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the Author*

# NORTHWESTERN DÉNÉS AND NORTHEASTERN ASIATICS

A Study on the Origin of the Former

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BY  
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NORTHWESTERN DÉNÉS AND NORTHEASTERN ASIATICS.

A STUDY ON THE ORIGIN OF THE FORMER.

BY REV. A. G. MORICE, O.M.I., M.A.

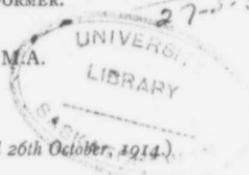
(Read 26th October, 1914.)

It is safe to remark that few questions have so exercised the minds of investigators, given rise to such fantastic systems and resulted in such a bewildering crop of conclusions as that of the origin of the American Indians. The harvest of theories it has occasioned is nothing short of marvellous, and, in many cases, the tenacity of their promoters has been well nigh unparalleled. In fact, so acrimonious have been the discussions it has led to that it has been almost tabooed, as it were, in scientific circles such as, for instance, the International Congress of Americanists.

Hence, though not writing for that learned body, I may as well defend myself at the outset from the intention of adding my own stone to the Babel it has already built up. I shall almost confine myself, in the following pages, to the examination of well-established facts and diligently compare data the genuineness of which is above suspicion. If some conclusions naturally flow from my investigations, they will, I believe, prove all the more irresistible as they will not have been sought.

The fact that, in the face of reiterated invitations, I have waited till the present day to broach this subject and have not dared treat it before I had spent fully thirty-two years in close study will, I hope, go some way towards shielding me against the accusation of temerity, and perhaps convince the reader that, in the present essay, I have no pet theory to uphold and am impelled by the promptings of no hobby.

Moreover, my disquisitions will not bear on the whole American race—if there is such a thing in the world—but shall have for almost exclusive object those Indians in the midst of whom I have lived so long and whose languages, archæology and technology, manners and customs I have studied with a delight which must be felt to be understood, I mean the Dénés of northwestern America.



## I.

To return to the Babel which has been unwittingly built up by the students of the fascinating question of the Indians' origin. Incongruous as are the component parts of that edifice, if we study them closely, we may properly reduce them to a certain number of classes. There is, in the first place, the theory of the Jewish origin of our Indians, a theory which has captivated many minds and according to which the natives of this continent are none others than the lost tribes of Israel. Though rather ancient, the tribe of those who embraced that opinion is neither lost nor extinct. It counted ardent and able advocates such as Thomas Thorowgood, Kingsborough, Garcia, Mrs. Simon, James Adair, Israel Worsley, E. Howitt, Dr. Boudinot, Lafitau as regards the Hurons and, in our own days, Father E. Petitot, who seems in this connection of such undoubting faith that he has gone to the length of altering the national name of the stock called Athapaskan by the Smithsonian Institution from Déné, its true designation, into Danite, after one of the Jewish tribes.

This opinion is combatted by James Kennedy, who closes an able paper on the "Question of the supposed Lost Tribes of Israel" by declaring that "the supposition of there being any people now existing as a separate people representing the ten tribes is a groundless hallucination, unworthy of the times in which it has obtained so extensive a credence."

Then there is the Chinese theory, which had earnest defenders in De Guignes, Foster, Du Pratz and the great Humboldt.

The former hypothesis rests mostly on the customs of the American aborigines—especially those of their women; the latter, on their physical appearance as well as on minute fragments of Asiatic history.

A third opinion, which is chiefly based on the same physical analogies, and also on well-authenticated arrivals in America due to the action of the sea currents, would fain see at least in the northwestern Coast tribes relics from the land of Nippon. De Quatrefages, a Mr. Brooks, Viollet-le-Duc and others have perhaps been its ablest exponents.

The Tatars have also been referred to by many as the progenitors of our Indians, in common with the Egyptians and the Tyrians of old. George Jones has been the foremost supporter of the claims of the last named nation in his *History of Ancient America*,<sup>1</sup> but this opinion has been shared by Ledyard and many others. Alexandre Lenoir compares the ancient monuments of the Mexicans with those of Egypt, India, and the rest of the world.

<sup>1</sup> London, 1843.

As to the Tatars, Thomas Morton, who wrote as early as 1637, was just as sure that they could not have been the parents of the aboriginal Americans, though a John Josselyn, whose book was published the following year, unhesitatingly declared that the speech of the Mohawks is "a dialect of the Tartars".<sup>1</sup>

Nor have the Carthaginians been overlooked. They found doughty champions in the persons of a number of monks and ecclesiastics remarkable more for their erudition than for their judgment, no less than in writers of a more popular character.

Most of the authors who have upheld such an origin for the American Indians have found it necessary to use as a prop for their rather fragile theory the famous Atlantis thesis, which predicates the existence in ages long past of a huge island or continent lying between Europe and America. Such superior minds as Sir Daniel Wilson and the celebrated Brasseur de Bourbourg partially or wholly believed in that more or less mythical land.

On the ground of their languages the American aborigines were compared by Barton and Vater with the Mantchous, the Tungus, the Mongols and the Samoyeds, while other elements in their speech would lead the same authors to refer them to the Celts and—save the mark!—the natives of the Congo.<sup>2</sup>

According to Malte-Brun the original inhabitants of Greenland and Chile must belong with the Finnish, Ostiack, Permian and Caucasian families, while some of those of Mexico are allied to the Japanese, the Chinese and the Kourilians; which does not prevent others from being related to the Tungus, the Mantchous, and the Mongols.<sup>3</sup> Another writer of less renown, Siebold, attempted to connect through their vocabularies the Japanese and the Moscas, or Muyscas, a large aboriginal nation in Latin America.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, the late Dr. Brinton believed that "the ancestors of the American race could have come from no other quarter than Western Europe, or that portion of Eurafria which he . . . described as the most probable location of the birth-place of the species".<sup>5</sup>

A. H. Keane formally admits of two routes as having been followed by the immigrants to America, namely some kind of a continent, not

<sup>1</sup> Voyages, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> *Untersuchung über Amerikas Bevölkerung aus dem alten Continente*. Leipzig, 1810; Mithrid, p. 340.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Wiseman, "Twelve Lectures", pp. 80-81.

<sup>4</sup> *Mémoire relatif à l'Origine des Japonais*; in *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, juin, 1829, p. 400.

<sup>5</sup> "The American Race", p. 32; Philadelphia, 1901.

the Atlantis of old authors, which he supposes to have formerly united Western Europe to Greenland and Labrador—a supposition which was shared by Brinton—and Behring Straits or the Aleutian islands. This hypothesis, he claims, explains the long-headed tribes of the East and the Mongoloid peoples of the West.<sup>1</sup>

Louis Figuier is not so positive in his *Human Race*. He frankly admits that, in his estimation, "the original race which has peopled the Western Hemisphere is almost impossible to be traced".<sup>2</sup> This is practically the opinion of Father Venegas in his work on early California which is now almost a classic.<sup>3</sup>

Other authors favoured the supposition of a Scandinavian immigration to America, and some investigators have even seen in particular tribes of that continent descendants of the Welsh, the Scotch and the Irish, while others trace them to the Canaanites of old!

The Welsh origin of some American tribes is derived from the declarations of supposedly veracious travellers, like, for instance, a Capt. Isaac Stuart who, in 1782, asserted that he had, in company with a Welshman named John Davey, fallen in with a tribe of Indians of rather white complexion, whose habitat was the valley of a small river which emptied itself into the Red River, and whose language his companion understood without having ever learned it. According to said Capt. Stuart, those Indians claimed that their ancestors had come from a foreign country and landed on what is now called West Florida. They showed, he says, as evidence of their contention rolls of parchment the characters of which Stuart could not read, any more than his Welsh companion who was perfectly illiterate.

Other so-called white races have been reported found "a very considerable distance from New Orleans, whose inhabitants were of different complexions, not so tawny as those of the other Indians and who spoke Welsh".<sup>4</sup> But no such Indians are known to exist in our times, and the presumption is that those above referred to are not any more real than the various nations and personages mentioned in the Book of Mormon, despite the fact that the famous Indian artist Catlin would fain see in the now extinct Mandans a Welsh colony established by Prince Madoc.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Ethnology", p. 362; Cambridge, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 406; London, 1872.

<sup>3</sup> "History of California", p. 60, first published in Spanish at Madrid in 1758.

<sup>4</sup> S. G. Drake, "The Aboriginal Races of North America", p. 53; New York, 1880.

<sup>5</sup> "Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians", Vol. II, Appendix A; Philadelphia, 1859.

Coming to theories that have attracted fewer votaries, we find that Frederick Wright traces the American Indians back to the Tamils of Ceylon;<sup>1</sup> Charles de Wolf Brownell opines for a Scandinavian descent, at least as regards a portion of our aborigines;<sup>2</sup> Paul Gaffarel stands for a Phœnician origin as far as the civilized nations of Central America are concerned;<sup>3</sup> Lassen saw Buddhists in the aboriginal worshippers of Mexico;<sup>4</sup> Dr. Hyde Clarke believed in a first population of Pygmies, which migrated hither through Behring's Strait and was later superseded by an immigration of "Sumerians", or people of supposedly Accadian parentage.<sup>5</sup>

A French philologist, Julien Vinson, compared the American languages to the Basque idiom of the Pyrenees,<sup>6</sup> whereby he unconsciously walked in the footsteps of an old fur trader, Noël Jérémie;<sup>7</sup> Dr. Latham saw remarkable analogies between the former and those of the Indo-European stock;<sup>8</sup> Prescott was for an Eastern Asiatic, and especially a Mongolian, origin of the primitive Mexican civilization,<sup>9</sup> an opinion which has been extended by many to most of the Northern American tribes.

Swan does not go quite so far to find the parents of the Haidas and other North Pacific coast Indians. He merely compares them to the Kamtschadales,<sup>10</sup> though Dixon and others would go as far as the land of the Maoris to find their ancestors;<sup>11</sup> Bradford claims that "the red race, under various modifications, may be traced physically into Etruria, Egypt, Madagascar, ancient Scythia, Mongolia, China, Hindoostan,

<sup>1</sup> "Origin and Antiquity of Man", pp. 84, 131 and 133; Oberlin, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> "The Indian Races of America"; Boston, 1855.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Phéniciens en Amérique (Compte-Rendu du Congrès International des Américanistes, vol. I, p. 93; Nancy, 1875)*. A French enthusiast by the name of Le Plongeon, after having studied the stupendous monuments found in that country, was no less certain that they had been erected by the very children of Cain!

<sup>4</sup> *Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. IV, p. 749 et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Les Origines des Langues, de la Mythologie et de la Civilisation de l'Amérique, dans l'Ancien Monde (C.R. Cong. Amér., vol. I, p. 157 et seq.)*.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Basque et les Langues américaines (Compte-Rendu du Congrès Int. des Américanistes, Vol. II, p. 46)*.

<sup>7</sup> *Relation sur la Baie d'Hudson; Saint-Boniface, 1912*.

<sup>8</sup> *Opuscula; passim*.

<sup>9</sup> "History of the Conquest of Mexico", p. 644 *et passim*; London, 1878.

<sup>10</sup> "The Haidah Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands", p. 12 *et passim* (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 2161).

<sup>11</sup> See "The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska", by A. P. Niblack, p. 385 (Report of National Museum, 1888).

Malaya, Polynesia and America".<sup>1</sup> Further on he states that it "does not appear to be derived from any nation now existing".<sup>2</sup>

A Dr. Williamson, who wrote the history of North Carolina, says none the less that "it can hardly be questioned that the Indians of South America [who incontestably belong to the same race] are descended from a class of the Hindoos, in the Southern parts of Asia".<sup>3</sup>

Francis A. Allen declares that "an unbroken chain of antiquities . . . connects the American and Asiatic continents by way of Polynesia";<sup>4</sup> and my friend, Prof. Charles Hill-Tout is tempted to include the Salish of British Columbia and the northwestern States of the American Union in what he calls an Oceanic classification of peoples.<sup>5</sup>

As to Josiah Priest, he sees "a strong probability that not only Asiatic nations, very soon after the flood, but that also all along the different eras of time different races of men, such as Polynesians, Malays, Australians, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Romans, Israelites, Tartars, Scandinavians, Danes, Norwegians, Welsh and Scotch, have colonized different parts of the continent".<sup>6</sup>

This is scarcely compromising, and such is the number of countries that author believes to have contributed to the peopling of America that he would be most unlucky, indeed, if he did not hit upon some that did really have something to do therewith.

The same author is not so prudent when he attempts to show that "America was peopled before the flood, that it was the country of Noah, and the place where the ark was erected".<sup>7</sup>

A friend of mine, Alphonse Gagnon, studied the origins of only part of that continent, and gave the result of his researches in a readable and well documented book, *L'Amérique Précolombienne*. Therein he is too shrewd to go so far back as the flood, and, after a close inspection of the prehistoric monuments of Central America, he is very much inclined to see in them the work of a Kuschite or Ethiopian people.<sup>8</sup>

I have reserved Cotton Mather's opinion for *la bonne bouche*. Dr. Mather was a zealous Protestant missionary to the Indians of New

<sup>1</sup> "American Antiquities and Researches into the Origin and History of the Red Race", p. 431; New York, 1843.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 434.

<sup>3</sup> "History of North Carolina", vol. I, p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> *Compte-Rendu du Congrès International des Américanistes*, p. 247; Copenhagen, 1884. Dr. Richard King seems of the same opinion ("Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Arctic Ocean", Vol. II, p. 33; London, 1836).

<sup>5</sup> J. Roy, Anthropological Institute, p. 134; London, 1911.

<sup>6</sup> "American Antiquities", Preface, p. iv; Albany, 1838.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *L'Amérique Précolombienne*; Québec, 1908.

England, fighting as hard against the paganism they owed to the devil as against the forces of the Pope, whom he firmly believed to be His Satanic Majesty's eldest son. The learned doctor wrote concerning his charge: "The natives of the country now possessed by the Newenglanders had been forlorn and wretched heathen ever since their first herding here; and though we know not when or how these Indians first became inhabitants of this mighty continent, yet we may guess that probably the Devil decoyed those miserable salvages hither, in hopes that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his absolute empire over them".<sup>1</sup>

I shall now close my little review, which is far from complete, by mentioning three authors whom I should have quoted in the beginning, had I followed anything like a chronological order. Their conclusions should carry all the more weight as they resulted from an exhaustive treatment of the question. The first is Hugo Grotius, who wrote as early as 1542; then there are Peter Albinus, whose tract was published in 1598, and George Hornius, whose book appeared in 1669. All of them wrote in Latin, but only my copy of Hornius is in the original idiom, both of the others being represented in my library by modern English translations.

Grotius' little work is entitled "On the Origin of the Native Races of America",<sup>2</sup> and is a plea for the Chinese origin of the Peruvians. The author unhesitatingly ascribes to that race Manco Capac, whom he quaintly calls Mancacapus.<sup>3</sup> As to the North American Indians, he sees in them mere Norsemen,<sup>4</sup> while the people south of Panama originated, according to him, in Java or Gilotus,<sup>5</sup> whatever the latter country may be.

Albinus is less discriminating. In his treatise on foreign languages and unknown islands, he practically identifies most of the American nations with the Ethiopians.

As to Hornius, his treatment of the subject is considerably fuller. Instead of a mere dissertation in the shape of a tract, he wrote a book of 503 pages, *De Originibus americanis*, in which he evidently shows himself in favour of the Phœnicians as the ancestors of the American tribes.

Lastly, sick at heart, as it were, of so many conflicting opinions held by their predecessors in the field of science, many of the modern

<sup>1</sup> *Magnalia Christ. Amer.*, book I.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh, 1884.

<sup>3</sup> P. 19. Another makes the same personage the son of Kublai Khan, the Mongol emperor (Wiseman, "Twelve Lectures", p. 86).

<sup>4</sup> P. 10.

<sup>5</sup> P. 18.

ethnologists or historians, among whom we must name H. H. Bancroft,<sup>1</sup> would fain do away with the whole difficulty by eliminating all its elements, and pretend that the American Indians are simply autochthonous. But to my mind such a sweeping assertion raises such momentous questions that I prefer to pass it by with the only remark that it could lay claim to greater consideration had not Pasteur's experiments with regard to spontaneous generation ever been made—unless, of course, we should regard the American continent as the cradle of the human race, an hypothesis which is scarcely more tenable than that of the autochthonousness of our Indians.

I, for one, cannot bring myself to entertain such opinions, and must regard the original inhabitants of this continent as emigrants from an older world. Yet it is not my purpose to show in them relatives, or descendants, of any particular race or nation existing under other climes. I merely wish to compare some of the families into which they are divided, especially the Dénés of British North America, with whom I have passed the twenty-four happiest years of my life, with the present inhabitants of northeastern Asia, their neighbours, as it were, and see whether there are between them any points of resemblance which would warrant an ethnological argument.

