ANIMISM IN RELATION TO RELIGIOUS IDEAS

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HARRY C. NEELY

(B.A. Lafayette College)

(M.A. Princeton University)

(B.D. Princeton Seminary)

A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF SACRED THEOLOGY

in The Biblical Seminary in New York,

1929

New York City

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. INTRODUCTION

In the year of our Lord, nineteen hundred and twenty-eight, in the United States of America, in the county of York, nineteen miles from the City of York, there occurred a double tragedy as reported by the New York Times of December 1, 1928. The world was shocked to learn that witchcraft is still being practised in our very midst, that hundreds of people are still using the black art in all of its forms, and that a murder resulted from an attempt to break a charm.

ery of the body of a man named Rehmeyer, who, according to the three confessed slayers, Blymire, Hess and Curry, was done to death in an attempt to get a lock of his hair. Rehmeyer had cast a spell over the Hess family and the witch doctor, Blymire, told Hess that the spell could only be broken by securing a lock of Rehmeyer's hair and by burying it deep under ground. In the attempt to get his hair they found it necessary to choke him to death. Blymire, who is now in the county jail and who has been tried and convicted of murder in the first degree, said, "Other powwww men told me that Rehmeyer held a spell over me. I had to break it. There was no other way. Rehmeyer is dead now; I no longer feel bewitched". A reporter of the New York Tribune visited the scene of the murder and went to

the little church nearby on Sunday. At the close of the service, in conversation with an old woman, she said, "Don't you know we people here do not believe in witch-craft, but I have been cured several times of rheumatism by pow-wow; that is different". The people that Sunday morning very fervently worshipped God. The church building was an old one and had been built for the community by Blymire, an ancestor of the present witch-doctor.

Here in a nut shell are the elements with which we have to deal - witchcraft, magic, religion - and they have their roots in animism. For animism has trickled down through the centuries until the present day. It is not confined to primitive people alone, but runs up into the socalled higher cultures. The fear of thirteen at the table, of room thirteen at a hotel, is not a relic of the past alone. Many hotels of the present day in the United States have no room number thirteen. And many country people will not attempt to dig a well until they have witched for water with a peach tree limb. It would be an interesting problem to follow animism in its persistent course, for the lines run out through all the earth and its influence is met with in every religion and in the every day affairs of almost all peoples. But that is not our intention in this study. We are to be concerned rather with animism near its source, with animism in its complete control, with animism unadul-terated as it is found among primitive peoples.

A. WE ARE CONCERNED WITH ANIMISM AT ITS SOURCE IN BANTU, AFRICA

We shall be limited also in the scope of our investigation and confine ourselves to a study of animism among the Bantu people of West Africa. There are one hundred and thirty million people in Africa. These are divided into four main racial divisions: the Hamites in north and northeast Africa; the Semites in northwest and northeast Africa; the Negroid in a rectangular strip running east and west through central Africa; and the Bantu from a line running east and west south of the Negroid group down through all of central and south Africa.

Who are these Bantu? fine of stature, with jet black skins, and warlike temperament? The word "Bantu" itself means in the Bantu language, "men" or "people". They are men indeed, the wildest, fiercest, most uncivilized, most untouched people of Africa. "One of the principal events in the opening up of Africa from (let us say) two thousand to five hundred years ago, was the Bantu movement, a problem of deepest interest, which is still only partially solved". "To the south of a zigzag boundary which stretches from Fernando Po on the west to Mombasa on the east, lies the sphere of the Bantu speech. Within this sphere lie the most barbarous, the least developed, and

the latest explored parts of Africa, third portion of the dark continent which was only seriously tackled by the intelligent white man at the commencement of the nineteenth century". ... "Where did the Bantu language, family, and metal working civilization arise, and when? It is the theory of the present writer that the former must have come into being much as did the Hausa language and civilization: by some impact of a semi-white race like the Fula, the Hamite or the Egyptian or a vigorous type of negro; an impact by no means necessarily connected with warfare, but the peaceful penetration of a fertile negro country by semi-white negroid adventurers who brought with them the ox, perhaps the domestic fowl, some idea of working metals, and superior notions in hunting and the simpler handicrafts. We know by the legends of Uganda that such pale-skinned, handsome adventurers from the north were received by their forefathers in ancient times as demi-gods".

Such, then, if Sir Henry Johnston is correct, is the origin of the Bantu race. It is at least an interesting speculation as to their connection with some ancient civilization of which we have historic records. The practice among many Bantu tribes of circumcision goes back into the dim past; their customs of fixed times for mourning, of lifting up the voice in weeping, of putting on dirt and

^{1.} Sir H. H. Johnston: "The Opening up of Africa", pp. 129, 132, 134, 135.

ashes in time of grief and anger, of rending the clothes, the marriage customs, the avenger of blood and the blood sacrifice, all of these things correspond so closely with Jewish customs that one is tempted to ask if there is not some relation between them. At least the door seems open for the possibility of such a link with people who were in the habit of practicing such customs.

B. WRITER'S QUALIFICATIONS

Readers have a right to know what are the writer's qualifications to discuss such a subject as "Animism in Relation to Religious Ideas". The writer has lived in West Africa, in the Cameroun, now a mandate of the League of Nations under French control since 1920. As a missionary of the Presbyterian Church, he has been located at a bush station in the interior. During that time he has been closely associated with the Bulu people, who are of the Bantu race. He has spoken their language. That is a necessary qualification for one who would really get into the life and thought of any people. He has been related to them as friend to friend. He has been sleeping in native houses, eating native foods, walking in native caravans, bathing in native rivers, weeping at native funerals, rejoicing at native weddings, cutting native palavers, hunting with native guides, listening to native parables, in fact in a very real way entering into the life of the native, and in

a limited way into his thought. During that period his missionary duties took the greater part of his time, but he has ever been on the alert for the hidden background of the native thought and belief in order to get a point of contact on which to build a new and better life as it is obtained in Jesus Christ our Lord.

C. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

I have made a study of the literature on the subject, which is very limited. While all admit that religion holds the key to the mentality of the Bantu people, only two books of recent date by men who have been on the field have been written: the most recent is "The Soul of the Bantu" by William Charles Willoughby of the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, which deals with a part of our subject, namely, "Ancestor Worship" (Dr. Willoughby promises another volume soon on Nature Worship, High Gods, the Supreme Being, Taboo and Magic); and the other, "The Religion of the Primitives" by LeRoy, a Catholic Father, of which Dr. Willoughby says. "he ran in blinkers and dealt in excathedra deliverances and fulminations rather than carefully sifted evidence". The classic on animism is, of course, E. B. Tyler's volumes on "Primitive Culture".

It shall be our custom to refer to these gentlemen occasionally, and others, for the purpose of reinforcing our own statements and checking up on our own experience. However, we shall do so as little as possible in the hope

^{1.} Willoughby, "The Soul of the Bantu": Preface. p. 8

that we can make some original contribution to the literature on the subject.

One must not suppose that it is an easy thing to get information on the field. Those travelers, who, ignorant of the language and customs of the native, go into a country and in a few weeks or months come out with authoritative manuscripts on the beliefs and practices of the people, make one smile who has been in the country many years - one who is acquainted with the language and customs and beliefs of the people.

There is no literature to which one can go for information. As men dig into the Egyptian, Assyrian or Babylonian past they find written documents which tell their story. But the Bantu have no written language. They leave no temples, tombs, walls, ruins, to tell the story of ancient past. The Bantu dead are like a shadow which at the setting of the sun leaves no trace.

There is, however, the oral testimony of the native himself. This testimony is not easy to get and when you have gotten it you may not be sure that you have not gotten that which the native thought you wanted him to say rather than the truth. You can get either "yes" or "no" on any question you ask a native, for if he sees you are not satisfied with "no" he will answer "yes". He is extremely obliging along that line but most provoking when you are after something which you want to know definitely

and actually. And the fact is that he wobbles so much in his own thinking that he is not sure himself about anything. The line between white and black, truth and error is so vague that he is never sure on which side he is lo-This universal characteristic of the Bantu native is against one who wants to get reliable information. And then of course the native is unwilling to talk about his beliefs. He is afraid that the white man will laugh at him. And I have discovered that there is nothing, absolutely nothing which a native fears more than ridicule. He can not stand it. He would rather have a beating any day than to be ridiculed. He is reticent about his beliefs because they are his life and hope. He will not tell the white man of his fetich for his life depends upon it, and the knowledge gained may be used against him. And then I think that the native is reticent on these subjects or actually deceptive because he does not care to give up the last citadel. The white man with his superior knowledge knows everything except the black man's private beliefs, and he has a feeling that if he told what they were he would lose them. His life would be laid bare, he would be naked before the world, he would have nothing of his own.

Another source of information is the customs of the people. This information is obtainable by one who will carefully investigate.

And then there is the language in which is imbedded much information. The presence of a word in the language is witness to the presence of the idea and the absence of a word is good evidence of the absence of the idea. For example, there is no word for "home" in the Bulu language, and one is not surprised to find that there is no "home" as such in Bulu experience. There is no word for "heaven" for the idea did not exist. He thinks of the departed as living under the ground. There are no abstract words, for the Bulu does not think in the abstract. He thinks in terms of material things and for that reason our problem becomes more difficult for we are dealing in this paper with spiritual things. Nevertheless, there are words in the language which are going to be our source book for information. They have their significance with regard to animism as well as a relation to religious ideas. But before we give a list of these words and their meanings, let us clear the ground by asking two questions. The first is this: what do we mean by animism? and the second, what do we mean by religious ideas? The word animism may be defined as spiritualism except that the term spiritualism is confusing because it may be associated with a modern and increasing popular belief whose interest is in seances, mediums, and communications with departed dead. will be defined later, but for the time being we may state that animism, broadly speaking, is the belief in a large

number of spirits any or all of which may interfere with human life. The term may be used in a restricted sense to include only belief, but it will be used in this paper in a broader sense to include the practice or manifestations of animism as well as the belief. Willoughby makes a distinction between animism and ancestor worship and says Bantu religion consists of both. I do not make any such distinction but treat ancestor worship as one of the manifestations of an animistic philosophy.

D. WHAT ARE RELIGIOUS IDEAS?

And what are religious ideas? Difficulty immediately presents itself, for in order to understand what one means by religious ideas one must define religion and every definition of religion which I have seen is inadequate. There is no lack of definitions of religion.

It is an illusive term. There are as many different optinions on what religion is as there are writers on the subject. Max Muller defines religion as follows: "Religion is a mental faculty which independent of, nay in spite of sense and reason, enables men to apprehend the infinite under different names and under varying disguises. Without that faculty no religion, not even the lowest worship of idols and fetiches, would be possible; and if we will but listen attentively we can hear in all religions a groaning of the spirit, a struggle to conceive the incon-

-ceivable, to utter the unutterable, a longing after the linfinite, a love of God". Religion, then, according to Muller, is a mental faculty which enables men to apprehend the infinite. But religion is more than a mental faculty, more than a philosophy; and a man who may have no conception of the infinite may be very religious.

Kant says religion is morality. Fichte says religion is knowledge. Schliermacher says religion consists in a feeling of absolute dependence. Hegel says religion is or ought to be perfect freedom for it is the Divine Spirit becoming conscious of Himself through a finite spirit. These are all emphases but all have their limitations.

Le Roy says, "We can define religion considered subjectively, as the ensemble of beliefs, obligations, and practices by which man recognizes the supernatural world, performs his duties towards it, and asks help from it".

William James says, "In the broadest and most general terms possible one might say that religious life consists of the belief that there is an unseen order and that our supreme good lies in harmoniously adjusting ourselves thereto".

Tylor gives a rudimentary definition of religion as, "the belief in Spiritual Beings". The difficulty in making a definition of religion is that we are liable to exclude some one of the religions. Another difficulty is the possi-

^{1.} The Hibbert Lectures, 1874. "Origin and Growth of Religion":

^{2.} Le Roy, "The Religion of the Primitives": p. 33

^{3.} William James. "Varieties of Religious Experience": p.53

^{4.} E. B. Tylor, "Primitive Culture": p. 424, vol. 1.

-bility of excluding from our definition something which is of the essential essence of religion. For example, is worship an essential part of the essence of religion? If so, Tylor's definition of religion is no definition of religion at all. For our purpose we may define religion as a belief in Spiritual Beings together with the actions of reverence or worship which result from that belief. This definition will have the usual amount of objections brought against it - that may be expected - but for our purpose it best suffices, for we wish to discuss animism in relation to religious ideas. And by our definition that means that we will discuss animism with all of its manifestations in relation to religious beliefs and practices.

E. THE PROBLEM STATED

The problem now begins to present itself. Here are animistic peoples with their beliefs and practices. Wherever their beliefs and practice touch religion there will be our interest. The problem then, is to exclude ideas which are non-religious and to pick out from animism those ideas which are distinctly religious and to point out the relation of animism to religious ideas. That will involve the question as to the relation of fetichism, magic and morality to religion, and also such questions as to the universality of religion and the origin of religion. But wherever we are lead we are willing to go, for we have no

prejudices against the truth. We are seeking to defend no theory but have no objection to one if it corresponds to the truth.

F. BULU VOCABULARY AS RELATED TO RELIGIOUS IDEAS

Inasmuch as we shall be dealing with language as a source of authority, I shall give a few selected Bulu words and their meanings as taken from Dr. George L. Bates' "Handbook of Bulu". This vocabulary is given for two reasons: first, because it, in a very real sense, introduces our subject, for any glance at the meanings of these words reveals the prevalence of the following ideas - spirit, dream, ghost, fetich, witch, taboo, God - and these ideas give direction to our thought; in the second place, there is history embedded in the language, and it is upon this history that we are to depend partially for our information.

Abanda ... fetich, charm to make one safe.

Abe ... bad, ugly, undesirable.

Aka'e ... fetich charm made for young child.

Akôm ... talking into a tube stopped at end, as

in calling a ghost.

Biañ ... fetich, charm, medicine.

Bômôkô ... wish evil, curse a child.

Botan ... to bless

Ekana'a ... honor, reverence.

Esam ... place for secret rites of Antelope or

Gorilla secret society.

Etôtôlan .. place of the ghosts of those who have

died. "beyem".

Etyi ... being taboo or prohibited.

Evu ... "witch" of coast English.

Eyene ... fetich or heathen worship

Eyeyem ... a dream.

Ezesam ... confusion, wrong doing.

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Kalan minkal ... make a sort of oath with certain
                  rites, to prove one's innocence.
Kan
             honor, respect a person, head man.
Kôn
              ghost, spirit of dead.
        • • •
Melan
              a rite of initiation, the person falls
        • • •
              into a trance and talks with the ghosts
              of departed.
Mié
              being without evu.
Minnañ
             a feast of meat to which the spirit of
        • • •
              the dead person is called.
Minsos
              lying, falsehood.
Mvendé
             being bewitched.
        . . .
Mvôn
             a person initiated or being initiated into
        . . .
              the antelope or gorilla society.
Ndôngô
             a secret rite like so secret society.
        • • •
Njit
             a neat wrapping or weaving of chord or
        • • •
             bushrope, fetich so worn around the neck.
Nnem
             one having évu.
        • • •
Nsem
             the mysterious consequence of breaking taboo.
        . . .
Nsisin
             shadow, reflection, image in water.
        ...
Ngam
             a horn rattle used in divination.
        . . .
Ngana
             oath, strong assertion, with mention of
        • • •
             the dead or grave.
Ngan
             a man versed in bian or fetich.
        . . .
Ngbwel
             witchcraft connected with the evu.
        . . .
Ngômbô
             a secret rite of women only.
        • • •
Nkuk
             a charmed animal, snake, by which a "nnem"
        ...
             can do an enemy harm.
Sem
             break taboo.
Séé
             have abnormal success through evu.
        . . .
Sô
             a fetich rite enabling the initiates to
        . . .
             eat antelope meat.
Sốsố
             straight (used for right)
        • • •
Tyili
             make taboo to one, forbid.
        • • •
Vebe
             breathe
        • • •
             of state, be awake, be alive.
Vee
Yô ' é
             curse a child by a parent or elder person
             bringing evil or death.
Zobeyo Mebe's ... the principal person of Bulu folk lore
                   (the Fan form Zambe used for God).
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Let me say in passing that in discussing the religion of the Bantu we are discussing not a particular department of his life but his life as a whole, for to the Bantu religion is life and enters into every relation of his life.

