THE WORSHIP OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS.

PART I .- TOTEMS AND TOTEMISM.

Few traditions respecting the primitive condition of mankind are more remarkable, and perhaps none are more ancient, than those that have been preserved by Sanchoniatho; or rather, we should say, that are to be found in the fragments ascribed to that writer by Eusebius. They present us with an outline of the earlier stages of human progress in religious speculation, which is shown by the results of modern inquiry to be wonderfully correct. They tell us for instance that "the first men consecrated the plants shooting out of the earth, and judged them gods, and worshipped them upon whom they themselves lived, and all their posterity, and all before them, and to these they made their meat and drink offerings." They further tell us that the first men believed the heavenly bodies to be animals, only differently shaped and circumstanced from any on the earth. "There were certain animals which had no sense, out of which were begotten intelligent animals and they were formed alike in the shape of an egg. Thus shone out Môt [the luminous vault of heaven?], the sun, and the moon, and the less and the greater stars." Next they relate, in an account of the successive generations of men, that in the first generation the way was found out of taking food from trees; that, in the second, men, having suffered from droughts, began to worship the Sunthe Lord of heaven; that in the third, Light, Fire, and Flame-[conceived as persons] were begotten; that in the fourth giantsappeared; while in the fifth "men were named from their mothers" because of the uncertainty of male parentage, this generation beingdistinguished also by the introduction of "pillar" worship. It was not till the twelfth generation that the gods appeared that figure most in the old mythologies, such as Kronos, Dagon, Zeus, Belus, Apollo, and Typhon; and then the queen of them all was the Bull-The sum of the statements is, that men first headed Astarte. worshipped plants; next the heavenly bodies, supposed to beanimals; then "pillars" (the emblems of the Procreator); and, lastof all, the anthropomorphic gods. Not the least remarkable statement is, that in primitive times there was kinship through mothers only, owing to the uncertainty of fatherhood.1

In the inquiry we are entering upon we shall have to contemplate,

⁽¹⁾ Sanchoniatho's "Phoenician History," by the Right Rev. R. Cumberland. London, 1720, pp. 2, 3, 23 et seq. Eusebius, Præpar. Evangel. Lib. i. cap. 10.

more or less closely, all the stages of evolution above specified. The subjects of the inquiry are Totems and Totem-gods, or, speaking generally, animal and vegetable gods; and the order of the exposition is as follows:-First, we shall explain with some detail what Totems are, and what are their usual concomitants; showing how far they have, or have recently had, a place among existing tribes of men; and we shall throw what light we can on the intellectual condition of men in, what we may call, the Totem stage of development. Next we shall examine the evidence which goes to show that the ancient nations came, in pre-historic times, through the Totem stage, having animals and plants, and the heavenly bodies conceived as animals, for gods before the anthropomorphic gods appeared, and shall consider the explanations that have been offered of that evidence. The conclusion we shall reach is that the hypothesis that the ancient nations came through the Totem stage, satisfies all the conditions of a sound hypothesis.1

Totems.—The first thing to be explained is the Totem. The word has come into use from its being the name given by certain tribes of American Indians to the animal or plant which, from time immemorial, each of the tribes has had as its sacred or consecrated animal or plant. A proper understanding, however, of what the Totem is cannot be conveyed in a sentence, or reached otherwise than by studying the accounts we have of Totems among different tribes of men; and, therefore, for behoof of those who are not familiar with these accounts, we must go somewhat into details. Unfortunately, Totems have not yet been studied with much care. They have been regarded as being curious rather than important; and, in consequence, some points relating to them are unexplained.

(1) While the materials we have bearing on this subject are deemed worthy of being submitted for consideration, the investigation is yet far from being complete, and its completion will demand the co-operation of many. In the inquiry as here exhibited, it will be seen that several persons have given assistance. Did our hypothesis not seem sound, we should not propound it; but, be it understood, it is submitted as an hypothesis only, in the hope that it may be tested by others better qualified for such investigations. The ancient mythologies have been so often crossed upon one another, interfused, and in appearance confounded with the intermixtures, intercommunications, and varying developments of the tribes of men who initiated them and modified them in successive generations, that it may appear a hopeless task to endeavour to throw new light upon them, still more hopeless to trace them to their beginnings. The only chance of dealing with them successfully, however, is to make them the subject of an hypothesis; and though some may think the chance too small to justify the labour-that this species of inquiry should be excluded from human endeavour—we do not at all agree with them. Their opinion is opposed by the lessons taught by the history of scientific discovery. These show that the inquirer who has facts to go upon should never despair; that in such a case as the present even a failure is a step of progress as demonstrating a line along which the truth does not lie—one more key on the bunch to be labelled as unsuited to the lock. A negative result may forward an investigation. Whether we have hit the truth or not, we trust we have at least been preparing the way for those who in the fulness of time will reach it.

As it is, we know that they prevail among two distinct groups of tribes—the American Indians, already mentioned, and the aborigines of Australia. Many more instances of their prevalence, it may be believed, will yet be brought to light. In the meantime it is some compensation for the incompleteness of the accounts that we can thoroughly trust them, as the Totem has not till now got itself mixed up with speculations, and accordingly the observers have been unbiassed.

1. Totems or Kobongs in Australia.—We have an account of these from the pen of Sir George Grey, who says the natives represent their family names as having been derived from some vegetable or animal common in the district they inhabited. Each family adopts as its sign, or Kobong—a word which is the equivalent of Totem, and means, literally, a friend or protector—the animal or vegetable after which it is named. The families here referred to are not families in our sense of the word, but stock-tribes, or tribes of descent, as appears from the following statement:—

"The natives are divided into certain great families, all the members of which bear the same name as a family or second name. The principal branches of these families, so far as I have been able to ascertain, are the Ballaroke, Tdondarup, Ngotak, Nagarnook, Nogonyuk, Mongalung, and Narrangur. But in different districts the members of these families give a local name to the one to which they belong, which is understood in that district to indicate some particular branch of the principal family. The most common local names are Didaroke, Gwerrinjoke, Maleoke, Waddaroke, Djekoke, Kotejumeno, Namyungo, Yungaree. These family names are common over a great portion of the continent; for instance, on the western coast, in a tract of country extending between four and five hundred miles in latitude, members of all these families are found.

. . . The family names are perpetuated and spread through the country by the operation of two remarkable laws: 1st, that children (boys as well as girls) always take the family name of their mother; 2nd, that a man cannot marry a woman of his own family name."

Sir George Grey elsewhere says that "the whole race is divided into tribes, more or less numerous according to circumstances, and designated from the localities they inhabit, for though universally a wandering race with respect to places of habitation, their wanderings are circumscribed by certain well defined limits." He further notices as "a most remarkable law," that "which obliges families connected by blood on the female side to join for the purposes of defence and avenging crimes."