I am well aware that even such an unpretentious task is fraught with difficulties. The fact that so many wild theories have clamoured for recognition and the very excesses of their promoters cannot but work against all attempts at even mere comparisons. But my purpose is more to state facts than to theorize.

## II.

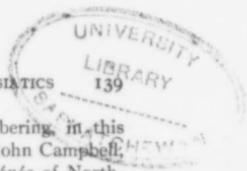
"We may fairly conclude that America was peopled from the north-east part of Asia", writes John McIntosh on page 81 of his book on the "Origin of the North American Indians".<sup>2</sup> He relies on philology to help him prove this assertion. Unfortunately such a resource has been tried by others without much avail. For, as I wrote myself fifteen years ago, "philology is a double-edged weapon, inasmuch as, in the hands of an injudicious enquirer, it may bring forth nothing but futile and imaginary results".<sup>3</sup>

McIntosh gives, indeed, three full pages of words from Algonquin, Sioux and other American languages which would seem to corroborate his opinion. But I repeat that philological comparisons at the hands

<sup>1</sup> "The Native Races", Vol. V, p. 129; San Francisco, 1883.

<sup>2</sup> New York, 1853.

<sup>3</sup> "The Use and Abuse of Philology" (Transactions of the Canadian Institute, Vol. VI, p. 85; Toronto, 1899).



of amateurs are dangerous, and I cannot help remembering, in this connection, the extraordinary feat of the late Professor John Campbell, who imagined that he had successfully identified the Dénés of Northwest America with the Tungus of Asia, on the strength of words which, to a Déné scholar, were as un-Déné as possible.<sup>1</sup>

The first requisite under such circumstances is a clear concept of what is essential in a word. The comparative philologist must mercilessly reject those consonances which are mere accidents in the structure of two languages, and none but the student who has mastered several dialects of a language can be regarded as really qualified to properly distinguish the essential from the accidental.

And then it is so seldom that one meets with a man who is proof against mixing up words, disfiguring them through transcription or ascribing thereto meanings which they never had!

Take but one instance: while disclaiming any intention of seeing in America anything more than adjuncts from Asia to a population which he probably deems to have been autochthonous, the Norwegian Lewis K. Daa adduced in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1856 some twenty-two pages filled with what he considered to be terms which have identical structures and meanings in both Asia and America. But some of these would-be assimilations are far from reliable.

To speak of only those of which I am qualified to judge, *sikkane* never meant man in any Déné dialect. It is a corruption by unscholarly fur traders of the compound noun *tsé-kék-ne*, which means: people on the stones, or Rocky Mountains (*i.e.* Mountaineers).

That same author gives, p. 265, the word *ninasta* as the would-be Tahkali, or Carrier, synonym for mother, while on the next page he would have this to be *skaka*. Neither term ever meant mother in Carrier. The former is absolutely unknown to that language, while the latter is nothing else than the Babine *skhakha*, which corresponds to our plural: children.

According to the same philologist, *sak* is the Carrier equivalent of the word wife. That term means in that language: alone, apart (Latin *seorsum*), and forms a part of the adjective *sak-w'sta*, which happens to correspond to the opposite of wife, namely single, or virgin. The transcriber of the same had perhaps in mind *s'at*, which means not wife in general, but my wife.

The term he gives for girl *cekwi* is evidently *t'sékhwi*; but this is synonymous of woman, not of girl, in the same way as his *anna* (or better

<sup>1</sup> "The Dénés of America identified with the Tungus of Asia" (*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 167 *et seq.*). See in this connection the latter part of my own essay on "The Use and Abuse of Philology", especially pp. 94-96.

*anna*) is the Carrier equivalent not of mother (which is *nellu* in that language), but of the vocative *mamma*.

The foregoing will suffice to point out the danger of such an instrument as comparative philology in unskilled hands.

Nor would it seem that even trained philologists, widely known for their linguistic acumen, would always be equal to the task of properly comparing languages of which they have themselves no speaking knowledge. This is at least what we are warranted to infer from a paper presented in 1894 to the International Congress of Americanists by the late Dr. Daniel G. Brinton "on the affinities of the Othomi language with Athabaskan dialects". Therein that great anthropologist compared eighty-six words, of which he claimed that "fifty-four present considerable similarity in the two stocks, amounting in various instances to identity, twenty-eight show slight similarity, which might be weakened or strengthened by further investigation, and four present no similarity whatever".

Now I regret to have to state that, after my long years of personal study of five Déné dialects, one of which I came to speak more fluently than my own native French, I cannot with the best of will discover any single analogy between the terms Brinton quotes and those of any Déné idiom, not even between the Déné and Othomi words for father, which he rightly remarks after Alcide d'Orbigny belong "to the universal terms of human language". For the word *ta*, which he gives as the Déné equivalent of father, has that signification in no Déné dialect. It rather means lips, and there is in the eyes of a Déné just as much difference between that word and that for father as there is between it and *me*, which Brinton claims to be synonymous of mother.

What the learned doctor had in view was *-tha* (*aetha*, or *netha*), which contains an aspiration (*t* plus *h*) which utterly differentiates this monosyllable from the non-aspirated *ta*.

The trouble with Dr. Brinton is that he took as a basis for his comparisons would-be Déné terms derived from a book by a German named J. C. E. Buschmann, which was published as early as 1856. Wherever that author may have taken his material I do not profess to know. Déné words, even when disfigured by the lack of the clicks and aspirations proper to the language, are easily recognizable as such, whether they be published by Drs. Matthews, Goddard, Sapir, or any of the northern missionaries. As to Buschmann's material, it is all Chinese to me. I do not understand a word of it.

Dr. Brinton was all the more unfortunate in his choice as he then had at his disposal my own vocabulary of Déné roots which had appeared

in these *Transactions* four years earlier. Whether this ever came to his notice is more than I can say; but not only did the famous anthropologist know of my humble person (we had exchanged some correspondence), but he refers to me in the very incriminated paper.

Nor should it be forgotten that the essence of a language consists less in its vocabulary than in its grammar and syntax, its peculiar structure and morphology. Its words are its body, but its soul rests in its grammar.

An anthropologist of the French materialistic school, A. Hovelacque, has the following in his work on *La Linguistique*:

"Si l'aptitude spéciale à la connaissance pratique des langues n'est point une science, l'étymologie, par contre, telle qu'elle est pratiquée le plus souvent, ne peut être regardée ni comme une science ni comme un art. L'étymologie, par elle-même, n'est qu'une jonglerie, une sorte de jeu d'esprit, si bien que le grand ennemi de l'étymologiste, son ennemi implacable, c'est le linguiste. En un mot, l'étymologie par elle-même et pour elle-même n'est que de la divination; elle fait abstraction de toute expérience, néglige les difficultés et se contente des apparences spécieuses de ce qui n'est qu'à peine probable ou à peine vraisemblable".<sup>1</sup>

By *étymologie* the French author means in the above passage word-assimilations.

Perfectly applicable to amateur or over enthusiastic philologists, his observations, if understood without qualifications, could be considered as exaggerations at the expense of the terminological school. They are prompted by excesses on the part of many of its champions; but they are themselves open to the charge of being an excess the opposite way. *In medio stat virtus*, and there is not the least doubt that terminological comparisons, when properly conducted, can be of much value.

At all events, it is a remark which has by this time acquired the force of an ethnological axiom that of all the anthropological sciences comparative philology is the one whose conclusions have the most weight when it is a question of tracing the origin or parentage of a race.

Witness the case of the Sanscrit roots used by both the blackish peoples of southern Asia and the blonde nations of northern Europe; witness, nearer home, the monosyllabic radicals of the Déné tongue which we now find on the lips of the timid Hare of the northern wastes and the fierce Apache of the South; of the progressive Chippewayan and Carrier of British America and the conservative Navaho of the southern States—and this in spite of the fact that several alien stocks intervene between the two sections of that important aboriginal family.

Prompted by this consideration and moved by the thought that said family could not be autochthonous in America, I published some

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 16; Paris, sans date (reimpression).

twenty-two years ago a vocabulary of root words representing almost two dozen Déné dialects, with a view to suscitating among philologists investigations which I fondly hoped would result in genuine identifications with Old World counterparts of the same.<sup>1</sup> Although some correspondents qualified for such work kindly endeavoured to make my self-imposed task productive of some fruit, I must to-day confess that the results have proved futile. A few consonant synonyms cannot be regarded as a sufficient basis for ethnic assimilations.

But even though comparative philology does refuse its aid to the solution of the problem of our Indians' origin, some there are, no doubt, who will see in this nothing but a negative proof. If, they will remark, the tribes have left no cognates or agnates in Asia, it does not necessarily follow that they have not originated there, notwithstanding Lord Kaimes' contention to the contrary.<sup>2</sup> A whole tribe, or nation, pressed by powerful enemies or impelled by any other stimulus, crossing into the American continent, would leave no trace behind. It would, on the contrary, have carried in its own bosom, over the slight obstacle formed by Behring's Strait or the stretch of water dotted by the chain of the Aleutian Islands, unmistakable tokens of its former sojourn in Asia in the shape of similar customs, an identical technology, or even an analogous mythology.<sup>3</sup>

This being so, I now propose to examine, in the first place, whether there is any possibility of at least the Dénés of America having migrated from the adjoining continent. In the case of an affirmative finding, we

<sup>1</sup> "Déné Roots" (Trans. Can. Inst., Vol. III, p. 145 *et seq.*).

<sup>2</sup> "Sketches of the History of Man", Vol. II, p. 71; Edinburg, 1774.

<sup>3</sup> From the tribal name of the Yakuts Dr. Latham infers previous commerce of some sort between the Americans and Aleuts, on the one part, and the Asiatic people that bears it, on the other. "The name *Yakut*", he writes, "unless we have recourse to the convenient doctrine of accident, cannot well have been taken by those who first applied it to the Sokhalar, from any language except either the Eskimo or some form of speech akin thereto. There was, at some time or other, someone on those parts about the Lena, who called someone *Yakut*. Now, the American Eskimo on the Lower Kwikpak, have, as their name for men or people, the word *tshagut*. In the Aleutian Archipelago this becomes *tagut* or *yagut*. I believe this to be the root of the name *yakut-at* in Prince William's Sound. So that *yagut* (*yakut*) is an Eskimo word; and at the same time a name in use as far from both America and the Aleutian Islands as the River Lena. How came it there? The name was *not* native. Nor yet Koriak. Nor yet Yukahiri—that we know of. In the present state of our knowledge, it is only the Eskimo tongues that supply this gloss. As far, then, as it goes, it is evidence in favour of a tongue allied to the Eskimo having been once spoken as far westwards in Asia as the Lena. For the encroachment which must have displaced it, we have considerable evidence. The Yakut themselves are evidently recent; the Koriak traditions bring them from the south. The Yukahiri language is remarkable for its isolation, and isolation implies displacement" ("The Native Races of the Russian Empire", pp. 183-84; London, 1854).

will proceed to see whether this mere possibility cannot be converted into a probability, or even some kind of moral certainty.

### III.

In the light of present geographical conditions, it seems almost idle to try to prove the possibility of migrations from Asia to America. Without going as far back as the time when geologists contend that both continents were united, we see that they are to-day separated only by the very slightest obstacle to intercourse, namely a sheet of water barely thirty-five miles in width, which sometimes freezes over, so that even white men are known to have crossed it on foot.

We are furthermore aware that this narrow strait is dotted with islands, which would become as many stepping-stones to him who would recoil from the task of covering such a short distance in a single effort.

Nay, not only is the crossing of this strait possible, even for small craft,<sup>1</sup> but we know that it is commonly effected by both Asiatics and native Americans. "The Tchuktchis . . . cross from the coast of Siberia by the narrow part of Bering Straits and generally meet the Kareaks and Malemutes in Port Clarence", writes the traveller Fr. Whympcr, who adds that "intertribal commerce goes on to such an extent that clothing, worn hundreds of miles up the Yukon . . . is of Tchuktchi origin".<sup>2</sup>

According to J. Bush "beaver are procured from the Tchuctchus, who in turn get them from the natives on the east side of Behring's Strait".<sup>3</sup>

Though emanating from an explorer who, like Whympcr, was on the spot, this statement is but an unconscious echo of that of Wrangell, according to whom "le passage est si aisé de cette partie du rivage asiatique sur le continent américain que les Tchouktchis franchissent chaque année le détroit pour aller chercher en Amérique les pelleteries qu'ils viennent vendre dans les villages de Sibérie".<sup>4</sup>

These are the words of a navigator who observed these conditions close on one hundred years ago.

An eye-witness of a later day, Frederick Schwatka, likewise testifies to commercial intercourse between the Asiatic and American tribes.<sup>5</sup> So does an earlier author, P. Dobell.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Simpson, "An Overland Journey round the World", Vol. II, pp. 201-202; London, 1847.

<sup>2</sup> "Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska", p. 138; London, 1868.

<sup>3</sup> "Reindeer, Dogs and Snow-Shoes", p. 308; New York, 1871.

<sup>4</sup> Voyages, vol. I, p. 249.

<sup>5</sup> "Along Alaska's Great River", p. 323; Saint Louis, 1893.

<sup>6</sup> "Travels in Kamtchatka and Siberia", Vol. I, p. 144; London, 1830.

A still older one, who wrote at a time when the distance between the two continents had not yet been ascertained, exclaimed in the course of his "Voyages from Asia to America": "This is certain, that the Tschuktschi get Cloaths of Martins Skins from hence [*i.e.* from America]; some such have now and then been brought from Anadirskoi [an island in the Gulf of Anadyr] to Jak-tzk, as is known to every Person thereabouts".<sup>1</sup>

Lastly, Sir George Simpson, the celebrated Hudson's Bay Company magnate of the first half of the nineteenth century, tells us that the object of a certain expedition he speaks of "was to occupy the country by posts in order to protect the trade from the Tchuktchi of Siberia, who cross the straits every summer to traffic with the American Indians, carrying their furs, ivory, etc., to the fair of Ostrovnoye".<sup>2</sup>

Just think of it! The commercial relations between the natives of Asia and America so frequent that they disturb the equanimity of such powerful traders as the Hudson's Bay Company people!

And no wonder. For it stands to reason that, especially among primitive and more or less nomadic races, a sheet of water the opposite shores of which can be seen with the naked eye by any one standing on either of them can be no serious impediment to intercourse.<sup>3</sup> And if such a passage is commonly effected for the sake of gratifying one's cupidity or whims, it is at least as possible in cases of personal or national necessity.

And yet we hear a writer of the weight of Dr. H. Rink, the foremost Protestant missionary to the Eastern Eskimos, declare in no uncertain accents that "il est *tout-à-fait impossible* que des peuplades disposant exclusivement de pirogues du genre de celles dont font usage les habitants de l'Australie et des Iles de la Polynésie aient pu faire le trajet d'Asie en Amérique, à une latitude aussi boréale que l'est celle des régions où les côtes du Nouveau Monde et de l'Ancien sont le plus rapprochées".<sup>4</sup>

The italics are his, and render his declaration all the more difficult to reconcile with a common sense view of the question. Why, the natives of Australia and Polynesia are provided with canoes of such an enormous size that they undertake therewith long and perilous voyages on the high seas! On the other hand, we read of an incestuous Aleutian who, in the company of his daughter, after "pushing off in a baidarka from

<sup>1</sup> S. Muller, "Voyages from Asia to America, p. XXIX.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> Hooper, "The Tents of the Tuski", p. 168; London, 1853.

<sup>4</sup> *Compte-rendu Cong. internat. Américanistes*, Vol. II, p. 328; Luxembourg, 1878.



TCHUKCHIS OF BEHRING STRAITS.



Kodiak, paddled steadily to the southward for four days till [the couple] came to an island which was previously unknown".<sup>1</sup>

Yet, in size and sea-faring qualities a baidarka is scarcely anything compared with the immense canoes of the South Sea islanders.