Dr. Willoughby expresses this idea in the first chapter of his book: "Bantu life is essentially religious. The relation of the individual to the family, the clan, and the tribe, - politics, ethics, law, war, status, social amenities, festivals, all that is good and much that is bad in Bantu life is grounded in Bantu religion. Religion so pervades the life of the people that it regulates their doings and governs their leisure to an extent that it is hard for Europeans to imagine".

II. ANIMISM A BELIEF IN RELATION TO RELIGIOUS IDEAS

A. What is animism?

What is animism? It is the religion of a fairly large portion of the human race. Animism has been regarded as the substratum for all religions and it is found today in Africa, India, China, America, Polynesia and other countries as well. Rome was animistic before she came into contact with Greek polytheism. Egypt, Babylon, Greece and, according to many authorities, the Hebrews were influenced by this conception of things.

1. Tylor's definition. Two dogmas. A belief in ...

Perhaps the best definition of the theory of animism yet given is that of E. B. Tylor in his very important book, "Primitive Culture": "Animism is, in fact, the ground

1. Willoughby, "The Soul of the Bantu": p. 1

work of the Philosophy of Religion, from that of savages, to that of civilized men. And although it may at first sight seem to afford but a base and meager definition of a minimum of religion, it will be found practically sufficient, for where the root is, the branches will generally be produced. It is habitually found that the theory of animism divides into two great dogmas forming part of one consistent doctrine: first, concerning souls of individual creatures capable of continued existence after the death or destruction of the body; second, concerning other spirits, upward to the rank of powerful deities. Spiritual beings are held to effect or control the events of the material world, and man's life here and hereafter; and it being considered that they hold intercourse with men and receive pleasure or displeasure from human actions, the belief in their existence leads naturally, and it might almost be said inevitably, sooner or later, to active reverence and propitiation. Thus animism in its full development includes the belief in souls and in a future state, in controlling deities and subordinate spirits, these doctrines practically resulting in some kind of active worship". There are details in this statement with which we disagree, but in the main it fits into our experience of animism among the Bulu people.

a. Soul

What is the Bulu idea of the soul? That is more

1. E.B. Tylor, "Primitive Culture": vol. 1, p. 426.

easily asked than answered. The common word for soul now is "Nsisim". but I am inclined to believe that this is a mistake, or due to missionary influence. This word undoubtedly comes from the "Fan" word "nsisin" - shadow. reflection - and may have been first used as the word nearest fitted to express the idea of soul. Dr. Nassau says the "Fan" word for soul is "nsisim". But he also says. "In my first exploration up the Ogowe River in 1874, as in my village preaching I necessarily and constantly spoke of our soul, its sins, its capacity for suffering and happiness, and its relations to its divine maker. I was often at a loss how to make my thoughtless audience understand or appreciate that the "nsisim" of which I was speaking was not the "nsisin" cast by the sun as a darkish line on the ground near their bodies". "Nsisim" at any rate seems to be an imported word from the "Fan". and cannot. therefore. be counted upon to give the correct idea of soul even though it is commonly used today.

A Bulu will tell you that man consists of two things, "minsôn" and "nlem". "Minsôn" is the material part of a man's body, and "nlem" is the heart, but not in a material sense; "nlem" is the brain but not in a material sense. They are in the habit of using expressions like these: "I feel a pain in my heart", that is, my spirit is pained. "My heart told me to do that". "I heard in my

^{1.} The "Fans" are neighbors to the Bulu.

^{2.} R. H. Nassau, "Fetichism in West Africa": p. 64

heart". "I turned over my heart", that is, I repented. The idea of the soul being the life principle seems to be the correct one. There are those who say that among certain Bantu tribes they have been able to discover that one individual may have several souls. That may be true, but no such elaborate doctrine of the soul has been developed among the people with whom I am acquainted. The Bulu word "ve'e" - to live - and "vebe" - to breathe - undoubtedly are forms of the same word. And there is then some connection between breath and life. The soul is something like the breath or wind which gives one life and the absence of which is death. The soul is the life stuff of the individ-It is not localized to any one part of the body but is distributed throughout the whole. The soul is found in the hands and feet, hair, finger nails, toe nails, in the spittle, or in any excrements from the body. When a man cuts his hand his soul hurts; when a man goes blind the soul has deserted his eye.

It is this life principle or soul which feels, acts, wills, and is separate from the material body. This soul or life stuff can desert the body and actually does, in dreams, in unconsciousness, and in death. This seems to be the primitive explanation. These manifestations are the absence of the soul. During the night this non-material part of a man goes away and sees strange scenes, converses with the spirits of the living and of the dead. This some-

^{1.} Dr. George Bates says, "ve'e" and "vebe" come from same word.

-thing can do good or harm.

Unconsciousness is an absence of the soul also.

It has been explained to me by the Bulu in this way. When a man dies he goes to the spirit world. He has been called by his brother or someone from that world. When he gets there another brother stronger than the one who called, surprised to see him, is displeased. He sends him back to care for the widows he has left in the town and to look after the town in general. That accounts for his return to consciousness. He has actually died and the soul has left the body but the soul returns from the spirit world and he lives again. Death is the permanent absence of the soul. I have been informed many times that such and such a man died three times. He meant that he had been unconscious three different times.

The soul can be nourished, strengthened and augmented or it can be weakened, diminished and enticed away. Perhaps the greatest fear among the Bulu is of losing his own soul, not in the sense we understand that phrase but in the sense of having it taken away by an enemy or evil spirit, either in toto or in part.

Death

The soul gets a new name at death. The Bulu word for the soul of the living is not well defined or understood, but there is no uncertainty with regard to the spirit of the dead. It is always "kôn" - ghost - or plural "bekôn" -

ghosts, and can never be applied to the soul of the living; but is always applied to the spirit of the dead. There is quite a bit of uncertainty in the mind of the Bulu about death, and life after death. The "Fan" have a proverb, "Death is like the moon, who has seen the other side". But certain things are established and one of them is this, that those who are dead are called "bekon". The place of the dead is called the "nlame bekon" or town of the departed spirits. This town is under the earth or in the earth, and as far as I have ever been able to find out it is never regarded as up or in the air. This is a place without sun It is a town very much like the town and is dark and cold. from which the living have come, and the life there corresponds to the life here on this earth. There is no clear idea of heaven or hell but "etôtôlan" is the place of those who died using witchcraft. It seems to be dreaded and therefore may be a different place from "nlame bekon". It is said to be hot there. In the underworld men have the same passions, wants and desires as they had while in the body. Men will need there hunting dogs and implements of chase, and they will need their wives and slaves.

Mr. P. J. May, writing in the "Drum Call" under date of September 1928, says, "Not many years ago a great chief died in these parts. There was much mourning. A large oblong grave was dug in the centre of the town for his burial. Ten men and ten women were selected to accompany

him on his journey of death. A child selected these pilgrims. A woman was brought forward and dispatched. Her remains were laid in one corner of the grave, then another, and another, and a fourth, to fill each of the four corners of the trench. The same fate met four of the men. Amid these the great chief was laid to rest. The remaining victims were brought forward, tied in a sitting posture and placed within the grave. With writhing and moaning, and the beating of drums and the hideous cries of the heathen monsters who were officiating, the hole was covered over with dirt". They evidently believe the dead can have sex-Tual relations although I have never heard of the "bekon" begetting children. Since there is no idea of the resurrection of the body, or of the material body uniting with the spiritual in the spirit world, the idea of the "bekon" or spiritual beings having sectual relations seems difficult for us to understand. But such a difficulty does not bother the animist. He says the food placed on the grave of the dead is eaten even though the food remains. It is the essence of the food which has been eaten. Sestual relations may be explained in some such way and the difficulty to the animist may not exist after all.

Continued Existence

This continual existence is not necessarily eternal. And it would not be proper to say that the native

^{1.} Drum Call. Published at Elat Cameroun, West Africa.

believes in the immortality of the soul. However, such a doctrine is very popular with him and is readily accepted. Continued existence is nowhere doubted. The sending of messages with the dead and the sitting posture in which the corpse is placed in the grave both argue for the belief in the existence after death.

There is some distinction between individuals in the future life as to the duration of their existence. example, the child or the weak may live only a time but the strong personalities such as the head men are regarded as having continued existence. There is a point beyond which the Bulu do not go in their speculation. This is one of those many places where the native does not trouble himself to think his way out. I have never heard continued existence after death doubted. The sacrifices to the dead and the worship they receive from the living survivors argues also in favor of the belief in the life after death. spirit of the departed may lose its way to the "nlame bekon". This always happens shortly after death but the living are always willing to help the dead one to find his new village. Dr. Bates writes me as follows: "I heard at Bitye a drum beaten long and violently just after a man's death, and the explanation I got was that the man's spirit was in danger of getting lost in the forest and the drumming was a signal to it".

The spirit of the dead are superior to the living.

They are conscious of that which is going on in the village from which they came. They are not supposed to know everything or have all knowledge, nor are they supposed to know the hidden secrets of the heart. But they have power to see and know the actions of the living in the home village and are pleased or displeased with them. They know when they are being forgotten and when they are being honored. They are concerned with their own tribe and town and are concerned with other tribes only insofar as their actions affect their own tribe.

These ghosts can return to the earth and can take on human or animal forms at will. Dr. Nassau speaks of having been greeted by a native as the native's brother who had died. He writes, "Not long after I arrived at Corisco Island in 1861 I observed among the many people who came to see the new missionary one man who quietly and unobtrusively but very steadily was gazing at me; Are you not my brother ... my brother who died at such a time and went to white man's land?" Not long ago a letter came from the Cameroun telling of a native boy who had claimed to have caught his mother in a trap. She had come as an antelope. It was told me of how in a certain town the elephants had destroyed the garden and had eaten up the bananas. The natives refused to kill the elephants because they believed they were the ghosts of their ancestors who were displeased

^{1.} R. H. Nassau. "Fetichism in West Africa": p. 57

with the doings of some of the members of the town. Most of the natives have seen their ancestors either in dreams or in waking hallucinations. A young Mvele boy told me of having seen the ghost of his grandmother in the village street at mid-day while the sun was shining.

The ghosts of the dead when displeased may seek the life of the living. One of the big chiefs at Elat was displaced by his brother, who had poisoned him in order to displace him in office. Sometime later during an electric storm a man in the same village was struck by lightening and killed. The supplanting chief with a guilty conscience said at once that it was his brother who had thrown fire at him but had missed and had accidently hit another member of the village. The poisoned head man was seeking the life of his brother who had wronged him.

Ghosts are white and their favorite food is bananas. It was a long time before the natives of the interior of the Cameroun were willing to believe that Dr. Good, the first white man to enter there, was anything other than a ghost. He was white and he asked for bananas for food, therefore he was a ghost. It is said that the natives were not fully convinced that the white men were not related to the ghosts until white children were born out there among them.

b. Other Spirits

The theory of animism consists of two dogmas: first,

concerning souls of individuals capable of continued existence after death; and second, concerning other spirits upward toward the rank of powerful deities. It is with the latter dogma that we are now to concern ourselves. animist believes that the world is full of spirits. As the little girl thinks her doll has a soul like her own and the stone over which she trips as being malicious and needing a whipping, so in theory the animist does not clearly distinguish between animate and inanimate objects. He thinks they all have an anima or spirit like his own. Therefore inanimate objects are regarded as animate. Each material object has a spirit. There is a spirit in the stone, tree, waterfall, flood. Animism, however, has stages of development from a lower to a higher, and the belief that all inanimate objects are animate is the lower stage of animism. The Bulu people have passed this stage, in fact there are no peoples as far as history can show, who are still in this stage. Animism in the historical stage of development becomes fetichism or the belief that certain inanimate objects are regarded as the home of a spirit. This is not to deny the belief in the existence of many disembodied spirits.

The world is full of spirits. They wander about in the forests. They live in trees, mountains, rivers, and in the air. They are especially active at night. There are good spirits and bad spirits. But since the good spirits

are not desirous of working harm, they are less thought about than the evil spirits. The evil spirits look in through the cracks of the hut at night; they especially surround women during pregnancy and cause disease and death. The witch is much feared for he or she is in league with the spirits of evil. The "Ngi" or gorilla society is a powerful secret society, the main purpose of which is to protect the life of its members from death by witchcraft.

No Satan

There is no one spirit in whom the powers of evil sum themselves up such as Satan. There is no one supreme power for evil. And wherever the idea exists one may be sure that it was imported from the white man.

God

But the remarkable fact is that there is unmistakeably present the belief in one supreme being who is the creator of the world and all that therein is. The Bulu will tell you that "Zambe" - God - created them, and they will also tell you that He created the world - the animals, birds, fishes, trees, rivers, winds and waves. The most convincing fact to me that the Bantu have this belief in one supreme being is the fact that the Christian missionary never finds it necessary to prove the existence of God. He can always assume that. He can take that for granted, whether he be

talking to men who have heard the Christian message or to men who have no knowledge of it. Any system of atheism strikes them as preposterous. Atheism is a development of civilization. The primitive Bantu is not an atheist. He can not, however, be called a monotheist in the strict sense. God is regarded as the creator but He is absent. He has deserted the black man to go about other business. He is benevolent but He has more important business than thinking of the creatures of His creation. The Bulu will show you the footprints of a goat on a huge rock near Efulan. By this way they say God left the country leading a goat and here are the footprints of the goat on the rock. He went to the west and has never returned.

Mr. Allegret, a French missionary to West Africa, writes as follows: "One evening at sundown as I was sitting alone on the bank of the river, an old chief with whom I was friendly came, found me and said, showing me the west all red with the rays of the setting sun, 'Was it not by this way that God departed?' And as I was silent, moved by all of that which his question contained of tragic anxiety, he said, 'God is over there because all the rivers run from the same source, because the sun sets over there; God is over there back of the sun, you have seen him, tell me the 1 truth'". The same idea has been repeatedly presented to me in talking to the Bulu about God. When Dr. Good, who was the first missionary to enter the country and in fact

^{1.} F. Grebert, "Au Gabou": p. 149

the first white man to enter into the interior, spoke to the natives about God he did not need to explain the idea, he found it already there.

The word for the principal person of Bulu folk lore is "Zobeyo Mebe'e". The Fan form "Zambe" is used universally among the Bulu for God. Only the old men would use the Bulu form "Zobeyo" today. The substitution is of little real importance. The words are the same. used for "God" has what significance? Dr. George L. Bates, an authority on West African Birds connected with the British Museum of Natural History, who has spent twenty-five or thirty years of his life in the Cameroun and has written a Bulu grammar from which I have already quoted, in answer to my inquiry with regard to this word writes as follows: "I know of no probable derivation of the word "Zambe". It is an old proper name which there is no evidence, that I know of, for thinking was ever thought of by Bulu people before any missionary ideas came to them in any other connection than that of their folk tales. In 'minkana' (folk tales) 'Zambe' figured largely, of course, but I almost think not as a person of more power than a typical Bulu head man with great shrewdness and skill in witchcraft, who was greatly successful in his undertakings; he had many children and is spoken of also as the father of the human race, and of gorillas and chimpanzees. Such notions as that he dwells

in the sky, it seems to me, may have come from missionary ideas which got among the people generations ago; no one can be found now whose evidence could settle the question. The name 'Zambe' is the Fañ form; 'Zobeyo' being the real Bulu. Similar names for the same being or personage (now used also to mean God) are found in other languages in Africa". Dr. Bates believes that many of the present Bulu ideas about God have come from the missionary. That fact no one can deny. But it seems to me his evidence is of value in establishing two things: first, that in the Bulu folk lore this person is regarded as the father of the human race, and that there is a word for a parallel personage in many other dialects. The evidence is abundant to prove the truth of both of these assertions.