From this statement it appears that we have in Australia certain great family or stock names, represented by persons in various local tribes; that the marriage law prevents any local tribe coming to consist entirely of persons of one name or stock; while the law of mutual defence and blood feud combines into what we may call



⁽¹⁾ Grey's "Travels in North-Western and Western Australia," vol. ii. pp. 225 st seq.; and p. 230.

gentes, within the local tribes, all who have the same Totem and are of the same stock. This is clear from what follows immediately after the words last quoted, namely: "All their laws are principally made up of sets of obligations due from members of the same great family towards one another—which obligations of family names are much stronger than those of blood." There are not only gentes within the local tribes, but the gentile bond is such as to constitute, in effect, a stock-tribe of all the gentes of the same family name, Totem, or Kobong, wherever they are situated.

In the work just quoted, Sir George Grey refers to his "Vocabulary of the Dialects of South-Western Australia," as giving under each family name its derivations, as far as he could collect them from the statements of the natives. Unfortunately, he seems to have been able to collect the meaning in eight cases only, and we have been unable to enlarge the list. Subjoined are the derivations in the eight cases:—

- 1. Ballaroke. Ballar-wak, Ballar, is given in the vocabulary as a very small species of Opossum, with this note: "Some natives say that the Ballaroke family derive their name from having in former times subsisted principally on this little animal." Balla-ga-ra is also a species of opossum.
- 2. Djin-be-nong-era, a species of duck. "The Ngo-taks formerly belonged to this class of birds, before they were changed into men."
- 3. Karbunga, a species of water-fowl; the mountain duck. "The No-go-nyuks are said to be these birds transformed into men."
- 4. Kij-jin-broon, a species of water-fowl. "The Didaroke family, a branch of the Ngo-taks, are said to be these birds transformed into men."
- 5. Koo-la-ma, a species of water-fowl. "The Dtondarups (the second name in the list of family names) are said by the natives to be these birds transformed into men."
- 6. Kul-jak, a species of swan. "The family of the Ballar-waks are said to owe their origin to the transformation of these birds into men."
- 7. Nag-koom, a species of small fish. "From subsisting in former times principally on this fish, the Nagarnook family are said to have obtained their name."
- 8. Nam-yum-go; an emu, the local name for the Dtondarup family in the Varse district.

In this imperfect list we have eight families, or branches of families, derived from beasts, birds, or fishes; and in five cases the statement that the tribesmen believe themselves to be of the stock of the bird or beast, and that their progenitors had been trans-

(1) The linguists of the United States Exploring Expedition seem not to have paid attention to this subject.

formed into men. We have an Opossum tribe, an Emu tribe, a Swan tribe, a Duck tribe, a Fish tribe, and three water-fowl tribes; and along with them, we have the general statement that all the tribes have Kobongs or *Totems*, animal or vegetable, after which they are named. The Opossums are bound together by what may be called a common faith and numerous mutual rights and obligations thence derived; so are the Emus, Ducks, and Swans; the stock names being thereby perpetuated, while the persons having them are diffused throughout the country by the law which makes it incest for an Opossum to marry an Opossum, a Duck a Duck, and so on.

No one has yet taken the trouble of making the inquiry, but our persuasion is that this Totemism, as it has been called, will be found to prevail, or have prevailed, through the whole of Oceania. It is mentioned in the Report of the United States Exploring Expedition that the great Deity of the Tahitians, Taaroa, is named from the Taro-plant; and a legend is given which connects the Marquesan and Tahitian traditions, in explanation of the fact of-as we inferthe prevalence of vegetable names (presumably as tribal) both in Marquesas and Tahiti. The legend is, that the eponymous Oataia "named his children from the various plants which he brought with him from Vavau." The first king on the Tahitian list is Owatea, who is identified with Oataia of the Marquesans. His wife, in either case, is Papa—"mother of the islands"—and is the same with the wife of the great god Taaroa.2 The Royal line is named from the Taro plant in this way: Owatea and Papa had a deformed child whom they buried: from it sprang the Taro plant, whose stalk is called haloa, which name they gave to their son and heir. This we must regard as a sample of the legends which are formed on an advance from Totemism taking place, in explanation of its origin or

⁽¹⁾ Vol. vi. p. 133.

⁽²⁾ This Papa appears in the New Zealand mythology as the mother of all beings. She is the earth; her husband, Rangi, the heavens. The two clave together during 1000 divisions of time, each division a being called Po; and their children, who "were ever thinking" what the difference might be between darkness and light, after meditating their murder, resolved at last to rend them apart. In the family were the following gods: the father of forests, birds, insects, and all things that are in woods; the father of winds and storms; the father of cultivated food; the father of fish and reptiles; the father of uncultivated food; and the father of fierce human beings. They all, in turnexcept the father of storms-essay to rend their parents apart. Success at last attends the efforts of Tane-Mahuta, father of forests, who, with his head planted on his mother and feet against his father, thrusting, separated them. "Far beneath he pierces down the earth; far above he thrusts up the sky." On the separation multitudes of human beings were discovered that had been begotten by Rangi and Papa, and lay concealed between their bodies. What follows introduces new gods, and explains the war of the elements. The whole of this mythology is scientific in this sense, that it is a series of hypotheses to explain phenomena. The part assigned to the forest god illustrates this. It may be believed the tree god was highly esteemed considering how much was due to him. - Grey's "Polynesian Mythology."

relics. Names taken from vegetables appear to prevail in the Sandwich Islands.

- 2. Totems in America.—Of these we have pretty full accounts. One is to be found in Dr. Gallatin's "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes," contained in the "Archeologia Americana." He says:—
- "Independent of political or geographical divisions [i.e., of divisions of the native races into local tribes or nations], that into families or clans has been established from time immemorial. . At present, or till very lately, every nation was divided into a number of clans varying in the several nations from three to eight or ten, the members of which respectively were dispersed indiscriminately throughout the whole nation. It has been fully ascertained that the inviolable regulations by which those clans were perpetuated amongst the southern nations, were, first that no man could marry in his own clan; secondly, that every child belongs to his or her mother's clan. Among the Choctaws, there are two great divisions, each of which is subdivided into four clans; and no man can marry in any of the four clans belonging to his division. Amongst the Cherokees, the Creeks, and the Natches, the restriction does not extend beyond the clan to which the man belongs.

"There are sufficient proofs that the same division into clans, commonly called tribes, exists amongst all the other Indian nations [i.c., all the others as well as the southern Indians east of the Mississippi, of whom he is writing]. But it is not so clear that they are subject to the same regulations. According to Charlevoix, most nations are divided into three families or tribes. One of them is considered the first, and has a kind of pre-eminence. Those tribes are mixed without being confounded. Each tribe has the name of an animal. Among the Hurons, the first tribe is that of the Bear; the two others, of the Wolf and the Turtle. The Iroquois nation has the same divisions, only the

Turtle family is divided into two, the Great and the Little.