And then there is the highway offered by the chain of the Aleutian Islands, which seem to have been thrown out by the hand of the Creator for the express purpose of still facilitating such inter-continental migrations. Their own inhabitants show by their fearlessness on the high seas what others could do under the impulse of necessity. "It is not uncommon for the Aleutians to make long voyages in their small baidarkas, often going fifty or sixty miles from land to hunt the sea-otter", writes Sir George Simpson.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, speaking of the inhabitants of the Fox Islands, Hooper remarks that "they seemed to migrate from island to island, and many to the mainland of America".<sup>3</sup>

Finally, an author who wrote one hundred and fifty years ago, or rather published at that time the translation of a work written long before, thus records the presence in Asia of a native of America:

"It is said that in the Year 1715, there lived a Man of a foreign Nation at Kamtschatka, who, upon Account of the Kamtschatkan cedar Nuts, and the low Shrubs on which they grow, said, that he came from a Country where there were larger Cedars, which bore bigger Cedar Nuts than those of Kamtschatka; that his Country was situated to the East of Kamtschatka; that there were found in it great Rivers, which discharged themselves westward into the Kamtschatkan Sea; that the inhabitants called themselves Tontoli; they resembled, in their Manner of Living, the People of Kamtschatka, and made use of Leathern Boats, or Baidares, like the Kamtschadales; That, many Years ago, he went over, with some more of his Countrymen, to Karaginskoi Ostrow, where his companions were slain by the Inhabitants, and he alone made his Escape into Kamtschatka".<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, we gather from the same old author that the passage from one continent to the other is considerably facilitated by nature. He further writes:

"On Karaginskoi Ostrow, an Island opposite the River Karaga, by which it is called, it is said, in the subterraneous Dwellings of the Inhabitants, there are observed great Beams of Pine and Fir Frees, with which these Caves are partly wainscotted: The Inhabitants being asked whence they had these Beams, since such Kind of Wood was not

<sup>1</sup> Geo. Simpson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> "The Tents of the Tuski", pp. 9-10.

<sup>4</sup> S. Muller, *op. cit.*, p. XXVIII.

found in Kamtschatka, or the neighbouring Islands? They made answer that, sometimes, they were driven on Shore by easterly Winds, when, for Want of Wood in the Island, they used to take them and make Use of them".

The same element that carries wood one way over the sea can certainly help carry people another way, when a different season contributes to give it another direction.

The question of the possibility of a migration from Asia to America is therefore fully solved. We know it to be not only possible but easy, and we are further certain that it has been accomplished by individuals.

But is such migration probable in the case of large bodies leaving their ancestral homes for the unknown regions of a new world? Why could not the natives of America have originated in the country they now inhabit?

The consideration of a few undeniable facts in connection with the original state of this hemisphere will help us in the solution of these problems. Some of them will even aid us in determining the quarters from which our Indians must have migrated.

#### IV.

It is generally conceded that there never was a continent so sparsely peopled as was aboriginal America. Was this because of the barrenness of the soil or the severity of the climate? The white races there established at the present day have given an emphatically negative answer to the first part of this question, and, as to the second, the particular lay of the land ensures therefor as much temperate, or warm, as cold climates.

In the name of what principle, then, shall we surmise that, after having been the cradle of the human race, America should have been left almost deserted by its original population who, in that supposition, must have rushed to the dreary wastes of northern Asia and the mountainous regions of its centre, the cold forests and marshes of Europe, or the sun-burnt sands of Africa? Such hypotheses cannot be taken seriously.

A second incontestable fact is that, despite the sparseness of the aboriginal population of the New World, there is not an equivalent part of the earth where so many ethnologically distinct races can be found within any given area. "Choose any tract of the old world where you think most languages spoken, then select an equal space at random in any district of America peopled by native tribes, and the latter will assuredly give a greater number of various tongues".

This is from the writings of an erudite author who was merely echoing one of Humboldt's declarations.<sup>1</sup>

North of Mexico alone, we have not less than fifty-eight families, whose languages have not anything more in common than vague and exceedingly broad characteristics, which cannot be adduced as valid criteria of ethnic assimilation.<sup>2</sup> Not one word of a particular stock will ever be found repeated in another, unless it be a loan word due to commercial intercourse; the grammar and morphology of each are irreconcilably different, with scarcely any trait of resemblance.

Does not that wonderful diversity point to extraneous origins, to some accidental importation from unrelated quarters?

The answer is ready at hand, and we implicitly find it in a third ethnological fact which is no less established: "A marked feature of the distribution of Indian linguistic families north of Mexico is the presence, or former existence, in what are now the States of California and Oregon, of more than one-third of the total number, while some other stocks . . . have a very wide distribution. The Pacific coast contrasts with the Atlantic by reason of the multiplicity of its linguistic families as compared with the few on the eastern littoral".

These remarks are not mine. I take them from the sketch of the American linguistic families in the "Hand-book of American Indians" by our common lamented friend, the late Dr. Alexander Chamberlain.<sup>3</sup>

That anthropologist had chiefly in mind the aboriginal population of what is now the United States. If we turn to Canada, the appositeness of his last remark will be greatly enhanced. As everyone knows, fully five-sixths of the territory of that country lies east of the Rocky Mountains. Yet, within that immense stretch of land, we find only three aboriginal stocks, namely the Iroquois, the Algonquin and the Déné. I do not mention the Sioux, who are a recent intrusion, or the Eskimos, who can hardly be considered an American race, since they are found in Asia and the inter-continental islands. Moreover, they belong as much to the west as to the east slope of the Rockies.

Now there are no less than six unrelated families within the remaining sixth part of Canada's territory, that is, on the Pacific coast and the land intervening between it and the Rocky Mountains. These are the Kootenays, the Salish, the Kwakwíutl, the Haidas, the Tsimpsons

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Wiseman, "Twelve Lectures on the Connexion between Science and revealed Religion", pp. 78-79; London, 1842.

<sup>2</sup> I am well aware of the fact that an effort is now being made to find analogies between some of these stocks with a view to reducing their number (See "American Anthropologist", Vol. XV, p. 647 *et seq.*). But these pretended verbal assimilations will seem far-fetched and little convincing to more than one American philologist.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I, p. 767.

and the Dénés, to whom I should add the Tlingets, whose habitat is the narrow strip of land known as Southern Alaska, which geographically belongs to Canada.

Seven stocks west of the Rockies to three east thereof, in a region which, if the normal proportions were observed, should contain no less than forty-five of them!

Why this extraordinary disparity? Has it never struck any ethnologist as being significant? In my humble opinion, only one answer can satisfy the unbiassed enquirer: most of the Canadian Indians are but pieces of wreckage brought from the neighbouring continent, descendants of stray representatives of the native Asiatics thrown by accidents on the Pacific coast, which became the dumping ground of western adventurers—by this I mean the maritime tribes of British Columbia—or brought to their present homes through the northwest corner of the continent or the Aleutian Islands by means of voluntary or forced migrations: in these we have the Dénés of the Northwest.

In the same way, therefore, as the general sparseness of the American native population excludes the possibility of autochthonousness, unless we choose to believe in principles the falsity of which has been demonstrated, even so the significant fact that most of the races into which this population is divided have their habitat on the Pacific slope points to the Asiatic continent as the supply house of the same.

## V.

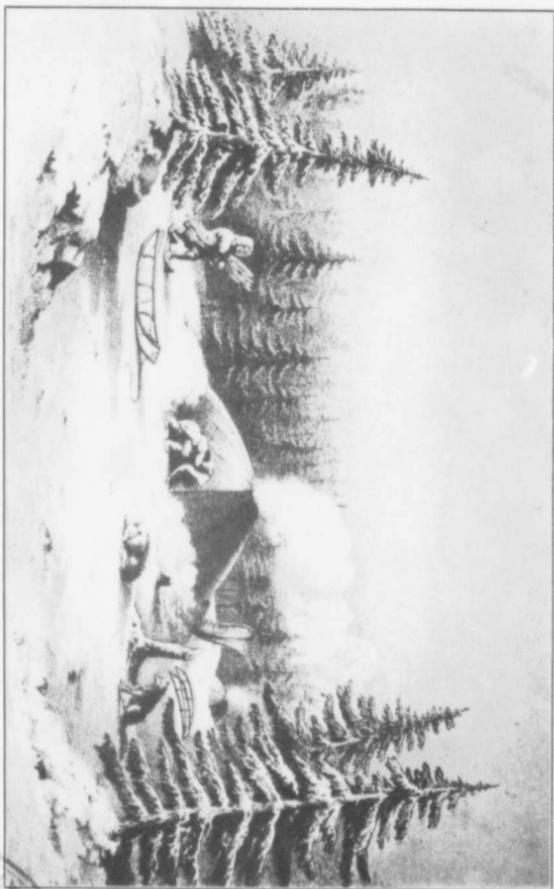
Let us now restrict the field of our enquiry and question the Dénés of Canada on their origin. They generally seem to know little on this point; but whenever they will vouchsafe any answer at all, it will be to the effect that those east of the Rocky Mountains originally came from the west or the northwest, while those of British Columbia unconsciously stand for a migration from the north.

Practically all have a more or less confused tradition of having crossed, in the dim past, a body of water strewn with islands. The very fact that they believe their country to be an island would seem to confirm this. According to Sir John Franklin, the Dog-Ribs do so call the earth,<sup>1</sup> and this fact is fully corroborated by Petitot.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Alexander Mackenzie tells us that the Chippewayans "have a tradition among them that they originally came from another country,

<sup>1</sup> "Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea", Vol. II, p. 295; London 1823.

<sup>2</sup> *Essai sur l'Origine des Déné-Dindjè* (prefixed to his polyglot dictionary), p. XXVII; Paris, 1875.



LEITCHFIELD CAMP, YUKON.

TRANS. ROYAL CANADIAN INST.





inhabited by very wicked people, and had traversed a great lake,\*which was narrow, shallow and full of islands, where they had suffered great misery, it being always winter, with ice and deep snow".<sup>1</sup>

If we are to believe Franklin, the Rocky Mountain Indians are even more explicit on this head. They claim that "they came originally from the westward, from a level country, where there was no winter, which produced trees and large fruits now unknown to them. It was inhabited by many strange animals, amongst which there was a small one whose visage bore a striking resemblance to the human countenance.<sup>2</sup> During their residence in this land, their ancestors were visited by a man who healed the sick, raised the dead, and performed many other miracles, enjoining them at the same time to lead good lives, and not eat of the entrails of animals, nor use the brains for dressing skins until after the third day; and never to leave the skull of deer upon the ground within the reach of dogs and wolves, but to hang them carefully upon trees. No one knew from whence this good man came, or whither he went.

"They were driven from that land by the rising of the waters, and, following the tracks of animals on the sea-shore, they directed their course to the northward. At length they came to a *strait*, which they crossed upon a raft, but the sea has since frozen, and they have never been able to return".<sup>3</sup>

So much for the Chippewayans and the Rocky Mountain Indians. The northernmost Déné tribes are the Hares and the Loucheux. In the early sixties Father Petitot, who could speak their languages, recorded the following from the mouths of the former:

"Ils habitaient jadis bien loin dans l'occident, au-delà de la mer et au milieu d'une nation fort puissante, chez laquelle les magiciens avaient le pouvoir de se transformer en chiens ou en loups durant la nuit, tandis qu'ils redevenaient hommes pendant le jour. Ces ennemis avaient pris des femmes parmi les Dénés, mais ces créatures ne participaient en rien aux pratiques occultes de leurs maris.

"Ces ennemis, les Peaux-de-Lièvre les nomment *Kfwi-détélé* (têtes pelées); car ils se rasaient la tête et portaient perruque".<sup>4</sup>

The Loucheux have their habitat both in the Lower Mackenzie basin and in the Yukon and Alaska. They are, therefore, those who

<sup>1</sup> "Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America", p. CLXIII of his preface (Toronto reprint).

<sup>2</sup> Evidently some kind of *Stimida*, none of which is to be found in America. Father Petitot also records a similar tradition.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 293.

<sup>4</sup> *Essai sur l'Origine des Déné-Dindjè*, p. XXVIII.

must have been the last to cross into the American continent and have kept most vivid the remembrance of such a passage. Here is what Petitot writes by way of describing the dog-like enemies of the Dénés of old:

"Les Loucheux nous les dépeignent comme très vaillants mais immoraux et allant presque nus. A la guerre ils portaient des casques de bois, des boucliers en peau très dure suspendus à l'épaule et un vêtement recouvert d'écailles (cuirasses). Leurs armes, disaient-ils, étaient des couteaux tranchants liés au bout d'une perche (lances)".<sup>1</sup>

This description of the Dénés' former enemies, in whom Petitot would fain see a very distant nation, fits admirably the natives of northeastern Asia, the inhabitants of the Fox and Aleutian Islands, and even the Kollush or Tlingets of the Alaskan littoral.

To the simple-minded and much more reserved Dénés, all those tribes are the very essence of immorality and lasciviousness. I have myself time and again heard the Carriers characterize them as dogs, and such travellers as saw them before they had adopted some of our ways are at one in chronicling the entire lack of restraint of those people.

Speaking of the Fox Islanders Coxe remarks that "they do not observe any rules of decency, but follow all the calls of nature publicly and without the least reserve. They wash themselves in their own urine".<sup>2</sup>

This last particular is also recorded of the Tchuktchis of Asia.<sup>3</sup>

As to the shaving of the head, G. Sarytchew says that the Aleutians "cut the hair of the forepart of the head".<sup>4</sup> Of another tribe, whose habitat is likewise between the two continents, the same traveller has it that "they cut off all their hair, except one tuft on the crown".<sup>5</sup> Coxe himself writes of the aborigines of Unalaska that "the men shave with a sharp stone or knife the circumference and top of the head",<sup>6</sup> while Shelekov says of the "Konæges" that among them "both men and women cut [the hair] about the head".<sup>7</sup>

With regard to the Dénés' traditional enemies going "almost naked", this is just as true of most of the Aleutians, Eskimos, Tlingets and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> "Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America", p. 175; London 1787.

<sup>3</sup> S. Muller, "Voyages from Asia to America", p. XXVII.

<sup>4</sup> "Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the North-East of Siberia", Vol. II, p. 9. London, 1806.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 176. See also p. 197.

<sup>7</sup> "The Voyage of Gregory Shelekov, a Russian, from Okhotsk, on the Eastern Ocean, to the Coast of America", p. 36.

eastern Siberians. The blanket thrown over the shoulders of the Tlingets can scarcely be said to cover their nakedness, any more than the bird skin costume of the Aleutians, inasmuch as men of either tribe discard every vestige of clothing on the slightest pretext.

As to the Eskimos of the Far West, it is well known that they sleep stark naked. Of the aborigines he calls "Konæges" the Russian Gregory Shelekov writes also that they "wear no shirt, go barefoot and when at home are quite naked",<sup>1</sup> while an old author asserts that, among the Koriaks of Siberia, "a whole Family will lie all naked together under one large Coverlet".<sup>2</sup> The same writer then goes on to describe others of their habits which had better be explained in Latin than in modern English.

Apropos of vestments made of birds' skins, they are, I believe, characteristic of all the aboriginal Aleutians. In fact, Coxe mentions them no less than ten times in connection with as many native groups of their archipelago and that of the Fox Islanders. Of the latter he writes: "The men wear shirts made of the skins of cormorants, sea-divers and gulls",<sup>3</sup> and of others he says: "The natives of the above mentioned islands are very tall and strongly made. They make their cloaths of the skins of birds".<sup>4</sup>

With regard to his "Konæges" Shelekov mentions clothing of similar material,<sup>5</sup> while the same was used quite close to the Asiatic continent and far from America, namely on an island lying opposite Anadyrskoi Noss (or Cape Anadyr), according to Wrangell, who writes: "This race have a language of their own and make clothes of duck-skins".<sup>6</sup>

Now the Tsætsaut, a North Pacific coast subtribe of the Dénés, and, I believe, the Carriers, whose habitat is Central British Columbia, claim that they formerly wore an identical sort of clothing.<sup>7</sup>

According to Petitot, the Loucheux's, original enemies with whom they parted in course of time to reach their present quarters, wore wooden helmets. But Coxe tells us that, in the spring of 1754, the Russians discovered an island which "seemed to be opposite to Katyskoi Noss, in the peninsula of Kamtchatka," whose inhabitants wore "wooden

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> S. Muller, *ubi supra*, p. IX.

<sup>3</sup> "Account of the Russian Discoveries", p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75. See also Sarytschew, "Account of a Voyage of Discovery", pp. 8, 18; also S. Muller, "Voyages from Asia to America", pp. XXII, XXIV.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> "Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Sea", p. 414; London, 1844.

<sup>7</sup> Tenth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 560.

caps, ornamented with a small piece of board projecting forwards, as it seemed, for a defence against the arrows".<sup>1</sup>

Of the inhabitants of Alaxa, Umnak, Unalashka and the neighbouring islands, the same author likewise records that "on their heads they wear wooden caps, ornamented with ducks feathers and the ears of the sea-animal called *Seivutcha*, or sea-lion".<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the other defensive weapons attributed to the Dénés' traditional enemies, they are also to be found, without an iota of difference, among the same maritime aborigines. I myself minutely described, years ago, both of the kinds of armour mentioned by Petitot's informants.<sup>3</sup> I gave them out as the Carrier shield and cuirass, but they are common to all the North Pacific coast Indians. By referring to Coxe's valuable work, we find the same among the islanders of the Far West—and probably the Asiatics of the Extreme East as well.