Now a folk-lore story is generally an answer to the primitive man's question, "why?". For example, there is a folk-lore story which explains why the leopards eat the sheep, and another explaining why the lizard turns his head and looks from side to side, etc. Now these explanations are the product of primitive man's thinking about the nature and cause of things. They are of value to tell us of his wisdom, his ideas. We find the explanation of the origin of man and of things in the many folk-lore stories about Zambe. And therefore these folk-lore stories about the father of the human race are of value as history to tell

us what the Bulu think of a creator as the cause of things.

The second consideration, namely, that there is a word for a parallel personage in many other Bantu dialects, is commonly accepted by those who have made a study of the subject.

Against the view that the idea of God has been an importation, there is good and strong evidence. Le Roy says, "When you have lived with our primitives a long time, when you have come to be accepted as one of them, entering into their life and mentality, and acquainted with their language, practices, and beliefs, you reach the conclusion that behind what is called their naturism, animism, or fetichism, everywhere there rises up, real and living, though often more or less veiled, the notion of a higher god, above men, manes, spirits and all the forces of nature. Other beliefs are variable, like the ceremonies attached to them, but this one is universal and fundamental". There is almost universal evidence among the missionaries to the Bantu that they find among these people the idea of a supreme creator who stands far above all the spirit world.

I made a trip in 1924 back into the interior among the Njem people, neighbors of the Bulu. The people in one particular village had heard of missionaries and native evangelists, but they had never come under the influence of their teaching. A few years later when we sent

1. Le Roy, "The Religion of the Primitive": p. 114

evangelists back there and built a chapel the people came in one afternoon with money to buy the gospel. While they had confused ideas about that which the evangelist was going to do, yet when I visited the village and talked with them about God they seemed perfectly familiar with the idea. It has been my experience that always and everywhere one can assume the existence of God. You would make yourself foolish in the eyes of the native if you attempted to prove that which they never questioned. For example, I have attempted to prove to them that a ghost does not exist; that was in the earlier days. I have ceased trying for I have never been able to do more than prove to the native that I do not know what I am talking about!

While God exists, and that fact is not doubted,
His nature is not very clearly defined. He has gone away
and therefore no one could be expected to know very much about him. But he is considered as being benevolent. He
wishes his creatures well. He is wise and clever. He is
like a man but has all power. He is not subject to death.
He has always existed. One must not be too definite where
the Bulu are vague. And one can not deny that the native
does not speculate much about the nature or the attributes
of God. They are much more concerned with the manes and
the evil spirits which are nearer and must be reckoned with.

2. Philosophy

Animism has been defined as the philosophy of the

primitive. Animism is more than a philosophy, it is a religion. But the primitive man's religion is based on his conception of things. He has a philosophy about the nature of the soul, of the body, of the world and of the unseen world of spirit, of cause and effect, of Reality, of God.

a. Fatalism

The animist is a fatalist. He can not get away from the idea that the things which are must be. He knows that he is in a bad fix, for he sees disease, death and the evil spirits all about him, but he is wont to say "Me aye bo aya", that is, what can I do about it? He says that things are beyond his control. Life is under the control of, or caught in the cogs of the play of the spirit world which he can not see or control. He will not carry the sick to the doctor, for he argues that life is not in any way dependent upon him or his efforts but upon the malevolent evil spirits which take life for their own enjoyment or for the sake of someone else. He does not see the necessity of work for he argues that one's status does not depend upon one's own energy and effort but upon the estate into which one is born. The white man has knowledge and is rich because he is a white man. Woman is inferior because she is a woman. One day I stood in a village and looked across the hill to the village and said. "Who is that over there?" The men answered, "There is no one over there"; but I said,

"Surely I see someone over there", and the answer came back,
"Oh, those are only women". There are two tribes, the
tribe of man and the tribe of woman. Everyone's condition
depends upon the tribe of which he is a member. And everything is after its own manner and that is all there is to
it. One might almost say that there is here the beginnings
of caste. There is slave and master, white and black, man
and woman, headman and ordinary individual. The status
of each individual is fixed and he can not escape being or
doing what he is and does.

b. Fear

Animism is a disease of the mind. Fear is the most important psychological factor in animism. The animist is a fatalist because he denies human responsibility, he is a slave of fear because he believes the unseen world of spirits to be evil. God is good, but He is absent. The ghosts of the dead are concerned only with the good of the tribe and do not hesitate to sacrifice an individual for the sake of the tribe. There are good spirits but they are hard to control, the evil spirits are active and many. An animist's life consists in the attempt to conserve his own soul stuff from the constant and unseen attacks from the spirits of evil. Since all disease and death is caused by evil spirits or is due to the call of the departed ancestors, and since human spirits can enter into league with evil

evil spirits, man is beset on all sides with evil from his fellows, his ancestors and the unknown demons. No one can live among the animistic people and not be impressed with the fact that fear dominates their whole life. is no trust even among brothers, for in that mysterious world of spirit a brother can kill a brother secretly by putting a sword through his effigy or by casting a spell which will cause his soul to wither and die. The brother may do this for the sake of goods, women or birthright. The ancestors are generally concerned with the best interests of the tribe, but they are also concerned with their own best interests. They are much like living men with all of their passions of hate, revenge, envy and jealousy. dividual who incurs their disfavor has no chance against them, and of course the enemy has all the army of demons at his command and can employ supernatural means to accomplish his ends. A man can wend his way with difficulty through this world of evil which is all about him. He lies down at night to sleep not knowing if his spirit will be enticed away during the darkness of the night. He rises in the morning to go out into a hostile world where the forests are filled with demons and the village with witches. If God were imminent and loving, what a transformation it would make in the lives of these people. Actually we find that the idea of God as a loving father makes a tremendous appeal.

B. WHAT IS RELATION OF ANIMISM TO ORIGIN OF RELIGION?

This is a brief summary of the main ideas connected with animism. We have reserved for later discussion animism on the practical side. We have discussed animism as a belief but before going on to the discussion of fetichism, magic, morality, let us discuss the theory of animism in relation to the origin of religion.

Does animism give the answer to the question, whence comes religion? E. B. Tylor in that important work "Primitive Culture" says we get the answer in animism. mism is the explanation for the origin of religion. His theory is that primitive man comes to the consciousness of the fact that he has a soul from his experience of dreams and waking hallucinations. This soul is distinct from the body he reasons, for he sees it acting separately from the body in the experience of dreams and hallucinations. next step is the permanently separated soul or the ghost of the dead which has survived the body. There follows the worship of the dead. Man reasons that different things surrounding him have souls and thus a relationship is form-The worship of ancestors begets the idea of pure spirits, many of them hostile. These spirits can take possession of a material body. Fetichism and idolatry result. Then the elements of nature are also regarded as animated and there develops polytheism. Monotheism could have devel-oped in one of two ways, by elevating a polytheistic divinity to supreme rank or by elaboration of a doctrine which considered the entire universe as animated by one all-powerful divinity.

This is a naturalistic theory of the origin of religion and is evolutionary. Man developed religion himself from the discovery of his soul. With Tylor's theory of the origin of religion I can not agree. According to him, religion developed out of some early and fallacious reasoning on biological and psychological phenomena. Against Tylor's theory there are good and valid objections. In order to prove that animism is the origin of religion, Tylor has to go back beyond history, for there exists nowhere today nor has history recorded the man who can not distinguish between the animate and the inanimate, and if he could not distinguish a corpse from a living body he could not come to the conclusion that the corpse was not animate. He could not have come to the idea of ghost or spirit without a body. Morris Jastrow says, "Animism, as a theory of belief, assumes a quality of reasoning which transcends the horizon of primitive man." But in the historically observed stage of animism we find that man has an idea of ghost but it is a very different idea from the idea of God; and we also find the animist very religious. His religiousness could not have come from ghosts in the early stage of animism before man

^{1.} Morris Jastrow, "The Study of Religion": p. 182

could distinguish between animate and inanimate. And yet we find him in the historic stage as extremely religious. Jastrow says correctly, "Religious manifestations, however, precede even the appearance of animism as an explanation of the universe, and hence as a theory for the origin of religion the latter would be defective". Now the question is where did that religion originate, as it could not have originated as Tylor would have us believe in fallacious reasoning about the soul and spirit.

Assume for the moment that man got his idea of soul from dreams and hallucinations, and having gotten the idea of ghost from the idea of soul, how did he get the idea of God out of that? The gods of animistic people are not ghosts of the dead. And here is where the facts are at variance with the theory that religion developed in such a way. God is never thought of as having been a ghost of one of the ancestors. God is conceived of as being from "nnôm éto" to "nnôm éto" - from forever to forever. Adam was regarded by the Hebrews as the father of the human race and yet there is no record of his being worshipped as a God. The Old Testament gives no record of ancestor worship and yet there developed a thorough-going monotheistic theology among the Hebrews. Israel's God certainly did not come from her animism.

Andrew Lang, in his book "The Making of Religion"

^{1.} Morris Jastrow, "The Study of Religion": p. 182

has done good service in criticizing Tylor's theory of the origin of religion. He brings out the point that in animism death is not considered as normal and natural but caused by the evil spirits. This fact I have pointed out repeatedly. Dr. Lang says, "Deities of the higher sort, by the very nature of savage reflections on death and its noncriginal causal character, are prior, or may be prior, or can not be shown not to be prior, to the ghost theory....

Another fact pointed out by Andrew Lang is that the High Gods of savages are not regarded as spiritual at all and therefore they are not the offspring of ghosts. He says, "The High Gods of savagery ... moral all-seeing directors of things and of men ... are not explicitly envisaged as spirits at all by their adorers. The notion of soul or spirit is here out of place". This observation of Lang's corresponds with the facts. The savage idea of God is more or less anthromorphic. He is not pure spirit as any ghost theory would demand. Another objection to Tylor's theory is that among animistic peoples we find everywhere the idea of one supreme creator of men and things. And this belief has not come from the elevation of one of the polytheistic deities to a supreme place, for there is no polytheism to be found among these people. The Bulu people have no idea of many "Departmental Gods". Thus the way to this belief

^{1.} Andrew Lang, "The Making of Religion": p. 208

^{2. &}quot; " " " p. 207

in one God is cut off for there is no polytheism. The idea of God as one supreme creator is certainly born prematurely if it is born from beneath. This theory does not take account of all the facts.

III. ANIMISM - A PRACTICE IN RELATION TO RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

We have discussed animism as a belief; we now turn to the practical side and will discuss it as a practice in relation to fetichism, morality and magic.

A. Fetichism. 1. What it is.

Fetichism; what is fetichism? Not long ago it was thought advisable to put lightening rods on a missionary residence in the Cameroun. The natives considered that the rods were the white man's fetich. Animism gives birth to fetichism, as naturally as thought gives birth to action.

Fetichism is the practice of animism. A fetich is the temporary home of a spirit. Alladin's Lamp may be used as an illustration of a fetich. Le Roy quotes Reville as follows: "A fetich is a common object without any value in itself which the black keeps, venerates and adores because he believes that it is the dwelling place of a spirit. It is needless to ask what can be a fetich in the eyes of the negro; one might better ask what can not be. A stone, a root, a vase, a feather, a log, a shell, a colored cloth, an animal's tooth, a spake's skin, a box, an old rusty sword, - anything

at all can be a fetich for these grown up children. In the list of such objects we sometimes find products of l European manufacture". I have seen many hundreds of these fetiches in the Cameroun. Dr. R. H. Nassau, who spent many years on the West Coast, wrote a book entitled "Fetichism in West Africa", and while overemphasizing fetichism, he called attention to this very important side of any discussion of the religion of these primitive people. West Africa is then a profitable field for the study of fetichism. A glimpse at the Bulu words in the introduction reveals the prevalence of the idea as embodied in the language of the people.

I have in my home a dirty bunch of bamboo sticks tied together, which the owner gave to me and explained its use. He said that it was used to drive away evil spirits at night and to protect himself from them. If the spirits came at night, he lighted the ends of the split bamboo and the spirits fled away. It was his protector and his friend. He believed in it. The fetich may be left in the house or may be worn on some part of the body - around the neck, tied to the back of the wrist or hidden under the clothes.

There are many kinds of fetiches and they are used for many purposes. One man may have several fetiches at the same time and each one has its special function. One of my friends told me how to make an "Njit", a particular

1. Le Roy, "The Religion of the Primitive": p. 178

kind of fetich which is worn about the neck on a string.

He said that the particular purpose of this fetich was to protect one from death by witchcraft. The manner of manufacture is as follows: the first essential is that your fetich come from the body of another, for if it contains something from your own body it will cause your death; be secret and crafty and get from the body of a sleeping woman some of her hair; follow someone who is eating sugar cane and get the cane which he has chewed and spit out from his mouth; get some cuttings from someone's toe or finger nails. When you have procured all of these things, tie them all up in a neat little ball with a string or some cloth and wear it on your body - and your life will be protected.

The most common fetich is called "biañ" and has been used by the missionary as a word to translate "medicine".

But "bian" in the mind of the native and "medicine" in the mind of the white connote two entirely different ideas.

Since the native does not understand the human body and the effect upon it of medicines, he believes that the cures are caused by the spirit which the medicine contains. Disease to him is caused by the presence of evil spirits and "bian" is the fetich which drives out the evil spirit or wards it off, for "biañ" is used to ward off disease as well as to cure it. Dr. Nassau, who was a medical doctor, writes, "In the native's ignorant mind and in the distress of his disease, he was unable to see a distinction between the

therapeutic action of a drug and the mode of its administration. In fact, to him that mode may be as important a factor contributive to the desired result as the drug itself. In the heathen belief of the native doctor it is admittedly true that the administration not the drug is the important factor, both mode of administration and the drug itself derives all their efficiency from a spirit claimed by the magician to be under his control.

This particular class of fetiches which we have mentioned is concerned with the spirits which are wandering about and controllable. The fetich is the temporary home of one of them. The spirit may leave the body and then the fetich is regarded as dead and only good for a curio. A fetich is a material object plus a spirit. When a fetich does not cure disease or ward it off, when it does not give success in hunting, when it does not make one rich, it may be thrown away as a worthless thing. Another fetich is sought which is not dead.

But another type of fetich is connected with the ghosts of the dead ancestors. In West Africa you will find in many native houses, mostly, however, in the house of the headman of the village, a skull of one of the ancestors of the village. It is the village fetich in distinction from the personal fetich mentioned above. This skull is taboo for the women and children to see and is regarded as a very

^{1.} R. H. Nassau, "Fetichism in West Africa": p. 106

sacred and useful thing by the men. Sacrifice is made to it and prayers are offered to it. It makes the gardens grow, gives the possessors success in hunting and is the guardian angel of the village. This fetich is consecrated during the rite of initiation and I shall give my native friend Ntytam's description of this rite as I have translated it from the Bulu language: "In olden times when people were initiated, it came to pass that when a man was unsuccessful he sent for a fetich doctor, even though he was two days journey away. That person would come with all of his fetich medicines which he was in the habit of for the initiation. When they were ready for the initiation they would send for all of the fetiches in the country. (The skulls of the ancestors contained in an image of a man made of clay.) Then the one who was responsible for the initiation would show them the place for the initiation. When they fix that place they will begin to dig a big long hole in the ground, in length from here to the motor house. (Perhaps one hundred feet long.) The fetich doctor alone is to know where the hole is located. They build a little village at that place with two streets. Then they make also a little palaver house. They make the image of a man out of dirt and he is the owner of the village. This image sits in a chair and has a pipe in his mouth. The initiation may last two months. During that time the fetich doctor will want to eat chicken or meat or food that is salted.