"The accounts are not so explicit with respect to the Lenape tribes. Mr. Heckewelder, indeed, says that the Delawares were divided into three tribes, but one of them, the Wolf, or Minsi, had altogether separated from the others, and was a distinct nation or tribe [not ceasing, however, to be a clan in the sense now under consideration. According to Mr. Johnston, the Shawnoes have four tribes: the Chillicothe, the Piqua, the Kiskapocoke, and the Mequachake. The first two, from having given names to distinct towns, would seem to be living in separate places; but the fact that the Mequachake can alone perform the religious ceremonies of the nation gives it the character of a clan. Whether the Totem or family name of the Chippeways descends in a regular manner has not been clearly explained. But Dr. James informs us that no man is allowed to change his Totem, which descends to all the children a man may have, and that the restraint on intermarriage it imposes is scrupulously regarded. The Chippeways and kindred tribes are much more subdivided than the other Indians are into clans. Dr. James gives a catalogue of eighteen Totems, and says many more might be enumerated."2

The Totems, and the restraints they impose, are found with the Iroquois as with the Delawares and Sioux tribes. The Omahaws (among the Sioux) are in two great tribes, the one divided into eight, the other into five bands.

"Each of these bands derives its name from some animal, part of an animal, or other substance, which is considered as the peculiar sacred object, or Medicine,



⁽¹⁾ What is called the Clan here is identical with the Australian family, as will presently appear.

^{(2) &}quot;Archæologia Americana," vol. ii. p. 109.

as the Canadians call it, of the band. The most ancient is that of the red maize; the most powerful, that of the Wase-ishta ("Male-deer"). The Puncas are divided into similar hands." 1

We have made these long citations because they show us the Totems or Kobongs, as in Australia, descending as a general rule under the same system of kinship (through mothers only), and attended by the same law of intermarriage, namely exogamy, leading to the interfusion of the stock tribes throughout the country; and the constitution into Gentes in the local tribes of all persons having the same Totem. The laws of blood-feud, of mutual rights and obligations between those of the same stock, constitute stock-tribes of all having the same Totem.2 And we can see in the account cited how, at a stage considerably in advance of the Australian, the solidarity of the Gentes in the local tribes has under these laws become so great as to enable the Gentes, in some cases, to withdraw from the local tribes, in which they were developed, and stand, like the Wolves of the Delawares, by themselves, in local tribes of one stock. On a change of kinship, which would permit the Totem to descend from the father instead of the mother—as it is said to do among the Chippeways—the Gentes would, even supposing exogamy to continue in force, become permanent homogeneous groups after their segregation.

Let us obtain a list of the American Totems.

"Nearly all, if not all, of the Indian nations upon this continent," says Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, of Rochester, State of New York, "were anciently subdivided into *Tribes or Families*. These tribes, with a few exceptions, were named after animals. Many of them are now thus subdivided [so they have been advancing]. It is so with the Iroquois, Delawares, Iowas, Creeks, Mohaves, Wyandottes, Winnebagoes, Otoes, Kaws, Shawnees, Choctaws, Otawas, Objibewas, Potowottomies, &c. [We can supply from the "Archæologia Americana" the Cherokees, Natches, and Sioux.]

"The following tribes [or families] are known to exist, or to have existed, in the several Indian nations—the number ranging from three to eighteen in each. The Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Deer, Snipe, Heron, Hawk, Crane, Duck, Loon, Turkey, Musk-rat, Sable, Pike, Cat-fish, Sturgeon, Carp, Buffalo, Elk, Reindeer, Eagle, Hare, Rabbit, and Snake; also the Reed-grass, Sand, Water, Rock, and Tobacco-plant."

To this list we may add from the "Archæologia" and other sources, the Tortoise, the Turtle—in two divisions, the Great Turtle and the Little Turtle—the Red-Maize, the Male Deer, the Wind, the Tiger, the Bird, the Root, the Birch-rind, the Thick-wood, the Sheep, the Brush-wood, the Moose-deer, the Cat, the Trout, the Leaves, the Crow, the Sun, the Rising Sun, and the Grey Snow, the Sun and the Snow being regarded as beings. There are thus forty-eight Totems enumerated for American tribes, not counting the Male Deer or the Little Turtle, and we know there were others.

^{(1) &}quot;Archæologia Americana," vol. ii. p. 100. (2) Idem, vol. ii. p. 111.

⁽³⁾ Circular letter issued by Mr. Morgan, quoted in the Cambrian Journal for 1860, p. 119.

The following quotation from the "Archæologia" illustrates the effect of these names on narratives respecting the tribes and the actings of the tribes-men or tribes-women:—

"Some superiority is everywhere ascribed to one of the clans:—to the Unamis ('the Tortoise') among the Delawares; to the Wase-ishta ('Maledeer') among the Omahaws; to the Bear tribe among the Hurons and five nations. Charlevoix says that when the Mohawks put to death Father Iogues, it was the work of the Bear [clan] alone, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the Wolf and the Turtle to saye him!"

Of course the indefinite article would be employed, instead of the definite, in speaking of individuals. The Bear, is the tribe or clan; a Bear, a tribesman. In speaking of their marriages, it would be said, for instance, that "a Bear married a Wolf," and "a Turtle a Beaver." In cases of nursing, a man's foster-mother might be a She-Wolf, a She-Bear, or a Tigress.

3. Relations between Men and Totems.—Let us now see how those who have Totems regard them; and what, generally speaking, are their religious views. Grey says that "there is a mysterious connection between an Australian and his Kobong, be it animal or vegetable." It is his "friend" or "protector," and is thus much like the "genius" of the early Italian. If it is an animal, he will not kill one of the species to which it belongs, should he find it asleep; he always kills it reluctantly, and never without affording it a chance of escape. "The family belief," says Sir George, "is that some one individual of the species is their dearest friend, to kill whom would be a great crime. So a native who has a vegetable Kobong may not gather it under certain circumstances, and at a particular period of the year." We previously saw that the belief, in certain cases at least, is that the family were of the species of the Totem before they were turned into men.

It may be asked, What are their views of the power by which these transformations were effected? We cannot answer this question; but one thing seems to be clear, that their speculations have not carried them as yet beyond the contemplation of the material terrestrial world they inhabit, and that in that world everything is to them at once material and spiritual, the animate and the inanimate being almost undistinguished. Like many races in Africa, they do not believe in death from natural causes, and think they would live for ever were it not for murderers and sorcerers. The latter they call Boyl-as. A Boyl-a gets powers over a man if he obtains possession of anything that is his.³ A Boyl-a may cause death in many ways; he may cause a man to be killed "by accident," or he may render himself invisible and come nightly and "feast" on his

⁽¹⁾ Archæ. Amer. vol. ii. p. 113.