"On the 4th of October [1763] about two hundred islanders made their appearance, carrying wooden shields before them, and preparing with bows and arrows for an attack", he writes of the natives met by the Russians on Kadyak Island.<sup>4</sup> A specimen of this armour having fallen into the hands of the white explorers, it was found to be "made of three rows of stakes placed perpendicularly, and bound together with sea-weed and osiers; they were twelve feet broad, and about half a yard thick".<sup>5</sup>

As to the "couteaux tranchants liés au bout d'une perche", these were also to be seen throughout the same region, viz. the North Pacific coast of America and west thereof, as well as the wigs which the Dénés' old enemies are said to have worn.

All of which cannot but create the impression that the Dénés traversed that country while on their way to their present habitat.

## VI.

So much for the traditions of the Eastern Dénés.

The main division of those who live west of the Rockies is the Carrier tribe, the seats of which are around the numerous lakes of Central British Columbia. The Carriers have no reminiscence of having moved from a western continent. They even contend that they always dwelt

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211. See also Sarytschew, *ubi supra*, Vol. II, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> "Notes . . . on the Western Dénés" (Transactions of the Canadian Institute, Vol. IV, pp. 117 and 149; Toronto, 1893).

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.



ALEUTS IN ANCIENT COSTUME.



in the country which they now inhabit. But, in addition to the fact that such a contention is not altogether disinterested on their lips,<sup>1</sup> we find in an apparently unimportant declaration of theirs an implicit admission that their present habitat is certainly not that of their ancestors.

Their old men assert that "formerly days were exceedingly short; so short indeed that all a woman could do between sunrise and sunset was to hem a muskrat skin". This undoubtedly refers to the Arctic or Subarctic regions as a previous home, or place of passage, for the tribe.

Another proof that those Indians came from the north I find in a word of the dialect of the Tsilkotins, their immediate neighbours and the southernmost Dénés in Canada.<sup>2</sup> They call the particular kind of grass (*Poa tenuifolia*) known as bunch-grass, which is one of the most valued possessions of their present country, *Ænna-t'îlâ*, which means "grass of the Foreigners", that is the Shushwaps.

This shows, in the first place, that they now inhabit a stretch of land formerly belonging to the latter tribe, and, secondly, that they reached it by means of a southward migration. The Shushwaps live immediately to the south of the Tsilkotins, and it is inconceivable that the latter should have forced their way through the preserves of the former to get at their present quarters, especially when we consider that, to the north of these, there are none but congenerous tribes as far as the territory of the Eskimos.

Moreover, it is within the recollection of even living men that the bulk of that tribe moved, some fifty or sixty years ago, from the north-western forest, where bunch-grass is unknown, into the valley which is to-day the home of most of them and the most noticeable particularity of which is the luxuriant bunch-grass pastures on which feed their numerous bands of horses.

<sup>1</sup> As may be gathered from the following case, which occurred among their immediate neighbours in the north. "About 1820, an accident happened whereby the entire portion of the Babine tribe living along the Bulkley was deprived of its fishing grounds (See my "History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia", p. 8). These Indians then took forcible possession of the fishery near the mouth of the river, which had previously belonged to a Tsimpsian tribe, and have kept it ever since. Some difficulty having lately arisen between the two races, the question of the right to the fishery was brought to the attention of the Agent, when the Babines unblushingly and very loudly protested that the disputed grounds had always been theirs. In the course of a generation or two, what is now known to be false will probably be regarded as the merest expression of truth.

<sup>2</sup> With the exception of a band of the same tribe who, impelled by that instinctive impulse which leads them southward, established themselves not very long ago in the valley of the Nicola, within the same province of British Columbia.

But we have a still clearer, if not stronger, evidence of the Dénés having migrated from the northwest, that is from Asia. In the basin of Greater Bear Lake lies a large steppe, the southern end of which is known to the present day Indians under a native name which means "The Last Steppe", while there is in the same region a mountain called "The Last Mountain" by the natives of the same country. This being the southernmost of a group of mountains, it should have been named "The First Mountain" if the Indians responsible for its designation had followed a northerly direction in the course of their prehistoric migrations.<sup>1</sup>

Then, as if to preclude the possibility of an error in this respect, the northernmost mountain of the same group is called by a Déné word which means "The First Promontory".<sup>2</sup>

It is therefore evident that when those aborigines saw for the first time that country, they were travelling from north to south. On the other hand, as those who still live in a higher latitude claim that they came from the west, and as almost all the Dénés have a tradition of a passage by water, I fail to see how we can escape the conclusion that they reached America through Behring Strait or the Aleutian Islands, and that such of them as crossed the Rockies took a southeastern direction, while the others made directly for the south.

The strength of these conclusions becomes still greater by a consideration of the unmistakable fact that the migrations of all the Dénés in America have invariably been southward. Several of the northern tribes, such as the Sarcees, the Beavers and the Tsilkotins, had but lately a more northern habitat. Instinctively, when not meeting with resistance at the hands of a body of people already in possession of the country, they have tended towards the more hospitable climes of the south.

The best proof I can adduce of this, in addition to the three above mentioned instances, is that which we find in the presence in Arizona and New Mexico of the Navahoes and the Apaches, the two foremost Déné tribes as far as population is concerned, as well as in the different bodies of stragglers in the southward march whom we now call the Kwalhioquas of the State of Washington, the Umpquas of Oregon, and the Hupas and others of California.

That the Navahoes come from the north there is not the shadow of a doubt. True, the late Dr. D. G. Brinton wrote somewhere that they "have no reminiscence of their ancestral home in the north".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Exploration de la Région du Grand Lac des Ours*, pp. 124 and 313; Paris, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> "The American Race", p. 72; Philadelphia, 1901.

But even though this statement were correct, we must not forget that it is a well known practice of the native mind to transfer to places within its actual knowledge and vicinity the scenes of the happenings handed down by the ancestors.

But a correspondent of mine, Father Leopold Ostermann, O.F.M., who has long and faithfully laboured among the Navahoes and whose pen has yielded valuable information concerning that important tribe,<sup>1</sup> wrote but a few years ago:

"The Navajos have a faint tradition of other Navajos, or Diné, away to the North, whom they call 'Déné nahodloni', *i.e.* 'they know are also Navajos' . . . They even tell of a party of Navajos who once set out to look up the Déné Nahodloni, and say that their hunters found their fellow-tribesmen, stayed with them a short time, and then returned to their homes in the south, after their northern kin had refused to go with them".<sup>2</sup>

In a private letter to me Father Leopold confirmed his printed statement by adding:

"Most of the old Navajos, at least all the old-timers whom I have asked, know something about the Déné Nahodloni . . . They know that somewhere, at a great distance, there are 'people who are also Déné', who speak their language, and who at one time were one people with themselves. They do not mean the Apaches, for the Apaches have time and again made themselves very clearly and distinctly known to the Navajos. The home of the Déné Nahodloni is said by some to be in the north, by others in the northwest; most of them do not know in which direction to place it".<sup>3</sup>

These declarations by one who has first-hand knowledge of what he writes about must for ever set at rest the question of the origin of the Navajos, and convince the reader that the southernmost of all the Déné tribes really came from the north or the northwest.

## VII.

Physiology, sociology and technology are at one in confirming us in the belief that the whole of the so important aboriginal family which we call, or rather which calls itself, Déné is a relatively late arrival on the continent of America. I shall not dwell on the similarity of the

<sup>1</sup> As far as numbers go the Navahoes form what I believe to be the most important tribe of all North America outside of Mexico. They are to-day estimated at no less than 28,500 souls.

<sup>2</sup> The Catholic Pioneer, Oct. 1905.

<sup>3</sup> December 27, 1905.

Indian type with that of the inhabitants of northeastern Asia. All travellers and ethnologists, Wrangell, Peter Dobell, J. Bush, Latham, Geo. Simpson and others have noticed it.

This physical resemblance is so striking that, when on the 5th of September, 1741, a certain Lieutenant Waxel, a pioneer among the pioneer explorers of America from Asia, had tried in vain to hold intercourse with the first native Americans he saw, he ordered three of his men to land and make for the strangers. Among the three men was a Koriack who acted as his interpreter. Then the chronicler of his voyage (who wrote just one hundred and fifty years ago) remarks that "it has been observed everywhere that the Tschuktschian and Korjak interpreters did not understand the language of these people; but they were nevertheless very servicable as conductors, being bold and looked upon by the Americans as the same with themselves".<sup>1</sup>

The personal ornaments, the labret, nose and ear pendants, of the North Americans were also prevalent among several Asiatic tribes.

Both divisions of the human family are remarkable for the quasi-absence of facial hairs, and I have described<sup>2</sup> the way the Dénés used to pluck out the few that nature would grow on their upper lip and chin. Now, an old author writes of the Koriacks of Siberia: "They are beardless, like the Laplanders, Samojeds and Ostiaks; for, in the first Place, they have naturally very little Hair about the Mouth, and what little they have they pluck out as do also the Jakuhti, Tungusii and Kal-mucks".<sup>3</sup>

The habitations of the semi-sedentary Dénés, such as the Carriers and their neighbours in the west, have likewise their exact counterpart in Siberia. "The Jakutian habitations are of two kinds", writes Wrangell. "In summer they are Urosses, which are light circular tents formed of poles and covered with birch-bark, which they strip from the trees in large pieces . . . At the approach of winter, they occupy their warm Yourtes [compare with the Carrier synonym *Yarkh*]. These are cottages formed of thin boards".<sup>4</sup>

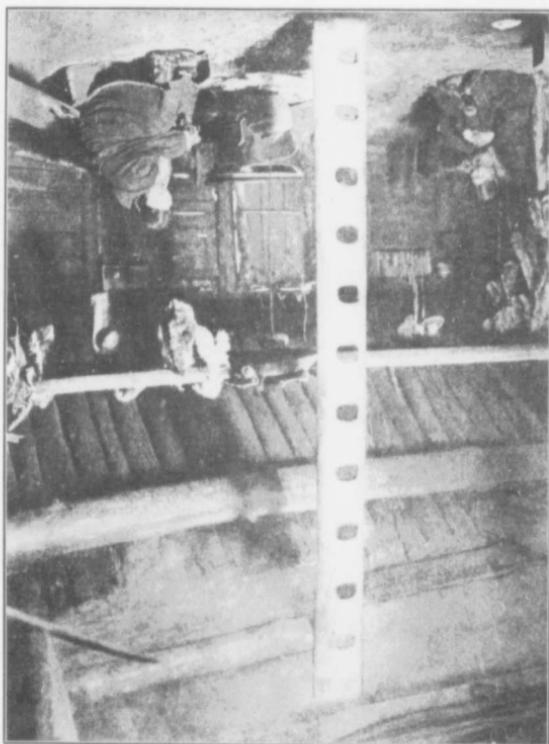
<sup>1</sup> S. Muller, "Voyages from Asia to America", p. XLVI.

<sup>2</sup> "Notes on the Western Dénés", p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> S. Muller, *op. cit.*, p. VIII.

<sup>4</sup> "Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Sea", p. 24. The houses of the Tuski (Tchuktehis) are called *yurung* according to Hooper. A little particularity in connection with those aborigines is, I believe, all the more worthy of mention as I have otherwise been unable to find the least resemblance between their language and that of my Dénés. Hooper writes: "We were much attracted and amused by their expressions of astonishment at any new wonder. Kah—kah—kah—was the universal ejaculation of surprise" ("The Tents of the Tuski", p. 21). Now this is precisely the interjection to which the Carriers resort when they want to express surprise. "Kah 'kah 'kah they exclaim, meaning: Now, is not that wonderful!"

INTERIOR OF A VOYERIE OF SETTLED NOBIAKS.





George Kennan makes the same distinction with regard to the homes of the Kamtschadales<sup>1</sup> and G. Sarytschew in connection with those of the Tchuktchis.<sup>2</sup> In fact, all the authors on northeastern Asia make the same distinction.

Now this applies equally well to the Western Dénés, Carriers and Tsilkotins, whose summer and winter houses I have described in my "Notes . . . on the Western Dénés",<sup>3</sup> and the navigator Marchand noticed himself this similarity between the technology of peoples of the Old and the New Worlds when he wrote that "the distinction between the winter and summer habitations of the Queen Charlotte Islanders recalls to mind the custom of the Kamtschadales who have their *balagans* for summer and their *jourts* for winter".<sup>4</sup>

Even farther west in the same immensity of Siberia, a late traveller saw, in the valley of Lake Baikal, "clusters of tents exactly like Red Indian tents. They belonged to the aborigines, Buriat Mongols, who are vanishing before the Muscovites as the Redskins are vanishing before the Saxons".<sup>5</sup>

Speaking of the Carrier villages I wrote, twenty-two years ago, that they were generally situated "on the north banks of lakes, so as to have the benefit of the sun's rays from the opposite side",<sup>6</sup> and that the houses that formed them had no other chimney than an aperture in the roof. But Wrangell tells us that those of the sedentary Tchuktchis are built in such a way that "the low entrance is always turned to the south", and that "at the top there is a hole for the smoke to escape".<sup>7</sup>

I have described in the above mentioned work the native American ladder, "that is, a log notched at the proper stepping intervals". This is apparently a very small, yet significant, detail, since it requires the higher culture of the Pueblo Indians to think, in connection with that household necessity, of two sticks with cross-pieces. We find a counterpart of the former among the Gilaks of Siberia, as R. J. Bush tells us when he states that the platforms round their houses "are reached by rude steps cut in a log".<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Tent Life in Siberia", p. 153, New York, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> "Account of a Voyage of Discovery", Vol. II, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Trans. Can. Institute, Vol. IV, pp. 185-89.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Swan, "The Haidah Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands", p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> John Foster Fraser, "The Real Siberia", p. 137; London, 1904.

<sup>6</sup> "Notes", p. 184.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 350-59.

<sup>8</sup> "Reindeer, Dogs and Snow-Shoes", p. 103.

Peter Dobell mentions also seeing among the Kamtchadales "a piece of timber placed against the edge of the hole, with notches cut in it to receive the feet—a miserable substitute for a ladder".<sup>1</sup>

In the close vicinity of the Carriers' and other Dénés' homes is to be seen the aerial provision store, of which a figure and description will be found p. 196 of my above referred to "Notes". An equivalent of this prevails in Siberia, according to the explorer Bush, who writes: "Belonging to each house and erected on a scaffolding near by, several feet above the snow, out of the reach of dogs, were conical and pyramidal structures used as store-rooms".<sup>2</sup>

Before we leave the subject of aboriginal habitations, I may note another point of resemblance between Asia and America, in spite of its apparent insignificance. According to Col. N. Prjévalski, who refers to the Mongols among whom he travelled extensively, "même dans l'intérieur de sa iourte, un nomade dira: Tel objet est placé au nord ou à l'ouest".<sup>3</sup> This is exactly the case with the Dénés who, though possessing terms denoting the right or left direction, never use them as we do. When it is a question of position, they invariably resort to such words as denote the points of the compass, even when the distance is insignificant.

Prjévalski also records that "dans la Mongolie orientale, avant de se séparer de son hôte, le voyageur échange avec lui de petites serviettes de soie comme gage de sympathie mutuelle".<sup>4</sup> The Dénés have no such napkins, but we may be allowed to compare the custom of the Mongol with that of the Déné traveller who, before returning home or going on his journey, usually exchanges pieces of attire with his host, as a token of friendship. To come out of a place with the same garments is tantamount to an admission of disregard or contempt on the part of the person visited. It is so carefully guarded against that this mutual exchange of clothing occasionally gives rise to the most ludicrous costume, as the traveller always makes it a point of honour to wear on his return what has been given him.

Another explorer records the following: "In one of the houses which we entered to-day, I observed a child swaddled in a bag which was attached to a board, the whole being a counterpart of the cradle used among the Indians of North America".<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Travels in Kamtchatka and Siberia", vol. i, p. 90; London, 1830.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 351.

<sup>3</sup> *Mongolie et Pays des Tangoutes*, p. 45; Paris, 1880.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Geo. Simpson, "An Overland Journey round the World", vol. II, p. 129 of American edition; Philadelphia, 1847.

This was among the Yakuts, and I am quoting from Sir Geo. Simpson. Speaking of infants, I may remind the reader of the long suckling practised by the Déné mothers, who quite often give the breast at the same time to two children, one of whom has been walking for a long time. Indeed, I remember a Carrier boy who must have been six or seven years old, at the very least, since he was big enough to learn a certain new hymn which he sang out to me for a consideration, and yet he was sucking his mother!