He will say that the image wants to eat these things and the one who called him for the initiation will supply all that which the image wants to eat. Then they bring out all of the fetiches and put the skulls of the ancestors around the chair of the image. When everything is prepared they will call the people who are to be initiated. Each man who has a boy to be initiated will come, together with the initiated of the town. When they have all arrived then the fetich doctor will call for all those who will be initiated, and he will go into the forest and cut some small sticks from a certain tree and put a stick into the mouth of each one of the neophites. He must chew this stick and keep his head back with his eyes up in the air. When things become black and his neck pains he will fall down. Then they carry him to the place of the initiation. Then they take pepper and throw it in his eyes and he jumps up because of pain. They say he has risen from the dead. When he rises from the dead they will take him to his village and put him in the hut. They will call the neophites to the initiation each night, but not during moonlight nights. When the neophites have not yet started for the place of initiation, the initiated go ahead and hide in the cave which was dug. Then they will say to the neophite, come quickly enter into the ground. The person enters from the far side and comes toward the image made of clay. If he is faint-hearted he will be afraid of the image. When they

have done all of these things they will say to the person who called the initiation. we have done everything but where is the thing which we will put under the image; Then he will say, come and I will show you where they buried my father, we will go take his head. Then they will get the skull and put it under the image. They will call the image the name of the person whose head it contains. Then when the person is left with this image, when the food in the garden first begins to ripen, he will take some of it and cook it and place it at the feet of the image and say, 'Father, see the food you have given me this year and I give some to you'. Also, if he does not kill any animals in the forest he will call all those who know how to make medicine and bring out the image and say, 'Ah, father, I do not kill anything these days, therefore I pray you to give me animals'. Then the fetich doctor will say, bring a chicken. Then they will sacrifice the chicken and beat the drums and dance and put oil and a red powder on the father's head".

This is a native's description of the initiation ceremony and gives also an account of the sacrifice and prayer made to the skull of the ancestor. In some vague way the spirit of the father is supposed to be associated with the skull. This skull is the fetich supreme among the Bulu. Men will kill their fathers in order to get this

fetich. The skull of a dead father is worth more to the possessor than the living man. Grave-robbing is very common and for that reason the dead are buried only three or four feet from the hut, or even in the hut itself. Village graveyards or common burying grounds for the villages are unknown.

There is a dwarf tribe called the "Bekoe" scattered around through the forests. They are little men of small stature and with skin of a yellowish cast. They have no permanent dwelling place but move about from place to place in the forests. They live very much like animals, they plant no gardens but live entirely upon animal flesh and fruit from the forests. They are expert hunters, stealthy, crafty, cunning. They may be the aborigines of the country. Of them one of my native friends writes, "The dwarfs dig graves for the skulls like other people. When they live in the forests two or three days without killing any meat, then they will look for a plan to kill animals. Then they will ask a person whose father or brother has recently died, what do you say, we do not see animals with our eyes. want to go get that person who was buried. When they talk those things they will talk secretly in the forest for they do not want the women to hear. Then they go dig up that person. When they kill an animal with this medicine the person who gave the corpse will not eat any of the meat killed with his corpse". These dwarfs have a sacred day

on which they do no hunting. It is on Monday. It is taboo for any of them to hunt on Monday of each week. They also worship a certain tree called "Mfo". I can not decide whether it is a totem tree or not. I am rather inclined to believe that it is simply a fetich tree. They cut the tree and lay it on the ground and worship it. If one walks over it, disease or death will be the result.

In the making of a fetich a medicine doctor's help is sought. He is called by the Bulu "Nganga". He is the priest of fetichism. He is the mediator between the world of spirits and men. He knows how to coax and conjure and compel a spirit to do his bidding. He knows the proper kind of sacrifice and prayer to offer. He is a man highly respected and greatly feared in the community. He is well paid for his services. He can drive our evil spirits by utilizing the power of another spirit which he has under his control. He believes in himself and believes himself to be a deceiver. He is part false and part sincere. He is a mixture of fake and faith.

A. Fetichism. 1. It is religious.

Fetichism is religion. This has been denied. Frank

Byron Jevons in the "Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religions", in a chapter on fetichism, says that fetichism is not a religion nor is it religious. He says, "Fetichism, then, in its tendency and in its purpose, in the function

which it performs and the end at which it aims is not only distinguishable from religion, it is antagonistic to it, from the earliest period of its history to the latest. Religion is social, an affair of the community; fetichism is anti-social, condemned by the community". says, "If we bear in mind the simple fact that fetichism is condemned by the religious and moral feelings of the communities in which it exists, we shall not fall into the mistake of regarding fetichism either as the primitive religion of mankind or as a stage of religious development or as a basis from which many other modes of religious thought have been developed". Two things seem to me to be evident with regard to the statements of Dr. Jevons. In the first place, his idea of fetichism is somewhat different from ours. He is including in his idea of fetich only personal fetiches which are used for the anti-social purposes, and in the second place he seems to believe that fetichism is condemned by the community where it is practised. course if a fetich is only a little poison potion to kill someone in the community, it follows that fetichism is not a religion and it also follows that fetichism will be condemned by the religious community. But Dr. Jevons does not seem fully to understand fetichism, for there is one side of fetichism - if we may call it fetichism at all - which I have not yet discussed and which is anti-social and condemned by the community, but the kind of fetichism I have

l. F. B. Jevons, "Intro. to the Study of Comparative Religion"

7. " " " " " " " pp. 125, 127

discussed is not anti-social nor is it condemned by the community. Fetichism in the sense we have given it is universally practised and is universally accepted by the community as the legitimate and proper expression of the individual and social consciousness of dependence upon unseen powers.

If religion is belief in spiritual beings together with the actions of reverence or worship which result from that belief, then animism is a religion as it is expressed in fetichism. The animist seeks salvation through trust in spiritual forces which he believes are localized in sticks, stones and bones of ancestors. They are his all, he has nothing else on which to depend. He is their servant for they are superior to him, but they are his servants if he performs his duties towards them. These prayers for health, success, life, food, which the animist asks of his fetich, and those offerings of food which are sacrificed to the skull of an ancestor; this worship is an essential part of religion as well as the belief and trust which he exercises. But certainly where both belief and worship exist side by side we have no hesitation in calling it religion. Portuguese mariners who gave the name fetich to the objects of Negro worship are not to be called non-religious because they carried fetiches with them which had been blessed by the priest before their departure. These objects were personal and for personal advantage to the owner. They were

not condemned by the community. They may in cases have been used for non-social purposes. In the evolution of religion there comes a time when fetichism must be condemned by the religious community even as idolatry is condemned. An enlightened catholic of today will explain a Portuguese fetich of the fourteenth century in a very different way from an ignorant catholic of that century whose life depended upon the object hung about his neck. It does not seem to me that one is justified in saying that fetichism is not a religion, any more than one is justified in saying that Catholicism among the ignorant of the fourteenth century was not a religion. I am, of course, aware that in fetichism there is a non-religious side which I am now about to discuss.

A. Fetichism. 3. It is anti-religious. Witchcraft.

Animism expresses itself in religious worship and belief on one side, but on the other it expresses itself in offensive warfare which is anti-social, anti-religious and is condemned by the community. No one can claim for witch-craft any religious significance. Witchcraft is the black art, it is practised in secret and the one who practises it knows he will be killed and go to "etôtôlan" by his own witch. The ghosts of the dead will not receive him. It is inspired by man's evil nature and is condemned even by the one who practises it.

Witchcraft is the cause of disease and death. The

witch is in league with the evil spirit who causes the disease and death. The witch is generally a specialist or a doctor. Ordinary individuals do not care to undertake such dangerous business. But as it is done in secret, one never knows who is a witch and how many people practise witchcraft. The person practising witchcraft may be called "nganga" and the person bewitched is called "mvendé".

The crazy person is supposed to be possessed with an evil spirit or demon. The epileptic has an evil spirit or demon. Death is caused by a witch. It is always considered a dangerous thing for a relative to be absent at the funeral of the deceased, for his absence is considered by the relatives as proof positive of his guilt. A guilty conscience made him stay away from the funeral. For that reason relatives are always anxious to get back to their villages as soon as they hear of the death of someone of their kin. They want to escape suspicion.

The principal word in witchcraft business among the Bulu is "Ngbwel", and Mr. Bates defines it as witchcraft connected with the "évu". The difficulty is to know definite-ly what the "évu" is. There has been much discussion among some of us who have done some investigating along this line. We have not come to any final unanimity of conclusion. Dr. Bates writes me as follows: "The 'évu' is a queer notion but I should not call it anything like the notion of soul. It

was something causing disease and death: post mortem examination was used if anyone was thought to have died of an 'évu' and something visible was said to be found in the body. People who had an 'evu' had supernatural power or luck but at the cost of their death when they were said to *Kui ngbwel*. No one would like to admit that he had an 'evu', it was considered an evil or guilty thing." Miss Verna E. Eick of the West Coast thinks that the "evu" is the soul. She writes me as follows: "This I find that the Bulu are absolutely blind to things of the spirit ... not the Holy Spirit, but even that man is a spiritual being. Thinking only that he is 'minsôn' (flesh) and 'nlem' (heart) they are absolutely blank as to the meaning of spiritual manifestations as expressed in one's personality and spiritual qualities. The spirit has been absolutely ruined and its powers are in a state of diffusion on confusion, no continuity to anything. All spiritual manifestations were thought to be evil, and emanating from the 'minson' (flesh) and called 'évu'. However, the thing which gives 'évu' power is the 'ngbwel'. When a father gives his son the 'evu', if he does not follow it up with training of the 'ngbwel', he becomes akut (without good sense) and of no account. people say that many people who have been given 'evu' are just like those without it, for the reason that the one giving it may have died before completing his work, or changed his mind, or was ignorant of the proper course to

follow.

"I have come really to think of the 'évu' as the soul, or spiritual part of man. The 'ngbwel' is the adversary of the soul. One without 'évu' need not fear 'ngbwel'. Its danger is in entering the person to get the 'evu'. The last claim to have familiar monkeys which stay about by themselves near the house of the owner. When the 'ngbwel' is feared at night he sends his 'évu' to the monkey and it is lost in the bush so that the 'ngbwel' can not find it. They have familiar snakes which they put in the house at night to catch the 'ngbwel' when it comes prowling about.

"When the 'évu' has not been properly fixed, it wanders about the body seeking an 'éto' (resting place), and the person has severe pains. If they stay in a particular place for any length of time and are very difficult to dislodge, you may be sure it is from 'évu'. Pneumonia is caused by the 'ngbwel' catching the 'évu'."

It is possible that "evu" is another soul; Miss Eick seems to think that it is the soul. I have not yet been able to agree that the "evu" is the word for soul. However, there is no doubt of the fact that witchcraft is connected with the "evu", call it soul or what you will. The "ngbwel" seems clearly to be an evil spiritual power. Miss Eick goes so far as to identify Satan and the "ngbwel". To this I can not agree, but clearly the "ngbwel" is evil, and, as

^{1.} Neighbors of Bulu on north.

Miss Eick says in the same letter, the great enemy of the Christian and heathen as well.

This evil power can be controlled. One of my friends named Owona was called before the session because he had been accused of causing the death of his brother by witch-craft. When the brother died the "ngañga" or doctor was called in to determine who was the cause of the death. The doctor said that it was Ntyam, a brother of Owôna's, who had caused the death by witchcraft. But Ntyam denied the charge and the sorcerer sought again and discovered that it was not Ntyam after all who had caused the death, but Owona, and my friend Owôna confessed to the crime and paid his penalty to the head man of the village.

There is a powerful secret society called the "Ngi" or gorilla, whose purpose was the protection of its members from death from "ngbwel". Men with "évu" could enter and were made to eat a poison fetich and the "ngbwel" could not get them so long as they did not practise witchcraft themselves. If they committed such nonsense, their own "évu" would kill them. The initiation into this society is quite elaborate. The leader is the father gorilla. He wears a mask and terrifies the women and children with his make-up and the gutteral sounds which come from his throat. Women are forbidden to see him on pain of death. When they hear his approach they run for their huts and shut the

doors and hide their faces. The initiates can be men only, and as we have seen only men who have an "evu" or men of strong personality. The initiates are compelled to walk through fire, to pay for a password or sign, and to take an oath. A human corpse is taken, the bones are separated from the flesh and the initiate swears by the flesh or over the flesh the following oath: "If I practise sorcery or sleep with women in the daytime, or give a person poison, this flesh will kill me". A soup is made then from the bones of the dead and is drunk by the initiate. He is then a member of the society and his life is safe unless he practises witchcraft himself.

A native who has been ordained as a pastor, Obam Mve, writes me concerning the "ngbwel" as follows: "We said that a person could do nothing in this world without the 'Ngbwel'. That which you do without it will come to naught. We believed that a person accomplished everything in this world because of the 'ngbwel'. Ferocity, power, reputation, all came because of the 'ngbwel'." This seems to indicate that while men feared the "ngbwel" and knew that it was an evil power, yet they desired it to give them success, even though it was through illegitimate means. It is a power to be greatly feared and yet a power to be greatly desired. Witchcraft then among the Bulu of West Africa seems to recognize some superior power which is evil. This power

can be controlled, it can be put into the possession of individuals and can be used by them for personal advancement and can be used against others to cause disease and death.

Mr. A. N. Krug, who has been on the West Coast more than twenty-five years, says, "The Bulu believe that a man can not die unless he has first been killed by witchcraft. He may be drowned or die of sickness, but before this he has first been killed by a witch. If a person desire a thing very much, his witch will get it for him. That witch will also kill a person whom he hates and bring him back to life again. The Bulu believe that a magician can see all things everywhere. He can also see the spirits in the spirit world. A spirit can also come to him and tell him the name of a person who has killed him. When he makes his magic he does it by divination. For this reason people will give him goods and ask him to tell the things they want to know, such as the following: the cause of a person's death; what sickness a person has; where stolen goods are; things which will happen in the future; the prospects of success or failure on a journey; how to remove poison."

The ordeal is commonly resorted to in West Africa.

In a community where witchcraft is practised and believed in suspicion rests on many. In order to ferret out the guilty and free the innocent the ordeal is used. The suspect is given a drink prepared from the bark of the "Elôn"

tree. The drink will not kill but causes vomiting and sickness of the stomach. The theory is that it will kill if the person who undergoes the ordeal is guilty. In the presence of many witnesses the suspect drinks the bark. If he vomits it up he is regarded as innocent, but if the concoction stays down and causes vertigo and the victim falls to the ground, he is regarded as guilty and in earlier days he was immediately put to death. Of course the state of one's conscience has a great deal to do with the result. For a primitive man dies of fear much more easily than a hardened veteran of civilization. Since the advent of the white man the ordeal has been somewhat altered. The accused is made to swallow a fish hook and the theory is that if he is guilty it will stick in his throat, if innocent it will come up.

The practise of cutting open the corpse to take out the witch who was the cause of the death is common. If the post mortem examination reveals any abnormality such as an abscess, tumor or congested lung, the witch is said to be found and is removed. Dr. Nassau says, "And, similarly, I have known the fimbriated extremities of the fallopian tube in a woman held up as a proof of her having been a witch. The ciliary movements of these fimbriae were regarded as the efforts of her 'familiar' at a process of eating. The decision was that she had been 'eaten' to death by her

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own offended familiar".