⁽²⁾ Sir George Grey's Travels, l. c. vol. ii. p. 229.

⁽³⁾ Idem, vol. ii. p. 323.

victim's flesh. He can transport himself through the air at pleasure; and when he makes himself invisible, he can be seen only by other Boyl-as. He enters his victim like a piece of quartz, and as such may be drawn out of him by the enchantments of friendly Boyl-as. Pieces of quartz that have been so drawn out are preserved as the greatest curiosities. As some one is always the cause of death, the law is that when any one dies, some one else must be killedthe Boyl-a, or the murderer, or some relative of the one or the other. Of course the Boyl-as are objects of great dread. They consume the flesh of their victims slowly, as fire would; 1 they can hear from afar; they come "moving along in the sky;" and they can only be counteracted by other Boyl-as. Besides the Boyl-as, there is another object of terror—the Wau-gul. It is an aquatic monster, residing in fresh water, and has supernatural powers. It also can "consume" the natives like the Boyl-as; but it confines its attacks mostly to women, who pine away almost imperceptibly and die. Nightmare is caused by an evil spirit that may be driven away by muttering imprecations and twirling a burning brand. Shining stones or pieces of crystal, called "Teyl," they respect almost to veneration. None but Boyl-as venture to touch them. They believe in ghosts; and on one occasion Sir George Grey was taken by an old lady to be the ghost of her son, who had lately died! Such is the creed of this primitive race. They have no God in the proper sense of the word; and the only benign beings they know are their Totems. The Boyl-as of course practise imposture, but are probably self-deluded as well to a great extent. Speculation has not reached as yet among them to the heavens. Their supernaturals are all naturals, for even the Wau-gul-no doubt a convenient fiction of the Boyl-as for protection under the law of retaliation, and perhaps also in explanation to themselves of deaths they know they had nothing to do with—is a living creature, the tenant of a stream or lake. Even their ghosts may return to them, if precautions are not taken to secure them in their burying-places—their "houses," as they are called, and in which, even after death, they are not incapable of action.3

It will have been seen that the Totems are, as we may say, religiously regarded by the Australians, and that the Boyl-as resemble the genii of the Arabian Nights, excepting that while they are genii they are also men. The Wau-gul might well grow into the water-



⁽¹⁾ Grey's Travels, vol. ii. p. 339.

⁽²⁾ Idem, vol. ii. p. 218. "The whole tendency of their superstitions is to deprive certain classes of benefits which are enjoyed by others."

⁽³⁾ *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 236. "After burial, the dead man can insert a mysterious bone into each of three doctors, who sleep on the grave for the purpose. By means of this bone, the doctors can kill any one they wish by causing it to enter into his body."

kelpie, water-horse or bull. It would be curious to know whether it is a fish or an aquatic kangaroo or opossum!

The American Indians, though they occupy a distinctly higher platform, have still much in common with the aborigines of Australia. Dr. Gay, who resided for several weeks among the Omahaws, states that among them the Totem of each band "is considered as the peculiar sacred object (Medicine, the Canadians call it) of the band,"1 and all we know supports the view that in every case the Totem is religiously regarded. One author, Mr. Long, in a work published in 1791, describing the manners and customs of the North American Indians, holds Totemism to be a religious superstition, and says the Indian believes that his Totem, "or favourite spirit," watches over him. "The Totem," he says, "they conceive, assumes the shape of some beast or other, and therefore they never kill, hunt, or eat the animal whose form they think the Totem bears."2 In illustration of the truth of this, he relates what once befell an Indian whose Totem was the bear. The man dreamed he should find a herd of elks, moose, &c., at a certain place, if he went thither. Having a superstitious reverence for his dream, he went-unaccompanied, as he could get no one to go with him—saw the herd, fired, and shot a bear!" "Shocked at the transaction," says Mr. Long, "and dreading the displeasure of the Master of Life, whom he conceived he had offended, he fell down and lay senseless for some time." On recovering, and finding that nothing had befallen him, he hastened towards his home, when (according to his own report) he was met on the way by a large bear, who (he narrated) asked him what had induced him to kill his Totem. On explaining the circumstances and his misfortune, he was forgiven, but was dismissed with a caution to be communicated to the Indians, "that their Totems might be safe, and the Master of Life not angry with them." "As he entered my house," says Mr. Long, who writes as if he saw the man immediately after his accident, "he looked at me very earnestly, and pronounced these words in his own language, 'Beaver, my faith is lost; my Totem is angry; I shall never be able to hunt any more." Should one be surprised to find that admonitory bear of the man's imagination worshipped as a god further on in the history of Bear tribes advancing undisturbed by external influences, correlated with the Master of Life in the Olympus, or even preferred to, or identified with him? The Master of Life of this story, we infer from other passages in the

⁽¹⁾ Archæ. Amer. vol. ii. p. 112. The personification of inanimate objects, the animism, as Mr. Tylor calls it, of the Indians is nearly as complete as in Australia. See "Archæ. Amer.," vol. ii. pp. 25, 166, 169. No distinction between the animate and inanimate is made in the languages of the Esquimaux, the Choctaws, the Muskhogee, and the Caddo. Only the Iroquois, Cherokee, and the Algonkin Lenape have it, so far as is known, and with them it is partial.

⁽²⁾ Long's Voyages, p. 86.

work quoted, is Kitchu Manitoo, a high rock in Lake Superior, which is worshipped as a god by the Chippeway Indians, and also by the Mathangweessawauks, whoever they may be. Is Kitchu Manitoo, it may be asked, the commencement of pillar-worship, of Siva-ism? He is the Master of Life, and, in some tribes, the Great Spirit. The accounts of him are most vague, and show a faith shading up from the "great black man in the woods" of the Fuegians to the Master of Life, with a high rock for his representation, and thence to the Great Spirit-who had no representation-whose temple the Incas are said to have found standing and deserted on their arrival at Cuzco. In two cases only have we certain information of the ideas of God which the Indians entertained. (1) In Gookin's History of the "Christian Indians" is preserved a contract in the form of question and answer between them and our Government. It opens as follows: "Qu. 1. To worship the only true God, who made heaven and earth. Ans. We do desire to reverence the God of the English, because we see he doth better to the English than other gods do to others." (2) Of the Pawnees, whose "Great Spirit" is Wahcondu, Dr. Gallatin writes, "Like all other Indians, they put more faith in their dreams, omens, and jugglers, in the power of imaginary deities of their own creation, and of those consecrated relics (the Totems) to which the Canadians have given the singular appellation of Medicine."2