Now an English traveller among the Kirghis writes of a child of three or four running to its mother to be suckled, and adds: "You would be surprised to see boys of ten and eleven years of age feeding from the mother".<sup>1</sup>

Of the Tungus children the same author says that "they invariably run about naked [in summer] until they are ten or twelve years old",<sup>2</sup> a remark which could not be truer of the children of the old Déné stock.

Face tattooing also prevailed to the same extent among those two aboriginal peoples.

According to Sir Geo. Simpson the Yakuts use "canoes of birch-bark, of the same peculiar shape as those of the Pend d'Oreille River, near Fort Colville",<sup>3</sup> after which he goes on to relate that these canoes "also serve as coffins in the same manner as among the Chinooks and other tribes of the American coast".

The last mentioned craft are, of course, made of wood. They, too, have their equivalents in form and manufacture among the Kamtchadales, if we are to believe Bush, who mentions them as "dug-outs or hollowed logs", the very best description that can be given of the canoes of the Western Dénés.

The same primitive style of embarkation obtains among the Gilacks of the Amoor valley, as is repeatedly stated in a book of travel by a British naval officer.<sup>4</sup>

Bush further states that "to ensure safety when the water is rough, they [the Kamtchadales] lash two or more of them together, side by side, by binding light poles across the tops".<sup>5</sup> I have myself seen many a time canoe rafts among the Babines and Carriers, and Hearne assures us that even the Eastern Dénés used to resort to the same prac-

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Atkinson, "Recollections of Tartar Steppes and their Inhabitants", p. 178 London, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 127.

<sup>4</sup> J. M. Tronson, "A Voyage to Japan, Kamtschatka, Siberia, Tartary", pp. 135, 277, 323; London, 1859.

<sup>5</sup> "Reindeer, Dogs and Snow-Shoes", p. 46.

tice under similar circumstances in connection with their frailer em-  
barcations.<sup>1</sup>

For winter travelling the Western Dénés have, as an adjunct to the snowshoe, which is, of course, of universal use in Asia as well as in America, a peculiar stick with a discoid attachment which prevents it from sinking into the snow.<sup>2</sup> The Gilacks of Eastern Siberia use an identical implement which, according to Bush, "near the bottom has a small hoop fastened around it by a network of deerskin thongs [exactly like its Déné equivalent] which prevents it from sinking into the snow in winter".<sup>3</sup>

The Western Eskimos have also adopted this peculiar staff; but, in his work on "Primitive Travel and Transportation", the late Prof. O. T. Mason deems it of recent introduction in America, as is also the case with the Eskimo and Loucheux wooden snow goggles, which are likewise found in Asia.<sup>4</sup>

Among the Carriers of British Columbia, the snow-stick has a second object which I have thus described: "The hand of the hunter, warm and trembling from the excitement of the chase, if passed through the leather hoop which often accompanies the upper part of the staff, can thereby be steadied and find a reliable support for the barrel of his gun while in the act of firing".<sup>5</sup>

Now here is what I read in a rather little known work: "There is an element of picturesqueness which the Samoyed has introduced into his use of fire-arms: he fires with a gun-rest not unlike that of the old matchlock days. It is made of wood, is about two inches in diameter and four feet long, and reminds you more particularly of a dwarfed billiard-rest".<sup>6</sup>

I am well aware that, from an ethnological standpoint, this little particularity is of no importance. I simply give it as an excellent illustration of the axiom that the same needs create the same means. There still remains the truly aboriginal snow-stick, which is believed to have originated in Asia.

As to fishing on a large scale, that is by means of traps, the same systems and identical contrivances prevail among the Kamtchadales

<sup>1</sup> "A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean", p. 119; London, 1795.

<sup>2</sup> P. 154 of my "Notes . . . on the Western Dénés" I give a description, with two figures, of this implement such as we find it to-day among the Carrier Indians of British Columbia.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 134-35.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 272; Washington, D.C.

<sup>5</sup> "Notes", p. 135.

<sup>6</sup> "The great Frozen Land", p. 80.

and other northeastern Asiatics and the native Americans of the Far Northwest. Sir George Simpson is a witness to this fact when he writes: "While strolling about, I observed in the brook a number of baskets and weirs for taking fish, such as I had seen on the Columbia and in New Caledonia".<sup>1</sup>

The contrivances are, indeed, so much like not only those used by the Indians of those regions, but also those resorted to by my former charge, that Bush and myself described them in exactly the same terms, viz. as "long, funnel-shaped baskets", at a time when I was not even aware of the existence of the former's book!<sup>2</sup>

The American traveller further remarks: "This kind of trap I afterward found in use among nearly all the tribes from the Amoor to the Arctic".

If I mistake not, the reader must by this time concede that there is a wonderful identity between the technology of the American and Asiatic tribes. But this is not all.

### VIII.

In Asia, no less than in America, it is chiefly salmon which is the object of the fishing industry. The way it is cured is identical on either side of the Aleutian Islands. In the words of George Kennan, it is "cut open, cleaned and boned by the women with the greatest skill and celerity, and hung in long rows upon horizontal poles to dry".<sup>3</sup>

Apropos of fish and fishing, a remark of Wrangell's, which that explorer applies to the natives of the Lower Kolyma, recalls a foible of the Déné gourmet: his inordinate liking for fish-roe. "As an occasional delicacy", he writes, "they have baked cakes of fish-roe".<sup>4</sup>

The natives here referred to are the Yakuts. Since those nomads are nothing else than an offshoot of the great Tatar race,<sup>5</sup> it may not be out of place to recall in this connection analogies between the latter while "at table" and the North American Indians, especially those of the Far Northwest.

In the first place, both people wash themselves in exactly the same characteristic way, that is, by filling their mouth with water and then

<sup>1</sup>"An Overland Journey", vol. II, p. 348 of English edition. New Caledonia was to the early Hudson's Bay Company traders what is now called British Columbia minus the territory south of the Thompson River.

<sup>2</sup>Bush, *op. cit.*, p. 172; Morice, "Notes . . . On the Western Dénés", p. 84.

<sup>3</sup>"Tent Life in Siberia", p. 154.

<sup>4</sup>"Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Sea", p. 75.

<sup>5</sup>Wrangell, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 171; Ledyard, "Life and Travels", p. 280; P. Dobell, "Travels", Vol. II, pp. 13, 111.

squirting it over their hands.<sup>1</sup> "On certain rare high days a slight ablution of the face and hands was performed by filling the mouth with water, squirting it out into the hands joined together, and then carrying it to the face", writes F. G. Jackson of the Samoyeds.<sup>2</sup> I have repeatedly seen an identical operation performed among the Tsilkotins, Carriers, Sékanais and Babines.

Then one of the national dishes proper to Asiatics and Dénés alike consists in nothing else than the half digested contents of the reindeer's stomach. Hearne describes it at length as regards the latter,<sup>3</sup> and Bush is no less explicit when he writes of the natives of Siberia.<sup>4</sup>

Another delicacy much esteemed on both continents is the tripe of the hunter's victim. I have repeatedly seen them relished by the Dénés, and, in his remarkable work on the Tatars, the parents of the Yakuts, Abbé Huc shows that the former are not backward in realizing the economic excellence of that part of the animal, which amongst us is scarcely ever thought of when it is a question of human food.<sup>5</sup>

The same author goes on to declare that "tous les Mongols connaissent le nombre, le nom et la place des os qui entrent dans la charpente des animaux; aussi quand ils ont à dépecer un bœuf ou un mouton, ils ne fracturent jamais les ossements".<sup>6</sup> This is to the letter true of the Déné hunters as well.

As to the very mode of eating meat, it is also identical on both continents. Bush says of the Tungus: "Each one taking a huge piece of venison put as much of it as he possibly could in his mouth, and then, by a dextrous up-stroke of his knife, shaved it off close to his lips, the edge barely grazing the end of his nose as it severed the meat. I was in constant dread of seeing one of their noses sliced off".<sup>7</sup>

Before I knew of Bush's work I had written of my own Indians: "The true aboriginal way of disposing of [meat] is to approach the roasting spit, bite into the morsel that is cooking, and cut off the mouthful with a knife. This eaten, the operation is continued, the native repeatedly biting into the piece of meat and cutting off the mouthful at the risk of carving into his own nose".<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Bergeron, *Relation des Voyages en Tartarie*.

<sup>2</sup> "The Great Frozen Land", p. 58; London, 1895.

<sup>3</sup> "A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort", pp. 317-18.

<sup>4</sup> "Reindeer", etc., p. 344.

<sup>5</sup> *Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie*, Vol. I, p. 360; Paris, 1853.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 361.

<sup>7</sup> "Reindeer", etc., p. 281.

<sup>8</sup> "The Great Déné Race", vol. I, pp. 157-58 of reprint from *Anthropos*, Vienna.

F. G. Jackson records a similar way of eating with regard to the Samoyeds<sup>1</sup> and Prjévalski has the same of the Mongols.<sup>2</sup>

Useless to remark that the native Americans are just as big eaters as the Asiatics and seem endowed with as elastic stomachs.<sup>3</sup> The disgusting habit of absorbing one's vermin is also prevalent among both branches of the human family.<sup>4</sup>

Another of the Déné's delicacies I described at length, pages 92-93 of my "Notes". This consists of the salmon heads, which are left in the water—I could have added; or buried in the ground, for I have seen many of the pits where they would be left until they had reached an advanced stage of putrefaction. In this state they were boiled in bark vessels by means of hot stones introduced in the receptacle. "The stench they then exhale is simply asphyxiating", I wrote in this connection.

Now hear what an old author has to say of the culinary accomplishments of the Koriacks of Siberia: "In Spring and Summer they catch a large Quantity of Fish, and digging Holes in the Ground, which they line with the Bark of Birch [as do also the Carriers], they fill them with it and cover the Holes over with Earth. As soon as they think the Fish is rotten and tender, they take out some of it, pour Water upon it, and boil it with red-hot Pebbles, . . . and feed upon it as the greatest Delicacy in the World. This Mess stinks so abominably that the Rus-

<sup>1</sup> "The Great Frozen Land", p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> "Les Mongols mangent avec leurs doigts et enfoncent dans leur bouche d'énormes morceaux de viande, qu'ils coupent avec leur couteau au ras des lèvres" (*Mongolie et Pays des Tangoutes*, p. 40).

<sup>3</sup> "The improvidence of these natives is equally astonishing as their ravenousness. They will consume nearly a week's provisions in one night and go hungry the remaining six days" (Bush, *op. cit.*, p. 230). See also Simpson, "An Overland Journey", vol. II, p. 309 of London edition. An Apache (Déné) woman is on record as having consumed in one meal all the rations she had received from the Government for one week (See Fourteenth Ann. Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 287). Of the Kirghis of Siberia Mrs. Atkinson writes the following: "They are a peculiar race of people, being able to remain two, and sometimes three, days without eating, and then the quantity they can eat is enormous. I was told that a man can eat a sheep at once; on making the enquiry among the Kirghis, one of them offered to treat me with the sight if I would pay for it, but I declined witnessing the disgusting feat" ("Recollections of Tartar Steppes", p. 179). As to the Mongols, here is what Prjévalski writes of them: "La glotonnerie de cette race est extraordinaire: un individu consomme dix livres de viande dans une journée, et certains gastronomes font disparaître un mouton de taille moyenne dans le même espace de temps. En voyage, la ration de chaque chamelier est d'une cuisse; il est juste d'ajouter qu'il jeûne vingt-quatre heures si cela est nécessaire, mais quand il mange, il mange comme sept" (*Mongolie et Pays des Tangoutes*, p. 39).

<sup>4</sup> Prjévalski, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

sians who deal with them, and who are none of the most squeamish, are themselves not able to endure it".<sup>1</sup>

Another article of diet, which is not so repulsive to a civilized palate or nostril, but yet quite as novel to either, is the sap of certain coniferous trees, which is relished by both Yakuts and Western Dénés. "In February and March is their Harvest, when the Sap rises in the Trees", writes of the former the author just quoted from; "for they go into the Woods, cut down young Pine-Trees, take off the inner Bark or Bast, which they carry home and dry for their Winter's Provision".<sup>2</sup> The same can be said of the Northwest American Indians, with this only qualification that they do not cut the trees down, but shave off the sap with special bone implements.

Strange to say, the very relatives of the people who are so disgusting in their diet cannot stand the sight of clean fish or water-fowl. According to Prjévalski, "la répugnance du Mongol à cet égard est telk qu'une fois, sur les bords du lac Koukou-Nor, nos chameliers nous voyant manger une sarcelle furent pris de vomissements".<sup>3</sup>

Compare this repugnance of an Asiatic tribe for water animals with the quite as great aversion entertained therefor by the Navahoes and Apaches, the two principal divisions of the Southern Dénés. This peculiarity among them is so striking that it was made the subject of a paper in the "Journal of the American Folk-Lore" by the late Washington Matthews, who wrote, among other things:

"I found that the Navahoes not only tabooed fish, but all things connected with the water, including aquatic birds. Speaking of the Navaho repugnance to fish with the landlady of the Cornucopia Hotel (a slab shanty) at Fort Wingate, she related the following as a good joke on the Indian. She employed a young Navaho warrior to do chores around her kitchen. The Navaho warrior has no pride about the performance of menial labour. He will do almost anything at which he can earn money, and this one would do any work for her but clean fish. He would eat, too, almost anything in her kitchen except fish. Noticing his aversion to the finny tribe, she one day sportively emptied over his head a pan of water in which salt fish had been soaked. The Indian screamed in terror, and, running a short distance, tore in haste every shred of clothing from his body and threw it all away. She learned that he afterwards bathed and 'made a lot of medicine' to purify himself of the pollution. He never returned to work for her, so this little trick cost her a good servant".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. Muller, *op. cit.*, p. IX.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. III.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> "Ichthyophobia" (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, p. 106).



INTERIOR OF KORAK VOURTI—GETTING FIRE WITH THE FIRE-DRILL



The question of food and cooking predicates that of fire-making. S. Muller writes in the work already quoted that a certain traveller named Steller "came to a place where the [native] Americans had but just before dined, but on sight of him were run away. There he found an arrow and a wooden instrument to procure fire made in the same manner as they have them in Kamtschatka".<sup>1</sup>

### IX.

I know perfectly well that the sceptic has long been in wait for me with the remark that such technological and sociological analogies are of little weight in the balance of the serious ethnologist; for, as is well known, the same needs create the same means. Man, placed under similar conditions, will instinctively resort to identical methods of relieving his wants.

I grant the force of this objection, and freely admit that, while the points of resemblance between American and Asiatic peoples are overwhelmingly convincing to the general reader, because of their very number, I do not see in all those I have already enumerated direct and absolute evidence of a common origin, though past intercourse would seem to be suggested thereby. Some there are, as, for instance, the existence of the fire-drill, which, apart from a similarity of details in its construction, do not prove much more than an identity of needs obviated by the same reasoning animal. Others, as the way of preparing fish by putrefaction, do not seem to answer such an evident human need, and may be considered good evidence in favour of, at least, past intercourse between two different peoples.

At all events, it cannot be denied that, owing to their number and the nature of many of them, those analogies afford at least a confirmation of the argument derived from aboriginal traditions and geographical terminology.

I shall now proceed to enumerate similarities which have nothing to do with man's needs or environment, purely psychological and sociological facts, which are bound to point to a community of race or relations between ancient Asia and America—Palæo-Asia and America, as I think it is now fashionable to put it.

I shall, however, commence this section of my paper by treating of a few points, such as the disposing of the dead and others, which may, strictly speaking, be described as holding a middle place between the

<sup>1</sup> S. Muller, *op. cit.*, p. XI.III. The same traveller also found an underground hut with a store of red salmon "and a sweet herb which is dressed for food in the same manner as in Kamtschatka" (*Ibid.*, *ibid.*).

foregoing and the following series of data, though they are not entirely devoid of all connection with the peculiar working of the mind.

We read that, among the Yakuts, "some put the corpse upon a Board, which they fix upon four Posts, in the Wood, cover the dead Body with an Ox's or Horse's Hide, and so leave it . . . But the greater Part of them, when they die, are left in their Huts, whence the Relations take the most valuable Things, make the Huts close, and then leave them".<sup>1</sup>

Both kinds of "funerals" apply to the Sékanais and most of the many eastern tribes of Dénés. Of the former I wrote, over twenty-five years ago, that, on the occasion of the demise of a fellow man, "they would lower his hut down upon him and thus cover his remains, and start at once for another locality",<sup>2</sup> or then suspend them "on the forks formed by the branches of two contiguous trees", when they have not recourse to four independent posts in exactly the same way as the natives of Siberia.