Dr. Nassau writes of a Witchcraft Company, "For there is such a society, not distinctly organized. has meetings at which they plot for sickness and even the taking of life. These meetings are secret; preferably in the forest, or at least distant from the village. is near midnight. An imitation of the hoot of an owl, which is their sacred bird, is the signal call. They profess to leave their corporeal body lying asleep in the huts, and claim that the part which joins in the meeting is their spirit body, whose movements are not hindered by walls or other physical objects. They can pass with instant rapidity through the air, over the tree tops. At their meetings they have visible, audible and tangible communication with evil spirits. They partake of feasts; the artice eaten being the 'heart life' of some human being, who, in consequence of this loss of his 'heart', becomes sick, and will die, unless it be restored. The early cock crowing is a warning for them to disperse; the advent of the morning star they fear, as it compels them to hasten back to their bodies. Should the sun rise upon them before they reach their corporeal 'home' their plans would fail and themselves would sicken".

Since witchcraft is condemned by the community in which it is practised, the fetiches connected with witch-

^{1.} R. H. Nassau, "Fetichism in West Africa": p. 122

^{2. &}quot; " " p. 123

craft are not advertised. That does not prove that they
do not exist, however. Fetichism has an anti-social aspect
as Jevons points out. The fetich is used in witchcraft to
cause disease and death. My hunter has killed several leopards but I have never yet been able to get a leopard from
which the whiskers had not been removed. The whiskers of a
leopard are used in this nefarious business. Dr. Nassau
quotes from Decle, "The liver and entrails of a crocodile
are supposed to be most powerful charms, and whoever becomes
possessed of them can cause the death of any man he pleases.
For that reason, killing a crocodile is a very heinous
crime". When a man wishes to bring evil upon someone in
the village he takes a fetich horn and morning and evening
pronounces his maledictions into the horn. If the one hated
hears the sound of the horn, evil will befall him.

Since the primitive does not distinguish clearly between the material and the non-material, it is impossible for me to think witchcraft is dissociated from some material object in the mind of the native. The native can not easily conceive of a pure spirit without dimensions in space and so in the controlling of this evil power he has to have his fetich and that is actually the case as I have observed it in West Africa. Witchcraft is related to fetichism. For the evil power must have a place to reside even as the good power must have his home in the material object, or fetich.

I have therefore discussed witchcraft in relation to

^{1.} R. H. Nassau, "Fetichism in West Africa": p. 118

fetichism. It is also related to magic.

B. Magic. 1. Dr. Frazer's Theory

What is magic? I turn to Sir James George Frazer,
who says, "If we analyze the principles of thought on which
magic is based, they will probably be found to resolve themselves into two: first, that like produces like, or that an
effect resembles its cause; and, second, that things which
have once been in contact with each other continue to act
on each other at a distance after the physical contact has
been severed. The former principles may be called the Law
of Similarity, the latter the Law of Contact or Contagion.
From the first of these principles, namely the Law of Similarity, the magician infers that he can produce any effect he
desires by imitating it; from the second he infers that whatever he does to a material object will effect equally the
person with whom the object was once in contact, whether
it formed part of his body or not".

Not very long before I returned to the United States, Meyon, one of our medical boys, told me this story: He had been given two weeks vacation to go to his town. While there the wife of his brother took sick. It was an obstetrical case. The magician called and said that the child was in the possession of a witch and could not be born until the clutches of the witch were removed. He therefore proceeded to put ropes about the woman's body and tied her up and then untied the ropes. (It seems to be a pure case of

^{1.} Sir James George Frazer, "The Golden Bough" - Abridged Edition, 1923: p. 11

magic.) He worked all day and accomplished nothing. Finally the husband of the woman came to Meyon, our medical boy, and asked him to go down and help the woman. Meyon refused for he said to me, "If I had gone down there and the child had died they would have accused me of the death, or if the woman had died they would have said I was the cause of her death, so I refused to go". The next evening the husband came back to Meyon and in desperation plead with him to go help his wife. The medicine doctor had failed. Two days of hard labor had not brought forth the child even though the magician had assisted. Meyon decided to go to her assistance, for, he said, it was another case of Elijah and the priests of Baal. When he got to the hut he found the woman in the centre of the hut with the ropes about her body. The hut was crowded with men and women and the magician was in the midst, standing over the woman. Meyon put the magician aside, took off the ropes, and in ten minutes the child was born. The magician was using imitative magic to deliver the child. The philosophy of this seems to me to be explained by Frazer: "When a woman is in hard labor and can not bring forth, they call in a magician to her aid. He looks at her and says, 'The child is bound in the womb that is why she can not be delivered. On the entreaties of her female relations he then promises to loose the bond so that she may bring forth. For that purpose he orders them to fetch a tough creeper from the forest and with it he binds the hands and feet of the

sufferer on her back. Then he takes a knife and calls out the woman's name, and when she answers he cuts through the creeper with a knife saying, 'I cut through today thy bonds and thy child's bonds'. After that he chops up the creeper, puts the bits in a vessel of water and bathes the woman with the water. Here the cutting of the creeper with which the woman's hands and feet are bound is a simple piece of homeopathic or imitative magic: by releasing her limbs from their bonds the magician imagines that he simultaneously releases the child in her womb from the trammels thich impede its birth".

The reason that cannabalism is practised is partly due to the belief that like produces like. The cannibal does not eat human flesh because he is hungry alone, but in some magical way the qualities of the one who is eaten are believed to produce like qualities in the eater. The most common application of the principle that like produces like is the practise of killing an enemy by puncturing his image. An image of the one who is hated is made and a sword thrust through the heart. The idea is that a corresponding fate has happened to the one whose image was pierced.

The second kind of magic which is governed by
the Law of Contact or Contagion is illustrated by the following: The Bulu people believe that certain among them have
control over animals, especially the leopard. Stories are

^{1.} Sir James George Frazer, "The Golden Bough": p. 239

many which indicate their firm belief that men can control leopards and make them do their bidding. They will tell you that so-and-so said that his leopard would kill a certain man who is named. And they will tell you how the leopard entered the house where the man was sleeping, passed over the bodies of others who were sleeping near the door and picked out the victim who was indicated for death. Stories like these are very common and it is difficult at times to explain them, even for those of us who do not believe them. But the following story told me by our local French government official, M. Doran, seems to illustrate the principle of contagious magic.

village named Yem of our district. A certain man in the village was accused of causing the death of these people with his leopard. He confessed that he had killed them.

The government official sent for him and he said that he had killed the people with his leopard. But said M. Doran, "You will be put to death for murder if you killed these people with your leopard". The man would not change his confession. M. Doran pressed him to tell how he had done this thing and the explanation given was a follows: He said, when I was a young man I caught a baby leopard in the forest. I brought it to my hut and it grew up in my village. It learned to follow me like a dog and would do my bidding.

When it became full grown it returned to the forest, but I

still have control over it. I can call it and it will come. When I want to kill someone with my leopard, I need only to secure some article of clothing from the one whom I wish to kill. Then I call the leopard and give it the scent and it will go seek out and kill the person. The man died in the prison some weeks later, but he always insisted that he had killed these people with his leopard. It is quite possible that the explanation of the "scent" is a gloss by the white man and that the real explanation is that of contagious magic, "that things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed".

But it does not seem to me that Dr. Frazer has fully defined "magic", for he has failed to include in "magic" the idea of the control of the supernatural. "Magic" to Dr. Frazer is entirely distinct from religion. Certainly magic includes the idea that like produces like and that things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed, but is that all there is in magic? According to Dr. Frazer that is all. He is concerned to keep out the control of the supernatural from his definition because he is concerned with a theory that magic is prior to religion and that when primitive man found that magic would not work he turned to religion; he sought the aid

of the suprenatural to assist him in his primitive science. Religion came in then as a result of the failure of magic to accomplish the desired results. He makes a definition of religion which is extremely low as follows: "By religion, then, I understand a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life". With that definition he proceeds to state his theory: "Thus, if magic be deduced immediately from elementary process of reasoning, and be, in fact, an error into which the mind falls almost spontaneously, while religion rests on conceptions which the merely animal intelligence can hardly be supposed to have yet attained to, it becomes probable that magic arose before religion in the evolution of our race, and that man essayed to bend nature to his wishes by the sheer force of spells and enchantments before he strove to coax and mollify a coy, capricious, or erascible deity by the soft insinuation of prayer and sacrifice". Dr. Frazer then proceeds to show how in Australia there are primitive people who have no religion; they depend entirely upon magic. But Andrew Lang in his important work "Religion and Magic" has refuted to the satisfaction of practically everyone the fact that there are tribes in Australia which have no religion. The fact is generally admitted by all anthropologists today that religion is universal and that

^{1.} Sir James George Frazer, "The Golden Bough": p. 50

no tribe has yet been found without religion. I therefore will not stop to argue that point, for it is today regarded as an established fact and needs no apology.

Another objection to this theory is that magic and religion are always found together. Religion does not displace magic but they are found to be parallel.from the beginning and continue together even into the higher forms of culture. York County, Pennsylvania, could scarcely be counted as a primitive community and yet Blymire believed that he could control Rehmeyer if he had the magical formulas contained in the book possessed by Rehmeyer, "The Long Lost Friend". Having been born and reared in York County, I know for a fact that some people in that community, who attend church and are counted as religious, believe that if the baby does not grow it is necessary to have it measured. They take it to one who knows the art. measures the baby, using some magical formulas, and then assures the parents that the baby will now get along and grow. Dr. Soper says, "One heavy count against this theory (Dr. Frazer's theory that magic precedes religion) is that we find the two methods intermingling in the life of savages in all places and at all times. Both seem to have existed from the beginning and to have developed side by side".

I believe that Dr. Soper correctly states the

^{1.} Soper, "The Religions of Mankind": p. 78

difference between religion and magic when he says, "There is a difference in attitude between magic and religion which separates the two fundamentally. When in the form of fetichism already mentioned, the savage gives himself to coaxing and compelling his fetich to do his bidding, the debasing character of his practice is self-evident. Only because he may be able to look on some other of his spirits, not as 'gods of his disposal' but as powers to be feared and supplicated, is there any possibility of advance into higher forms of religious faith. Unknown to him the struggle between magic and religion has begun". For this reason I have regarded fetichism as religious on one side and anti-religious on the other. As soon as the savage undertakes to scold or whip his fetich, one has passed out of the realm of religion into the region of magic: for religion is essentially an attitude of dependence while magic assumes an attitude of superiority. magician believes that if he only knows the formula he can control the supernatural power or deity. Magic is antireligious. But I am not saying that the distinction between magic and religion is drawn in the mind of the primitive. He does not separate magic and religion; one moment he may be assuming a religious attitude and the next an anti-religious or magical attitude towards his god.

When the native tries to prove his innocence over a fetich and calls upon the fetich to kill him if he did such

^{1.} Soper, "The Religions of Mankind": p. 78

and such a thing, he is assuming a religious attitude towards the fetich, i.e. if he is innocent and really depends upon his fetich to protect his life; but if he is
guilty and immediately after he has called upon the fetich
to kill him he goes to a magician and asks for a formula
or a fetich to escape the consequences of his action, he
is no longer assuming a religious attitude but has allied
himself with magic.

B. Magic. 2. Religion and magic are different attitudes.

There has been much made of the idea that the distinction between religion and magic is that magic is antisocial while religion is social and approved by the gods of the community. Dr. Jevons says, "The fundamental opposition between magic and religion I take to be that religion is supposed to promote the interests of the community, and that magic, so far forth as it is nefarious, is condemned by the moral and by the religious feeling of the community". But Dr. Jevons is speaking only of nefarious magic which is, of course, anti-social. However, magic for rain making is for the good of the community and can not be classed as anti-social. Certainly rain magic is magic, it is also approved by the community. But it may not be approved by the gods of the community.

The essential difference between magic and religion

^{1.} Jevons, "Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion": p. 95

does not seem to me to be a question of social or antisocial at all. It is rather a question of attitude on the
part of the individual or community. If the community tries
to compel the god to send rain, it is practising magic, but
if the community by prayer and fasting and with an attitude
of supplication calls upon the god to send rain, it is
practising religion.

B. Magic. 3. Bulu magic. Examples.

We have no rain making magic among the Bulu people for we seldom need rain, but we have medicine magic aplenty. The medicine magic centres around the word "eyeñe biañ". Any of the session records of the Corisco Presbytery of West Africa will show a large per cent of suspensions, perhaps ten per cent of those suspended, because of the practise among the church members of "eyeñe biañ". There is "biañ" which may be without the magical element. That word might be translated medicine and would have to do with the preparation of drugs and the giving of them to the patient. We do not discourage the use of some of the drugs they have been in the habit of using for they are very useful to the native. He finds leaves of certain trees, the bark of others and the berries of others to be curative, and he knows in a sort of way how to use them. He generally always gives an overdose and many of the little babies die of overdosing with strong medicine. But as distinguished from

"bian" there is "eyene bian", which is mostly magical and its success depends not so much upon the drug given as upon the correct observance of the magical rules prescribed by the magician. I found it my painful duty to suspend from the church my colleague's cook, Manzambe, whose wife was brought to our dispensary in a dying condition. She had been delivered of a little child and was extremely weak. She had been carried away in a few days by her husband because he had given up hope of her getting well in the hospi-The fact was she was getting along as well as could tal. be expected and was on the road to recovery. But he thought she was going to die. The native has a superstitious dread of dying outside of his village. Manzambe agreed to having the heathen medicine doctor called in. After many signs and sprinklings he declared that she would live, was in fact cured.

The practise of curing disease by pow-wow is a close relative to the "éyeñe biañ" of the West African coast. In York County, Pennsylvania, people who have a sore hand or foot which does not heal, or some disease which does not cure easily, call on the pow-wow doctor. He makes some magical passes over the person, utters some unknown formulae of Hebrew or Greek and assures the patient that he is now cured.

The Bulu make magic medicine before going hunting.
Without this medicine the hunt will not be a success. They

also make medicine for the dog's nose so that he will be able to follow the scent.

The Bulu women dearly love children, and in a primitive society where ancestor spirits are worshipped it is considered a great calamity for a woman not to be able to bear children to increase the size of the tribe and to keep up by means of the new generation the sacrifice to the ancestors. Many women are unable to bear due to the social diseases which were imported by the white man. They believe that they are unable to bear because of a curse put upon them by someone while they were young. A few years ago a Bulu woman would not allow her child to be cared for by another woman, no, not even for an hour, lest she curse the child and cause evil to befall it. Today this belief still exists among many of the women who have not come under the influence of Christianity and even among some who have come under that influence. The removal of the evil which causes her barrenness is an interesting proceeding. It comes under the general head of "eyene bian". It is called "nkean ôsoe" or going to the river. This evil can be removed by an animal or a chicken sacrifice and by one who is an adept in the business. The patient is placed over the water and the blood of the animal is mixed with some shavings and sprinkled over the body, at which time the medicine man says. "I take away the curse". The blood streams over the

patient into the river and the medicine man enters the river and says, "You are now free from your curse". The patient is warned not to look back lest the evil return again. This is very interesting as related to the idea of cleansing blood. However, the whole process is magical and we therefore class it under magic as it is classed by our black people.

The Bulu women are forbidden to eat red antelope meat called "so". The raison de'etre of this taboo has been difficult to explain. One of my native boys told me that women were forbidden to eat the "so" because the secret society called the "So" forbid it to them. The men wanted to save the game meat for themselves. But there are other kinds of game meat which are not forbidden. That does not satisfy me as the explanation of this taboo. The secret society probably originated to help out in the enforcement of this taboo which was in existence before the society originated. It is reasonable to suppose that this taboo for women has something to do with the function peculiar to women, that of bearing children. Now the "Sô" is a timid animal and is also foolish. While the natives often choose animal names for their children, such as leopard, elephant, etc.. I have never known a person to be named "So". On the theory that like produces like, it seems reasonable to suppose that there is a belief that the child born to a

woman who ate "Sô" would be foolish and timid and therefore the ancient taboo against the woman's eating the red
antelope got its origin.