The American Indians, like the aborigines of Australia, regarded themselves, we have every reason to believe, as being of the breed of the Totem. We know this was the view of the Sun-tribes-which we shall notice presently—and of several Snake-tribes. That the Caribs were of the stock of the Serpent we learn from Mr. Brett.³ And on this point—the regular authorities being silent—we are entitled, we think, to found on evidence furnished by Mr. Fenimore Cooper. His view appears in "The Last of the Mohicans." Magua, a Fox, with a party of warriors, comprising a Beaver, happening to pass a colony of real beavers, the Beaver refused to pass without addressing his kinsfolk. "There would have been a species of profanity in the omission," says Mr. Cooper, "had this man passed so powerful a community of his fancied kinsmen without bestowing some evidence of regard. Accordingly, he paused and spoke in words as kind and friendly as if he were addressing more intelligent beings. He called the animals his cousins," and so on, concluding his address by begging them to bestow on his tribe "a portion of the



⁽¹⁾ Long, l. c. pp. 68 & seq., and p. 139. In Long's opinion Totemism resembles the idea of Destiny, and he says it is not confined to savages, as "many instances might be adduced from history to prove." Very probably. The one instance he cites is that of a Jew banker, of the court of Louis XIV. of France, "who had a black hen, to which he thought his destiny attached." They died together.

^{(2) &}quot;Archæ. Amer.," vol. ii. p. 130.

⁽³⁾ Brett's "Tribes of Guiana," pp. 390—393.
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wisdom for which they were so renowned." Uncas, again, Mr. Cooper represents as claiming to be of the stock of the Tortoise, "that great-grandfather of all nations;" and, indeed, all his Indians appear to regard themselves, and one another, as inheritors of mental and physical qualities from their respective Totems.

One other and last relation between the Totem and its owners, both in America and Australia, remains to be noticed. Grey tells us that the Australians use the Totem as the family crest or ensign, and expresses the opinion that our heraldic bearings are traces of the Totem stage lingering in civilised nations. It is well known that the Totem was also used as an ensign by the American Indians, who tattooed the figure of it on their bodies, and, not content with this, painted and dressed themselves so as to resemble it. Every reader of stories about these Indians must be familiar with the fact. Magua, for example, in the beaver scene, from the account of which we have just quoted, wore "his ancient garb, bearing the outline of a fox on the dressed skin which formed his robe;" while the Beaver chief "carried the beaver as his peculiar symbol." The accounts we have of the old Mexicans in war show that they had similar badges: every chief having his sign—an animal, or animal's head, or a plant; and every company having a similar symbol on its standard.

4. Traditions of Totems in Central Asia.—The Totem stage appears to have been passed through by numerous tribes of Central Asia. MM. Valikhanof inform us that a heritage of the nomadic races in that part of the world is a profound regard for, and an abundance of traditions respecting old times, preserved by their elders in legends and ballads, and that these traditions refer the origin of their tribes to animals as progenitors.

"The story of the origin of the Dikokamenni Kirghiz," they say,¹ "from a red greyhound and a certain queen with her forty handmaidens is of ancient date. A characteristic feature in Central Asiatic traditions is the derivation of their origin from some animal. According to the testimony of Chinese history the Goa-qui (Kaotsché), otherwise known as the Tele or Chili people, sprang from a wolf and a beautiful Hun princess... who married the wolf. The Tugus (called the Dulgasses by Père Hyacinthe) professed to derive their origin from a she-wolf; and the Tufans (Thibetians) from a dog. The Chinese assert that Balachi, hereditary chief of the Mongol Khans, was the son of a blue wolf and a white hind.² [The authority cited for this is "Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie," by Klaproth, p. 204.] . . . It is evident from these instances that this kind of tradition in Central Asia and America is the most ancient, and even seems to be regarded as a descent to be proud of. The out-spoken yet exalted tone of the Kirghiz legends, considered indecent by the present



^{(1) &}quot;The Russians in Central Asia." London, 1865. Translated by the Messrs. Michell.

⁽²⁾ In the "Archaeologia Americana," vol. ii. p. 112, it is noticed that among the Creeks the villages are divided into white and red, "distinguished from each other by poles of those respective colours." Query—Would a Deer in a white village be a White Deer, and a Wolf in a red village be a Red Wolf?

generation of Kirghiz, is a strong proof that they have descended in their original form. The tradition of the origin of the ninety-nine Kipebuk branches has been preserved among the Uzbeks and Kaisaks in such an indelicate shape that it is doubtful whether it will ever be possible to present it to the general reader."

It is accordingly not given; but surely the essence might have been, though not the shape. We learn from the same authorities that the genealogical tables of the Kaisaks, Uzbeks, and Nogais, show that "they are a medley of different Turkish and Mongol tribes." The names of several tribes are given, but none have been examined etymologically to ascertain whether they comprise the names of animals or plants. The interfusion, or "medley," of the tribes (we are without a statement of the origin of it, but nearly all these tribes are exogamous, that is, prohibit marriage within the clan), and the general statement (though it is feebly supported by details) that they draw their origin back to animals, make it probable that we have in the Kirghiz, Uzbeks, and Nogais a series of tribes that anciently passed through the Totem stage. This view is confirmed by what was recently stated at a meeting of the Geographical Society by Captain T. G. Montgomerie; namely, that round Cashmere, and among the aboriginal hill tribes on the Himalayan slopes, tribes of men are usually (or frequently, we have not the report before us), named, or we think he said "nicknamed," from animals now. If so, we may believe inquiry will bring to light a series of tribes in that quarter still existing in the Totem stage. The statement was made in support of the hypothesis that an Ant tribe had existed to the north of Cashmere, put forward in explanation of what Herodotus relates that the gold-fields there were worked by ants.

5. The Sun as a Totem: hints of a Totem Olympus.-We saw that in the local tribes or nations in America, some one of the tribes of descent had a superiority ascribed to it—that the Bear, for instance, was the leading tribe among the Hurons. This superiority infers subordination, of course; in other words, a political system. It is stated in the Archeologia that "it is among the Natches alone that we find, connected together, a highly privileged class, a despotic government and something like a regular form of religious worship." The Natches occupied three villages near the town that has preserved their name, and were in four clans. What their Totems were is not stated; but "the privileged class" and the sovereign had for their Totem the sun. This seems a legitimate inference from their being called Suns, and claiming to be descended from the sun—the Suntribe being so far like any other. "The hereditary dignity of Chief, or Great Sun," we are told, "descended as usual by the female line, and he, as well as all the other members of his clan, whether male or female, could only marry persons of an inferior [i.e., another] clan."1

> (1) L. c. vol. ii. p. 113. F F 2

That is, the clan or tribe was in the same case with any other, except that it was dominant as the Bear was among the Hurons.¹ A Sun could not marry a Sun any more than a Beaver could marry a Beaver; and the Sun name was taken from the mother.