Of the Eastern Dénés, the Anglican Bishop W. C. Bompas states that, instead of burying their dead, they were formerly accustomed to "place them on high scaffolds above ground".<sup>3</sup>

Again, all American sociologists are familiar with the particular aerial "burial" formerly in vogue among the Chinooks and other North Pacific coast Indian tribes. These were wont to enclose the dead in one of their wooden canoes, and lay them up in the branches of a tall tree. Now here is what we read in a book by an English officer, who wrote *de visu* of the Gilacks, or Ghiliacks, as he calls them:

"Their mode of burial is unlike any other that I am acquainted with; the body is placed in a rude coffin made from a log of wood, in a manner similar to that adopted in making their canoes, and covered over with bark, bound round with osiers; it is then placed between the forked branches of a tree, out of the reach of any animal that might be attracted to the spot".<sup>4</sup>

We have already seen that all of the modes of self-adornment in use among the American aborigines have their exact counterparts in the wilds of Siberia. Now as to the personal appearance of the people that roam through them.

In 1826, two young chiefs of the Tungus were taken to Rome by two Jesuits who had converted them to the Christian faith in their

<sup>1</sup> S. Muller, "Voyages from Asia to America", p. III.

<sup>2</sup> "The Western Dénés; their Manners and Customs", p. 146 (Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, 3rd Series, Vol. VII; Toronto, 1890).

<sup>3</sup> "Diocese of Mackenzie River", p. 91; London, 1885.

<sup>4</sup> J. M. Tronson, "A Voyage to Japan, Kamtschatka, Siberia, Tartary", p. 324.

native country. "It must be acknowledged that their complexion was fairer than that of the Indians—in many cases it is not—but in every other respect there was a singular coincidence".

"The diligent antiquarian, Count Rosetti, who travelled some years since in the United States, was so perfectly satisfied with their identity that he published, on the arrival of the young princes at Rome, an able article for the Society of Antiquaries, proving the Asiatic origin of the North American Indians. To confirm his assertions, he brought before the Society of Antiquaries the two Asiatic princes and an Indian who had accompanied him from America to Italy. During this enquiry, some of the most literary men in Italy were present, and among them we observed two or three foreign ambassadors. The sameness of people was at once acknowledged by the society."<sup>1</sup>

As to the costume, we may add that the same Rosetti compared his Indian dress, in which he appeared once at a masquerade ball in Rome, with the dresses of the two Tungusian chiefs, the converts of a Father Santini, and the resemblance was striking.<sup>2</sup>

One little feature which I deem characteristic I cannot fail to mention in this connection. According to the aforesaid Father Santini, a man of good education who spent many years among the aborigines of northeastern Siberia, "ogni parte del loro vestito era abellato colle penne del porco spinosa",<sup>3</sup> that is, for those who do not read Italian, "every part of their dress was embellished with coloured porcupine quills",

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by John McIntosh, "The Origin of the North American Indians", p. 92; New York, 1853.

<sup>2</sup> According to Abernethy quoted by McIntosh (*op. cit.*), the original costume of the Tungus, Koriacks and Kamtchadales consisted in an upper garment of furs, with a hood and sleeves, just as that which was worn by the Eastern Dénés (Cf. Petitot, *passim*). "From the knees downward they are", he says, "covered with leggings of deer or buffalo skin; their shoes are also made of the same. These robes were formerly dressed with the hair on; but the Tungusi, especially, and the Koriacks have made themselves so well acquainted with the art of tanning, that hair is not seen in any part of their dress, except the hood, the neck and the cuffs of the sleeves of the upper garment" (*Ap. McIntosh, op. cit.*, p. 116). The pendants in their ears and nostrils are usually shells, which are painted on one side with a red, and on the other with a blue, colour; but they never consider themselves in their full uniform without a crown made of the plumage of a bird called the *rotoo*" (*Ibid.*). According to the missionary Santini, the Tungus, "in their original state of barbarity were dressed in skins; they painted their bodies and faces with various colours; they bored their noses and ears, whence hung coloured shells. For their head covering they had crowns made of the skin of a young deer, ornamented with the plumage of rare birds" (*Ibid.*, p. 117). Who has not recognized in this description one of the original lords of the immense American plains or forests?

<sup>3</sup> *Apud McIntosh, op. cit.*, p. 118.

exactly in the same way as that of my former charge, the Tsilkotins, Carriers, Babines, Sékanais and Nahanaïs of northern British Columbia.

These are, indeed, quite distinctively American features!

Does the incredulous wish for some more? He is, no doubt, familiar with the role played by the famous calumet of the American plains in deciding war or peace. This he will admit is quite characteristic of our aboriginal population. What will he think when he is told that it was formerly as common, and had the same significance, on the tundras of Eastern Siberia as on the prairies of North America?

Here is the translation of what Santini has to say in this connection. This time he refers to the Koriacks:

"When a nation is inclined to make peace, they light the sacred pipe, and it is offered by a chief to the commander of the hostile tribe; if he receives and smokes it, peace is immediately proclaimed, and so sacred do they consider this agreement, that they have been seldom or never violated. The bowl is made of clay, and the tube of a reed three or four feet long, it is decorated with feathers of various colours. They have their different pipes for their different sorts of contracts".<sup>1</sup>

This brings us to the subject of war. According to Abernethy, the Tungus braves prepare themselves therefor just in the same manner as the Blackfeet and others. Here is what he writes:

"In order to ascertain the courage, patience, and perseverance of their warriors, [they] inflict many injuries and insults on the young people who never faced an enemy. They first reproach them with the names of cowards; they beat them with their clubs, and even throw boiling water on them; and if they show on these occasions the least impatience and sensibility, they are reckoned as dastards who are not worthy of the name of warriors. They carry this practice of trying the young men so far that it would be too tedious to relate them".<sup>2</sup>

Hostilities among the Palæo-Asiatics commenced and were conducted in the same way as among the American Indians, especially those of the north.

"It is generally about day break that they attack their enemies, because about this time they imagine that they are asleep", writes Abernethy. "The chief gives the signal, and they all rush forward, discharging their arrows, and preparing their more deadly weapons, their *tomahawks*. Slaughter and destruction are now committed with-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

out mercy or compassion, and the vanquished frequently undergo the painful operation of *scalping*".<sup>1</sup>

## X.

We now come to evidence of former intercourse, or community of origin, between native Americans and Asiatics which I consider conclusive, because it is of a purely psychological order and could not have been influenced by the requirements of physical needs or environment.

We all know that in northeastern Siberia and northwestern America there is but one religious system, shamanism, and that the various observances that flow therefrom are common to both countries. Northern Asia has always been considered the original home of shamanism, and therefore the different American peoples that follow it must have had at least intercourse in times past with the aborigines of that region.

According to that system, the constitutive parts of the visible world are the abode of as many spirits, some of which are good—hence the totems—others of a noxious nature—hence disease and material or moral adversities. The whole is too well known for me to dwell on it.

We should therefore not be surprised to read in the relation of a prominent traveller through Siberia that "as every locality has its own elf, the Yakuti, when on a journey, have no respite, soothing one object of terror after another".<sup>2</sup>

This soothing is done chiefly by means of offering. "In the branches of the trees along the road were suspended numberless offerings of horsehair", remarks the same traveller.

One who followed in his footsteps found similar tokens of the natives' faith in ubiquitous spirits at a place called Cocil,<sup>3</sup> while, writing of the Kamtchadales, an author much older than both of those I have just

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151. Compare with the above what two old English authors say of the wars of the Kamtchadales. I quote from the French translation in my library: "Ces guerres se font avec plus de ruse que de bravoure. Ils sont très lâches et n'osent pas paroître avec fermeté devant un ennemi. Ceci est d'autant plus extraordinaire qu'ils méprisent la vie hautement, et que le suicide est fort commun parmi eux. Leur attaque se fait par des attaques nocturnes d'autant plus faciles qu'ils ne tiennent jamais des gardes. Le plus petit parti peut ainsi détruire un village entier. Ils n'ont qu'à mettre un seul homme devant la porte de chaque cabane, et ne laisser sortir personne. Le premier qui s'avise de s'échapper est facilement massacré ou fait prisonnier" (*Description abrégée du Pays de Kamtschatka*, pp. 67-68; Erlang, 1768). No description of the way of making war obtaining among the Western Dénés of old could be more correct than that of those two authors, Grieve and Jefferys, despite the fact that they intend it for an Asiatic, not an American, nation.

<sup>2</sup> Geo. Simpson, "An Overland Journey", Vol. II, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bush, "Reindeer, Dogs and Snow-Shoes", p. 351.

referred to has the following: "Dans une vaste plaine ils érigent un haute palissade, autour de laquelle ils attachent des haillons. Quand ils y passent, ils y jettent quelque poisson ou autres vivres".<sup>1</sup>

The same goes on to say that, "oultre ces palissades ou perches, il y a encore d'autres lieux saints chez eux, par exemple, les volcans, les sources chaudes et certains bois qu'ils croyent être habités par des démons, qu'ils adorent et craignent plus que Dieu".<sup>2</sup>

This latter remark of the old author tallies quite well with the well-known fact that, among shamanistic peoples, a good deal more of attention is paid to the evil spirits, whose malefic influence is feared, than to the Supreme Being, who is known to be animated by none but the best of intentions towards man.

Other tribes venerate more or less curiously shaped or prominent rocks in the forest or on the shore of lakes, and would never pass by without making thereto some sort of offering, were it only the merest pebble picked up from among the dust of the highway—in exactly the same way as I have seen it done by the Western Dénés before they had seriously embraced Christianity.

The traveller P. Dobell writes in this connection: "We soon arrived at a large rock, where our guide told me there was a cave . . . which, he said, if we were to pass without leaving something . . . we should certainly be unfortunate. The moment we came opposite the rock, the party stopped, and the Karaïkees (*sic* probably for Koriacks) to a man, even those who professed to be Christians, went and left a pinch of snuff, a leaf of tobacco, a pipe, or something or other, as an offering".<sup>3</sup>

T. W. Atkinson found on Lake Baikal the same superstitious respect paid to prominent rocks. He writes of one of them: "It is held sacred by all of the Shaman creed, and they never pass it without offering their devotions. Rude figures have been sculptured upon its surface, and

<sup>1</sup> Grieve and Jefferys, *Description abrégée du Pays de Kamtschatka*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> "Travels in Kamtschatka and Siberia", vol. I, 138. In this case the offering is said to have been made to the shade of a famous conjuror who had dwelt there; but absolutely similar instances are recorded, when the spirit of the rock itself was intended to be propitiated. Compare with this what Hearne saw among the American Dénés on his way to the Frozen Ocean: "By the side of this path", he says, "there are in different parts several large, flat, or table stones, which are covered with many thousands of small pebbles. These the Copper Indians say have been gradually increased by passengers going to and from the mines [of native copper]; and on its being observed to us that it was the universal custom for every one to add a stone to the heap, each of us took a small stone to increase the number, for good luck" (*Op. cit.*, pp. 132-33). Hearne is in this passage as naive as usual. He stooped to a superstitious observance probably without as much as suspecting it. Yet he admits that his pebble was deposited on the big stone "for good luck"!



TCHUKTOHI SHAMANS STILLING THE WATERS.



formerly both men, women, and children have been offered up on its summit, or hurled into the flood".<sup>1</sup>

The same traveller found in another place rocks and a supposed tomb on which, he says, the Kirghis looked "with veneration". Speaking of his companions, he adds that "each left a strip of his garment on the grave as an offering".<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes the object of that coarse worship is a mere heap of stones, which is being constantly added to, like those which Huc noticed in Tartary, where, he says, they are quite numerous.<sup>3</sup>

It is the same belief in the ubiquity of spirits and their intimate relation to man that prompts the reverence paid to the animals of which the native stands in need, and the care with which their remains are treated by him. We read of the Yakuts: "They bowed reverentially towards bruin's favourite haunts, with appropriate accompaniments in prose and verse, lauding his bravery and generosity to the skies, recognizing him as their beloved uncle, and endeavouring by every means to coax him into forbearance".<sup>4</sup>

This is from the pen of Sir Geo. Simpson. Another writer has the following concerning the Kamtchadales: "Les habitans ont en usage des cérémonies puérides à l'égard des têtes de ces animaux [seals], auxquelles ils témoignent autant de respect qu'aux meilleurs amis. L'auteur a vu une de ces cérémonies en 1740".

After having described the ceremonious treatment meted out to the spoils of those animals, the author goes on to remark that all this was done "afin que les autres chiens marins puissent voir avec quel respect ils traitent leurs amis et se rendent ainsi d'autant plus volontiers à eux".<sup>5</sup>

This is an excellent explanation of a particularity concerning bears' heads or skulls, which all travellers in Asia and America have noticed, without, in some cases, being able to grasp its real significance. Thus Bush says that, among the Gilacks of Siberia, "upon all sides, scattered through the woods, were skulls of bears poised upon the stumps of small trees, from four to six feet above the ground. These", he adds, "were intended as some kind of offering to the native gods".<sup>6</sup>

I make bold to assert that in this our author is mistaken.<sup>7</sup> The intention of the natives must certainly have been the same as it is among

<sup>1</sup> "Travels in the Region of the Upper and Lower Amoor", p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Huc, *Souvenirs d'un Voyage en Tartarie*, Vol. I, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Simpson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 119.

<sup>5</sup> Grieve and Jefferys, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>7</sup> In the first place, the fact that Bush refers to "gods" bespeaks on his part very little familiarity with the religious system of the Asiatics.

those of America (and, indeed, of Kamtchatka, as we have just seen). Our Indians follow an exactly similar custom: they put the bears' head out of the reach of dogs or wolves, unclean animals with which contact is defiling and therefore humiliating for the whole bear gens, which would not fail thereafter to avoid giving the careless hunter another opportunity of allowing such unbecoming treatment.

Apropos of game and hunting, such of my present readers as may be familiar with my previous writings will perhaps recollect how sharply the hunting grounds of the Western Dénés are divided, and what religious attention must be paid to the traditional delimitations of the same. Now John Ledyard writes of the Tungus that "they, and the other roving Tartars, have the limits of their hunting grounds ascertained and marked like the aborigines of North America".<sup>1</sup>

Another point of the native sociology seems identical, or at least very similar, on both Asiatic and American continents. As long as twenty-six years ago, I wrote in my first published paper on the Dénés a rather elaborate account of the various *pollatches*, or ceremonial banquets, in vogue among the Carriers and Babines. Such feasts were no less in honour among the original Kamtchadales, if we are to believe two joint authors I have already quoted. They write: "Les fêtes de réjouissance se font à l'occasion d'une nôce, ou d'une heureuse chasse, ou d'une pêche abondante, à laquelle un village invite ses voisins fort cérémonieusement. Ils traitent leurs hôtes avec une si grande profusion et ceux-ci mangent avec tant d'excès qu'ils sont presque toujours forcés de rendre".<sup>2</sup>

The reader may compare this statement with what I wrote on "The Western Dénés; their Manners and Customs".<sup>3</sup>

The funeral or remembrance of a departed friend is, among my former Indians, the chief occasion of such public feasting. Something akin thereto obtains among the Kirghis of Siberia, as we gather from a perusal of Atkinson's Travels. We see therein that one of those feasts "continued for seven days, during which other Sultans and Kirghis were constantly arriving. It was supposed that near 2,000 people assembled to assist at the funeral".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Ledyard, "Memoirs", p. 316. Amongst the Dénés of old, the wolverine, if caught, would be skinned alive, probably as a punishment for its misdeeds, for it is a great thief and a perfect nuisance to the trapper (Petitot, *Autour du Grand Lac des Esclaves*, p. 318), while, speaking of wolves, Huc says that, among the Tatars, "on écorche l'animal tout vif, puis on le met en liberté" (*Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 134 of 1854 edition).

<sup>2</sup> Grieve and Jefferys, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74.

<sup>3</sup> Proceedings of the Can. Inst., 3rd Series, Vol. VII, pp. 147-53.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

Speaking of funerals we are reminded of those monuments which are often raised to perpetuate the memory of the departed ones. All of my readers are, no doubt, aware of the existence of the earth mounds which cut such a figure in the archaeology of the great American plains. But the same obtain in Siberia, as can be ascertained by a reference to pp. 86, 151 and 191 of Atkinson's "Travels".

From funerals to popular amusements there seems to be a long cry. Not so, however, with aboriginal races, which very often blend them together. The amusements of the Kamtchadales seem to be a duplicate of those in vogue among the primitive Americans. Grieve and Jefferys write in this connection:

"Toutes leurs réjouissances consistent dans la danse, dans le chant et dans divers autres amusemens. Deux femmes qui veulent danser mettent à terre une natte au milieu de la cabane, prennent un peu de filasse dans chaque main, se mettent à genoux sur la natte vis-à-vis l'une de l'autre. Au commencement elles chantent fort doucement, en faisant un peu mouvoir leurs épaules et leurs mains. Puis elles augmentent peu à peu la vivacité des mouvements de tout le corps et élèvent leurs voix jusqu'à ce qu'elles tombent enfin hors d'haleine. . .

