ORDINARY MEETING.*

DAVID HOWARD, ESQ., D.L., F.C.S., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following paper, entitled The "Worship and Traditions of the Aborigines of the Islands of the Pacific Ocean," by Rev. M. Eells, D.D., University of the Pacific, Union City, Mason County, Washington Territory, U.S.A., was then read by Rev. J. W. McCleod in the absence of the author.


This paper does not pretend to be exhaustive. It is in the same line as one which I wrote for the Victoria Institute a few years ago and which is published in vol. xix of its Transactions. Having become interested in the subject, I have, as I have had opportunity, made myself acquainted with the researches of others, especially in regard to the Islands of the Pacific Ocean: as next to the natives of America, the people of these islands are furthest, and most difficult of access from the cradle of the human race in Asia, as given in the Bible; and some of these islands are even more widely separated from Asia, than is even America.

Still the books on the North Pacific coast of the United States, which refer to these Islands are much less abundant than are those which refer to the natives of America; and far less numerous than they are in England, as in regard to most of these islands politically and commercially we have less relation than England has. Hence this paper must only

* Monday, 18th March, 1895.
be considered as a contribution to the study of the subject, and I trust that it may at least suggest such trains of thought in others as will make it of value.

I shall begin on the same principle as I did in the paper of mine referred to, and that is that fewer changes have taken place in regard to the religion of the natives than with reference to the manners and customs which relate to their food, clothing, ornaments, architecture, implements, or even social, governmental and educational customs, as they are much more willing to change these latter customs on coming in contact with whites, than they are their religious ideas and customs. Hence, if there are any customs, which (as Foster's Prehistoric Races of America expresses it) become "infallible guides in tracing national affinities," they are those which relate to religion.

True the outside appearance of their religion is as different from that of civilized people as it well can be; but having stripped it of this outside shell, it is the inside kernel, the foundation principles which I wish to consider.

I shall also follow the same divisions that I did in my former paper; man's belief in regard to the beings of the Spirit World, more powerful than himself; man as a spiritual being; the relations between man and those beings of the other world; and man's future state.

My field is, however, different, very different, and hence the argument becomes much stronger, as some of those islands are situated thousands of miles from each other, Asia or other inhabited lands.

It must be remembered also, that the ancient inhabitants of some of these islands, although comparatively not very distant from parts of Asia, are among the lowest and most degraded people in the world, as the Dyaks of Borneo, celebrated as ferocious cannibals; the Papuas of New Guinea, who are seldom over five feet high, and who have often been treated almost as wild beasts; and some in Australia, who as some say have little to distinguish them from the brute, except their form, their power of speech, and their ideas of a good and evil spirit. (Fisher's Book of the World, vol. 2, pp. 682, 684, 686.)

I.--The Beings of the Spirit World.

(a) The Supreme Being.—A belief in a Supreme Being is very wide spread. The inhabitants of Sumatra believe in a
good Deity;* the Dyaks of Borneo generally seem to acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being, (though subordinate deities are supposed to watch over special departments of this world); while the original inhabitants of Java seem to be not much removed from those of Borneo in belief; and the Macassars of Celebes worship a certain divinity called Karaeng Lovi, who has power over their fortune and health.† The Tenimber Islanders recognize some Supreme existence whom they call Duadilah.‡

The wizards of Australia profess to be in communication both with their ancestral spirits and with the Great Supreme Being, the founder of their race, whose sacred ceremonies of initiation they conduct, and of whose laws they are the depositaries. All the institutions of the tribe were in the first instance established by him, whom they speak of, and reverence as the All-Father of the tribe. This Being is known under many different names in various tribes. These names, being connected with the initiation ceremonies, are often too sacred to be spoken by the people, except during the celebration of the mysteries, from which the uninitiated are excluded. The Woiworung tribe of the Yarra river district called him Bunjil; the Wiradjeri tribe of the Lower Murrumbidgee call him Baiame; and the Murring of the mountains and the coast call him Darramulun. But these names are not for common use. Except during the secret ceremonies of initiation, all these tribes usually speak of him in words which mean in each language “Our Father;” and the Kurnai of Gippsland, know him only by the name Muganngaura and speak it, when necessary with reverential awe. Even Australian blacks, when referring to the Supreme Being sometimes do it by gesture, in order to avoid speaking his name.§

True Sir John Lubbock has held that the Australians do not believe in a Supreme Deity, or in the immortality of the soul, that they have no idea of creation, nor use prayers, or religious forms, ceremonies or worship, but this cannot now be accepted, for later discoveries by those who have lived long among them state the opposite.

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† Encyclopaedia Brit., articles on “Borneo,” “Java,” and “Celebes.”
‡ Naturalist’s Wanderings in Timor Laut.
|| Smithsonian Report, 1869, p. 356.
Dr. J. Fraser, in a paper read before this Society in January, 1888, on the Aborigines of Australia, says that the songs at their dances were given them by Baiamai, the Great Creator, that the sacred wand was also given to them by him, and that the ground on which Bora, their sacred ceremonies, are performed is Baiamai's ground, who sees all and knows all (Trans., vol. xxii, p. 155).

In the Journal of Tyerman and Bennet (vol. ii, p. 266) likewise, the author says that near Sydney the natives had a crude tradition of a good spirit, though they disregarded him.

As to New Zealand, authorities differ; the Encyclopædia Britannica (art. "New Zealand"), saying that the Maoris had no idea of a Supreme Being, but believed that all things were produced by generation from darkness and nothingness; while Malte Brun (Geography, vol. ii, p. 38), says that the inhabitants of that island believe in a Supreme Deity; and Cook in his voyages (vol. i, p. 103) agrees with the latter.

The Fijians give Ndengei as the name of the God most generally known among them, who seems to be an abstract idea of eternal existence, with no emotion or sensation, but that of hunger, although he was the Creator of men.*

The Tongas give Tuifa Bolotoo as the name of their one God, the Supreme Being of the place.t

The inhabitants of the Samoan Islands, too, believe in a good spirit, though they seem to prefer to propitiate the evil spirit, rather than to adore the good one.

Rev. W. Ellis in his Polynesian Researches (chap. xiii, p. 249) gives the name of the Supreme Being of the Tahitians as Taaroa, the Tanaroa of the Hawaians, and the Tangaroa of the Western Islands, and he says that he is generally spoken of as the first and principal god, uncreated and existing from the beginning, or from the time he emerged from Po or the world of darkness. The Leeward Islands generally make him eternal. Malte Brun (Geography, vol. ii, p. 406) adds that they believe in a sort of Trinity, Tani-te-medooa, the Father; Aro mattow toua ti te meidi, God in the Son; and Taroa manau te hooa, the Bird or Spirit. He adds that the Marquesans have the same religious ceremonies as the Tahitians.