If the sun could become a Totem, why not the moon? That they were both beings we can see in numerous cases; we have distinct proof of it among the Indians in the case of the Chippeways.2 If they were Totems they will explain for us the Solar and Lunar races of the Aryans. We have them in Peru as married persons, and also as brother and sister. The Incas were Suns, as their name and all the traditions imply—a Sun-tribe, nothing less or more; their first parents, children of the sun, sent to the earth to found society, as the reader may see in Prescott's opening chapters. Acosta tells us the brother of the Inca succeeded in preference to his sons,3 and if so, this points to kinship among the Peruvian Sun-tribe, having been at one time through mothers only-a note of the Totem stage. The pride of power led the tribe to give up exogamy and become a caste; but then to keep the stock pure, the Inca always married a sister, and when a son succeeded, it was as heir of the Coya, the lawful sisterqueen, showing the lingering preference for the mother's side. We infer the presence of Sun-tribes among the Hurons, the Bayagoulas, now extinct, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and the Caddoes of Red River, all of whom there is reason to believe more or less formally worshipped the sun. The Natches had sun temples and perpetual fires.4 The Sun-tribes may have been very powerful, but it is only what we should expect, among a race simple enough to believe anything, that a peculiar sanctity, and corresponding privileges, would readily be conceded to those believed to be descended from the great Lord of Day; and that the supremacy in many groups should on this account be the more readily obtained by the solar-stock. It is also apparent that this Totem might well command a general veneration —the worship of all the tribes in the group; but it is equally mani-

⁽¹⁾ Are the accounts incomplete? and is the dominant tribe among the Hurons also the Sun tribe? The chief of the Hurons, Charlevoix states, is believed to have issued from the sun, and the dignity of chieftainship is hereditary through females only. It is a possible explanation that the chiefs of the Bear-tribe may have invented for themselves a solar origin, in which case the chief would be a Bear, and yet a Sun. Peru presents us with an instance of a Sun that is yet a Serpent, for which a similar explanation would suffice—namely, that the Snake-tribe was dominant, and that its chief families assumed the Sun as their Totem.

^{(2) &}quot;Archæologia Americana," vol. i. p. 352. The sun and moon were occasionally given to fighting it appears.

⁽³⁾ Lib. vi. cap. xii., cited by Prescott.

^{(4) &}quot;Archæologia Americana," vol. ii. pp. 113, 114. Was Helios, who had herds of oxen on the island of Trinacria, chief of a Sun-tribe there? The Heliades are suggestive of a sun-stock. Max Müller complains of Mr. Grote's disposition "to insist on the purely literal meaning of the whole of Greek mythology." We shall see by-and-by that Mr. Grote's disposition is the right one.

fest that the Sun would not, any more than the Master of Life, where it took the first place in the State religion, interfere with the allegiance due from the stock tribes composing the nation to their respective Totems. The Incas, as Mr. Prescott points out, had the good policy to collect all the tribal gods into their temples in and round Cuzco, in which the two leading gods were the Master of Life and the sun. In the temples, Mr. Prescott tells us, "there were animals also to be found," but he does not specify them, stating only that "the llama with its golden fleece was the most conspicuous." Were these animals the Totems, or their emblems, of our friends the Bears and Beavers?

- 6. Totem Gods—a Totem Olympus.—Among the Fijians we find a state of affairs such as may have preceded the consolidation of the monarchy and the Olympus of the Incas. They are proud of their pedigrees, and Toki, one of their chiefs, claims to be the descendant of a Turtle. Others have fishes for their progenitors. Their greatest god, the Creator, who is omniscient, omnipotent, and so on, in the opinion of his special votaries, is Nuengei, "whose shrine is the Serpent." Some of their gods are "enshrined" in birds, fishes, or plants; some, in the same way, in men. second god in importance is Tui Lakemba, who claims the Hawk as his shrine; but another god disputes his right, and claims the Hawk for himself. The Shark is a great god; also the Crab. "One god," says Mr. Williams, "is supposed to inhabit the eel, and another the common fowl, and so on, until nearly every animal becomes the shrine of some deity. He who worships the Eel-god must never eat of that fish, and thus of the rest; so that some are tubu from eating human flesh because the shrine of their god is in a man. The Land-Crab is the shrine of Roko Suka, formerly worshipped in Tiliva, where land-crabs are rarely seen." When a land-crab favours them with a call, they make formal presents to him, "to prevent the deity leaving with the impression that he was neglected, and visiting his remiss worshippers with drought, dearth, or death." These gods are tribal, and no one can doubt but they are Totems
- (1) The mythologies of Peru and Mexico have yet to be explored, and may be expected to prove a field worthy to be worked. The few facts we have yield a strong suggestion that the Toltecs, Chimenecs, Aztecs, and Tezucans were groups, compounded like the Natches, of tribes with Totems—the Sun dominant, in Peru at least. The legend o the founding of Tenochtitlan gives a prickly-pear, an eagle, a serpent, and the sun. The Mexicans had the eagle on their standard, and the serpent at least among their gods. The war god, Huitzilopotchli, means, literally, "a humming-bird" and "left." He was figured with the feathers of the humming-bird on his left foot. If the humming-bird was a Totem, this is the only case, excepting one serpent god in the same Olympus, of a Totem becoming a God of Terror that we are acquainted with. The years in the fifty-two years Mexican Cycle were named from plants and animals—a list of them is not accessible. Their law of succession was polyandrous, from brother to brother, and to sister's sons, failing brothers. This demonstrates for them the stage of female kinship. We know nothing of the law of intermarriage.



who have made such progress as we above suggested the Bear might make, and are become the objects of a more or less regular worship—the Serpent-tribe dominant, and the Hawk-tribe in the second place. The Men-gods are a new element in the Olympus; but they appear as "shrines" merely like the other animals, and were no doubt arrived at by an extension to man of conclusions speculatively reached as to the nature of Totem-gods in general. The Fijians have filled the world with spirits and demons. They are incessantly plagued by ghosts, witches, or wizards. Vegetables and stones, nay, even tools and weapons, pots and canoes, have souls that are immortal, and that, like the souls of men, pass on at last to Mbulu, the abode of departed spirits. They worship pillars and rocks; but, so far as we know, they do not worship the Sun unless their mengods are of the solar stock.