The taboos relative to pregnancy are illustrative of the belief in magical influence. Dr. Nassau says, "Everywhere are rules of pregnancy which bind both the woman and her husband. During pregnancy neither of them is permitted to eat the flesh of any animal which was itself pregnant at the time of its slaughter. Even of the flesh of a non-pregnant animal there are certain parts, the heart, liver, and entrails, which may not be eaten by them. It is claimed that to eat of such food at such a time would make a great deal of trouble for the unborn infant. During his wife's pregnancy a man may not cut the throat of any animal nor assist in the butchering of it. A carpenter whose wife is pregnant must not drive a nail. To do so would close the womb and cause a difficult labor. He may do all other work belonging to carpentering, but he must have an assistant to drive the nails".

Love medicine is very common among the women especially. A woman who thinks her husband does not love her will make him love her in this way. She mixes some skin from her foot with some mucous from her mouth in some water with which she has washed her genitals. She puts some of this mixture in her husband's food and the belief is that

^{1.} R. H. Nassau, "Fetichism in West Africa": p. 192

as soon as he eats of the food he will fall violently in love with her.

Magical control over an individual is gained by means of something which has been connected with the individual over whom the control is sought. The hair, nails, spittle, are valuable to one who wishes by magical means to control an individual. Even the name of the individual may be sufficient to get that control. Dr. Joseph Holley, a black man who is president of a colored college in the south, was sent out last summer by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to a conference in the Congo. He visited the Cameroun and in reporting on this visit mentions a very interesting experience concerned with magic. He tells of going out for a walk in one of the villages in the Cameroun, and of how the native boys gathered about him. singled out one boy from the group and looked him straight in the eye. The others then fled but from a distance encouraged their comrade to stand his ground. Dr. Holley then took from his pocket a paper and pencil and having asked the boy his name wrote it on the paper. He then reached down to get some sand, but seeing this move the boy ran at once. Dr. Holley, commenting on this, said, "I tried this in several villages but in every case the boy ran when I reached for the sand. The black boy in the south will do the same thing. He is afraid of this magical move".

Some of the natives are afraid to have their photo-

-graph taken, the idea being that the image can be used in a magical way against the person whose image is taken.

B. Magic. 4. Charms

The use of charms is extremely common. From the birth of a child until death as an old person life is protected by charms. The "aka'é" is a fetich charm made for a young child. The "abande" is a fetich charm to make one safe. There are many kinds of "biañ" to protect one's life. These charms are worn about the neck, or on the body. They may be hung over the door or in the garden. They are innumerable and for every conceivable purpose. The extent of the influence of these charms is almost inconceivable to us who are free from the fears which control the animist.

there is always an adept in the community whose aid is sought when difficult things are to be done. For he alone knows the formula, he alone has the knowledge and the power to control the supernatural. One day I was much annoyed by the reports concerning a magician who was operating on a village nearby. The Christian women were being tempted to go to him. I got on my bicycle and rode out to see him. I found him in the village street, men and women were gathered about him. He was in the process of putting a small stick into a man's eye. I gathered up his small stock in trade and told him I would have him put in prison if he did not leave

the country. The next morning he was gone. He had been collecting money in pay for his supernatural knowledge.

C. Morality. 1. Importance of discussion.

The importance of a discussion of morality in relation to animistic people is by no means small. If religion and morality are parallel streams, the one not dependent on the other, then we should expect to find some confirmation of that fact in the study of this question among animistic people who are the lowest in the scale of civilization. If religion and morality are inseparably connected, we would expect some confirmation of that fact from the primitive civilization.

There is a growing tendency among many schools of thought to seek a basis of morality entirely outside of God and religion. The attempt to keep religion out of the schools necessitates another basis for morality than religion and therefore the basis is found in man himself. Dr. Jevons, not arguing for but in stating this position says, "Morality is rooted, not in the will and the love of a beneficent and omnipotent Providence, but in a self-realizing spirit in man setting up its 'common aim' at morality. The very conception of a beneficent and omnipotent God ... having now done its work as an aid to morality ... must now be put aside, because it stands in the way of our recognizing what is the real spiritual whole, besides which there is none

other spirit, viz. the self-realizing spirit of man". This conception of morality does not deny that religion and morality have been united, but it does deny that morality and religion are inseparable, it denies that the basis of morality is found in religion.

C. Morality. 2. Have the primitives a morality?

The question naturally arises have the primitives a morality? And if so, how did their morality arise and what is its basis? The former question may be answered in the words of Le Roy: "Beyond any doubt, our blacks have a morality just the same as that acknowledged by the conscience of the whole human race, whatever race, country, or period of its development be considered. The soul of the primitive is made like our soul; between the two types there is not the slightest essential difference. Only the applications of morality differ. "On this side of the Pyrenees and on the other, as on this side of the ocean and on the other". The statement of Le Roy seems to me to be true that the animist has a morality but his application of morality differs from ours. Dr. Willoughby says. *It is not uncommon to hear natives assert that the Ten Commandments were known to their tribes before Christianity came to them, and if they are allowed to define the terms used, they can make a good case for this claim".

^{1.} Le Roy, "The Religion of the Primitive": p. 168

^{2.} Willoughby, "The Soul of the Bantu": p. 383

We would resent the statement were we living if it were made by a historian of three thousand A.D. that the people of the United States in the twentieth century approved of murder. And yet it would be true, for the World War was a legalized system of murder of one nation by another. And when a man thinks it is not wrong to kill outside of the tribe, he is not devoid of morality, he is simply applying his morality as we apply ours with regard to another nation. The command "Thou shalt not kill" stands but the application of that command is different in Bulu country. The command "Thou shalt not commit adultery" is recognized as binding, but adultery consists in appropriating another man's wife without his consent; if he consents, you have not committed adultery. A Bulu friend of mine told me that stealing from another tribe was wrong except in time of war. Of course stealing within the tribe is always wrong. Bearing false witness against one's neighbor is wrong, but "neighbor" is defined in terms of tribal brother. It is not wrong to bear false witness against a man from another tribe, or to deceive the white man. It is not wrong to bear false witness to protect one's brother from the white man or from punishment from another tribe. It is dangerous to take the name of God in vain. It is always right to respect your father and your mother. One might go through the list of the Ten Commandments and show that the Bantu

has them all, but in his own way. A failure to understand this fact has led to much confusion with regard to the animist's morality, has even led to the belief that he has no morality.

C. Morality. 3. Taboo.

Any discussion of morality demands a discussion and an explanation of taboo. What is taboo? It is the "Thou shalt not" principle. It is the "don't" applied to children. It is a Polynesian word and is composed of the root "ta", marked, and "bu" an adverb of intensity. It signifies then "intensely marked". The Bulu word for taboo is "etyi" which we have used also to translate "holy". To the Bulu the word "etyi" connotes the idea of forbidden. That which is "etyi" is forbidden. The word as applied to God to express holiness was used because no other word could be found to express the idea of holiness. There is no word in the language to express precisely the idea of holiness. "Etyi" approaches the idea.

a. Examples of Taboo

There are many taboos among the Bulu people. It would be impossible to catalogue them all. There are taboos connected with the secret societies. It is taboo for a woman to eat antelope meat. It is taboo for a woman to see the father gorilla who is head of the gorilla secret society. Death would result if she looked upon him.

There are a number of taboos connected with the procreation of life. The following are taboo for a man and his wife while she is pregnant: the eating of bad meat lest the child die of infections which kill newborn babies; the eating of a rat; the digging of a rat out of a hole; killing of a wounded animal lest the child die on the day of its birth; touching a corpse, carrying a corpse; digging a grave; eating of the naval portion of a wild pig; crossing a line of driver ants lest the labor and birth pangs be prolonged.

It is taboo for a man to have sectual relations with his wife from the moment of her conception until after the child is weaned. The women do not wean their children until the third year. Polygamy has its raison d'etre, therefore, because a man is separated from his wife for three years. It is taboo for a carpenter whose wife is pregnant to drive nails. It is taboo to get married before you have been through the initiation ceremonies. It is taboo for a young man to get married before he has been circumcised. It is taboo for a woman to use the word for snake, "nyo". She gets around it by calling the snake a rope of the forest. I do not know the reason for the last mentioned taboo unless it is in connection with a common folk lore story which is much like the creation story in Genesis in which the snake figures as the deceiver. Dr. Frazer in his book "The Worship of Nature", volume 1, page 223, says: "It is conceivable

I do not say probable, that the Hebrews learned the story (the fall because of the deception of a serpent) from negroes with whom they may have conversed during their long sojourn in Egypt. ... There is therefore no inherent extravagance in the supposition that the Hebrews may have borrowed the barbarious myth of the fall of man from the barbarous negroes, with whom they may have toiled side by side in the burning sun under the lash of Egyptian task masters. While I can not agree with Dr. Frazer that the Hebrews received the story of the fall from the negroes, yet he does witness to the existence of such a story among the Africans. This may have been the cause for the origin of the word snake being taboo to women.

The object of taboo includes the following: the protection of important persons, the safeguarding of the weak, the protection from the danger of coming in contact with a corpse, the guarding of the chief acts of life - such as birth, initiation, marriage and sectual functions, the protection of human beings against the wrath of evil spirits, the protection of unborn infants who stand in sympathetic relation to both parents, the securing against thieves of the property of individuals.

To break a taboo is to "sem" and involves moral stain and punishment. The result of a broken taboo in the village is an "nsem". The signs of an "nsem" in the village

among others, are these: boys and men are sick with ulcers and there are many deaths in the same village. This calamity may have been caused by any one of many broken taboos, as for example some unitiated person has eaten game meat, or some persons who are related have committed adultery, or a man has killed someone who is related to him. Sometimes a very simple thing may be regarded as an "nsem" as indicated by a Bulu folk lore story. A father deceived his small son and after the boy grew up he went to his father's traps and put a rat in the fish trap and a fish in the rat trap, and when the father found this unusual thing he declared that there was an "nsem" in the village.

b. Meaning of taboo.

How did the taboo originate? Possibly taboo grew up naturally as the result of experience. The eating of certain food caused indigestion. Such foods were noted and marked off as taboo. Some taboos were the result of true conclusions and others were the result of fallacious reasoning. Certain effects were observed and the causes sought. Supposed causes and not real causes were marked off as taboo as a result of fallacious reasoning. For example, one of my evangelists built a chapel in Spanish territory where Christianity was unknown. Not long afterwards a man died in the town. The people reasoned that the chapel was the cause of his death and was therefore forbidden. In such a

death and therefore chapels are made taboo. And it is said that taboo is nothing more than the collective wisdom of the experience of the race concerning destructive tendencies, which have been handed down in the form of prohibitions or taboos. But against this theory is the fact that on the theory of experience it is impossible to explain all taboos. Many things are dangerous which are not taboo, and many things are taboo which could not have been considered dangerous. It is dangerous to eat poison and yet poison plants are not taboo; it is not dangerous to take a new-born baby in your arms, and yet that has been considered as taboo.

Let us study the word "sem" or the result of a broken taboo which is called "nsem". What are the implications in the idea? The result of a broken taboo is disease and death in the village. The disease and death has a cause and it is to be found in the displeasure of the supernatural. The animist is not free in relation to the invisible world. Le Roy says, "If the machinery of the world has gotten out of order, it is because, consciously or inadvertently, we have thrown handsful of sand in the works, i.e. forbidden acts. In other words, if the universe appears stretched out before man like a well ladened table, there are, nevertheless, certain precautions to take before sitting down to it, certain forms of politeness to be observed, certain

restrictions to bear in mind". The disease and death as the result of a broken taboo have their relation to the supernatural guardians of the common good. They are in fact the cause of the disease and death.

Against this theory it has been urged that there are certain taboos which could not have been displeasing to the supernatural world. What possible objection could there be in digging a rat out of a hole, for example? We freely admit that is a valid objection, but there are certain taboos which are the creation of the community to help to enforce the ancient taboos which have their origin outside of the community. These may be called the taboos of social sanction as opposed to the taboos which have their origin in the displeasure of the supernatural world.

I think that we can not stress the point too strongly that the animist is exceedingly religious. Religion touches his life at all points. Most of his acts are religious acts and are regulated by the invisible world of spirits which controls his life. The "nsem" in the village is regarded as being caused by the spirits or manes. Taboo then had its origin, if this view is true, in the feeling of primitive man that certain acts were displeasing to the invisible world. A broken taboo may be regarded as the immediate cause of the evil but back of that there is a wrong relation toward the supernatural.

It has been said that the gods of the community

^{1.} Le Roy, "The Religion of the Primitive": p. 148

are conceived of by the primitive as powers who have no ethical concern. They are simply stronger than men. They could not be the source of morality. But the primitive man whom we know, the animist, makes a distinction between good and bad as his language reveals. There is the word "ezezam" meaning confusion or wrong doing, and "abé" which means bad. And on the other side there is "soso" which means straight and therefore just or right. Witchcraft is bad and the protection of the tribe is good. Good and bad is applied also to the gods. Since good is good the animist forgets about the good spirits and concerns himself about the bad who are to be feared. God the creator who is good is absent. The animist is concerned then with the evil. As a result he is fearful. To deny that fear controls the animist is to turn one's back on the facts. He is afraid of the supernatural world. The powers are then not powers alone but they are evil powers. Evil powers imply good powers. gods, then, of the animist are not simply powers; they are the powers who are concerned with the good of the community. A god is not a god until he becomes good, in the sense that he seeks the good of the community.

The Bulu say, "O me nnem", i.e. you have a witch to help you. Now the Bulu who has a witch to help him has a power to help him. But he is not aided by a god. We must remember that there is religion and there is anti-

religion. And the man who says he has an evil power to help him is anti-religious. He is practising witchcraft and magic, both of which are anti-religious. And to say that the gods of the animist are simply powers is to be misleading; the gods of the animist are not simply powers, they have an ethical significance.

C. Morality. 4. Justice. Origin of.

There is another important consideration with regard to morality and religion which has to do with the idea of "justice". No one can live among the Bulu people very long and not be convinced that they have a morality because of the insistent demand on the part of the people for justice. The palaver house is the most important house in the community and in the village. It is the court house of the village. Before the chief of the village with the assistance of the "real men" in the village, all persons who are suspected or accused are brought to trial. The many days and even weeks spent on one palaver until it has been decided is demanded The ordeal to which one who is suspected is by justice. compelled to subject himself is demanded by justice. decision is left to the gods. For the gods will clearly indicate the innocence or the guilt of the man. It is justice which demands life for life, blood for blood. justice which demands that the witch be put to death. is a strange triangular practise in Bululand which is very

interesting with regard to the administering of justice. Suppose a person in tribe A kills a person in tribe B.

Justice demands that tribe B kill a man in tribe A. But if tribe A happens to be much stronger than tribe B, and B therefore can not kill anyone in A, tribe B may kill someone in tribe C. It is then tribe C's duty to kill in A. When a man in A has been killed by C, justice is satisfied. Justice also demands a money payment if a man has committed adultery with another man's wife; adultery being the appropriation of the other man's wife without his consent.

The dog of one of my evangelists ate the little ducks belonging to another evangelist. The evangelist whose ducks were eaten insisted that justice demanded that he kill the dog and eat it. It took me nearly a half hour to persuade him that that was not the correct course to take. Justice demands payment for my wife if she dies in your town for you are the cause of her death. The bride price is paid to the husband because his wife died in another man's village. It would be more correct to say was killed in another man's village. The life of a woman can be paid for with money, but the life of a man can be paid for only in blood. For a woman is only a woman. There is the tribe of man and the tribe of woman, and woman is always inferior.

How did justice arise? What is its source? The answer is that it goes back to a feeling of resentment on

Resentment leads to retaliation by the individual, or if
he is dead by the family. Resentment takes the form of revenge and is slowly taken out of the hands of the individual
and taken over by the community. This view of the origin
of justice denies that justice has a basis in religion. Dr.