"Un autre passetemps des femmes de Kamtschatka c'est de contre-faire les gestes et les paroles des autres, par moquerie. . .

"Toutes ces réjouissances se font ordinairement la nuit. Ils ont même des bouffons de métier; mais leurs fanfaronnades sont insupportables, indécentes et destituées de pudeur".<sup>1</sup>

Each and every one of these points apply to the Western Dénés.

## XI.

But I wander from the spirits of the Asiatic and American shamanists. These manifest themselves to individuals chiefly by means of dreams. Hence the great importance those aborigines attach thereto. "Ils sont grands observateurs des songes", we read of the Kamtchadales.<sup>2</sup> "They also attached to dreams the same importance as did most peoples of antiquity", I wrote myself of the Western Dénés. "It was while dreaming that they pretended to communicate with the supernatural world, that their shamans were invested with their wonderful power over nature, and that every individual was assigned his particular *nagwal*, or tutelary animal-genius".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>2</sup> Grieve and Jefferys, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> "The Western Dénés, p. 161 (*ubi suprâ*).

Of the shaman and his attributions I need only say that both are essentially the same in America as in Siberia. This is a well-known fact; useless to insist. We are all aware that the shaman's main office in the former country was to drive off the body of the sick the evil spirit which was reputed the cause of his ailment. See the counterpart of this in Asia:

"D'après l'opinion religieuse des Tartares c'est toujours un *Tchut-gour*, ou diable, qui tourmente par sa présence la partie malade";<sup>1</sup> and this devil, or spirit, is everywhere cast out(?) of the body by means of a like exorcism.

It is also this belief in spirits that accounts for the system of totems, at least in both Siberia and North America, whatever Messrs. J. G. Frazer, Andrew Lang and others of the European school may have written to the contrary. Thus we read of the Yakuts that "each Tribe of these People looks upon some particular Creature as sacred, *i.e.* a Swan, Goose, Raven, etc., and such is not eaten by that Tribe, though the others may eat it".<sup>2</sup>

In the second volume of his monumental work on "Totemism and Exogamy", J. G. Frazer has it that "the two tribes, the Chukchees and the Koryacks, who inhabit the part of Asia nearest to America, appear to be entirely without both totemism and exogamy, the two great institutions so characteristic of the North American Indian".<sup>3</sup>

I have not made of this question an exhaustive study; yet I dare say that the erudite author is mistaken as regards both Tchukthcis and Koriacks—at least if we take totemism in the American sense of the word.<sup>4</sup> Being to him a mere social system, without any necessary connection with the religion of a people, totemism is, in his estimation, a correlative of exogamy. But, as I understand the former, it is not necessarily related to matrimonial alliances or descent, and, though we find in America many tribes in what I consider to be the secondary stage of social organisation, matriarchy, who practise exogamy because they have adopted the gentile system and consequent tribal totems, those who have not outgrown that primary stage of human society, which I believe to have been patriarchy, generally do not know of these, but are quite familiar with the individual or personal totem.<sup>5</sup>

Now the Tchukthcis certainly know of the latter, in common with all the more primitive and unadulterated Dénés, who never heard of the

<sup>1</sup> Hue, *Souvenirs d'un Voyage en Tartarie*, Vol. I, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> S. Muller, "Voyages from Asia to America", pp. III-IV.

<sup>3</sup> "Totemism and Exogamy", Vol. II, p. 348; London, 1910. See also A. Lang, "The Secret of the Totem"; London, 1905.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps even though we were to take it in the sense of the English school.

<sup>5</sup> This personal totem the English school calls the manitou.

former. For no less an authority than Wrangell tells us, with regard to a certain Tchukchi chief he saw, that "his cap was much ornamented with beads and ear-rings, and surmounted by a large raven's head, which he told us would ensure us a fortunate journey and a good reception".<sup>1</sup>

The raven was evidently the personal totem of that chief, and we are perhaps warranted to infer from Wrangell's last words that it was also the totem of at least a particular clan among the people to whom they were going. It is well known that community of clan, denoted by an identity of totem, invariably ensures the most brotherly reception in any strange place.

As to the Koriacks, among whom Frazer likewise fails to see any trace of totemism, here is what I read in an old English author. Abernethy refers to their dress: "The tanned covering", he says, "is generally painted with considerable taste. The figures represent those animals which have been chosen by each tribe as their distinguishing marks".<sup>2</sup>

Here, therefore, we have, not only personal, but tribal, totemism.

The same author says of those Asiatics when on the war-path: "The Coriaks have their tutelal deities which they carry with them on these expeditions. These symbols under which every one represents his familiar spirit, are painted with various colours, and carried in sacks. When they travel by water they place the sacks which contain them, their presents, and other valuable articles in the fore part of their canoes, where the chief sits with no other intention, I suppose, than that of honouring them".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Sea", p. 349. Since the above was written I have found the following concerning the same subject in the Proceedings of the Eighteenth International Congress of Americanists. It is from the pen of a Russian who lately studied systematically the inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands and of Eastern Siberia. "Every ancient Aleut has his animal protector or *ugdux*, received from his father or some other relative or shaman, which was in the shape of an animal's skin, to be put on that he might be transformed into the corresponding animal in case of danger, struggle, or contest" (W. Jochelson, "Riabouschinsky Expedition to the Aleutian Islands", p. 340). The reader will remember that, according to Petitot's informants, the Dénés formerly lived in the midst of a people whose men had the faculty of transforming themselves into animals. We have seen that the other attributes of that wonderful nation, such as their cuirasses, their wooden helmets, etc., tally to perfection with what we learn of the ancient Aleuts and their neighbours. In the light of what Jochelson now tells us, those people must have boasted the power of assuming the shape of their protecting animal; might not this be another link in our identification of the Dénés' traditional enemies?

<sup>2</sup>*Apud* McIntosh, "The Origin of the North American Indians", p. 110.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 151.

Compare this with this passage from Hearne, which refers to the way his Déné companions prepared themselves for the famous Massacre of Bloody Falls, that is, for "war" as they understood it:

"When we arrived on the West side of the river, each painted the front of his target or shield, some with the figure of the Sun, others with that of the Moon, several with different kinds of birds and beasts of prey, and many with the images of imaginary beings, which, according to their silly notions, are the inhabitants of the different elements, Earth, Sea, Air, etc.

"On enquiring the reason of their doing so, I learned that each man painted his shield with the image of that being on which he relied most for success in the intended engagement. Some were contented with a single representation, while others, doubtful, as I suppose, of the quality and power of any single being, had their shields covered to the very margin with a group of hieroglyphics quite unintelligible to every one except the painter".<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, if we are to take totemism in the same sense as Mr. Frazer, then we will say that if this was really wanting among the Asiatic tribes nearest to America, it is a further trait of resemblance with the northernmost Americans, who do not know of what I call social totemism and its consequent system of clans, endogamy or exogamy.

## XII.

As to the contracting of marriage, if the taking of a woman to wife can be so called when it is a question of primitive peoples, I have written that, among the Carriers—and I might have added the Tsilkotins, the Babines and the Western Nahanaïis—"the intended wife had absolutely nothing to say for or against the projected union",<sup>2</sup> not any more than is the case with her sisters among the Kirghis of Asia,<sup>3</sup> and that this latter happy consummation was the result of two or three years' arduous work on behalf of the parents of the girl, with whom he would live as a son during the stage preparatory to his marriage.

The same custom prevails among the Kamtchadales, where the suitor of a particular maiden "asks her parents permission to serve them for a time with a view to get her".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort to the Northern Ocean", pp. 148-49.

<sup>2</sup> "The Western Dénés; their Manners and Customs", p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Prjévalski, *Mongolie et Pays des Tangoutes*, p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> Grieve and Jefferys, *Description abrégée du Pays de Kamtschatka*, p. 77.



A KORIACK GIRL.



According to P. Dobell, this custom is just as prevalent among the tribe he calls the Karaikees. That author describes it very graphically when he writes: "Should a young man fall in love with a girl, and that he is not rich enough to obtain her by any other means, he immediately enslaves himself to her father as a servant for three, four, five or ten years, according to agreement before he is permitted to marry her. When the term agreed on expires, he is allowed to marry her, and live with the father-in-law as if he were his own son. During the time of his servitude, he lives on the smiles of his mistress, which ought to be very benignant to enable him to endure so long the frowns of an imperious master, who never spares him from the severest labour and fatigue".<sup>1</sup>

Of probably the same Siberian tribe Geo. Kennan writes: "The young Korak's troubles begin when he first falls in love. . . He calls upon the damself's father and . . . is probably told that he must work for his wife two or three years. . . He goes cheerfully to work . . . and spends two or three years in cutting and drawing wood, watching reindeer, making sledges, and contributing generally to the interests of his prospective father-in-law".<sup>2</sup>

Another mode of winning over a girl in Northern America is to wrestle for her. Hearne, Mackenzie, Hooper,<sup>3</sup> Richardson, Keith, Masson and others are authorities for this. Hence the importance of the art of wrestling among the natives of that country.<sup>4</sup>

Now we are told that, on the day of a Tatar's wedding, a simulated combat takes place, which ends in the bride being carried off by the bridegroom. "Les envoyés du futur étant sur le point d'arriver", writes Abbé Huc, "les parents et les amis de la future se pressent en

<sup>1</sup> "Travels in Kamtchatka and Siberia", p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> "Tent Life in Siberia", pp. 192-93.

<sup>3</sup> "The Tents of the Tusk", p. 303. That author depicts vividly one of these wrestling bouts, which used to decide the fate of a woman even after she had been "married". "If", he says, "a man desire to despoil his neighbour of his wife, a trial of strength of a curious nature ensues: they seize each other by the hair, which is worn long and flowing, and thus strive for the mastery, until one or another cries *peccavi*. Should the victor be the envious man, he has to pay a certain number of skins for the husband-changing woman, who has herself no voice in the matter, but is handed over like any other piece of goods, and generally with the same unconcern". Hearne's party through the great northern wastes having fallen in with a young woman who had lived alone for a number of months, a similar contest ensued as a matter of course. "The singularity of the circumstance", writes the explorer, "the comeliness of her person and her approved accomplishments occasioned a strong contest between several of the Indians of my party, who should have her for a wife; and the poor girl was actually won and lost at wrestling by near half a score different men the same evening" (*Op. cit.*, p. 265).

<sup>4</sup> Huc, *Souvenirs d'un Voyage en Tartarie*, Vol. I, 119.

cercle autour de la porte, comme pour s'opposer au départ de la future. Alors commence un combat simulé, qui se termine toujours, comme de juste, par l'enlèvement de la future".<sup>1</sup>

With the Kamtchadales some such struggle likewise marks the occasion; but this time it occurs between the suitor and the future bride's friends, as we gather from the narrative of Grieve and Jefferys. "Les femmes qui sont présentes se jettent sur lui", they declare, "le battent, le tirent par les cheveux, l'égratignent dans le visage, et enfin le maltraitent en toute façon pour l'empêcher de réussir".<sup>2</sup>

Other American tribes simply take their wife by force, just as the Tangoutes of Siberia, who, according to Prjévalski, "sont dans l'usage d'enlever celle qu'ils désirent avoir pour épouse".<sup>3</sup>

We also read in a recent work concerning the Yukaghirs, who are perhaps the most moral (!) of the Palæo-Asiatics, that "a girl having reached the age of puberty, is given a separate sleeping-tent, and becomes quite free to receive visitors. When the lights in the houses of the Yukaghir are put out and the people retire, the youths quietly leave their homes and find their way to the tents of the neighbouring girls. Unmarried young men very rarely pass their nights at their own homes. . . . When a young man finds a rival in the girl's tent, he compels him to come out and fight. The vanquished one goes off home, and the conqueror re-enters the tent".<sup>4</sup>

The Gilacks' treatment of a young mother is exactly on a par with that but yesterday meted out to a woman so situated all over North America. "During parturition", writes Bush of the northeastern Asiatics, "whether in winter or summer, the unfortunate mother is ejected from her habitation—thrust out of doors, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, there to provide for herself as best she may, solitary and ignored, until a certain period shall have elapsed".<sup>5</sup>

I am free to remark that this particular is, however, no great evidence of community of origin or of previous intercourse, for we find it practically with all the primitive races. It belongs to another set of rather numerous observances over which I shall pass, and which have a wonderful resemblance to the prescriptions of the Mosaic law.

The same cannot be said of another custom which prevails alike among the Northern Dénés and the Palæo-Asiatics. The former, who may be compared to grown-up children, are by nature very gay and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Grieve and Jefferys, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> W. Joelsson, "The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus", New York, 1910.

<sup>5</sup> "Reindeer, Dogs and Snow-Shoes", p. 102.

expansive. Hence their great foible for singing. Their songs I characterized in a former paper as "little more than polished yells";<sup>1</sup> yet they have at least one merit, that of originality. Although their "melody" always follows a certain strain proper to aboriginal music, both tune and words are of the singer's own composition. Especially is this the case when it is a question of those which may be described as love-songs.

"The women," writes W. H. Dall of the Yukon Indians, "are fond of making up songs of their own, which they hum over their work. Some of these are full of sentiment and not unworthy of preservation. The chorus always forms a prominent part".<sup>2</sup>

Now Wrangell says of the Yukaghirs, a Siberian tribe of the Anini valley: "They are passionately fond of music . . . Their singing is quite peculiar and wild; but, after the ear becomes accustomed to it, it is not displeasing. They generally improvise both the words and the air".<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, we read of the Kamtchadale women that "dans leurs chansons galantes elles découvrent à leurs amans leurs craintes, leurs espérances et d'autres passions; ce sont encore les femmes qui en composent les airs".<sup>4</sup>

I make bold to observe that such a sociological trait is of a purely psychological nature, and has nothing to do with environment. Its propriety as a basis for an ethnological argument is, of course, all the greater.

<sup>1</sup> "The Western Dénés", p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> "Travels on the Yukon and in the Yukon Territory", p. 198; London, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> "Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Sea", p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> Grieve and Jefferys, *op. cit.*, p. 75. Before we leave the subject of marriage, a word on the marital relations will not be out of place. We have often read of the momentary lending, or exchange, of wives as a token of friendship or generous hospitality. Hearne writes of the Eastern Dénés: "It is a common custom among men of this country to exchange a night's lodging with each other's wives. But this is so far from being considered as an act which is criminal, that it is esteemed by them as one of the strongest ties of friendship between two families" (*Op. cit.*, p. 129). Now we read in an old "History of Genghizcan the Great" that a law by that famous conqueror having been promulgated, which punished adultery with death, "the Inhabitants of Caidu murmured against this Law, because they had a Custom amongst them to testify their Respect and Love to their Friends by offering their Wives to them when they came to see them and regale them with their Company" (*Op. cit.*, p. 85). So inveterate was with them this custom that, in answer to several petitions, the Mongol Emperor had to rescind his edict, as far as that particular people was concerned.

As to the Yukaghirs, of whose easy morals mention has already been made, it is, even at the present day, their custom to offer the bed of a girl to any stranger to whom they may give hospitality (Jochelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-65). Yet these aborigines are pronounced by the same author to be, morally, much superior to the Yakuts who, he declares, "are known for their lack of modesty" (*Ibid.*, p. 67).

The same may be said of the way of naming children, or rather the parents of children, which obtains among most of the northern Déné tribes. With them it is just the reverse of what we see amongst us; instead of a son taking the name of his father, the latter takes that of the former. For instance, a Sékanais hunter may have been known as *Nonnta*, the Lynx, before his marriage: as soon as his tent is blessed with the birth of a son, whom we will call for convenience's sake *Karh*, the Rabbit, *Nonnta* socially ceases to exist, and becomes instead *Karh-tha*, or the Rabbit's Father. The same is customary among the Babines who, in the present case, will call the new paterfamilias *Karh-pép*.

Now here is what Waldemar Jochelson has to say in this connection of the Yukaghirs of Siberia: "The custom still survives, by which the parents, after the birth of the first child that has taken the name of some deceased relative, abandon their own names, and call themselves the father and mother of the first-born, son or daughter, so and so".<sup>1</sup>

Just as significant is the well-known point of American etiquette according to which one has to keep a prolonged silence when he meets a stranger before delivering himself of any message or speech that he may have in contemplation. But Wrangell thus describes the meeting of his interpreter with two Tchuktchis: "When he came up to them, they saluted him gravely, and sat down without speaking. The interpreter then filled their pipes, still without a word being spoken, and it was not until these had been smoked out that he began his discourse".<sup>2</sup>

Another traveller, John Ledyard, further tells us that "the Tartars here, when they smoke the pipe, give it round to every one in the company".<sup>3</sup>

Are not these two last distinctive customs sufficient by themselves to create the illusion that we are transported into the boundless plains or forests of North America, instead of roving in the company of the natives of the tundras and morasses of Eastern Siberia? Any reader, however so little conversant he may be with the sociology of aboriginal Americans, will grasp at once the full significance of habits which cannot in any way be put to the credit of the particular environment of the tribes among which they prevail.