7. The mental condition of men in the Totem stage.—The state of mind of men in the Totem stage is familiar enough, from the accounts we have of the lower races of men. The absence of scientific knowledge nowise implies an absence of speculation; it rather necessitates the presence of a great amount of it. Some explanation of the phenomena of life a man must feign for himself; and to judge from the universality of it, the simplest hypothesis, and the first to occur to men, seems to have been that natural phenomena are ascribable to the presence in animals, plants, and things, and in the forces of nature, of such spirits prompting to action as men are conscious they themselves possess. So far as we know, this has been at some time or other the faith of all the races of men; and again, so far as we know, it is a faith that has nowhere been given up as unsatisfactory otherwise than gradually on its being perceived, from case to case, that the behaviour of the forces of nature and of the bodies they act upon is not wayward or wilful, but conformable to law; and until the law has been ascertained. This animation hypothesis, held as a faith, is at the root of all the mythologies. It has been called Fetichism; which, according to the common accounts of it, ascribes a life and personality resembling our own, not only to animals and plants, but to rocks, mountains, streams, winds, the heavenly bodies, the earth itself, and even the heavens. Fetichism thus resembles Totemism; which, indeed, is Fetichism plus certain peculiarities. These peculiarities are, (1) the appropriation of a special Fetich to the tribe, (2) its hereditary transmission through mothers, and (3) its connection with the jus connubii. Our own belief is that the accompaniments of Fetichism have not been well observed, and that it will

^{(1) &}quot;Fiji and the Fijians," by Thomas Williams, vol. i. pp. 114, 123, 215 ff.

⁽²⁾ Himavat (the Himalayas) was a great Hindu god. He had goddess daughters; one, Ganga (the Ganges), another, Uma, "the most excellent of goddesses." See Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," Part iv. pp. 356 ff.

yet be found that in many cases the Fetich is the Totem. Be that as it may, we may safely affirm that as Fetichism dies slowly, withdrawing its spirits from one sphere after another on their being brought within the domain of science, so it grew slowly through various stages of development, bringing the realms of nature one by one within the scope of the hypothesis which is its foundation. Our information is incomplete; but from all we know, the aborigines of Australia are, as theorists, far in advance of the Bushmen, Veddahs, Andamans, and Fuegians, while it appears they themselves have many steps to take before reaching the fulness of the animism of some American Indians. They have not yet, for example, so far as we know, vivified the heavenly bodies. The Indians, again, have not vet advanced so far as the New Zealanders, who assign spirits to groves and forests,1 as did the Greeks and Romans, while none of the peoples last mentioned reached that perfection of Fetichism allied to an ontology which is Pantheism.2

The justification of the statement that there is no race of men that has not come through this primitive stage of speculative belief, will be found in this exposition in its entirety.³ We may here say that such a stage is demonstrated for the Hindoos and Egyptians by their doctrine of transmigration. It is of the essence of that doctrine that everything has a soul or spirit, and that the spirits are mostly human in the sense of having once been in human bodies. All the spirits are of course ultimately divine—detached portions of the Deity.

We find in the Code of Manu that "vegetables, and mineral substances, worms, insects, reptiles—some very minute, some rather larger—fishes, snakes, tortoises, cattle, shakals, are the lowest forms to which the dark quality leads [the soul of a man]." A man may after death, according to the shade of the dark quality, become an elephant, horse, lion, tiger, boar, or a man of the servile class; while, in virtue of the good quality, he may rise to the rank of the genii, to be a regent of the stars, or even a god. This implies, of course, the existence of spirits resembling our own of various ranks, from those that dwell in minerals and vegetables up to that of Brahma. We have a similar implication from the Egyptian doctrine. Let us consider how such a doctrine could have arisen.

⁽¹⁾ See "The Adventures of Rata," and "The Children of Heaven and Earth," in Grey's Polynesian Mythology.

⁽²⁾ A striking illustration of the graduality of the evolution of fetichism will be found in "Fiji and the Fijians," l.c. p. 241. The Fijians are far in advance of the Tongans.

⁽³⁾ Two papers having a bearing on this matter, written by Mr. E. B. Tylor, the one on "The Early Mental Condition of Man," and the other on "Traces of Savage Thought in Modern Civilisation," both read before the Royal Institution, London, are well worthy of being consulted.

⁽⁴⁾ Code, chap. xii. vv. 42, 43; and see idem, chap. i. vv. 49, 50.

⁽⁵⁾ The systems of transmigration have been various. In the Brahmanic the purified soul returns to Brahma; in the Buddhistic it attains Nirvâna. The Egyptian

The doctrine connects itself at once with the Cosmogony and with ethics. Manu's account of the genesis, from the first divine idea to the seed and the golden egg and the waters; to the Vedas milked out from fire, air, and the sun; and to the final evolution of all Beings, animals, and vegetables, will be admitted to be as unscientific, or foolish, as anything the Australians could devise, supposing them to have imagination enough to shape so grand a theory; and it is not a whit more ingenious than the Australian view of life, taking success in getting at the truth as the test of ingenuity. The truth, it may be said, is beyond the reach of speculation. No doubt; this fantastical doctrine, however, may safely be assumed not to contain it. "A transmigratory soul" is not an hypothesis like phlogiston: the latter explained some facts; the former, none. How then did it arise? It resulted from ethical considerations, and the theory of the Cosmos. But whence came the latter? Its source, we think, is indubitable. It was a speculation to explain the facts, real and imaginary, of existence. That is, in the order of events, Fetichism, which assigns "souls" to all things, came first, and afterwards the cosmical theory, which explained, inter alia, "the souls of all things," the ethical doctrine regulating their transferences merely. In other words, had the "souls" not been pre-existing we should not have had the theory—an unquestionable product of human effort to explain facts—nor anything resembling it. This we submit is the common-sense view. The doctrine supervened on a system of ideas comprising all the elements with which it had to deal. The windows in heaven, and the firmament separating the waters above from the waters below them, do not more clearly demonstrate the old theory of rain, than this doctrine demonstrates pre-existing Fetichism.

That the doctrine of transmigration was invented at a pretty late date in the progress of the Hindu races we may be certain. There is but one sentence in the Rig-Veda (Hymn i. 164) which has even been supposed to imply transmigration, and it does not do so, we are assured, when the words are taken literally in their usual sense. Yet the belief in the soul's life after death may be traced in some of the hymns of the Veda. This belief, however, assumes many forms, and the present writer has no certain information as to its Vedic form. Of the forms it assumes many are highly curious. The Australian and Fijian we saw. Among the Tahitians human souls were supposed to be the food of their god, and they offered to him

resembled the Brahmanic, as did the Grecian, which was neither indigenous to Greece nor a popular faith. The Jews may have had their system from the Greek philosophers. It is taught in the Kabbala, and resembles the Brahmanic. The soul of Adam reappeared in David, and was to reappear in the Messiah. Some early Christians held the doctrine, but it was never the creed of the Church. It was the creed of the Manichæans. Origen believed it; so, lately, did Lessing. It was indigenous in Germany and in ancient Mexico.

human sacrifices that he might be fed. The Khonds have a limited quantity of soul as tribal property, and they explain their female infanticide by saying that the fewer their women are the more soul there will be for the men. The customs of some tribes in Madagascar show that they think that one man may have several souls; and not a few tribes, holding that the souls of the dead return in their new-born babies, bury in the houses or near the doors to facilitate the return.