* Fiji and Fijians, J. Calvert, chap. 7.
The Sandwich Islanders likewise had an ancient tradition of a superintending power.*

(b) Good Spirits.—Generally these are the practical deities of the heathen, as they trust in them as a protecting individual or household deity more than in the Supreme Being. This is true of the Dyaks of Borneo; for while they acknowledge a Supreme Being, subordinate deities are supposed to watch over the various departments of this world.†

The original inhabitants of Java had a similar belief, and the number of their patron spirits was innumerable. Their forests, mountains, and caves were peopled by numerous invisible beings of their own creation.‡

The ancient inhabitants of Celebes also worshipped local deities.§ likewise the Tenimber Islanders of Timor Laut have their little gods,|| the Fijians, too, have many inferior gods, but no idols; they have, however, stones in which they believe spirits to dwell at times;¶ and the Tongas believed not only in gods which existed from all eternity, but also in inferior deities.**

In Tahiti every family had its protecting deity which resided in heaven,||| and they had gods of peace, war, the sea, idiots, and the like, ten in number as gods of the first order, while the lower orders were employed as heralds or messengers between the gods and man.||||

The New Zealanders agreed with them in this belief of a deity for every family according to Cook and Malte Brun; the people of the Caroline and Friendly Islands believed in a multitude of celestial spirits;||| those of Micronesia had a belief in gods, but it was overshadowed by the deification of their ancestors,|| and the Sandwich Islanders had a multiplicity of gods and household deities.|||

(c) Evil Spirits.—As in America so in these islands, the

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* Jarves' Sandwich Islands, p. 19.
† Encyclopædia Brit. art., "Borneo."
§ Naturalist's Wanderings in Timor Laut.
|| Fiji and Fijians, J. Calvert, chap. 7.
** Coral Islands, p. 153.
||| Ellis, Polynesian Researches, chap. 13.
||| Malte Brun's Geog., pp. 349, 402.
|||| Encyclopædia Brit. art., "Micronesia."
||| Jarves' Sandwich Islands, p. 25.
belief in these is not as universal as it is in the Supreme Being, and in other good spirits, still a large number of the people hold to such a belief. In Sumatra the people believed in an evil deity,* and in Borneo the Dyaks had a strong belief in the existence of evil spirits, their medical system having been connected with divination; while the people of Java had a faith similar to that of these Dyaks. In New Guinea the vague notions which the people had of a universal spirit were practically represented by several malevolent powers.†

In New Holland, while the people had crude notions of a good and an evil spirit, they disregarded the former, and paid all their homage of fear (which hath torment) to the latter.‡

According to Sir J. Lubbock, the Australians dimly imagine a being, spiteful, malevolent, but weak, and dangerous only in the dark. Indeed their religion consists of a belief in the existence of ghosts or spirits, or at any rate of evil beings who are not men; a belief which, he says, can hardly be said to influence them in the daytime, but which makes them very unwilling to quit their camp-fire by night, or to sleep near a grave.§ W. B. Wildy adds that the Northern Australians who are very low, wearing almost no clothes, and eating roots, grubs, worms, lizards and snakes, are afraid of an evil spirit, which they call Browl; and that under the trees up which they bury their dead, they will smooth the grass, in order to detect any visitation of Browl, and that before they retire at night, they will take a light, and hunt about, calling "Browl, Browl," as if to bring him from his hiding place.||

The Fijians likewise believe in demons, and the people of the Samoan Islands seem to prefer to propitiate the evil spirit, rather than to adore the good one.¶

No people in the world seem to have been more superstitious than the South Sea Islanders, or more entirely under the influence of dread from imaginary demons or supernatural beings. They have not only their greater, but their minor demons, and sorcery and witchcraft were extensively practised.** Wherever sorcery and witchcraft are practised

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* Malte Brun's, Geog., vol. ii, p. 313.
‡ Journal of Tyerman and Bennett, vol. ii, p. 266.
§ Smithsonian Report, 1869, pp. 356, 361.
¶ Polynesian Researches, chap. 19. ** Ibid.
(and they are almost as universal as sickness, among the heathen, as they believe that sickness is both caused and cured in this way) there is a belief in demons.

The most fearful deity at the Sandwich Islands was Pele, who dwelt in the great volcano.*

II.—MAN AS A SPIRITUAL BEING.

(a) Immortality.—This idea, though perhaps not universal is very wide-spread. The Maoris of New Zealand believed that the spirit survives the body, and retires to some place under the earth.† Among the Tongas the nobles were allowed to possess souls, but not the common people; for them there was no future.‡ The Tahitians believed that the soul is immortal, and that according to its degree of virtue and piety would be its honour and happiness in the next world.§ Near their dead they placed food, fruits and flowers daily, and they supposed that their food was spiritual, which they could smell, as well as having a material past.||

Some of the Fijians, says Mr. Williams, speak of a man as having two spirits; his shadow is called the dark spirit, which they say goes to Hades; the other is his likeness reflected in the water or a looking glass, and is supposed to stay near the place where the man dies.¶ In fact all that is said in the last part of this paper about a future state gives additional evidence of their belief in the immortality of the soul.

(b) Man as a sinner.—In a paper read before this Institute (already referred to) Dr. John Fraser describes a custom among the Australians called the Bora, which individuals pass through, and after this is done, he comes forth another man, having washed away the badge of darkness and evil, and having assumed the livery of the children of light. They are thus purified and devoted to the service of good, and freed from the power of evil. The novice enters the outer circle painted red, but at its close he washes himself in a pool, and thereby is cleansed, after which he paints himself white.

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* Jarves' Sandwich Islands, p. 27.
† Encyclopædia Brit., art., "New Zealand."
‡ Coral Islands, vol. ii, p. 152.
§ Polynesian Researches, p. 308.
|| Smithsonian Report, 1819, p. 355.
When the Tahitians embalmed a person they dug a hole in the ground, where a priest deposited with prayer the dead man's sins, asking that they do not attach to the survivors, and saying to the corpse, "with you let the guilt now remain." Every disease too was supposed to be sent because of crime, or else because of the offering of an enemy.*

Nearly all that will be said about priests, temples, and sacrifices in this paper bears directly on this subject, as most sacrifices were offered in their temples by their priests because of their sins.

III.—The Relation between Man and the Superior Beings of the other World.