Jevons rightly points out that under this view of the origin
of justice, "...not only the origin of justice, but the
whole course of its growth and development, is entirely independent of religion and religious considerations. Throughout
the individual and society are the only parties involved;
the gods do not appear, they are intrusive and superfluous.

If this be the true view of the history and nature of justice,
it may and probably must be the truth about the whole of morality and not only about justice".

The objection to this view is that the individual does not exist apart from society. There is no such thing as an individual as apart from society. It takes a society to make an individual. And then in the animistic society there is no individuality anyhow. For the individual is entirely submerged or lost in the tribe or family. Those of us who have been brought up in an atmosphere of individualism are not aware that in the beginning it was not so. The family is responsible for the acts of the individual. If a wrong has been committed by A in tribe X, even the European

^{1.} F. B. Jevons, "Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion": p. 224

toms of the community, to arrest B in village X if A can not be found, and B pays the penalty for the misdeeds of A. The tribe has paid the penalty. Jevons says, "Justice is not the resentment of any individual, it is the sentiment of the community expressing itself in public action, taken not for the sake of any individual but for the sake of public safety".

The early offences against which public action was taken were witchcraft and breaches of the marriage law. But as Dr. Jevons argues, mating illegitimately does not cause suffering to those who have mated, but to society. therefore, acts by seeking to set itself right with the gods who have been offended. The breaches against the marriage law are offences against heaven. If Dr. Jevons is correct, then morality is based on religion. The Bulu say that a child born of an adulterous union of two individuals will die unless the father of the child comes after the birth and takes the child in his arms. This seems to be a sort of confession to the gods. Without this confession the gods will be displeased and the child will die. The confession of the father of the child is public and that gives the community a chance to act, if it so desires, against the offender and it generally acts. Cain had offended against God when he killed his brother, he therefore becomes taboo.

Is there any fear of future punishment? Men have

^{1.} F. B. Jevons, "Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion": p. 226

been heard to say, "If I did that I could not meet my father in the other world". There seems also to be a belief that a bad man will be changed into an elephant, leopard, chimpanzee or some other animal. A bad man will not be tolerated at all by the "bekôn" i.e. manes, but he goes immediately into "ngutu" (white ants mound), which is utter annihilation. While this fear of future punishment is rather vague, it would not be true to say that it does not exist. A witch receives no mercy in this world nor in the world to come.

The fear of future punishment as well as present argues strongly in favor of the dependence of morality upon religion. And if it be urged that the fear of the ancestors' wrath in the future world is only a projection of the social into the spirit world, then we ask how the manes can get the power to cause utter annihilation and to cause metempsychosis. There are difficulties even in that view.

C. Morality. 5. Morality finds basis in religion.

Justice, and therefore morality, did not have its origin in the relation of man to man alone. Morality as the human heart says is closer akin to religion than philosophical reasoning wants to admit. And a study of primitive man confirms the opinion that those who seek a basis for morality outside of religion will be disappointed with the results when they separate the two.

IV. WORSHIP AMONG THE ANIMISTS

The belief of the animist is a determining factor in his worship. We have shown how the animist believes in spirits, of which there are three classes: the spirits of the ancestors, the other than ancestor good and bad spirits, and God. Perhaps the most important in the worship of the animist are the manes, next in importance is his worship of good spirits and lastly his worship of God.

A. Bulu words examined.

Let us examine the Bulu words which are connected with worship. The word for heathen worship is "éyeñe biañ". The "éyeñe" in heathen worship was compared by a Christian native to prayer in the Christian religion. The "éyeñe" was the thing of power. The word used for worship by the Christian missionary is "kañ", which of course does not have the full content of our word worship. It has the idea of respect or honor. One may "kañ" a person of importance who is still living.

The word for prayer is "ye'elan". This has the idea of a request for something desired very much. Prayer is addressed to God, to the ancestors, to good and to evil spirits. There is no one word for sacrifice in the language, the idea being expressed in "tyi'i tit" i.e. kill an animal.

B. Examples of worship of God. of spirits, and manes.

Let us first see how the animist worships God. It

has been said that nowhere has any trace of worship of God been found among them. But that does not seem to be quite true. If the two important elements of worship are prayer and sacrifice, then the animist does pray to God and also offers sacrifice to him. Nowhere is there any image made of God; no temples are erected in His honor. But I have discovered prayer and sacrifice to Him. Mis Verna Eick from the Cameroun writes me as follows: "The only general form of prayer I have found was the children's little plea for the "ndo'o" to fall, when they would say, 'Mvamba va'a ma meke me ya jal'. (This is addressed to ancestors and is a prayer to send down the nuts from the high trees.) Though I found a woman who said her father always gathered his brood out in the street about sunset and pointing to the sky, tell his children that 'Zambe' was up there. Another told me that her father never burned his garden (the virgin forest is cut and the brush when dry is burned) when others did. He lingered along at the cutting, saying that he would call on 'Zambe' to give him sunshine. Then he would cut his garden after all the others had finished and the rains had begun (i.e. the rainy season), and for a whole day he walked up and down the street saying, 'Zambe ya Mebe's lome'me vian, me tame di'i ti' (Zambe send me sunshine, I wish to burn my garden plot) and she said the sunshine always came and he always burned his garden".

Miss Eick continues: "It seems that Zambe ya Mebe'e

me Npwaevo was the creator of all things, but he had a brother Npwa'a Mbômô, who stayed at the rising of the sun and took care of the animals, while Zambe went toward the setting sun. Zambe had a wife Otuyômô, who was the dispenser of all of his earthly blessings, especially of the gardens. Always on a rainy day the women stayed in from the gardens because it was then that Otuyômô was doing her work of scattering the seeds, etc. and making things grow. They feared to disturb her lest she be angry and their gardens would be "mekut". The expression, 'A Nanengô'ii' is in the nature of a prayer to Otuyomo, a longing for something of her dispensing". A Bulu woman in times of deep distress, as for example when she is tied in the path of driver ants to be devoured or during the difficult labor of childbirth, will cry out to "Zambe" for help. Le Roy gives several examples of prayer to God by the Bantu.

The east with which the Bulu pray to God when they are taught of Him by the Christian missionary makes one believe that prayer to God is more widely practised than one may be able to see on the surface of things. Since I came home to the United States on furlough six months ago I have received at least a dozen and a half letters from my native friends. In each one of these letters there was some reference to prayer. Some of them said that they were praying to God for our return; others asked that we pray for them.

Prayer is as natural to the primitive as breathing; and religion is their life. It is as easy to talk about religion and God in the Bulu country as it is to talk about the weather in the United States.

Examples of sacrifice to God are equally difficult to find among the Bulu people. God is neglected in the sacrifice given to the supernatural world. However, you will occasionally find a story told by one of the old men of the village how some of the first fruits were given to "Zambe" as a sort of recognition of the fact that he is the giver of the blessings. The rain comes from him and therefore he deserves a part of the first fruits. The Bulu word to bless is "botan" and the word to get soaked with rain is "bot". There is most certainly a connection between them. The word blessing seems to be associated with a soaking rain. God was regarded as the source of rain and therefore the source of blessings. In recognition of Zambe's blessing, a little water may be spilled on the ground before drinking as a recognition of this fact, a little food may be thrown away as a sacrifice to God.

A case of prayer to an evil spirit has been brought to my attention. Bokalli Mendôm, who became a pastor, is one of the saints of the West African coast. Each Mission can point to some man who stands our preeminently among his fellows. In the West Africa Mission of the Presbyterian Church that man is Bokalli. His widow is still living and I have often talked to her about her husband. She has repeatedly

told me how Bokalli went out to the forests to pay to an evil spirit that he might get rich. His friend Ze found him there and told him not to pay to that spirit for a wonderful white man had just come to tell them about "Zambe". That happened thirty-five years ago when the white missionary first appeared in that district.

Prayer to a fetich is a common thing. The prayer, to be sure, is short, two or three words, and may be only in the nature of a wish. The native who trusts in his fetich prays to it when he is in danger, when he gets sick, when he goes hunting, when he wants success on a journey, when he wants goods, when he takes an oath over a fetich, i.e. "kalan minkal" he calls upon the fetich to kill him if he is not speaking the truth.

It is not altogether certain to whom the sacrifice is made at the river when a person is taken there and a chicken killed and the blood sprinkled over the body and allowed to run into the stream. Ntytam, two years ago wro te me the following: (the account is entitled, "Taking a person to the river or killing a chicken".) He says, "The river is a sign of confession of sin. Because if someone knows he ate an "aka'é' or they gave him an 'aka'é' it comes to pass that when he becomes a man, when he cuts down trees he will die by a falling tree. The people will call someone who knows how to take someone to the river and say, 'Come

take this man to the river because they gave him an "aka'e" so that when he grows to be a man he will die by a tree. Therefore we have called you to make medicine to take away this thing'. Then they will take that person to the river. Then they will take a chicken and go to the river. (River may be anything from a brook to a great river. There is no distinction in the word used.) Then the person who is in the habit of taking people to the river will dam up the stream. The water will not pass down stream. Then he will ask the person they gave an 'aka'e' what kind they gave him. He may say. 'When I was a child my ancestor gave me the "aka'e" so that when I became a man it would come to pass that when I cut down trees I would die by a falling tree . Then the fetich doctor will kill the chicken and cut some shavings and mix the blood of the chicken with the shavings and sprinkle the mixture over the body of the person they gave the 'aka'é', and say, 'I take away the aka'é'. the fetich doctor will go into the stream and the water will go down stream. And the fetich doctor will say to the person they gave the 'aka'é', 'You can not die of the "aka'é" they gave you'". He closes the account with these words, "These things are connected with the 'ngbwel'".

Now to whom is the sacrifice of the chicken made if indeed it be a sacrifice? Is it made to the evil spirit who was to cause the death or to a good spirit who is stronger than the evil spirit? The blood carries off the

sin of the person on whom it was sprinkled. He is now free for the water has carried off his sin and curse which was removed by the sprinkling of the blood. The natives say that the animal or fowl dies instead of the person. There must be a victim.

Ancestor worship is most important in any consideration of worship among the animists. Dr. Willoughby in his book, "The Soul of the Bantu" deals almost exclusively with ancestor worship. His estimate of the relative importance of ancestor worship is thus revealed.

As has already been indicated, the individual in Bantu society is not the unit but the family or tribe. use the words as synonymous because the family includes not only the father, mothers and children, but the grandchildren, aunts and uncles on the paternal side. The tribe moves as a unit and not the individual. The tribe is responsible for any evil deed of any individual in the tribe. The property is not owned individually but by the tribe. When a wedding is arranged it is arranged between two tribes. Religion is connected with the tribe. The patriarch of the tribe is the priest. And when a man becomes a Christian he considers that he has changed tribes, he is no longer subject to the head man of the village but the white missionary becomes his father. He is the new priest and the new tribal father. The common objection to becoming a Christian is, "I want to go to the place where my fathers have gone". The importance

of the ancestors is revealed by this following custom, namely the keeping in memory the names of the ancestors. One
of the theological students was asked to name his fathers
and he was able to go back seventeen generations. He said
his little son was being taught those names also.

There are frequent prayers to the ancestors. The prayer of the little girls under the tall ndo o tree was. "Ancestor, give me, I will eat in the village". who goes on a hunting expedition will say, "Father I have not killed for a long time, give me game meat". It is a common thing for a man. who is seeking goods to buy a woman. to give a dance. The dance seems to be in the nature of a prayer to the ancestors for success. Prayer to the Bantu is action more than words and his prayer is expressed in a dance. Le Roy says, "The Bantu's have hymns or religious chants with dances accompanied by the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, the beating of tam tams, and the noise of various musical instruments. These dances ordinarily take place at night by the light of the moon, or, if in the daytime, in large huts".

The Bulu have guardian ancestors who are interested in particular individuals. Prayer is offered to one's own guardian spirit. The idea of a guardian angel appeals very strongly to the native Christians for they have them in their animistic belief.

Sacrifices are made to the ancestors also. An

^{1.} Le Roy. "The Religion of the Primitives": p. 198

estrangement may be patched up between a father and son while both of them are living. To illustrate, I quote the words of my colleague. Mr. A. N. Krug, "Bulu children are expected to respect their parents and elders. If a child is disrespectful to his father or mother the parent will pronounce a curse on it. They believe that these curses, just as pronounced, will surely come to pass. If a boy or a young man wishes to have this curse removed, he must do so while his father is still living. He must go about it as follows: he will go the village of his uncle, an uncle whom his father especially respects, and ask him to go to his father and entreat him to remove the curse. When the uncle returns from the interview with the young man's father, he will say to the youth, yes, your father is willing to remove this curse, but first of all you must go and look for some domestic animal with which to appease his anger. Now the young man will bring a large and fat goat or sheep to appease his father. After this his own father and the fathers of the other boys will remove the curse, and the misfortune thus removed will be averted. But if the young man fails to do this, he will take the curse unremoved with him to the spirit world, and thus the curse as pronounced in his lifetime can never be removed."

The dead ancestor can be appeased also and the only way to regain his favor is through an offering or sacrifice.

During the initiation ceremonies, especially the "melan" when a young man is taken into the tribe formally and is instructed during a month or more in the taboos of the tribe and other necessary knowledge, he meets his ancestors during a fainting spell which is coaxed on and he is said to commune with them. He rises from the dead and a new life begins for He lives now the life of a real man of the tribe, with all the duties and responsibilities of a tribesman. At this time the skull of his ancestor which he has provided for the occasion becomes the material connecting link between the living and the dead, it becomes the fetich and is worshipped. To this skull, which is preserved in the house, prayers are said and offerings are made. The first fruits of the harvests are set before the ancestral skull as an acknowledgment of his blessing. If success does not come to the possessor it is because the ancestor is displeased and therefore a sheep or goat is killed and a portion placed before the skull and the other portion is eaten by the living members of the tribe. This is a sort of communion with the dead. There is a sort of fetich dance called "mevungu", it is for the women only. At this dance there is a feast for the spirit of the one recently deceased.

Offerings are placed on the graves of the departed for a time after death and sacrifice is made. A portion is left on the grave for the spirit of the father.

capes out of his eyes or mouth. One boy said he always closed his eyes when present at the death of a person lest he see the soul escape. From the time of this escape the soul becomes an object of fear and dread and worship. However, the unimportant dead are neglected and only the important become the objects of worship. The father, the chief, and the man of strong personality must not be neglected in the land of shades as he was not neglected while living.

A custom still exists among the Bulu people, the significance of which I do not know, of the friends taking gifts to the funeral. These gifts are sheep, goats, dogs, cloth or anything of value. Then when the friends return home after the interment they are given a gift by the family, generally the value of which is in proportion to the value of the gift brought to the funeral. It is possible that these gifts brought are of the nature of a sacrifice to the dead but they fool the dead when they return the value of the gift in other coin.

Dr. Willough by says, "Bantu ancestor worship takes two forms: public and private. For such public benefits as victory, rain, fertility of lands and herds, salvation from epidemics and ravaging beasts, and often for successful hunting and fishing, resort is had to the spirits of the ruling dynasty. As occasion demands, great public acts of worship

them as priest of his ancestral line. Those which mark the inauguration of the agricultural or the hunting season, or the completion of harvest, recur with the regularity of the seasons; but dynastic spirits are not worshipped as a matter of mere routine on fixed dates, they are approached only when the soul of the community is disturbed by a lively sense of its need of supernatural aid. They are not marked by solemn ceremonies which readily suggest worship to the western mind, appearing rather as politico-religious afformations of tribal solidarity. We have such gatherings of the tribes in Bululand, and they are times of thanksgivings for their blessings. The French government does not, however, encourage these meetings.