It is familiar that men everywhere in ancient times believed spirits to inhabit trees and groves, and to move in the winds and stars, and that they personified almost every phase of nature. We have now seen that such beliefs cannot be regarded as having been deduced from the grander doctrines of the ancient religions; but that the latter must be regarded as having been constructed upon such beliefs as their foundations. Demons and Genii, and the spirits of plants and minerals, were older than Brahma; let us hope they will not survive him. They are everywhere lively still, even in the most advanced nations; and we have not to go very far back in time to find them playing a most important part in our medical theories. Demons—a species of disembodied Boyl-as—were connected with diseases by the Jews and early Christians, and it is familiar how on one occasion when driven out of a man they entered into a herd of swine. The genii of the early Italians—so like the Totem—are familiar, and even more so are the genii of the Arabian Nights. The Mahometans, if they are true to their prophet, must still believe in them. In that very curious book "Mishcàt-ul-Mas'ábìh'" a record of the sayings and doings of the prophet, bearing to be made by those who knew him best—his wives and disciples—we find the following, which is pertinent to our subject :-

"Ibn-Omer said, 'I heard his highness say, "Kill snakes, and kill the snake which has two black lines upon its back, and kill the snake called abter, on account of its small tail; for verily these two kinds of snake blind the eyes as soon as they are looked at; and if a pregnant woman should see them, she would miscarry from fright." Ibn-Omer says, 'Just as I was about killing a snake, Abù-Labá-Bahansári called out to me not to kill it. Then I said, "His highness ordered me to kill them; why do you forbid?" He said, "His highness, after giving the order for killing them, said, You must not kill the snakes that live in the houses, because they are not snakes, but a kind of genii."' Abù-Sáyib said, 'We went to Abù-Sàïd-Khud'hrì; and whilst we were sitting, we heard a shaking under his bedstead; and we looked and saw a snake. Then I got up to kill it, and Abù-Sàïd was saying his prayers, and he made a sign to me to sit down, and I did so. And when he had finished his prayers, he made a sign towards a room in his house, and said, "There was a youth in my family lived there who had newly married." Then Abù-Sàïd said, "We came out of Medinah along with the Prophet, to a trench which was digging for fighting, and this youth would ask the Prophet's permission to return to his house every day at noon, which was granted. Then one day the youth asked his highness's leave, who said, Put on your armour, because I am alarmed about you, from the evil designs of the tribe of Beni-Kuraidhah.



youth took his arms, and returned towards his house; and when he arrived, he saw his wife standing between two doors; and the youth was about piercing her with a spear, being seized with jealousy at seeing her standing out of her room; and she said, Withhold your spear, and come into the room that you may see what has brought me out. Then the youth went into the room, and beheld a large snake coiled up sleeping upon his bed, and he struck his spear into the snake; then the snake attacked the youth, and bit him, and it was not known which of them died first, the snake or the youth. Then I went to the Prophet and mentioned the occurrence, and said, Supplicate God to give life Then his highness said, Ask God to forgive your friend; wherefore do you wish a prayer to be made for his life? After that he said, In these houses are the genii, some of them believers, and some infidels; therefore when you see anything of those inhabitants turn them out, but do not hurry in killing them, but say, Do not incommode me; if you do, I shall kill you. Then if he goes away, so much the better; but if not, kill it, because it is an infidel genius. And his highness said to the youth's tribe, Take him away and bury him. And in one tradition it is thus that his highness said, Verily there are genii in Med inah which have embraced Islam; then when you see any one of them, warn him three days; and if he appears after that, kill him, because he is none but an infidel."' Omm Sharic said, 'His highness ordered a chameleon to be killed, and said, "It was a chameleon which blew the fire into which Nimrod threw Abraham."... Abùhurairah A.G.S. "An ant bit a prophet, and he ordered the ant-hill to be burnt, which was Then God sent a voice to the prophet, saying, Have you burnt, on account of one biting you, a whole multitude of those that remembered God, and repeated his name?""!

His highness's scientific views on other subjects were in keeping with his zoology. "The genii," he lays it down, "are of three kinds. One kind have wings and fly, another are snakes and dogs, and the third move about from place to place like men."2 The third are not so unlike the Boyl-as. In Mahomet's system the devil and bad genii are at the root of all diseases except fever, which results from the heat of hell-fire, an element of which the Australians are as yet ignorant. He believed, of course, in the evil eye, and in spells and amulets, as so many of us still do; but perhaps he nowhere appears to more advantage than in his astronomy. Stars, he says, were created for three purposes—to embellish the regions, to stone the devil, and for guidance in the forest and on the sea. Our poor wolves, bears, beavers, and opossums, must be tenderly regarded, and may, we think, be believed to be thoroughly earnest in their faith, when views like these appear as propounded by the founder of one of the greatest existing religions. Of the traces of Fetichism among the Greeks and Romans, it would be waste of time to say anything.

We have said enough to prepare the reader for the examination we are about to enter upon, of the evidence of the worship of animals and vegetables among the ancients; to give him the feeling that it is not very improbable that in classical regions we shall find Totems, or something like them.

⁽¹⁾ Vol. ii. p. 31c. Chap iii. Part I. "In explanation of animals, lawful and unlawful to be eaten."

⁽²⁾ Idem, vol. ii. p. 314.

Let us, however, before proceeding with that examination, state the results we have reached. We have found that there are tribes of men (called primitive) now existing on the earth in the Totem stage, each named after some animal or plant, which is its symbol or ensign, and which by the tribesmen is religiously regarded; having kinship through mothers only, and exogamy as their marriage law. In several cases we have seen, the tribesmen believe themselves to be descended from the Totem, and in every case to be, nominally at least, of its breed or species. We have seen a relation existing between the tribesmen and their Totem, as in the case of the bear, that might well grow into that of worshipper and god, leading to the establishment of religious ceremonials to allay the Totem's just anger, or secure his continued protection. We have seen in the case of the sun, conceived as a being, and having his tribe like any other animal, a first place acquired and the honours of a regular worship among tribes still in the Totem stage, and that it is not improbable the cultus of other Totems became regular as sun worship advanced; and in the case of the Fijians, where the serpent and not the sun introduced regular religious observances, we have a more or less regular worship of the other Totems—as we seem entitled to consider them—advanced to the status of gods. We have also seen that while the intellectual condition of men that accompanies Totemism is well established for all the lower races of men now existing, there is much evidence that the higher races had anciently been in a similar condition. We have Totemism in various phases attending that condition, and having reason to think that the higher races had once been in the same condition, we have a probability that they also may once have had Totems.

J. F. M'LENNAN.



⁽¹⁾ In some quarters in America, images of animals have been found in excavations, and one view is that they were idols. It will be remembered there were such images in the Sun Temples of the Incas.