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

(1) Creation.—Dr. John Fraser in describing the religious ceremonies of initiation among the Australians just referred to, speaks of certain songs in connection therewith, which they say were given them by Baiamai, their great Creator. This statement must be taken as true, notwithstanding the fact that Sir John Lubbock says of the inhabitants of Australia that they have no idea of creation.

Among the inhabitants of the Coral Islands the belief was held that Taaroa was the Creator God.† The people of New Zealand believed in the creation of man, and that woman was formed from the rib of the man.‡ According to the Fijians, Ndengcei was the creator of man.§ The tradition among the Tongas has a strong Mosaic element in it, also a Cain and Abel, the blacks being descended from Cain, and the whites from Abel. The Samoan legends agree in the main with those of the Fijians.|| Moreover the Rev. T. Powell read a paper on the Samoan tradition of Creation and the Deluge before this Institute¶ in which he gives a description, occupying seven pages, of the creation of the world, rocks, man, animals, the heavens, and the inferior gods by

* Polynesian Researches, pp. 301, 306.
† Coral Islands, vol. ii, p. 287.
‡ Malte Brun's Geog., vol. ii, p. 381.
§ Fiji and Fijians, chap. 7.
¶ Trans., vol. xx, p. 145.
Tagaloa faatutu punun, *i.e.*, Tagaloa the creator, or more literally the people producing Tagaloa."

According to Rev. W. Ellis, the Taaroa of the Tahitians is spoken of by some as the creator of the heavens and earth, though others speak of the existence of land as anterior to that of the gods.† While there are several traditions of creation, quite different, all agree that Taaroa, or someone created by him, made man and woman. After he had made the world, he made man out of red earth. Then when man was asleep, he took out one of his ivi or bones, and made woman whom he gave to man as his wife. Mr. Ellis, however, placed no reliance on this story (although they say that they had it long before the whites came among them) except ivi, pronounced eve, which is a native word and means bone, widow, and victim slain in war. Taaroa also made the earth, sun, moon, stars, heaven, and hell. Like most ancient nations they ascribe the origin of all things to a state of chaos or darkness, and even the first existence of their deities refers to this source. Their deities of the highest order are said to be born of night. The tradition generally received in the Windward Islands ascribed the origin of the world and all in it to Taaroa, who was born of chaos.‡

At the Sandwich Islands a tradition was prevalent that the first inhabitants were descended from the gods or were created on the islands. Their traditions refer to a period of perpetual night or chaos before the world existed. Nothing that now is, was then created except the gods. Creation was a transfer from darkness to light. Hawaii is said to have come from a large egg produced by an immense bird upon the water, which bursting, formed the island. They also say that man was originally made from the dust of the earth by Kane, and Kanaloa, two of their principal deities.§

(2) Providence.—According to Dr. J. Fraser, Baiamai of the Australians sees all and knows all, if not directly yet through Turramulan, a subordinate deity who is a mediator for all operations of Baiamai to man, and from man to Baiamai.

According to the Rev. J. Powell, Tagaloa the creator of the

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† Polynesian Researches, chap. 13.
‡ Ibid., p. 96, 98, 99, 249, and chap. 13.
§ Jarves, Sandwich Islands, p. 17-19.
Samoans, produced Tagaloa the visitor of the peoples, Tagaloa the prohibitor of the peoples, and Tagaloa the messenger, who went forth to attend to the duties signified by these names.* Among the Tahitians every disease was supposed to be sent by the gods, because of some crime against their tabu or else because of the offering of an enemy.†

The people of the Sandwich Islands have an ancient tradition of a superintending power above. Maui, a superhuman being or god, is said to have laid his hand upon the sun and arrested its course to give his wife time to finish work, which she was anxious to complete before dark.‡

As among the Indians of America, so among the natives of these islands, all that I have said about the guardian spirits who are worshipped more than the Supreme Deity, and all that I shall say about the Deluge, sacrifices, and prayer, refers to the same great fact that the Supreme Spirits exercise a providential care over mankind.

(3) The Deluge.—It is somewhat strange how traditions of this event exist in all parts of the world.

Near Sydney in Australia there was a tradition of a deluge, which overtopped the Blue Mountains, and two men only escaped the devastation in a large ship.§

In the Fiji Islands there was likewise a tradition of a flood, which some say was partial, and others say was universal. It was occasioned by the killing by two boys of a favourite bird belonging to the Supreme Deity, who tried first for three months to conquer them with his army, but was unable to do so, as they were assisted by their friends, whereupon he sent a flood. They cared not for it, as they were fortified on a high mountain, but the flood came to them, when they cried to a god who taught them how to build a canoe or two canoes, or a float, according to different stories, and eight persons were saved. All the highest land was covered. They settled down on Mbengga. The highest point on the island is Nginggi-tangithi Koro, which conveys the idea of a little bird sitting there, and lamenting over a drowned island.||

† Polynesian Researches, p. 301.
‡ Jarves, Sandwich Islands, pp. 17, 19.
|| Fiji and Fijians, chap. 7.
Others say that just as all the people were being drowned two large double canoes appeared, in one of which was the god of carpenters, and in the other his head workman, who picked up eight persons, who were landed at the island Mbenga, and in consequence of this, the chiefs of this island always take the precedence among all the other chiefs of the Fiji Islands.*

The Rev. T. Powell writes at some length of this event among the Samoans.†

One tradition among the Tahitians says that a long time ago, God being angry, dragged the earth through the water, and their island was "broken off."‡

Mr. Ellis adds that traditions of the Deluge have been found to exist among the natives of the South Sea Islands from the earliest periods of their history. The principal facts are the same among the inhabitants of the different groups, although they differ in several minor particulars. These state that in ancient times Taaroa, the principal god, and creator of the world, being angry with men on account of disobedience to his will, overturned the world into the sea, when the earth sank into the waters, excepting a few projecting points, which remained above the surface, and now constitute the present cluster of islands.

The memorial preserved by the inhabitants of Eimeo, states that after the inundation of the land, when the water had subsided, a man landed from a canoe near Tiataepua in their island and erected an altar in honour of his god.

Another tradition says that Tahiti was destroyed by the sea, no man, nor hog, nor fowl, nor dog remaining except two persons, the husband and wife. The wife took up her young chicken and dog, and the husband his young pig and kitten, all the animals formerly known to the people, and went to the highest mountain, where they stayed ten nights, when the sea subsided, after which the stones and trees began to fall from the heavens, whereupon they dug a hole in the ground or a kind of cave which protected them.