C. Priesthood.

Worship among the Bulu is an individual, a family and a community affair. The individual is, however, mostly submerged in the group and the group is represented by an individual who is generally the father or the patriarch. He is the priest and is the mediator between this world and the world of spirits. In the course of time it is natural that some family priest should have more success with the spirit world than others. His reputation will spread and more demands will be made upon him by other members of the community.

1. Willoughby, "The Soul of the Bantu": p. 179

Some individuals are thus set apart in the community for the office of priest. In Bululand he is called "Nganga".

He is a combination of doctor, magician and priest. His know-ledge of medicine is really remarkable. Trader Horn has paid a reasonable tribute to him in his book. However, he is greedy and unscrupulous and by large fees charged for his knowledge he increases his wealth.

The power and the influence of a priest like this is great. Not long ago a letter came from the Cameroun telling how some missionaries on their way into the interior had been held up at Yaounde, the capital of the mandate, because of an insurrection among the natives in the interior of Africa. Several white men had been killed. The cause of this insurrection was unwillingness to work for the French government in the railroad construction, and the moving spirit back of the insurrection was one of these medicine doctors.

The many secret societies have a religious significance and the leaders become priests in the community.

There is a secret society called the "bekungu" into which boys are taken when they are from five to seven years old.

If a woman has broken a taboo, she can remove it by finding a small boy and having him initiated into the "bekungu" society. The signs of the initiation are scratches on the back of the neck.

The "So" society is a very large one and young men

are taken into it. The initiation ceremonies extend over quite a period of time during which the youths live out in the forests. The rites show a struggle between good and bad. Members of the society help each other and they are supposed to act like brothers toward each other. Men of the society will tell each other of impending danger even though they are of different tribes. Marriage between tribes in the society is not forbidden. Thus there is a sort of religious fellowship which cuts across tribal boundaries.

The "Ngi" society is the most powerful of all. The members of the society are grown men of strong personality.

The purpose of the society is to protect the members from death by witchcraft or poison. The initiation is elaborate.

The initiate is compelled to take an oath over a fetich, calling on it to kill him if he ever practises witchcraft or gives poison. He is compelled also to walk through fire and pay for a secret pass word or sign. The head of the society is called "Nnôm Ngi" or father gorilla. He wears a false face made of ebony and a covering of leaves. He appears in the village, terrifying the women with the gutteral sounds which come from his throat. A woman can not see him and live. He practises deception, of course, but he is priest - high priest - in his community.

We have seen, therefore, that the Bulu worship God, the spirits and the manes by prayer and sacrifice. But by far the most important consideration is their worship of

the ancestors who are regarded as the part of the stream which has crossed under the bridge to the shades but vitally connected with the living stream which must feed the stream beyond. A Bulu man considers it the worst of all misfortunes not to have children. He will put away his wife for a concubine in order not to be left childless. The Bulu objection to becoming a Christian is that he wants to go where his fathers went. The Bulu will not change his name after his father's death, lest when he himself die his father will not know him nor call his name when he gropes toward the land beyond.

D. Meaning of sacrifice.

Having shown that the Bulu worship by prayer and sacrifice, there is the interesting consideration as to the origin of prayer and sacrifice. The origin of prayer need not detain us long, for as soon as the supernatural is conceived of in terms of personality then the worshipper naturally seeks to fellowship with the personality who can hear and see and think and act. The origin of sacrifice is, however, more difficult and uncertain. There have been various theories as to the origin of sacrifice. Dr. E. B. Tylor regards sacrifice as originally a gift to secure the favor of the being to whom it was given. W. Robertson Smith tries to find in totemism the basis for the origin of sacrifice.

originally made to the god to preserve the divine life against the inrodes of old age. Le Roy thinks of sacrifice as having developed from a tax. Man found himself in the presence of the supernatural which he was unable to understand, a world which was not his own, so before taking of the blessings thereof he levies a tax on himself and gives it to the owner of all things. To clearly show the tax was not his own but, belonging to the master of things, it was set apart as sacred by ceremonies and in that way became a sacrifice. Dr. Willoughby sees the meaning of sacrifice in sacramental communion with the gods.

Now we must remember that there are various kinds of sacrifice among primitive people. And a theory which would fit one kind of sacrifice might not take into consideration other kinds. Broadly speaking, all sacrifice may be classed under two heads: the gift sacrifice and the blood sacrifice. Food, drink, material things, come under the first class, and the animal sacrifice where blood is poured out comes under the other class. It is the theory of the writer that gift sacrifices and blood sacrifices are both manifestations of the religious spirit in man. But the gift is given to assure the continuance of the favor of the supernatural while the blood sacrifice presupposes broken relations. The blood poured out is a confession of sin that right relations with the invisible have been broken and can only be restored by the giving up of the life of the sinner

which is done in the animal substitute. The father whose son has wronged him will accept the son again only when he has killed a goat, or sheep, or chicken. A compact after war is made over the blood of a domestic animal and the oath is made binding by the blood. Relations with the invisible world may be strained and the proper way to restore relations is over the blood of an animal. The animal stands in a close relation to the offerer as his substitute and the life poured out in the blood restores the proper relations.

V. ANIMISM AND CHRISTIANITY

We have discussed animism in its theoretical and practical side. Now the question naturally arises as to the relation of animism and Christianity. From the practical point of view of a missionary, what are the hindrances to the conversion of an animist to Christianity and what are the points of contact between animism and Christianity?

A. Points of contrast.

In the first place what hindrances are there to the conversion of the animist to Christianity? The animist acts his religion, it is a spontaneous expression of his need rather than well thought out and defined theology. However, we must not go to the other extreme and believe that the animist falls into the bosom of Christianity. He

does not. He does not stand with outstretched arms to receive the missionary as a savior. In the early days of our mission work in the Cameroun it was necessary almost to force Christianity upon an unwilling people. The method used was to buy the boys by means of a cloth. They were paid to come to school and to church. The church was slow in getting started. It took years to get one convert. Now, of course, we have a Christian community of about one hundred thousand. The first hindrance to the conversion of an animist is the fact that Christianity is foreign. Religion to him is patriotism and religion means being true to tribal traditions. The initiation ceremonies are calculated to impress that fact upon the minds of the young. At that time they are formally bound to the ancestors and the past. missionary is white and comes from another tribe and brings his God with him from across the seas. To become a Christian means to him to become a member of a new tribe. He will not go to the shades when he dies where his fathers have gone, but he will go to the white man's heaven.

A fact closely linked up with the foreign character of Christianity which is a hindrance to conversion is the lack of individualism. No man thinks for himself and acts for himself. He is bound by the customs of the past. The head man or the father of the village does all the thinking for the group. The individual is like a private in the army

who is expected to follow the general and ask no questions. Since the father is the priest of the old order and attached to the religion of his fathers and therefore hard to convert to Christianity, it is hard to convert his soldiers who are under his control. When an individual does become a Christian, he expects his white father to do his thinking for him, in the same way his head man did. Every white pastor in the Bulu country could witness to the truth of this fact as he thinks of the hundreds of Christians who wait upon him for guidance and instruction.

Another hindrance to the conversion of an animist to Christianity is a lack of interest on the part of the animist in spiritual things. He is concerned with bodily appetites, with what he shall eat and drink and wear; he is concerned with women. He wants satisfaction for his appetites. An earthly kingdom appeals to the animists as well as to the Jews. I have heard Bulu men say theywere not sure they wanted to go to heaven if there is no marriage there. He frankly tells us that he will become a Christian if in so doing he is assured that it will mean more food, more clothes, more money, more children, more power.

The low moral consciousness is, of course, a hindrance. There is little sense of sin and the conscience is weak. Purity is lacking. The cannibal, adulterer and thief are unable to see that they are wrong. A man is only

to blame when he gets caught. He is not responsible for thoughts, for only actions and words are seen and heard by the spirits. Man is responsible for conduct but not for character.

The animist is intellectually on a low plane. He is in bondage because he thinks little. His thinking is done for him. There are crooked paths through the forests because the native cuts around every fallen tree and every rock or stump in the way. He does the same thing in his thinking, he always takes the easy path in his mental processes. He thinks of present physical needs and is not much concerned about the morrow or hereafter.

There are also social hindrances to becoming a Christian. Polygamy is woven into the warp and woof of the social fabric of the life of the people. A man's importance in the community is measured by the number of women he possess-There are two tribes, the tribe of man and the tribe of es. woman, and the tribe of woman is always inferior. She is the burden bearer, the child bearer and the slave of the The sexual question is also important. Celibacy is man. rare. Sexual indulgence is sapping the vitality out of the life of the people. There is much drunkenness. They make their own drinks. Child marriage is common. Little girls are bought and paid for before they are born. Slavery is also woven into the social fabric. Every individual is a

slave since he is not a free individual. He is only a cog in the social machine. The inhuman treatment of widows who are supposed to be the cause of their husbands' death is common. Widows are the property of the village of their husbands to be used when needed.

There are also language difficulties and ignorance of the native customs. Language is not what the speaker says but what the hearer understands. What the missionary says means one thing to him and an entirely different thing to the hearer. There are many words lacking in the Bulu language. All abstract words are lacking for the Bulu think only in the concrete. There are no words for truth, faith, holiness, conscience, justification, love, etc., for the ideas do not exist in the abstract. The words for sin, holy and God have a different content to the Bulu. It is difficult, therefore, to transmit Christianity in words, but it is transmitted in the language of human love and sympathy.

B. Points of contact.

There are, however, points of contact between animism and Christianity. First of all, there is the idea of God the Creator, which one can always assume. It is true that God does not largely figure in the daily experience of the people, but He is there in the background and when He can shine forth He is joyfully received and accepted.

The Holy Spirit figures largely in the vocabulary

of the converted animist, and why? Because the Holy Spirit is the good spirit in a world which is filled with spirits.

There is also a firm belief in the future life.

Of course the future beyond the grave is vague, but the animist believes that the present life continues after death and the grave. Naturally the more definite teaching of the Bible finds ready acceptance among those who are longing for the light of authoritative truth about the land beyond.

The Ten Commandments easily become the ten taboos of the Christian religion. The animist is quite familiar with the idea of taboo. Of course he keeps the letter of the law and not the spirit, but that is to be expected in his stage of civilization. The taboo becomes a schoolmaster to lead him to the freedom which there is in Christ.

The miracles of the Bible are never a stumbling block to our animistic friend. He lives in the world of the supernatural and a religion without the supernatural would not appeal to him at all. It has already been pointed out that prayer and sacrifice are quite familiar to him. He is familiar with sacrifice to make atonement and therefore the idea of the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world is not at all foreign.

The idea of the love of God the Father makes a strong appeal. The animist lives in an atmosphere of fear. The spirits about him are mostly malevolent, therefore an

ever-present loving Father in heaven gives confidence and comfort to his fear-burdened heart. Redemption from evil powers through Christ naturally draws him with a magnetic and powerful pull.

of the Christian life lived amongst them. The Christian family relation is a revelation to the animist. When the missionary husband steps aside to let his wife pass through the door, eyes fly open and big new ideas with regard to woman enters the head of the man who has stalked ahead while his wife followed a few paces to the rear with a heavy burden on her back.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

In concluding this study of animism in relation to religious ideas certain facts have been pointed out, the significance of which it would be well to examine. We have discussed animism as a theory or belief and as a practise. In taking up the practical aspects we have discussed fetichism, witchcraft, magic, morality and worship. We have also pointed out some relations between animism and Christianity.

A. Importance of animism in the study of religion.
Animism does not account for the origin of religion.

In the discussion of animism it has become clear that the theory of animism is extremely significant and im-

-portant in the study of religion. No study of religion can omit a clear understanding of animism which is connected with all religions. However, the theory of animism can not account for the origin of religion. Dr. Tylor's contention that the origin of religion can be traced to animism is not capable of rational nor historical proof. Dr. Ladd rightly says, "It would seem, in the first place, impracticable to regard any one form of these religions which, because they possess important common characteristics we have grouped together under the name of a 'vague and unreflecting Spiritism' (animism in its broadest and most loose significance) as the origin of all the other allied forms. For they can not be considered as separate religions. They have, rather, been found almost if not quite everywhere in human history, existing side by side and persisting in spirit and essence, if not in their precise formations, together through all the higher and higher developments of the religious life of humanity". The idea of one God back of all things which exists among the Bantu people is difficult of explanation on Dr. Tylor's theory. Dr. Tylor's suggestion that it has been borrowed may sound plausible to those who have not lived and labored among the Bantu, but it has little value to those who have.

The idea of soul which primitive man is said to have gotten from the experience of dreams and waking hallu-

^{1.} G. T. Ladd, "The Philosophy of Religion": Vol. 1, p. 142

-cinations and the idea of deity which is said to have developed from the idea of soul, sounds on the surface plausible, but when we look more clearly the concept of deity and the concept of soul are so far apart that the jump from one to the other does not seem so reasonable after all. A belief in spirits per se does not necessarily involve a religious attitude. While the animist is religious, that does not necessarily mean that animism is the source of his religion.

Nor does the attempt to show that magic has preceded religion throw any light on the origin of religion, for the attempt has failed, and even in Australia where Dr. Frazer attempted to prove religion did not exist, he could succeed only by making an extremely low definition of religion and by ignoring part of the evidence which was not in accord with his theory. Anthropology generally admits today that religion is universal and that there is no tribe or nation however primitive or advanced without religion.

The nature of our findings with regard to the origin of religion is mostly negative. Many attempts have been made to discover the origin of religion. All attempts based on historical investigation have failed for man appears on the scene as religious. Perhaps we have looked in the wrong direction for the origin of religion.

What then may be the origin of religion? Any adequate discussion of this subject would take us beyond the limits prescribed by the title of this subject. We may say,

however, that religion must have an origin. And it seems reasonable to suppose that since man is a religious animal the only answer to the question of the origin of religion is to be found in the answer to the question as to the origin of man. If man is of God, then religion is of God; but if man is accounted for otherwise, then religion is not of God.

B. Fetichism like animism is religious and antireligious. Magic is anti-religious.

We have seen that fetichism as the practise of religion is partly religious and partly anti-religious. Magic is anti-religious also. Animism like fetichism is religious and it is also anti-religious. It is not, therefore, correct to call animism a religion. Animism has its religious side as well as its anti-religious elements. Strange to note that as it is found in the higher cultures it is mostly anti-religious.

Nor is it correct to see in animism only a primitive philosophy. It is a philosophy, not altogether a spiritual philosophy either, for the spiritual entity as conceived of by the animist is not altogether void of the properties of matter. But there is more than primitive thinking in animism. The animist is an actor first and a thinker afterwards, and his every act has a religious significance. Primitive man acts in accordance with his nature and it is of his nature

to be religious and also to be anti-religious. Animism is the manifestation of the untutored nature of man.

C. Morality finds a basis in God.

Morality also seeks an answer to its own origin in the study of animism. We have seen that there are two possibilities: morality developed out of a relation of man to man and the gods do not figure at all, or morality finds its source in the will of the gods. Even if we deny that man fell from an original monotheism, we are face to face with the fact that the primitive animist has a morality not essentially different from our own. How did he get it on the theory that he is just beginning his experience in an upward climb toward a more developed civilization? The theory of experience would make him that which he is not. The influence of the supernatural is the only way to account for the morality of the primitive. Morality and religion are more closely related than husband and wife; they are brother and sister. They have their origin in God.

D. The animist has that which prepared him for Christianity.

The animist expresses his dependence upon the supernatural in his worship. He worships by prayer and sacrifice. When he believes that there must be a victim to propitiate the wrath of the offended deity, he is preparing for the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world.

Christianity is prepared for among the animists in many ways. When Christianity appears it is not strange to note that Christ captivates their hearts. He who was from the beginning and from whom all things flow finds the animist with a willing heart to receive Him as Lord and Savior.

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