer's system. The evidence of these traditions, explained by the evidence of actual monuments and records in other parts of the world, is that religion is not the result either of instinct or reason, but that, as Mr. Eells concludes, it was communicated to man. The one fact of the traditions as to a "flood" is, in itself alone, a wonderful example of how ancient history and beliefs live in their salient features even when literature and art have long been silent; for it is preposterous to suppose that every single tribe, ancient as well as modern, that retains that tradition retains merely a recollection of a local flood; there must, in that case, have been as many local floods, each producing the same results, as there have been and are tribes holding this particular tradition. And the grand tradition, traceable through Accadian, Assyrian, Persian, Egyptian, Hindu, Greek, Roman antiquities, and now through the traditions of the unlettered Indian tribes of America, that there is a "Supreme Being, immortal, invisible, omniscient, omnipresent, good, seeing our thoughts, and punishing evil," can only have grown from a knowledge among the early families of mankind, unquestionably by communication, of such a Being, and of the worship due to Him.—There is not a shred of historical evidence of Mr. Spencer's chronological sequences in man's reason; nor is there in man an instinct towards such results.

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## THE AUTHOR'S REPLY.

I cannot but feel grateful for the very kind reception which my paper has received from the members of this body. I know that Christians are sometimes accused of being somewhat prejudiced as they look at such subjects ; still, where there is such a wide amount of evidence, it does not seem to me (though I may be mistaken) that we would treat Christianity aright were we to abandon all arguments arising from such facts, simply because of these flings, which are sometimes made that we are prejudiced.

In regard to the remarks made on the sentence, "when and how they came here, and where they came from, are questions not satisfactorily answered," I would say that the idea which I intended to convey, though I may have failed to do so, is that these questions have not been answered to the satisfaction of everybody. For myself I am satisfied thus much—that the ancestors of these natives came at different times and in different ways. I was first taught that they came from Asia, by way of Behring's Straits, and I think it likely that some did, as it is a very easy and natural route. Some probably drifted across in junks or boats of some kind. Since the Pacific coast was settled, a Chinese junk drifted to this coast in 1843, three young men were saved, taken to England, educated, and sent back to China. There is no reason why we may not believe that others may have done likewise, at different times widely separated, and landed at different places.

It is an accepted fact also that previous to the discovery of America by Columbus, people from North-western Europe came to America by way of Greenland, and that some returned, and I see no reason why others may not have done so in pre-historic times. In this way it is very easy to account for the great variety of tribes and difference of traditions, languages, and customs.

The universality of the tradition about the flood inclines me to the opinion that they came after that event occurred. The dimness of the tradition about an Incarnation lead me to think that they knew only a little about that, perhaps from prophecy or hearsay, and that some, if not all, came before that event occurred.

I did not intend to convey the idea that no tribes offered sacrifices to Manitou. I simply spoke of their sacrificing to the Great Spirit. I am satisfied that they did offer sacrifices to the inferior deities and Manitous. They sacrificed to the being or beings whom they thought most likely to assist them, or whose anger they most feared.

As to the criticism of Rev. T. Dunn about the Nass Indians carrying the images of their gods in a box, I accept the correction. I took the statement as given by J. Dunn, in his work on the Oregon Territory, but am satisfied, from the remarks of Rev. T. Dunn, that this is a mistake, and cheerfully accept all such corrections.



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