At Raiatea the people say a fisherman went to a fishing place which was sacred. He lowered his hooks which became entangled in the hair of the god of the waters, who became angry, and threatened a flood. At this the man

* Smith's Bible Dictionary, art., "Deluge."
‡ Edinburgh Review, art., "Deluge."
repented, whereupon he was forgiven, warned of the flood to come, told to take his wife and child and go to a small island east of Raiatea Toamarama. He did so, and some say he also took a friend, a dog, a pig, a pair of fowls, the only domesticated animals known on the island. They were saved and all else were destroyed, after which they returned to the main land. They refer to coral, shells, and the like, near the tops of the highest mountains as proof of it. They give no account of rain, or that the windows of heaven were opened, although they were frequently asked about this.*

At the Sandwich Islands some say that rain fell until all the land was covered except the top of Mauna Kea: some of the people then placed themselves in a vessel, the length, breadth, and height of which were equal. It was filled with men, animals, and food, and at last rested on Mauna Kea.†

(b) What man ought to do to these Superior Spirits.

(1) Thanksgiving.—As a recipient of favours he ought to be grateful. The people of the Friendly Islands had two great festivals, one to ask the protection of Footla-faihu over their newly planted fruits, and the other at the close of harvest, which was a feast of gratitude.

Among the Tahitians the first fish taken were conveyed to the altar. The first fruits of orchards and gardens were also offered. Their rites and worship were in many respects singular, and in none more so than in the ripening of the year, which was regarded as a kind of annual acknowledgment to the gods.‡ The Sandwich Islanders also offered their first fruits to their gods.§

(2) Prayer.—Man as a weak being ought to ask assistance of the more powerful beings.—The people of Celebes had devotions, though no temples.|| As just stated in regard to the Friendly Islands, one of their great festivals was to ask the protection of their deity over their newly planted fruits.

The priests of the Tahitians addressed a prayer to their principal deities. They were sometimes short but often very long containing many repetitions, as if they thought

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* Polynesian Researches, chap. 15.
† Hopkins' Hawaiian Islands, chap. 5. Jarves' Sandwich Islands.
‡ Polynesian Researches, pp. 269, 270.
§ Jarves' Sandwich Islands, p. 19.
that they should be heard for their much speaking. The petitioner did not address the god standing or prostrate, but knelt on one knee, sat cross-legged, or in a crouching position. When embalming a dead body, they dug a hole in the ground, and a priest deposited with prayer the dead man's sins there, asking that they do not attach to the survivor. A prayer was offered up before they ate their food, when they tilled the ground, planted the garden, built their houses, launched their canoes, cast their nets, and commenced or concluded a journey.*

(3) Sacrifices, Priests, and Temples.—Man as a sinful being needs to atone for sins.—The people of Sumatra have priests.† The Dyaks of Borneo sacrificed animals, fruits, and sometimes human beings to appease or invoke their gods;‡ and the customs of the people of Java were very similar. The inhabitants of Celebes had sacrifices, but no temples.§ There were temples in the north and west of New Guinea,ǁ and the people of New Zealand had priests.¶

Among the Fijians nearly every village had its temples, and votive offerings decorated the interior. There were priestesses, human sacrifices were common, and they offered many peace offerings.** Among the Tahitians priests were numerous and powerful and human sacrifices of slaves were offered.†† They made offerings to their ti-is or spirits, their temples were national, local and domestic, and one is described as a solid pyramidal structure, in front of which images were kept, and the altars fixed. The priests of the national temples were a distinct class, and the office of the priesthood was hereditary in all its departments. In the family the father was priest, in the village or district the family of the priest was sacred, and the office was held by one who was a chief. Their offerings included every kind of valuable property, the fowls of the air, the fishes of the sea, the beasts of the field, and the fruits of the earth,

‡ Encyclopaedia Brit., art., "Borneo."
ǁ Encyclopaedia Brit., art., "New Guinea."
¶ Cook's Voyages, vol. p. 103.
** Fiji and Fijians, chap. 7.
together with the choicest manufactures. The sacrifice was frequently called Taraehara, signifying entangling from guilt. But animals, fruits and the like were not the only articles presented to their idols, for the most important part of their sacrifices was the frequent immolation of human victims. These were offered in seasons of war, at great national festivals, during the illness of rulers, and when their temples were erected. They imagined that the efficacy of their prayers would be in exact proportion to the value of the offerings with which they were accompanied. Their seasons of worship were both stated and occasional, and religious rites were connected with almost every event of their lives.*

The people of the Marquesas Islands had the same ceremonies as the Tahitians, but those of the Carolines were said to have neither temples, idols, or religious worship,† and in Micronesia temples are rare.‡

At the Sandwich Islands, temples were very common, were usually built on hills or near the sea in conspicuous places, were made of loose stones, and were works of great labour. One was two hundred and twenty-four by one hundred feet, a sacrificial altar was placed near the entrance of the court; their priests were many, and there was a high priest; priesthood was hereditary and human sacrifices were common.§ Eighty persons are said to have been sacrificed at one time.‖ There is a cord now at the missionary rooms at Chicago, with which one high priest strangled twenty-three victims.¶

(4) Other Forms of Worship and Customs.—Dr. J. Fraser in speaking of the initiation of a young man into the religious rites of the Australians, says that it closes with washing and purification, and a dance around and through a fire.

W. B. Wildy says that the Larrakeyahs and Moolnahs do not practise circumcision, but all the other tribes of Australia practise it, and that the custom is purely traditional.**

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* Polynesian Researches, pp. 261-268.
‡ Encyclopædia Brit., art., "Micronesia."
§ Jarvis' Sandwich Islands, p. 29.
‖ Bird's Six Months at the Sandwich Islands, p. 100.
¶ Bartlett's Sketches, p. 41.
** Australasia and the Oceanic Region, p. 116.
The same rite was formerly performed on Fiji youths.* At the Sandwich Islands it was also common, and was attended with religious ceremonies, and performed by a priest, an uncircumcised person being considered mean and despicable.†

The same people had professional dancers in honour of the gods, and had several other customs and traditions which correspond to those of the Hebrews, as a story resembling that of Joseph, another like unto Jonah, and again one similar to that of Joshua commanding the sun to stand still, already referred to.

Every person who touched a dead body was considered unclean, until purified by religious ceremonies.§

At Puhonna and Honaunau were the Hawaiian cities of refuge. These two sanctuaries were absolutely inviolable. The gates stood open perpetually, and though the fugitive was liable to be pursued to the threshold, he had no sooner passed it than he was safe from the avenger, be he chief or king. The murderer, manslayer, tabu-breaker fled there and thanked the idol for saving them. After a time they returned to their homes, and none dared injure those to whom the gods had granted protection.|| In time of war the pursuer stopped at the gate, but in time of peace at the flag.