There are other similar observances common to both Asia and North America which I may now forbear detailing. The foregoing will, I hope, suffice for my purpose.

<sup>1</sup> W. Jochelson, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs*, p. 326.



A MAN OF THE YUKAGHIRS.



## XIII.

Yet should an ultra-fastidious critic wish for something of a still more exclusively psychological order, I think I am in a position to satisfy him. I am very much mistaken, indeed, if the evidence I am now going to furnish does not carry conviction to the mind of the most prejudiced reader. Indeed, I will confess that it is the little discovery of which I am now going briefly to entertain the reader which put me on the track of the real points of similarity between the aborigines of America and those of Asia, and suggested the advisability of undertaking the special investigations which have culminated in the present paper.

In 1895 I published in these very Transactions "Three Carrier Myths", the first of which, called "Pursued by their Mother's Head", relates the fate of an unfaithful woman who was slain by her husband, and whose head then went after her two little children as they were fleeing from the theatre of the tragedy.

I beg to call the reader's attention to the characteristic details of the latter's flight, and, in order to facilitate comparisons, I must be allowed to reproduce herewith the part of that legend which refers to the hegira of the two little wanderers. Here it is according to my informants of twenty years ago, such as our Institute published it at that time:

"While the two brothers were going on at random, the younger, who was packed by the other,<sup>1</sup> saw of a sudden their mother's head coming out after them. Then he said: 'Elder brother, mother's head is pursuing us'. Whereupon his elder brother threw out behind himself, without turning back, the stone arrow-head which his father had given him. The arrow-head became at once a mountain which, for the while, cut them off from their mother's pursuit.

"But their mother's head was changed into wind and continued to pursue them. 'Elder brother, mother's head is still after us', said the little one in the swaddling clothes. Thereupon his brother threw behind him, without looking back, the *rwascho* thorn handed him by his father. The thorn transpierced the head and set it bleeding, after which it was transformed into a thorny bush. The bush grew to a prodigious height, and for a moment it barred the passage to their mother's head. But the head finally jumped over it and continued to pursue them.

<sup>1</sup> The reader should remember that the Carriers of British Columbia always carry their babes on the back, with their face turned in an opposite direction to that of the packer, and that the child is carried in an upright position.

"Therefore, the child in the moss<sup>1</sup> said again: 'Elder brother, mother's head is still coming after us'. Then the eldest child threw behind him the woodpecker's tail, which was instantaneously changed into fire.<sup>2</sup> Yet the head passed through the flames and was still after them".<sup>3</sup>

With the above myth, which is as literal as possible a translation of the original Indian narrative, I must now ask the reader to compare the equivalent passages of a legend in vogue among the Samoyeds of Siberia, such as I have accidentally found it in a book, "The Great Frozen Land", the author of which himself takes and translates it from a German work published in Saint-Petersburg.

I had no knowledge of either book until about six months ago.

The tale in question relates how a woman killed another woman who had two children, and when these took to flight, she set in pursuit of them. Owing, perhaps, to the inability of the original transcriber to grasp them, the Siberian lacks the interesting little details of the Carrier myth; but the two narratives are essentially the same in those very facts which are characteristic.

The flight of the two sisters is described in the following lines of the German-English book. The murderess of their mother is after them.

"She runs seven days, and then overtakes them, and will lay hold of the younger maiden, who lags behind. The elder maiden, however, throws a grindstone behind her. At once a river flows along, and steep cliffs rise on both banks of the river. The old woman remains standing on the other side of the river and the maidens escape.

"The river flows seven days and then flows away. So the old woman runs after the children again; she runs for seven days, and then overtakes the maidens. She is just going to lay hold of the younger when the elder threw a firestone (flint) behind her, and at once a high mountain rises up, and the old hag remains standing behind the mountain.

"After seven days the mountain disappears and again the old woman begins to run. She runs for seven days and then overtakes the maidens and will lay hold of the younger. The elder throws a comb behind her, and there rises a thick forest, so thick that the old woman cannot come through. But after seven days the forest vanishes, and then the old woman began again to run after them".<sup>4</sup>

Let us now pause and compare. In both legends a woman is killed who has two children, and, as a result of her death, the two little ones are condemned to flee, being pursued in the one case by the head of their own mother, in the other by her slayer.

<sup>1</sup> The Carriers use moss as swaddling clothes.

<sup>2</sup> The tail of that bird is red. Hence this passage is allegorical.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* (Trans. Can. Inst., Vol. V, pp. 5-6).

<sup>4</sup> F. G. Jackson, "The Great Frozen Land", pp. 210-11.

Note now the most characteristic and quite extraordinary means adopted according to both narratives to stay the progress of the pursuer: an apparently insignificant object is thrown out by the elder of the two children, which is invariably transformed into a momentarily insurmountable obstacle. Nay, even one of the means of self-protection is about identical in both Siberian and American stories: in the former a firestone, in the latter a stone arrow-point, are thrown out, both of which are changed into a mountain.

Another means of salvation is resorted to, which, though somewhat different in itself, results in the self-same obstacle. In the one version of the legend it is a thorn, in the other a comb; but in both cases the result is the same: a forest which bars the way to the pursuer.

The merest fact that in both Samoyed and Déné myths the fugitives are saved by throwing out an object, whatever it may be, which is changed into an obstacle of any kind in the way of the pursuer would of itself stamp those stories as having a common origin. No stretch of the imagination or display of scepticism will ever be equal to the task of tracing this similarity to environment or mere hazard.

This is so clear that I need not insist.

The further progress of the fleeing children is also practically the same in both narratives, as is likewise the ultimate end of their tormentor. According to the American story, the former reached a large lake, which they crossed on a dam that disappeared after them. Yet their pursuer managed to again overtake them, until it was finally swallowed up by two whales which sprang out of the water.

With the Asiatic legend, the fugitives are carried over a strait by a beaver, and their tormentor ends by being drowned through the wiles of a sturgeon, while in the act of attempting to reach them.

The numbers in both narratives are what are known to sociologists as the sacred numbers. These are generally the number four among the American Indians; with the Carriers the number two plays a similar rôle—hence the two whales of their narrative—whilst the Samoyeds replace it by the number seven, which is common to them and the Jews of old.

To return to our legend. Although I had long suspected mythological as well as sociological and technological resemblances between the natives of America and those of Palæo-Asia, I am free to confess that it was with a feeling of great satisfaction that I fell upon the above remarkable counterpart among the Samoyeds of a Déné legend I had myself published long before. Had I previously noticed a few stray, but highly significant, remarks of the reviewer of the "American Anthropologist", my surprise would not have been so great. Here are those remarks:

"Of the 122 episodes or tales (out of 139) most commonly occurring in the Koriak myths, 83 per cent. are met with in the myths of the North American Indians, 29 per cent. in those of the Eskimo, and only 18 per cent. in the traditions and tales of the Mongol-Turkic peoples of the Old World. The American element in the Koriak myths resembles in form the tales of the Athapaskans [or Dénéš], in content those of the Tlingit. These resemblances, J. holds, are clearly due to close relationship of the Indians and the peoples of N.E. Siberia in past times, if not, perhaps, to some extent at least to a common origin of both".<sup>1</sup>

These remarks, which though published a few years ago, I had not noticed before the last few weeks, will, I believe, quite appropriately close this section of my little essay. They are from the pen of the late Dr. Chamberlain, and are based on a study of the "Asiatic and American Element in the Myths of the Koriaks"<sup>2</sup> by Waldemar Jochelson, of Saint-Petersburg.

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<sup>1</sup> The American Anthropologist, Vol. VIII, p. 722.

<sup>2</sup> *Über Asiatische und Amerikanische Elemente in den Mythen der Koriaken (Internationaler Amerikanisten-Kongress, Stuttgart, 1904; Vol. I, p. 119).*

## CONCLUSION.

We may therefore now take it for proven that:

1st. The passage not only of individuals, but of whole bands or tribes of aborigines, from Asia to America is more than possible: it is probable, since several persons are known to have effected it, and commercial intercourse has existed from time immemorial between the two countries.

2nd. This passage must have really been accomplished by the present North American tribes, because we find that on the Pacific side of the American continent the number of native stocks who differ radically from each other is very much greater than on the Atlantic slope, a circumstance which predicates immigration from Asia much more than from any other continent.

3rd. The very traditions of the Dénés and other North American peoples point to a northwestern origin and the crossing, in times past, of a narrow sheet of water.

4th. The geographical nomenclature of both Western and Eastern Dénés, no less than the traditions of the southern Navahoes, support the thesis of such an origin and southward migrations.

5th. Most important technological points, such as the building and use of human habitations and adjuncts thereto, fishing contrivances and the like, also tend to confirm it.

6th. The sociology of Palæo-Asiatics and that of North American peoples, especially with regard to the way of washing oneself, eating meat, preserving and cooking fish and sap, the disposal of the dead, costume and modes of personal adornment, the manner of preparing for, and practising, war, ceremonial banquets and national amusements, are identical on the adjoining parts of the two continents.

7th. Such exclusively psychological characteristics as the religious system, shamanism and the cult of spirits, totems or protecting genii, the various modes of contracting marriage and the improvisation of love-songs, as well as the etiquette of silence upon meeting with a stranger, the use of the calumet as a means of determining peace or war, and the smoking of the same pipe in succession by a crowd of people, the naming of married persons after their first-born, likewise prove, if not an absolute community of origin, at least past intercourse, between northeastern Asiatics and northwestern Americans.

8th. This same intercourse is furthermore irrefutably proved by a legend which is strikingly the same among both Samoyeds and Carriers, and the fact that many other mythological similarities do exist between northeastern Asiatics and northwestern Americans.

## A LAST WORD.

I had long been aware that an expedition under the auspices of a Mr. Jesup was studying scientifically the modern aborigines of north-eastern Asia, with a view to comparing them with the natives of northern America, but had never seen any mention of the results of its researches, which I am even now told are still in course of publication. However, my attention was lately called to an estimate or *résumé* of the conclusions which can legitimately be drawn from its labours and what was previously known of the question, and I feel it my duty to share this with my readers. Dr. Alexander Chamberlain, then, wrote some time ago:

"Summing up the evidence on this question, it may be said with certainty, so far as all data hitherto presented are concerned, that no satisfactory proof whatever has been put forward to induce us to believe that any single American Indian tongue or any group of tongues has been derived from any Old World form of speech now existing or known to have existed in the past.

"In whatever way the multiplicity of American Indian languages and dialects may have arisen, one can be reasonably sure that the differentiation and divergence have developed here in America, and are in no sense due to the occasional intrusion of Old World tongues individually or *en masse*. It may be said here that the American languages are younger than the American Indians, and that, while the latter may have reached the New World in very remote times *via* Bering Strait, the former show no evidence of either recent or remote Asiatic (still less European) *provenance*.

"There is absolutely no satisfactory evidence, from a linguistic standpoint, of the ultimate Asiatic derivation of the American aborigines; nor is there any of such a character as to argue seriously against such a view, which seems on the whole both reasonable and probable.

"Certain real relationships between the American Indians and the peoples of northeastern Asia, known as 'Paleo-Asiatics', have, however, been revealed as the results of the extensive investigations of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, which have been concerned with the somatology, ethnology, mythology, folk-lore, linguistics, etc., of the peoples on both sides of the Pacific, from Columbia river to Bering Strait, and from the Amur to the extreme point of northeastern Asia".<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"American Anthropologist", Vol. XIV, p. 55.

The writer thus ends his review: "The general conclusion to be drawn from the evidence disclosed by the Jesup Expedition is that the so-called 'Paleo-Asiatic' peoples of northeastern Asia, *i.e.* the Chukchee, Koryak, Kamchadale, Gilyak, Yukaghir, etc., really belong physically and culturally with the aborigines of northwestern America".<sup>1</sup>

So far, so good. We have here as explicit as possible an admission of at least past intercourse, nay almost community of origin, between the Asiatic and American aborigines—the very conclusion I have myself reached after an altogether independent investigation, and without being in the least aware of that suggested by the labours of the Jesup Expedition.

Considering the nature of the ground I operated on, I might almost be tempted to regard my own researches as even more important than those of the above mentioned American body, as far, at least, as the ethnological conclusions they warrant are concerned. The Siberian aborigines are to-day Russianized to a great extent, and for that reason the study of their life and sociological characteristics may be said to have lost much of its value in the eyes of the ethnologist.<sup>2</sup> But my own work was based on old, and now very rare, books by writers who saw them in their primitive state. Hence the advantage would seem to be on my side.

Be this as it may, the identity of our conclusions with regard to the ethnographical unity of the Siberians and the North Americans must be regarded as all the more significant as they were reached after quite independent researches, since practically the last line of the preceding pages was written before I had any inkling of the results of the Jesup Expedition.

It should, therefore, be perfectly useless henceforth to dispute the accuracy of those conclusions. They are now admitted by all who have made an exhaustive study of the question.

Yet the late Dr. Chamberlain and myself differ on a most important point. While conceding the identity of the above mentioned groups of human beings from an ethnological standpoint, our late lamented friend claimed that the "Palaeo-Asiatics" "probably reached the parts of Asia they now inhabit (or once inhabited, for some of them had formerly a larger area of distribution) from America at a time more recent than the original peopling of the New World from Asia by way

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

<sup>2</sup> A member of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition admits as much when he writes of the Yukaghirs that they are "a tribe which to a great extent has lost its original peculiarities" and the study of which is "difficult, and, from a practical point of view, a thankless task" (W. Jochelson, "The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus", p. 2).

of Bering Strait. Like the modern Asiatic Eskimo, they represent a reflux from America to Asia and not *vice versâ*".<sup>1</sup>

What made the learned doctor reach such a conclusion I entirely fail to see. This seems to me against every bit of evidence, therefore gratuitous, and some might almost say in defiance of common sense. The perusal of the foregoing pages, which were not written to antagonize such an assumption, since at the time I did not even know of it, will, I believe, have convinced any reader that it cannot be consistently entertained.

In this connection, I cannot refrain from quoting from a letter which a prominent physiologist, Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, addressed to me at a time when I thought of presenting the present essay to a scientific body he represents. Speaking of my conclusions, my learned correspondent wrote:

"I only trust that they do not relate to the plausibility of the Asiatics, or any part of them except the Eskimo, being of American origin. I have paid a good deal of attention to that question since several years, and have made, as you doubtless know, a fairly long trip through Siberia and Mongolia, the results of which all tend to sustain the theory of the Asiatic origin of the Americans, while pointing to the utter improbability of a migration at any time in the opposite direction.

"The latter peculiar notion, by the way, is a very old one; you will find it expressed quite strongly as early as 1836, in Coates (Mem. Soc. Pa., III, Part 2, page 6); but it is wholly superficial and takes no account of the fundamental and inflexible laws of human migration, namely those of movement in the direction of least resistance, or of the greatest material prospects, both of which laws point surely much more forcibly from Asia to America than the reverse."<sup>2</sup>

These remarks, from a scientist with whom I am not otherwise in full community of opinion and who had himself such splendid opportunities to study the subject, must be conclusive. They fully confirm my contention that the present North American Indians, or at least the Dénés, came from Eastern America, as has been fully established in the foregoing pages.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56. At the very latest hour I received from the same author communication of a pamphlet entitled "Remains in eastern Asia of the Race that peopled America", from which I cull one of the concluding paragraphs. "The writer", he says, "feels justified in advancing the opinion that there exist to-day over large parts of eastern Siberia, and in Mongolia, Tibet, and other regions in that part of the world, numerous remains, which now form constituent parts of more modern tribes or nations, of a more ancient population (related in origin perhaps with the latest paleolithic European), which was physically identical with, and in all probability gave rise to, the American Indian".

Whereby it will be seen that, quite independently of each other, Dr. Hrdlicka and I have reached identical conclusions on this momentous question.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to the writer, Washington, D.C., June 1, 1914.

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N.B.—The following bibliography is restricted to the authors mentioned in the foregoing essay. Some of them had their works published both in England and the United States, and, in a very few instances, I may have quoted from, or referred to, such editions as I possessed before the loss by fire of my original library, instead of those I now have. One of the objects of these few pages is to record those instances, so that the reader who could not find the passage alluded to in the edition I mention in the foot-notes may be moved to try another one.

A second object I have in view in presenting the reader with this list of books is to give fuller titles and, in some cases, reveal by the dates mentioned therein the epoch of the voyages and explorations which yielded the results I have utilized in the course of the foregoing paper.

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