They had also a very strong system of tabu, which made days, places, persons, and things sacred, and death was the penalty for violating it, which reminds one of the word corban in the Bible.¶

IV.—A Future State.

In Sumatra accounts differ, some saying that the people believed in it, while Marsden says they had no such idea.** The people of New Holland in Australia had faint ideas of a future state, believing that at death they shall either roam through the regions of the air as cockatoos, or return to the

* Coral Islands, vol. i, chap. 9.
† Jarves' Sandwich Islands, p. 19.
‡ Jarves' Sandwich Islands, pp. 19, 40.
§ Bird's Six Months in the Sandwich Islands, p. 100.
|| Cheevers' Sandwich Islands, p. 46.
¶ Anderson's Sandwich Islands, p. 5.
clouds from whence they came.* The New Zealanders believed that after death the heart would be taken to the clouds according to Malte Brun (vol. ii, p. 381), but the Encyclopædia Britannica (art., “New Zealand”) says that their idea was that the spirit survived the body, and retired to some place under the earth, and that it occasionally revisits the earth.

The Fijians believed in a future state, but it had no retribution in it. It was a place of rest.† Sir John Lubbock says that these people believed that as they died, so would be their condition after death. Moreover the road to mbulu or heaven was long and difficult; many souls perished by the way, and no diseased or infirm person could possibly overcome all its dangers. Hence as soon as a man felt the approach of old age, he notified his children that it was time for him to die. A family consultation was held, a day appointed, and a grave dug. An instance is given by a Mr. Hunt, who was invited by a young man to his mother’s funeral. On going to it he was surprised to see no corpse, and on asking where it was, was shown the woman, who was walking along as gay and lively as any one present. Having arrived at the grave she took an affectionate farewell of her children and friends, and then cheerfully submitted to be strangled.‡

Bolatoo was the heaven of the Tongas, which they thought lay somewhere in the north-west. It was a spiritual paradise. Some of the people, according to their tradition, once drifted there in a canoe, but did not at first know it. They found, however, that they could not get anything any more than if it were a shadow; so the gods advised them to return, which they did, but soon died, owing to the air which they had breathed.§

The ancient traditions of the Samoans placed their heavens in the west, the direction from whence they came, and whither, if they behave themselves, they should return.||

The ideas of the Tahitians were vague and indefinite. They generally spoke of the place to which departed spirits go as Po, or the state of night, the abode of gods, and deified

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* Malte Brun’s Geog., p. 359.
† Fiji and Fijians, chap. 7.
‡ Smithsonian Report, 1869, p. 360.
spirits. On leaving the body, it was by degrees eaten by the gods, and if it underwent this process of being eaten and going through the gods three times, it became imperishable, deified, and might visit the world and inspire others. They had a kind of heaven which they called Miru. It was described as a beautiful place, quite an elysium, where the air was remarkably salubrious, plants and shrubs abundant, highly odoriferous and in perpetual bloom. Still their ideas of the amount of future happiness to be enjoyed did not depend altogether on their moral conduct in this world. Mention is also made of a hell.*

Sir John Lubbock adds that they believed that the spirits existed separately hereafter, some going to a much happier place than others. This, however, did not depend on their conduct in this life, but on their rank, their chiefs going to the happier place, and the rest of the people to the less desirable one.† Malte Brun, however, says that they believed that according to the degree of virtue and piety in this world, would be the honour and happiness of the soul in the next world.‡

In the Sandwich Islands there was a general opinion that a future state existed, and with it, a vague expectation of rewards and punishments. Some supposed that departed spirits went to Po, a place of night, where they were annihilated, or eaten by the god. Others considered the region of Akea and Milu their final resting place. These were former kings of Hawaii, who went below, and founded the kingdom of Hades.§

Conclusion.—I must close this paper with much the same conclusions as I did my former one, only there is more reason for accepting them. The beliefs here found in these islands agree almost entirely with those of the natives of America, Asia, Africa, and Europe; with those of barbarous, savage, semi-civilized, and civilized people; with those of the idolater, Mohammedan, and Christian. Not but that they have many, very many ignorant beliefs and superstitious practices connected with them, but still the great fact remains that when these superstitious ideas are stripped

* Polynesian Researches, pp. 303–305.
† Smithsonian Report, 1869, p. 360.
§ Jarves’ Sandwich Islands, p. 25.
of this outside kernel, underneath them all these beliefs are found to a greater or less extent, which agree with those of the rest of the world. That a belief in a deluge exists all over the world, because man wanted to have such belief, often as a punishment for sin; that he believes himself a sinner, prays for forgiveness, offers sacrifices of the most precious kind, even human life, having the highest class of people as priests, and the most valuable buildings for this purpose; and that some believe in a hell, because man wanted to believe himself a sinner, and wanted to be punished in the endless future, all this is not in accordance with reason. The facts both among heathen and civilized people are the other way, and man only accepts this because his conscience tells him it is true, after he has learned it from some one. For if it is innate, why do not all heathen have this belief? if innate it would not have been lost by some peoples as soon as it has been; indeed, it would not have been lost at all.

If it is not innate among the heathen, those of America or the islands of the ocean, there is no more evidence to believe it to be innate among the civilized people of America or Europe, as their ancestors were once as heathenish and savage as many of those whom we have now been considering. Nay, as civilization traces back the history of these ideas to their beginning, it acknowledges that the evidence plainly shows, that they came from those who had a clear perception of the True God. Hence I see no way but to also acknowledge that these same ideas came to the heathen of the Pacific Ocean from the same source. And if they formerly had intercourse with those who received them from God in prehistoric times, it cannot be proven, as far as I can see, that they did not descend from some of those people; it cannot be proven that there were different centres of creation. Hence it is a science based on facts outside of the Bible, though it agrees with that book, that God did make “of one blood all nations to dwell on the face of the earth,” and that these ideas are vital or they would not have lived through all the thousands of miles where they have so strangely travelled, and through all the thousands of years during which they have existed.
The Discussion.

The Chairman.—I am sure we have to thank not only the author of the paper, but the Rev. J. W. McCleod for rendering it so admirably at such short notice.

The paper is a very interesting one. These wide-spread traditions are of immense value. A good deal of nonsense, I venture to say, is talked about some of these wild tribes, because the assumption is that they have remained in the original condition of the human race, and that all civilization, religion, and morality are to be traced up from that state to the present one. But suppose that there has been a large amount of degeneration, and that that accounts for a good deal of degradation, even in that case this survival of old traditions is of immense value. How constantly we hear that such and such people have no knowledge of God, of spirit, or of future life and so on. Did it ever strike those who make these assertions how much of his real convictions and beliefs you can get out of a peasant in England? Directly a countryman finds you are getting interested in his ideas, he dries up and will, perhaps, refuse to answer you at all. I have rather a taste for getting hold of local traditions and stories about ghosts; but it is the most difficult thing in the world. If there is the faintest suggestion that you are making fun of him, it is fatal, and even if you are taking an unsympathetic interest, it is quite enough to stop the whole flow of information; and therefore, it is natural enough that visitors to these people should not understand them, and never giving them their sympathy, would be utterly unable to find out their religious beliefs. It is only the missionaries who have lived among them and won their confidence who get anything certain.

The Australians, when I was a boy, were said to have no religious beliefs; but Dr. Fraser's papers and others show us that they have ideas on religion which are very interesting to study, and it is curious to find how exceedingly wide-spread amongst all these Australian and Polynesian regions is the universal belief in the elements of religion. Certainly to my mind they are very little a degenerate religion, rather than an original one. They bear traces of degeneracy and not of evolution, to use a modern word, and throughout you find the same traces; but I think we
may boldly say that it is most unsafe to state that any tribe, however degraded, has no knowledge of a divine Being. It is a fact that there are a good many survivors of fetish worship. Much has been written on that subject, and missionaries and those who have had to do with people who worship fetiches state that the whole conception of fetish worship, as generally understood, may exist elsewhere, but does not exist as particular fetish worship. The idea of worship of the fetish, without deity behind, is utterly unknown to those who worship the fetish, and I say it is only those who have carefully studied the people and sympathised with them, who get at their ideas. Of course too much communication with civilization may spoil tradition. I believe there is nothing more destructive to tradition than the Education Act, for instance, and in the same way the Christian native is partly ashamed of his traditions and partly inclined to make them out, either better or worse than they were, and it is very valuable to have on record the earliest possible information that can be obtained from those people.

I hope others will give us the benefit of their views.

Rev. T. J. Gaster.—Perhaps I may be allowed to make a few remarks on the Paper.

I think that probably it is well worth thinking how vast a portion of the human race, at the present time, is avowedly athiestic. The whole of the Buddhists are atheists. Atheism is at the very bottom of Buddhism, and Buddhists are believed by some to outnumber all the Christians at the present time.

In writing to the Ephesians, who you remember were not behind the rest of the world in the number of the deities and gods and goddesses they worshipped, St. Paul in his Epistle to them, before they became Christians, says in Chapter II, verse 12, ... "having no hope and without God in the world" (αθεοὶ ἐν τω κοιμώ), or literally, "Atheists in the world." Having been in India and having talked with many Indians in the North-west Provinces in Bengal and in the Punjaub, I always found on questioning them closely upon their ideas that the personage they chose to call God was not in their mind a person in the least corresponding with the God in the Bible. In every case it is a local deity.

If it be said that you find millions of people in India who speak of the one God with almost as much reverence and fulness as
Moses himself, I reply they are Mohammedans, and they owe what they know of Allah to the Old Testament scriptures. But I contend that there is no evidence in ancient or modern times that any people have believed (unless they have had access to our scriptures) in the one God—in such a God as is revealed to us in the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. You may find this evidence on the Assyrian tablets. You remember on the Creation tablets the gods are distinctly spoken of there as not being in existence when the Heavens and the Earth were first in existence.

It would take too long for me to bring forward further evidence of this now; but it is a matter which is not properly thought over in England. It is simply a fact that the heathen and those who have never had the revelation which we enjoy, are αἰσχροὶ.

I was so glad to hear that remark made by the Chairman, I think, that it was such a false notion that the human race had begun in a state of degradation, and that we had been working up, better and better, from that time to the present. What the Word of God states is that God put man upon the earth and made him perfect, and that it has been a gradual downward path that they have travelled upon, who have never had the revelation from God to keep them in the right way, and the practical conclusion for us is this—that so long as we have, as I trust I have, absolute and undoubted faith in the Old and New Testament scriptures and in them only, as from God alone, the moment we get away from that, we ourselves begin, in proportion to the distance which we remove from it, to become more and more degraded in our own minds.

Captain Heath.—Perhaps I may say a few words on this matter. I think the discrepancy between Sir John Lubbock's statements and those of the missionaries as to the religious beliefs of the Australian nations may be accounted for by the fact that the tribes that are almost innumerable cover a very small area, and their ideas are different on many points. The natives—and I have been in most parts of the continent—who have seen very little of the white people, I should say had no idea of what we understand as deity at all. They had a great dread of the dark. They had an idea of spirit life, and imagined that all white people, when they came among them first, were the spirits of the dead who jumped up white men. Their religion consists in a dread of
the dark and a belief in the spirits of evil. I suppose the writer of the paper, when he speaks of the Papuas, that is a black race in New Guinea, had not the opportunity of hearing Sir Wm. Macgregor's paper read the other day before a public institute, or he would probably have a little better opinion of those natives than that expressed in his paper.

There is one thing about all these natives—if you ask a native about any subject and he gets the slightest idea of the kind of answer you want, he will give you that answer, and unless you put a question to him in an indirect way, so as not to convey to him the slightest idea of what is in your mind, you will not get an independent statement from him at all, and I think many of those statements that are got from the natives are obtained in that way. Though degraded they are very sharp in some ways, and pick up language easily, and the children are sharp and easily educated.

In regard to the deluge I believe people nowadays do not think that the deluge was universal—all over the world at the same time. There may be those who think that; but I think the majority of people do not think it necessary from the Bible statement of the deluge to believe more than that those living in the world at the time must have been swept away, while there were other parts of the world where there were no inhabitants. If you look at the south-east corner of the Pacific you will find an island which is a mountain peak and has I think about 1,500 inhabitants. It is very high land—I do not remember how high now, but it is of considerable elevation. On that island terraces are cut out from the mountain and on those terraces there is a series of statues of kings weighing about eight tons each. One of these was brought home in H.M.S. "Comus" and weighed eight tons. Work of this kind could not have been done on a little island with only 1,500 inhabitants, and they would not have a series of kings. They say they are not gods or idols, but statues of kings, and therefore I have no doubt that this island was part of a continent that existed in that part of the world many years ago. We have exactly the same in the Atlantic, about which Plato handed down the legend of the island, which he said was submerged many years before. To me this island in the south-east corner of the Pacific is evidence that a large tract of land has been submerged there. The various reports of the
deluge that have been given do not necessarily belong to the deluge that Noah was saved from. There have been these submergences, no doubt, all over the world, and we cannot lay down exactly to which inundation, or change in the surface of the earth, they refer. We do not know how white people have been brought amongst these people in the Pacific and Australia. In the middle of Australia a white tribe has spread which evidently sprung from a mixture of race.

There is another thing in this paper, to which I might refer, about a legend in connection with Cain and Abel. "The tradition among the Tongas has a strong Biblical element in it, also a Cain and Abel, the blacks being descended from Cain and the whites from Abel." Before seeing white men how could this tradition ever have existed? It has evidently been borrowed from the white people; but at Tonga they could not know anything about white people till they had seen them. Of course the natives of the Society Islands, New Zealand, and the Sandwich Islands are all distinct races by themselves. They may be mixed with races of the north; but they have their own traditions which are very distinct, no doubt. I think the traditions amongst these natives are to be received with much caution, and they cannot all be received as being distinct traditions. I was in Fiji, one of the most savage spots on the face of the earth. The religion of that island I should say was the sacrifice of human beings for the purpose of food. If they wanted food the king always had a professional butcher who went about at night, and if he found a man out of his hut at night he would knock him on the head and bring him in for food. I mean, to talk of religion amongst people of that kind seems very unsatisfactory.

Professor Orchard.—I am sure we are much obliged to the author for having shown us the "inside kernel," as he aptly calls it, of the religions of these Pacific island aborigines. The idea of God is, surely, not altogether necessarily synonymous with the idea of the God of the Christians. One man may think of God as a great spirit. The idea of another man about Him may be that He is a Power working for righteousness. The idea of another may be that He is the ultimate absolute reality behind all phenomena. Surely one cannot say that none of those men had any idea of God. Their God might not indeed be the true God of the Bible. The idea of the future would seem also to be innate.
All human conduct and action is framed on the belief of a future, whether immediate or far distant is not the point, but on the belief of a future, and there is no reason why that belief should be supposed to come to an end at the moment of death. The idea of a creator would appear to be not perhaps innate, but a primal formation of intelligence.

The vote of thanks was then put to the Meeting and carried.

The Chairman.—I think, if I might venture to say so on behalf of the author, he would very clearly acknowledge that these heathen were ἀθεοὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ in the strict and plain sense of the word; but I think he would say that as well of the Athenians, and therefore the question is whether the idea of God is or is not spreading amongst the heathen which I think is the special point he had in his mind.

The Meeting then terminated.

THE FOLLOWING COMMUNICATIONS ON DR. EELLS’ PAPER WERE RECEIVED.

1. From Mr. M. V. Portman, Officer in Charge of the Andamanese.

The Honorary Secretary has been kind enough to send me a copy of Dr. Eells’ paper on “The Worship and Traditions of the Aborigines of the Islands of the Pacific Ocean,” and to invite me to give my views on the same.

I notice in the first paragraph of the paper the words, “the cradle of the human race in Asia.” What scientific facts have we to prove this?

I have lately had an opportunity of seeing Dr. Dubois in Calcutta, and studying his remarks on the Pithecanthropos erectus. While not agreeing that this is a man-ape, I do think that his discovery proves the existence of the human race in these inter-tropic parts during the Tertiary period. The particular subject found appears to have a skull of the Neanderthal type, and may have been an idiot or maniac.

My study of the Andamanese, who are the last pure remnant of
the Tertiary man, and the nearest allied to the *Pithecanthropos*,
leads me to suppose that he was some man, driven from his tribe,
who perished alone and uncared for. The case of a corpse being
so neglected as to become fossilised in such a manner would
only occur where the deceased had died among strangers, or had
been driven forth as a dangerous lunatic, which last his skull
would lead us to suppose he was.

In ancient kitchen-middens in the Andamans I have found the
lowest strata of such an age as to be fossilised (and this in the
absence of streams of water, or of any marked silicious deposit),
but these fossils have never been imbedded in the late Tertiary
strata of which these islands are composed, and I have never seen
any fossil skulls, etc. This matter is still, however, under
investigation.

At any rate the *Pithecanthropos* gives us another reason to
believe in the exceeding age of the human race, and makes it
more difficult to dogmatise as to its place of origin.

My own views regarding the Pacific Islands are, that many of
them are not part of a submerged continent, but are isolated
creations by volcanic action.

I think that the inter-tropic region of Asia and Australia,
including much of Polynesia, and extending to Tasmania, was, in
the late Tertiary period, inhabited by a Negrito race, the traces of
which are now only found in the Tasmanians (lately extinct), the
Andamanese, the Semangs, the Aetas, and as Monsieur Dieulafoy
has shown, in a hybrid state in a few other places.

The hills of the north prevented this race extending in that
direction, and it was gradually exterminated by the Mongoloid
and Polynesian races which have succeeded it. The Papuans and
Solomon Islanders, among others, appear to me to be hybrid
Negrito-Polynesian people, and I find isolated cases of Negrito
customs and manufactures in many islands in the neighbourhood
of New Guinea.

Other remarks in this paper to which, after a close study of
savages on the spot, for many years, I take exception, are as
follows:—

1. "It must be remembered also, that the ancient inhabitants of
some of these islands, although comparatively not very distant
from parts of Asia, are among the lowest and most degraded
people in the world, as the Dyaks of Borneo, celebrated as
ferocious cannibals; the Papuas of New Guinea, who are seldom over five feet high, and who have often been treated almost as wild beasts; and some in Australia, who as some say have little to distinguish them from the brute, except their form, their power of speech, and their ideas of a good and evil spirit."

This is far too vague, and the author generalises about races which have little affinity, as if they were all one.

I have often heard the cry of "the lowest and most degraded people in the world." From my observations of the human race I should say this remark applied most particularly to the lower or criminal classes of many European countries, for they have had opportunities of knowing better which they have wilfully neglected, they have many vices of which the savages are ignorant, and have scarcely any of the virtues common to savages.

When will the public learn that absence of dress in a climate, where it is not required; neglect to cultivate in lands where Nature without assistance gives all the food required; and an absence of hypocrisy, do not constitute a savage; and when will they learn that it is a criminal waste of money to supply missions, etc., to the so-called savages who do not require them, when both money and missions are urgently required by real savages who are living round their doors?

Of the Australian blacks I know nothing, and they have always been rather a puzzle to me, as they seem, contrary to other races, to have degraded from a higher state; but why are the Papuans looked down upon, morally and intellectually, merely because, owing to their being "seldom over five feet high," it is possible to do so physically. Also, by whom have these Papuans been treated as wild beasts?

From what I have read of them I gather it is by the sailors of merchant ships trading in the Pacific. Now I have been for two and a half years in a merchant sailing vessel, and if there is an unintellectual and animal brute beast, it is the average European merchant sailor. This is shown by the fact that such lines as the "P. and O." do not employ them.

When we have stopped the infamous "blackbirding" in the Pacific Islands it will be time enough for us to talk of savages being lower than ourselves.
Savages (so-called) have many very excellent qualities, and fewer vices than the (so-called) civilized races; and personally, here in the Andamans, I prefer the society of my Andamanese to that of most of my European colleagues. (But then I may be eccentric.)

The Dyaks, by the way, like other kindred peoples in their neighbourhood, are descended from the Nagas and similar tribes of the North-Eastern frontier of India, and originally came from that direction.

The races mentioned in this paper differ much, and such general comparisons are too vague, at least for myself, who believe in specialists, and the study by one person of one people only.

As regards the religious beliefs, I must refer you to Mr. Man's papers before the Anthropological Institute, the facts in which are fairly correct as applying to one group of tribes in the Andamans, though I do not agree with many of his conclusions. He wrote many years ago when our knowledge of the Andamanese was less than it is now.

Though I am preparing a work on the Andamanese I am not ready to publish yet.

2. "True Sir John Lubbock has held that the Australians do not believe in a Supreme Deity, or in the immortality of the soul, that they have no idea of creation, nor use prayers, or religious forms, ceremonies or worship, but this cannot now be accepted, for later discoveries by those who have lived long among them state the opposite."

I have also lately had occasion in the Academy to call attention to Sir J. Lubbock's incorrect and out-of-date "science."

The Andamanese, briefly, believe in a god called Puluga, Bilaku, Ulugé, etc., according to the dialect, but have no worship, temples, prayers, sacrifice, etc. They propitiate both God, and the evil spirits in whom they believe, by refraining from certain actions which they think are forbidden, or displeasing. The spirits of the deceased are feared, also the evil spirits of the forest and the sea, who cause diseases. They resemble in this the New Holland people, and the Northern Australians (W. B. Wildy), as quoted.

As regards "Man as a Spiritual Being," "Immortality," they believe much as is quoted regarding the Maoris.

The Deluge.—They all have peculiar traditions regarding this,
which I am investigating. It appears to me that the traditions of the Deluge amongst all races, when stripped of their legends and superstitions, are stories of cataclysms which have actually occurred at different times and in different places. The sudden subsidence of volcanic islands will account for some. Storm waves, such as the one which swept over Eastern Bengal in the cyclone of 1876, and destroyed 215,000 people, will account for others. I was over this spot with Sir Richard Temple three days after the catastrophe, and had it occurred to a savage race, isolated from others, it appeared to me that it would have formed a very good ground for a deluge legend.

Some such cataclysm happened here, and cut the Andamans, which were formed as the estuaries of the great Burmese rivers in the Tertiary period, off from the mainland.

The Andamanese preserve traditions of this. In short, given, as we must give, some hundreds of thousands of years for the existence of the human race, it would be odd if the different races had not got from Nature's teachings alone, Deluge traditions; and the magnitude of the catastrophes, and their importance in altering and resettling races, caused these traditions to outlast others.

I think most people accept "hell" because they have learnt of it from some one in their childhood, and the impressions of childhood, when the human mind is most liable to receive and retain impressions without reasoning on them, warps the mind, or conscience, in after life. Hell, as Europeans know it, is an invention of the priesthood, and our knowledge of aboriginal races corroborates this in similar forms.

I must apologise for the above disjointed remarks, and plead press of work as my excuse for not doing better.

2. From John Fraser, Esq., LL.D., Sydney.

The belief in a Creator, a Creation, and a Deluge, belongs to all nations and all times—from the Indian Vedas and the Babylonian cylinders, down to the most recent utterances of the Australian black men; and Dr. Eells has done us a service in collecting here so many testimonies to the existence of that belief. Whatever some anthropologists may have said to the contrary, I can testify that our Australian blackfellows speak of a Creator and a Deluge. But as the Creator's work is finished, He is now quiescent, and,
being entirely benevolent, He is not feared or propitiated by them, although they pronounce His name with reverence. It is the active spirits of evil that are dreaded, and must be kept off and controlled by the arts of the "wise men" (karajies) of the tribe.

In the greater part of New South Wales, the Creator is known by the name Baiamai, and in Victoria as Punjil. The spelling of the name is in both cases faulty, and hides the meaning. The one should be Ba-yé-mai and the other, Banjil, both being formed from the same root word ba, "to make, to cause." In the New Hebrides and in Melanesia generally ba, ma, fa, is the causative prefix to verbs; the brown Polynesians amplify it into fa-ka, fa'a. From the Australian root ba, the Sydney dialect forms ba-yé, "One who makes," and the mai (a dialect form is me) is merely a formative syllable. Bayé-mai or Bayé-mé is thus literally "the Maker, the Creator." Similarly in the Victorian chief dialect banjilliko is a verb meaning "to make, to bring into shape." The ko, there is an infinitive suffix, j-illi is the formative and the root is ban, "to make"—the same as ba in our dialect.

The vice-gerent of Bayemai is Dharamulan, who presides at the sacred ceremonies of the tribes and communicates his will. Dhara seems to me to be an old-world root word meaning "to protect," and the mulan is probably the Australian numeral bula, "two," for the native traditions often speak of him as being accompanied by another and a much smaller man. Dharamulan may thus be a dual deity. It may be interesting here to note that the Polynesian great god Tangaloa is also the Creator; that when Creation was over, he rested and is now quiescent; that any intervention in the affairs of men on earth is made by the Sā-Tangaloa, his children; they dwell in the various heavens beneath him, which are like the lokas of the Buddhist cosmogony.

I can certify also that our Australians believe in retribution on account of sin, which, of course, in their mind is any violation of their sacred laws. A black youth long ago was asked to break such a law, but replied that he was afraid; for "the Krooben would see it and punish him some day for it." In the next world, according to their belief, those men who have not gone through the Bora ceremonies, and had the two upper front teeth knocked out, will have a very hard time of it.

All these are facts; and I offer them here in support of the argument in this paper by Dr. Eells.